AGENCY AND REPRESENTATION: OTTOMAN PARTICIPATION IN
NINETEENTH CENTURY INTERNATIONAL FAIRS

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ABSTRACT

AGENCY AND REPRESENTATION: OTTOMAN PARTICIPATION IN

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World expositions have been the expressions of the fundamental social, political and economical transformations initiated by the revolutionary chain of the eighteenth century. They were potent sites of information about the contemporaneous state of technology, art, architecture and culture at an international scale. Urban planning and architecture had the leading role in these events where issues of cultural identity via the medium of the language of architectural design.

In the nineteenth century, in Western perception the world was composed of two parts: the Orient and the Occident. The world expositions of the nineteenth century, however,

cannot be evaluated based merely on the representation of Eastern countries by the Western World. Western historiographers of architecture criticize 'other' architectures from an Orientalist perspective where the uniqueness and dominance of the West were emphasized.

These exhibitions display the nineteenth century world, according to the extant and accepted hierarchy between the West and the East. The colonies comprised an exceedingly wide geography including Asia, Africa, and South America, which bore a number of designations such as 'oriental' and 'Islamic'.

This thesis focuses on Ottoman participation in these exhibitions. The main argument is that the Ottoman representation cannot be evaluated under the category of colonial countries on the one hand and Western perceptions of Ottoman society at the time being on the other. Analyzing the active agency of the Ottoman presence in the World Exhibitions, the present study challenges the passive role that is usually attributed by contemporary historiography to the representation of non-Western cultures.

Keywords: World Expositions, Ottoman Identity, Architectural Representation

ÖZET

İRADE VE TEMSİLİYET: ON DOKUZUNCU YÜZYIL ULUSLARARASI

FUARLARA OSMANLI KATILIMI

Canol, Gülden

MDes, Tasarım Çalışmaları Bölümü

Danışman: Prof. Dr. Gülsüm Baydar

Mayıs 2009, 106 sayfa

On sekizinci yüzyıldan başlayan devrimler zincirinin toplumun sosyal, politik, ekonomik alanlarındaki köklü değişiminin dışavurumu olan Dünya Fuarları düzenlendikleri süre boyunca dünyadaki gelişmelerin, ekonominin, teknolojinin, sanatın, mimarinin ve kültürel yapıların birebir izlenebildiği mekanlar olmuşlardır. Kentsel planlama ve mimarlık, mimari tasarım dilinin kullanımı yoluyla kültürel kimlik konularının öne çıktığı bu tür fuarlarda öncü rol oynamışlardır.

On dokuzuncu yüzyıla gelindiğinde Avrupa açısından dünya, iki parçadan oluşuyordu: Batılı biz ve Doğulu öteki. Dünya fuarları, sadece Batı dünyasına göre Doğu ülkelerinin temsil edilişine dayandırılarak değerlendirilemez. Batılı mimarlık tarihçileri, Batı

uygarlığının bir parçası olmayan herhangi bir mimarlığı Batı'nın biricikliğini ve baskın üstünlüğünü vurgulayan bir orientalist perspektif çerçevesinde değerlendirmişlerdir.

Bu sergiler gerçekte bütün on dokuzuncu yüzyıl dünyasını katmanlaşmış bir güç ilişkisine göre gözler önüne sermektedir: Batı dünyası ve sömürge ülkeler. Sömürge ülkeler, temsili 'oryantal' ve 'islam' olarak tanımlanan Asya, Afrika ve Güney Amerika'yı içine alan geniş bir spektruma oturmuşlardır.

Bu tez çalışmasında, uluslararası fuarlara Osmanlı katılımına odaklanılmıştır. En önemli parametre, Osmanlı katılımının, Batı'nın tanımladığı İslam ve Orientalist temsiliyet kapsamında ve sömürge ülkelerle aynı kategori altında değerlendirilemeyeceği gerçeğidir. Dünya fuarlarında Osmanlının aktif iradesini incelerken, bu çalışma, tarih boyunca, Batılı olmayan kültürlerin temsiliyetinde onlara atfedilen pasif role karşı eleştirel bir bakış sunmaktadır..

Anahtar kelimeler: Dünya Fuarları, Osmanlı Kimliği, Mimari Temsiliyet

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

support, encouragement and boundless capacity for giving. I also wish my father rest in

peace who was a model for me during his life with his devoted existence.

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A Note on The Translations and Transliterations: Terms in Ottoman Turkish rendered in the Arabic script are transliterated according to the conventions of the *Islam Ansiklopedisi.* Turkish orthography is used in names and building names.

No. M/R/H	Language	Identity of archive	Explanation
1 M. 05.01.1851 H. 02.Ra.1267	Ottoman	BOA MKT.MHM 27/32	İngiltere'de açılacak sergi meclisine gönderilecek eşyanın defteri ve Ahmed Efendi'nin zaptiyeye gitme talebine dair evrakın gönderildiği
2 M. 12.01.1851 H. 09.Ra. 1267	Ottoman	BOA İ.HR 73/3545	Londra'da açılacak yerin resminin takdimi
3 M. 22.03.1851 H. 19.Ca.1267	Ottoman	BOA A.AMD 30/36	Ekspozisyon münasebetiyle Rusya İmparatoru ile Prusya Kralı'nın Londra'ya gideceği ve başka devlet adamlarının da orada bulunacağı haber alındığından, iyi ilişkilerde bulunmak üzere Kostaki Bey'in Orta Elçi ünvanıyla Londra Sefareti'ne tayini, ayrıca Hariciye'den Ziya Bey'in de serkatip olarak yanına verilmesi
4 M. 06.10.1851 H. 10.Z.1267	Ottoman	BOA MKT.NZD 43/70	Londra'daki sergiye eşya taşıyan geminin ücretinin Hazine-i Celile'den verilmesi
5 M. 05.01.1853 H. 24.Ra.1269	Ottoman	BOA MKT.MVL 59/55	Amerika'da açılacak sergi için istenilen eşyaların irsali
6 M. 1854/1855 H. 1271	Ottoman	BOA A.AMD 58/12	Meclis-i Vala Azası Mehmed Ali Paşa'nın Paris'e sergi görmek için gitmesine izin verilmesi
7 M. 11.12.1854 H. 20.Ra.1271	Ottoman	BOA HR.MKT 95/2	Paris'te açılacak olan sergiye münasib eşyaların gönderilmesi
8 M. 31.12.1854 H. 10.R.1271	Ottoman	BOA HR.MKT 97/66	Fransa'da açılacak olan sergiye gönderilecek eşyaların hazırlanıp gönderilmesi
9 M. 27.05.1855	Ottoman French	BOA HR.MKT 97/69	Paris'te açılacak olan sergiye gönderilecek olan eşyanın Malta'da mukim Devlet-i Aliyye konsolosuna yetiştirilmesi emri
10 M. 02.03.1859 H. 27.B.1275	Ottoman	BOA A.DVN 139/14	New York'ta açılan fuarda Memalik-i Şahane mahsulü eşya sergileyen tüccar Mihail'e nişan verilmesi
11 M. 29.03.1859	Ottoman French	BOA HR.TO 375/66	Bank-ı Ottoman'ın müdürü Lafonten'in sergi hakkındaki arizası
12 M. 07.01.1862 H. 26.B.1278	Ottoman	BOA MKT.NZD 395/35	Londra'da açılacak sergiye gönderilecek eşya ve emtianın Dersaadet'ten tedariki için gerekli olan paranın Beytülmal Müdürü Tahsin Efendi'ye verilmesi
13 M. 03.05.1862 H. 04.Za.1278	Ottoman	BOA MKT.NZD 416/13	Londra'da açılacak sergi için istenilen eşya bakayasının gönderildiği
14 M. 19.09.1862	Ottoman	BOA İ.HR 191/10746	Londra'da küşad olunacak sergi keyfiyetine dair

	R. 07.L.1278			
15	M. 19.09.1862 R. 07.L.1278	Ottoman	BOA MKT.UM 552/3	Londra'da açılacak sergi için istenen eşyanın Nemçe Posta Vapuru ile gönderildiği
16	M. 30.09.1862 R. 18.L.1278	Ottoman	BOA MKT.UM 555/96	Londra'da açılacak sergi için gönderilmesi istenen arazi ve sanayi mahsulü emtia ve eşyanın tamamlanması için zaman kalmadığından kusurların afv edilmesi
17	M. 02.10.1862 R. 20.L.1278	Ottoman	BOA MKT.NZD 413/18	Londra'da açılacak sergi için talep olunan eşyanın gönderildiğine dair Bağdat Valiliğinden gelen yazının leffen irsali
18	M. 14.03.1864	Ottoman	BOA HR.TO 445/43	Sergi-i Umumi Osmani'de bulunan demiryolu arabasının irsaline dair
19	M. 11.03.1865	Ottoman French	BOA HR.TO 508/12	Sergi-i Umumi'de bulunan eşyanın sahipleri tarafından alınmasına dair Fransızca ilanname
20	M. 12.04.1865 H. 16.Za.1281	Ottoman	BOA İ.HR 212/12287	Fransa'da imparator tarafından sınaiye dair Umumi Sergi açılması
21	M. 12.04.1865	Ottoman	BOA HR.TO 186/20	Amsterdam'da teşkil olunan sergi-i umumiye dair
22	M. 15.04.1866 H. 29.Za.1282	Ottoman	BOA MKT.MHM 353/78	Paris'de açılacak umumi sergi için lazım gelen inşaat işinin kendilerine ihale edilmesini isteyen Fransız mimarların mektubunun tercümesi
23	M. 24.05.1866 H. 09.M.1283	Ottoman	BOA MKT.MHM 356/62	Paris'de açılacak sergi-i umumiye konulacak eşya-yı hicaziye-yi yanına alarak Dersaadet'e geeln Hacı Hurşid Efendi'ye verilen Kapucıbaşılık rütbesinin muadili olan salise rütbesiyle değiştirilmesi
24	M. 27.09.1866 H. 17.Ca.1283	Ottoman	BOA MKT.MHM 363/62	Paris'de açılacak sergi için eşya gönderilmesi
25	M. 05.10.1866 R. 23.L.1282	Ottoman	BOA MKT.MHM 350/48	Tersane-i Amire'de çalışan işçilerin ücretlerinin ödenmesi. Paris'de açılacak sergiye gönderilecek eşya ve nümunelerden gümrük resmi alınmaması
26	M. 05.10.1866 R. 23.L.1282	Ottoman	BOA MKT.MHM 350/63	Paris'de açılacak sergiye gönderilecek eşyanın Sultanahmed Meydanındaki Sergi-i Osmani'de tanzim ve tertibine dair karar gereğince lazım gelen muamelenin icrası
27	M. 11.10.1866 R. 29.L.1282	Ottoman	BOA MKT.MHM 351/37	Paris'e gönderilecek eşyaya Sergi-i Osmani Dairesi'nin tahsisi.
28	M. 21.10.1866 H. 11.C.1283	Ottoman	BOA MKT.MHM 365/48	Paris'de açılacak sergi için Erzurum Vilayeti mahsulat ve masnuatından hazırlanan eşyanın gönderilmesi
29	M. 29.10.1866 H. 19.C.1283	Ottoman	BOA MKT.MHM 366/19	Paris'te açılacak olan sergi-i umumiye konulmak üzere Bağdat Eyaleti'nden tedarik edilen muhtelif mahsulün Altıncı Ordu Hastanesi Eczacı

				Kostaki'ye teslim edilerek gönderilidği
30	M. 02.11.1866 H. 23.C.1283	Ottoman	BOA MKT.MHM 366/63	Paris'de inşa olunacak sergi binası için gerekli teminatın verilerek sarfı lazım gelen paranın tesviyesi
31	M. 19.12.1866 H. 11.Ş.1283	Ottoman	BOA MKT.MHM 370/58	Paris'de açılması kararlaştırılan sergiye gönderilmek üzere Suriye ve Trablusgarp eyaletinden gönderilen eşyanın tedarikinde gayretlerine mükafeten, Mürdümzade Osman Bey ile Nazif Bey'in rütbelerinin terfii
32	M. 25.12.1866 H. 17.Ş.1283	Ottoman	BOA MKT.MHM 371/21	Paris sergisi'ne Hicaz tarafından göndeirlecek eşyaların tesliminde üstün gayret gösteren Hurşid Efendi'ye beşinci rütbeden Mecidi Nişanı verilmesi
33	M. 14.03.1868 H. 20.Za.1284	Ottoman	BOA İ.HR 230/13538	Sergi-i Osmani'ye konulmak üzere Sisamlı Anderyadi'nin götürdüğü eşya esmanı
34	M. 24.09.1868 H. 06.C.1285	Ottoman	BOA İ.HR 233/13793	Osmanlı devleti tarafından Paris Sergi-i Umumiyesi'ne gönderilen meskutat-ı Osmani nümuneleri hususu
35	M. 14.10.1868 H. 26.C.1285	Ottoman	BOA İ.HR 234/13810	Paris Sergi-i Umumisi'ni tanıtan kitabın takdimi
36	M. 10.10.1869	Ottoman	BOA HR.TO 501/121	Paris Sergi-i Umumi azası Kaye Dolböl'e nişan verilmesi talebi
37	M. 15.02.1870 H. 14.Za.1286	Ottoman	BOA İ.HR 242/14367	Paris Sergi-i umumisi komisyonu azasına nişan verilmesi
38	M. 06.03.1871	Ottoman	BOA HR TO 115/108	Philadelphia'da sergi memurlarına nişan verilmesi istidasına dair Washington Sefaret-i Seniyyesi'nin tahriratı
39	M. 08.09.1871	Ottoman	BOA HR.SYS 211/25	1873 senesinde Viyana'da sergi açılması kararı
40	M. 01.03.1872	Ottoman	BOA HR.TO 282/9	Viyana'da küşad olunacak umumi sergi hakkında Kinezin arizası
41	M. 23.06.1872	Ottoman	BOA HR.SYS 211/31	Osmanlı Komiseri Hamdi Bey'in sergi ile ilgili görevini ifa ettikten sonra Viyana'dan hareket ettiği
42	M. 14.03.1873 H. 14.M.1290	Ottoman	BOA MKT.MHM 449/93	Viyana'daki sergi için tertip edilen eşyanın saklanması için yaptırılması öngörülen demir köşkten vazgeçilerek, mevcut eşyanın önceden alınmış karar müvacehesinde demir kasalarda saklanacak ahşap köşkte teşhiri
43	M. 14.03.1873 H. 08.B.1290	Ottoman	BOA A.MKT.MHM 462/82	Viyana'da açılan sergiye eşya koyan Devlet-i Aliye tebasına mükafat verilmesi ve gazetelerde yayınlanması
44	M. 27.11.1876	Ottoman	BOA HR.TO 115/106	Philadelphia'da sergi memurlarına nişan verilmesi istidasına dair Washington Sefaret-i Seniyyesi'nin tahriratı
45	M. 13.03.1878 H. 09.Ra.1295	Ottoman	BOA İ.HR 276/16806	Filadelfiya'da açılan uluslararası sergi memurlarından bazılarına Mecidiye nişanı verilmesi
46	M. 29.11.1878	Ottoman	BOA HR.TO 79/85	Paris Sergi-i Umumisi'nin Macaristan şubesi hakkındaki

				neşriyatı sefarete tebliğ eden Mösyö Silani Eşurac'a dördüncü rütbeden bir kıta Mecidi Nişanı verilmesi talebi
47	M. 16.03.1881	Ottoman	BOA HR.TO 365/92	İngiltere Devlet-i tebeasından Senyör Levi'nin Suriye Vilayeti sandığından ba-sergi matlubu
48	M. 06.12.1883 H. 05.S.1301	Ottoman	BOA İ.HR 291/18348	Amsterdam'daki Sergi-i Umumi'de eşya teşhirine görevlendirilen Tahir Bey'e Felemenk Devleti tarafından nişan verildiği
49	M. 21.04.1885 H. 06.B.1302	Ottoman	BOA İ.HR 297/18811	Peşte'de açılacak sergi-i umumiye Avusturya Devleti tarafından gönderilecek torpil-i bahriyesine mahsus bir adet model vapurun boğazdan geçişine izin verilmesi
50	M. 07.05.1885	Ottoman	BOA HR.TO 38/25	Anvers'de açılan Sergi-i Umumi'nin Osmanlı şubesi hakkında Prekürsar adındaki gazetenin neşr eylediği bendin leffen takdim kılındığı
51	M. 05.10.1885 R. 23.L.1301	Ottoman	BOA İ.HR 294/18570	Amsterdan Sergi-i Umumisi'nde komiser bulunan Stekholm Başşehbenderi Yan'a ve diğer bazı şahıslara nişan verilmesi
52	M. 17.03.1888	Ottoman	BK TARİK	1889 Paris Sergi-i Umumisi
53	M. 03.12.1888 H. 29.Ra.1306	Ottoman	BOA DH.MKT 1570/106	Hoca Nasri Tütüncü'nün Paris'te açılacak Sergi-i Umumi için Haleb'ten götüreceği emtia için gümrükten kolaylık gösterilmesi ve kendisine yardımcı olunması konusunda Paris Sefaretine tavsiyede bulunulması talebi üzerine Haleb Vilayeti'nin Hariciye Nezareti'nden görüş alması
54	M. 07.02.1889 H. 06.C.1306	Ottoman	BOA DH.MKT 1592/45	Paris'teki Sergi-i Umumi'ye gidecek olan Haleb Kumaş tüccarından Hacı Nasri Tütüncü'ye gerekli kolaylıkların gösterilmesi gerektiği
55	M. 02.03.1889	Ottoman	BOA HR.TO 13/17	Yunan hükümetinin Viyana'dan Teselya'ya uzatılacak demiryolu hattının inşasını Rayc Bank-ı Kavla'ya vermeye karar verdiğine ve Atina'da açılan sergi ile ilgili Yunan Başbakanı ile yapılan görüşmeye dair
56	M. 09.12.1889	Ottoman	BOA HR.TO 68/77	Barcelona Sergi-i Umumisi'nde hüsn-i hizmetleri geçen İspanya memurlarına nişan verilmesi talebi
57	M. 21.02.1890 H. 01.B.1307	Ottoman	BOA İ.HR 316/20335	Barcelona Sergi-i Umumisi esnasında tebea-i Osmaniye hakkında hidmetleri görülen bazı İspanya memurlarına nişan verilmesi
58	M. 25.07.1891	Ottoman	BOA HR.SYS 218/78	Viyatra'da açılacak müzik, tiyatro ve bununla ilgili sanayii serginin programı ile nizamnamesinin gönderilmesi
59	M. 05.05.1892	Ottoman	BOA HR.TO 188/100	Doksaniki senesi haziranında Şveningen'de açılacak bargir ve sayd-ı mahi sergi-i umumisi hakkındaki evrak-ı matbuanın irsaline dair
60	M. 03.09.1892	Ottoman	BOA HR.SYS 218/81	Filibe'de açılan sergiye Avusturya-Macaristan hükümetinin iştirak etmesine Bulgar Prensi Ferdinand'ın teşekkürü
61	M. 27.05.1893	Ottoman	BOA İ.DUİT 136/10	İnşaat, istihdam, ödeme, sergi binası; İtalya; Dersaadet; Torino

	H. 11.Za.1310			
62	M. 04.07.1893 H. 19.Z.1310	Ottoman	BOA İ.DUİT 136/12	Kira, istihdam, ödeme, sergi; Daronko (İtalyan mühendis); Sergi-i Umumi Komisyonu, Bank-ı Osmani; Şişli
63	M. 10.10.1893 H. 29.Ra.1311	Ottoman	BOA İ.DUİT 136/14	Tanzim, tayin, inşaat, sergi; Daronko (İtalyan Mühendis); Sergi-i Umumi Binası
64	M. 14.05.1896	Ottoman French	BOA HR.SYS 191/38	Macaristan'ın birinci kuruluş yıldönümü münasebetiyle yapılan şenlik ve sergi ile ilgili Avusturya gazetelerinde çıkan yorumlar
65	M. 9.12.1901 H. 27.Ş.1319	Ottoman French	BOA İ.HR 374/1319	Petersburg'da ictima eden sergi ve kongreye dair
66	M. 22.09.1904 H. 12.B.1322	Ottoman	BOA İ.DH 1427/1322-B	Üsküb'te tertib edilecek koşu ve sergi hakkında mahallinden tanzim edilen layihayanın arzı
67	M. 01.05.1905 H. 25.S.1323	Ottoman	BOA DH.MKT 951/38	Atinadaki sergiye katılıp eşya teşhir etmiş olan Osmanlı tebeasından olan şahıslara sergi heyetince verilecek madalya ve beratların, gönderilecek bir memur yerine Atina Sefareti vasıtasıyla verilmesi gerektiği hususunun, madalya ve berat alacak olanlardan Eczacı Kostaki Aleksiyadi Efendiye bildirildiği
68	M. 20.12.1909 H. 07.Z.1327	Ottoman	BOA DH.MUİ 29-2/19	1. İstanbul'da bir Osmanlı-İngiliz Ticari Sergisi'nin açılması. 2. Sergi yeri olarak istenen Taksim Kışlası ve Talimane Meydanına askeri ihtiyaç olduğu
69	M. 21.08.1910 H. 14.Ş.1328	Ottoman	BOA DH.EUM.THR 46/49	Münih'de açılacak sergiye gönderilecek memurlara izin verilmesi

The list of documents in Ottoman language, BOA Archive.

International Industry and Design Fairs 1800-1924.

No	Year	Duration (month)	City, Country	Name of Exposition	Area (hectare)	Participation (people)	Profit/C
1	1851	4,8	London, England	Great Exhibition of the Works of İndustry of All Nations	26	6,039,195	£186.43
2	1852		Cork, Ireland	Irish Industrial Exhibition			
3	1853	5,5	Dublin, İreland	Great Industrial Exhibition	6,5	1,156,232	£19.999
4	1853-54	15,5	New York, USA	World's Fair of the Works of the Industry of All Nations	13	1,250,000	£70.103
5	1854		Munich, Germany	Allgemeine deutsche Industrie-Ausstellung			
6	1854		Melbourne, Australia	Melbourne Exhibition			
7	1855	6,7	Paris, France	Exposition Universelle	34	5,162,330	£332.00
8	1855		Dublin, İreland	Dublin International Exhibition			
9	1857		Manchester, England	Art Treasures Exhibition			
10	1860		Besançon, France	Exposition Universelle			
11	1861		Melbourne, Australia	Victorian Exhibition			
12	1862		Hamburg, Germany	International Agricultural Exhibition			
13	1862	6,5	London, England	International Exhibition of 1862	24 3/4	6,211,103	£11.783
14	1864		Amsterdam, The Netherlands	Dutch Industry Exposition			
15	1865		Philadelphia, USA	Great Central Fair for the US Sanitary Commission			
16	1865		Oporto, Portuguese	Exposiçao Internacional			
17	1865	5,3	Dublin, İreland	International Exhibition of Arts and Manufacturers		932,662	£10.074
18	1865		Dunedin, New Zealand	New Zealand Exhibition			
19	1866		Melbourne, Australia	Intercolonial Exhibition of Australasia			
20	1867	7,2	Paris, France	Exposition Universelle	165 + 50	6,805,969	£115.20
21	1868		Le Havre, France	Exposition Maritime Internationale			
22	1870		Sydney, Australia	Intercolonial Exhibition			
23	1871		Córdoba, Argentina	Exposición Nacional			
24	1871	5	London, England	First Annual International Exhibition	12	1,142,151	£30.000
25	1872	5,5	London, England	Second Annual International Exhibition	6	647,19	
26	1872		Lima, Peru	Exposicion Internacional de 1872			
27	1872		Lyon, France	Exposition Universelle et Internationale			
28	1872		Kyoto, Japan	Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures			
29	1873	7	London, England	Third Annual International Exhibition	6	500,033	

30	1873	6,2	Vienna, Austria	Weltausstellung 1873 Wien	42	7,254,637	£2.760.
31	1873		Sydney, Australia	Metropolitan Intercolonial Exhibition			
32	1874	7	London, England	Fourth Annual International Exhibition	6		£150.00
33	1874		Dublin, İreland	International Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures			
34	1874		Rome, Italy	Esposizione Internazionale			
35	1875	?	Santiago, Chile	Exposicion Internacional de 1875			
36	1875		Melbourne, Australia	Victorian Intercolonial Exhibition			
37	1875		Nizhni Novgorod, Russia	Nizhni Novgorod Fair			
38	1875		Sydney, Australia	Intercolonial Exhibition			
39	1876	6	Philadelphia, USA	Centennial Exposition	284,5	10,164,489	£1.065.
40	1876		Brisbane, Australia	Intercolonial Exhibition			
41	1877	3	Cape Town, South Africa	South African International Exhibition			
42	1877		Tokyo, Japan	First National Industrial Exhibition			
43	1878	6,5	Paris, France	Exposition Universelle	192	16,032,725	£1.271.
44	1879-80	7	Sydney, Australia	Sydney International Exhibition	15	1,117,536	
45	1880-81	7	Melbourne, Australia	International Exhibition	63	1,330,297	
46	1881		Budapest, Hungary	Orszagos Magyar Nöiparkiallitas			
47	1882		Bordeaux, France	Exposition Internationale des vins			
48	1882		Buenos Aires, Argentina	Exposicion Continental Sud-Americana			
49	1883	6	Amsterdam, Holland	Internationale Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel Tentoonstellung te Amsterdam	62		
50	1883	4	Boston, USA	The American Exhibition of the Products, Arts and Manufacturers of Foreign Nations	3	300	
51	1883-84	3	Calcutta, India	International Exhibition	10	1000.000+	
52	1883		Paramatta, Australia	Intercolonial Juvenile Industrial Exhibition			
53	1883		Louisville, USA	Southern Exposition			
54	1884	?	London, England	International Health Exhibition			
55	1884		Edinburgh, Scotland	International Forestry Exhibition			
56	1884		St. Louis, USA	Saint Louis Exposition			
57	1884		Turin, Italy	Esposizione Generale Italiana			
58	1884-85	5,5	New Orleans, USA	World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exhibition	76	3,525,000	
59	1885	6	Antwerp, Belgium	Exposition Universelle d'Anvers	54	3,500,000	
60	1885		Wellington, New Zealand	New Zealand Industrial Exhibition			
61	1885		New Orleans, USA	North, Central And South American Exposition			
62	1885		London, England	International Exhibition of Inventions			
63	1886	6,1	London, England	colonial and Indian Exhibition	13	5,550,745	

64	1886	?	Edinburgh, Scotland	International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art		
65	1886		Liverpool, England	International Exhibition of Navigation, Commerce and Industry		
66	1887		Geelong, Australia	Geelong Jubilee Juvenile and Industrial Exhibition		
67	1887	?	London, England	American Exhibition		
68	1887	7	Adelaide, Australia	Jubilee International Exhibition		789,672
69	1888	6	Barcelona, Spain	Exposicion Universal de Barcelona	111	1,227,000+
70	1888	6	Brussels, Belgium	Grand Concours International des Sciences et de I'Industrie	220	
71	1888	5,4	Glasgow, Scotland	International Exhibition	covered 16	5,748,379
72	1888	?	London, England	Italian Exhibition		
73	1889	6	Melbourne, Australia	Centennial Exposition	covered 22	2,003,593
74	1889	5,7	Paris, France	Exposition Universelle	237	32,350,297
75	1889		Dunedin, New Zealand	New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition		
76	1889		Buffalo, USA	International Industrial Fair		
77	1890	?	London, England	French Exhibition		
78	1891	?	London, England	German Exhibition		
79	1891	2,7	Kingston, Jamaica	International Exhibition	Excepting race course 12	304,354
80	1891-92	?	Launceston, Australia	Tasmania International Exhibition		262,059
81	1892		Madrid, Spain	Exposicion Historico-Americana		
82	1893	3	Kimberlay, South Africa	South African International Exhibition		339,95
83	1893	6,1	Chicago, USA	World's Columbian Exposition	685	27,529,400
84	1893		New York, USA	World's Fair Price Winners' Exposition		
85	1894	6,2	San Francisco, USA	California Midwinter International Exposition	Excepting park area 160	1,315,022
86	1894	6	Antwerp, Belgium	Exposition Internationale d'Anvers	148 1/4	3000
87	1894		Lyon, France	Exposition Internationale et Coloniale		
88	1894		Oporto, Portuguese	Exposiçiao Insular e Colonial Portuguese		
89	1894-95	6	Hobart, Australia	Tasmania International Exhibition	covered 13	290
90	1895		Ballarat, Australia	Australian Industrial Exhibition		
91	1895		Atlanta, USA	Cotton States and International Exposition		
92	1896		Berlin, Germany	Gewerbe- Ausstellung		
93	1896		Mexico City, Mexico	International Exposition		
94	1897	4+4	Guatemala, Guatemala	Exposicion Centro-Americana		
95	1897	2,8	Brisbane, Australia	Queensland International Exhibition		220,814
96	1897	?	Brussels, Belgium	Exposition Internationale		6,000,000

97	1897		Chicago, USA	Irish Fair			
98	1898		Turin, Italy	Esposizione Generale Italiana			
99	1898		Vienna, Austria	Jubilaums-Ausstellung			
100	1899		Omaha, USA	Greater America Exposition			
101	1899		Philadelphia, USA	National Export Exposition			
102	1899		London, England	Greater Britain Exhibition			
103	1900	7	Paris, France	Exposition Universelle	267 + 276	48,130,300	
104	1901	6,1	Buffalo, USA	Pan American Exposition	350	8,120,048	
105	1901	6	Glasgow, Scotland	Glasgow International Exhibition	100	11,559,649	
106	1901		Vienna, Austria	Bosnische Weichnahts-Ausstellung			
107	1902	7,5	Turin, Italy	Exposizione Internationale d'Arte Decorative Moderna			
108	1902-02	3	Tonkin, Hindu-China	Exposition Français et Internationale			
109	1903		Osaka, Japan	National International Exposition			
110	1904	6,1	Saint Louis, USA	Lousiana Purchase Exposition	1,272	19,694,291	
111	1905	?	Liège, Belgium	Exposition Universelle et Internationale	173	6,143,157	
112	1905	?	Portland, USA	Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition			
113	1905		London, England	Naval, Shipping and Fisheries Exhibition			
114	1905		New York, USA	Irish Industrial Exposition			
115	1906	6	Milan, Italy	Exposizione Internazionale	250	5,500,000	
116	1906		London, England	Austrian Exhibition			
117	1906		Marseille, France	Exposition Coloniale			
118	1906-07	5,5	Christchurch, New Zealand	International Exhibition of Arts and Industries	covered 14	1,967,632	
119	1907	7	Hampton Roads, USA	Jamestown Ter Centennial Exposition		2,850,735	
120	1907	6	Dublin, İreland	Irish International Exhibition of 1907	52	2,751,113	
121	1907		Chicago, USA	World's Pure Food Exposition			
122	1907		Manheim, Germany	Internationale Kunst-Ausstellung			
123	1908	?	Zaragoza, Spain	Exposicion Hispano-Francesca			
124	1908	?	London, England	Franco-British Exhibition			
125	1908		New York, USA	International Mining Exposition			
126	1908		Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	Exposiçao Nacional			
127	1909	6	Seattle, USA	Alaska-Yukon Pacific Exposititon	250	3,740,561	
128	1909		New York, USA	Hudson-Fuldon Celebration			
129	1909		Quito, Equator	Exposicion Nacional			
130	1910		Nanking, China	Nanking Exposition			

131	1910	?	London, England	Japan-British Exhibition			
132	1910	7	Brussels, Belgium	Exposition Universelle de Internationale	220	13,000,000	
133	1910		San Francisco, USA	Admission Day Festival			
134	1911		Dresden, Germany	International Hygiene Exhibition			
135	1911		London, England	Coronation Exhibition			
136	1911		London, England	Festival of Empire			
137	1911		Roma, Italy	Esposizione Internazionale delle Industrie e del Lavor			
138	1911	4,5	Turin, Italy	Exposizione Internazionale d'Industrie e de Laboro	247	4,012,776	
139	1911		Glasgow, Scotland	Scottish Exhibition, Art and Industrie			
140	1911		New York, USA	International Mercantile Exposition			
141	1912		Manila, Philippines	Philippine Exposition			
142	1912		London, England	Latin-British Exhibition			
143	1913	7,5	Ghent, Belgium	Exposition Universelle et Industrielle	309	11,000,000	
144	1914		Cologne, Germany	Werkbund Exposition			
145	1914		Nottingham, England	Universal Exhibition			
146	1914		Semerang, Indonesia	Koloniale Tentoonstelling			
147	1914		Kristiana, Norway	Norges Jubialeumsutstilling			
148	1915	9,6	San Francisco, USA	Panama-Pacific International Exposition	635	18,876,438	
149	1915-16	12	San Diego, USA	Panama-California International Exposition	1400	3,800,000	
150	1918		New York, USA	Bronx International Exposition of Science, Arts and Industries			
151	1918		Chicago, USA	Allied War Exposition			
152	1918		Los Angeles, USA	California Liberty Fair			
153	1922		Tokyo, Japan	Peace Exhibition			
154	1922-23	12	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	Exposiçao Internacional do Centenario do Rio de Jenaeiro	61 3/4	3,626,402	
155	1924-25	12	Wembley, London	British Empire Exhibition	216	27,102,498	
156	1924		New York, USA	French Exposition			
157	1925		Lyon, France	Foire			
158	1925	6	Paris, France	Exposition Internationale des Arts Decoratifs et Industriels Modernes	57	5,852,783	
159	1926		Philadelphia, USA	Sesquicentennial Exposition			

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem Definition

"World industry and design fairs" began to be organized in the late eighteenth century, but their heyday was launched in 1851 in London. Thus the second half of the nineteenth century was the era of universal expositions in the western world (Table 3). Beginning in 1851 in London, the expositions were held in many cities of Europe and North America. They became, "great new rituals of self-congratulation, celebrating economic and industrial triumphs." During the first half of the century, industrialization developed more rapidly than the market for industrial products. The fairs intended primarily to develop the market for such products (Hobsbawm, 1979, pp. 32-33).

Universal expositions represented a single expanded world in a microcosm, celebrating not only the products of industry and technological progress but also the experience of industrialization and colonialism. Other cultures were brought piecemeal to European and American cities and exhibited as artifacts in pavilions that were themselves seen as summaries of cultural entities.

As Walter Benjamin points out in his "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century," the architectural representation of cultures at world's fairs was a double-sided matter. It made a claim to scientific authority and accuracy while at the same time nourishing fantasy and illusion (1969, p. 240). By researching these fairs, one can indeed discover much about the state of scientific development of the period, especially about how this development entered the popular front. The fairs can equally serve as vehicles for studying the creative imagination and dreams of the involved cultures (Huynen, 1973; Greenhalgh, 1988; Benjamin, 1999).

The architectural pavilions proved particularly effective in this context. The experiential qualities of architecture made it possible for exposition buildings to offer a quick and seemingly realistic impression of the culture and society represented, rendering it personal, intimate, and accessible to all (Luckhurst, 1951; Hilton, 1978; Hobsbawm, 1979). In The Interiors of these the pavilions presented 'authentic' artifacts gathered from the colonies and exhibited within an order designed so as to reflect the western taxonomy of ethnographic objects.

This thesis focuses on the nineteenth century Ottoman participation in these design and industry fairs, dealing more specifically with the modern era that saw the rise of the Industrial Revolution and the Western transition from colonialism to imperialism that coincided with the rapid decline and collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the thesis undertakes research that examines the representation of Ottoman culture and production at the world fairs at a time when the Empire contained a wide array of cultures from the Middle East to the Balkans including contemporary Turkey. This

was also a time when many in the Empire could foresee a demise, at least the imminent loss of possessions which had begun with the independence of Greece in 1827. Nevertheless, industrial and scientific activity particularly directed at architectural design; infrastructural investments from the construction of railroads throughout the Empire to the establishment of modern sewage systems in urban areas; and the introduction of electrical power to cities like Izmir, Beirut and Salonika, attested to a concentrated program of modernization in design and technology. The thesis offers an overview of this context of the industrial and scientific renovation in the Empire as a background to the focus on architecture and design. The particular emphasis of the thesis, however, is on architectural design including the design of the stands at the fairs and of the exhibited products.

The first fairs which started toward the end of the eighteenth century turned into more comprehensive organizations during the course of the nineteenth century. They soon became sites of cultural classification not only in social but also in architectural terms. Owen Jones' important book *The Grammar of Ornament*, for example, which comprises a thorough classification of ornamental motifs drawn from a wide spectrum of areas ranging from architecture to textile design, was published at the time of the 1851 fair at the Crystal Palace in London. It pursues the same taxonomic logic as the organization of the 1851 fair. Both classify cultures according to a Euro-centric worldview and locate non-European cultures as colonies they are subservient to the development of European design imagination. Studying Jones' book, one may perceive a classification of the represented cultures in terms of their contemporary relationship to England. The same mode of locating cultures in relationship to

Europe and specifically to England can be seen in the spatial-organizational aspects of the fair as well.

In fact, the fairs had explicit political agendas, that intertwined politics and design in an inextricable way. Among the most prominent were the 1851 London Fair, the 1889/1890 Fair in Paris organized for the celebration of the centennial of the French Revolution, and the 1900 Fair in Paris. They were all remarkable instances of political spectacle as well as monumental architectural and design statements.

The present work undertakes to demonstrate the intertwining of politics and design, and shows that Ottoman participation was the result of the Emperors' recognition of the political significance of the fairs. To what extent did this recognition increase with each new fair and how this increasing recognition led to changes in both the design of the Ottoman stands and the kinds of products exhibited are the two questions that will be addressed. The change from exhibiting traditional rugs and handcrafts in the early exhibitions to industrial products and textiles of contemporary design in the later ones bears testimony to a profound transformation in this context. Also of note is the design of the exhibition stands in terms of their increasingly professional and 'modern' design.

This thesis also investigates Ottoman participation in nineteenth-century industry and design fairs with reference to the wider framework in which different countries' participation has been taken up in prior studies addressing such themes as the building and representation of national identity, national interest, and empire (Tamir, 1939; *Tonic*, 1976; Rydell, 1984; Picon, 1992; Rydell, 1994). Ottoman participation

will be analyzed with reference to contemporaneous documents rejecting the Western homogenizing conceptualization of the interests of the Ottoman state in the fairs.

The main argument thus rests on the premise that, like all other international participants at the fairs, Ottoman participation, too, sought the aggrandizement of national identity, representation of the development of industry and design, and entry into the international market. In other words, it did not conform to an orientalizing image of Islam.

1.2. Scope

The thesis firstly provides a historical overview of the emergence and development of "international exhibitions" starting with the Renaissance, and describes how the concept of "exhibition" generated the phenomenon of "fair" and eventually "international fair of industry and design." The latter development will be necessarily taken up within the dynamics offered by the Industrial Revolution. The overview presented will take inventory of the international fairs of industry and design starting with their commencement in the late eighteenth century.

Since the focus of the thesis is on Ottoman participation and since this participation started with the modernization movement of the mid-nineteenth century, the development of the desire for scientific, technological, social, legal and cultural renovation in the Ottoman Empire is briefly reviewed in order to describe the emergence of notions of "nation" and "national culture and industry." Thus the focus

of the thesis is on the modernization movement called the *Tanzimat* (1939-1976) and its aftermath.

The research comprises archival work and the finding of original documents covering the following:

1. Ottoman participation in fairs as indicated in Royal decrees and other official correspondence with the organizing bodies.

2. Designs of stands and products exhibited; management issues concerning the participation.

3. Reception of Ottoman stands in the host country: archival evidence in original newspapers, magazines and brochures.

The following is a chronological list of international fairs of industry and design starting at the mid-nineteenth century to the years of the early years of the Turkish Republic.

Great Exhibition 1851, London, England

Exhibition of Art and Art Industry, 1853, Dublin, Ireland

Irish Industrial Exhibition, 1853, Dublin, İreland

Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations, 1853-1854, Dublin, İreland

New York Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations, 1853-1854, New York, USA

Exposition universelle de Paris en 1855, Paris, France

International Exhibition, 1862, London, England

Exposition universelle, 1867, Paris, France

Vienna International Exhibition, 1873, Vienna, Austria

Centennial Exhibition, 1876, Philadelphia, USA

Exposition universelle de Paris en 1878, Paris, France

International Health Exhibition, 1884, London, England

World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, 1884-1885, New Orleans, LA; USA

International Exhibition of Industry Science and Art, 1886, Edinburgh, Scotland

American Exhibition, 1887, London, England

Italian Exhibition, 1888, London, England

Exposition universelle, 1889, Paris, France

French Exhibition, 1890, London, England

German Exhibition, 1891, London, England

World's Columbian Exposition, 1893, Chicago, USA

California Midwinter International Exposition, 1894, San Francisco, CA, USA

Exposition universelle internationale, 1900, Paris, France

Pan American Exposition, 1901, Buffalo, USA

Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904, Saint Louis, USA

Exposition universelle et internationale, 1905, Liège, Belgium

Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition, 1905, Portland, USA

Exposition internationale, 1906, Milan, Italy

Jamestown Centennial Exposition, 1907, Jamestown, USA

Exposicion Hispano-Francesca, 1908, Zaragoza, Spain

Franco-British Exhibition, 1908, London, England

Japan-British Exhibition, 1910, London, England

Panama-California Exposition, 1915-1916, San Diego, USA

Panama Pacific International Exposition, 1915, San Francisco, USA

British Empire Exhibition, 1924-1925, Wembley, London, England

Exposition internationale des arts decoratifs et industriels modernes, 1925, Paris, France

1.3.   Aim and Method of The Study

The objective of this thesis research is to establish the scope, motivations and results obtained by the Ottoman participation in international industry and design fairs in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. In doing so, it seeks to revise the existing scholarship devoted to the study of the fairs: that of subjecting the Ottoman participation to interpretive criteria different from those to which European and American participants. As such, it contributes to contemporary theory since it undertakes a critique of the orientalist perspective of extant studies which do not display an understanding of the native design concept in the context of modernization in the *Tanzimat* period.

In summary, the basic aim of this study is to explore the historical process of the world's fairs and to explore the architecture of Ottoman pavilions in terms of identity and architectural representation.

The research is based on archival materials and publications of the nineteenth century as well as secondary sources which are scarce due to the lack of current research regarding Ottoman participation in the fairs. A grant from the TUBITAK foundation enabled archival research mostly at the *BOA*, the *Prime Ministry Archive*, in Istanbul,

and in the archives of the Topkapı Palace. Primary and secondary material has also been obtained from the British Library, the Cambridge University Libraries, the University of Chicago Library, the U.S. Library of Congress, Oxford University Libraries, and the Bibliothèque National in Paris.

Since the approach of the thesis is predominantly historical, the research process included the following steps:

1. identification, location, and gathering of archival material;
2. organization and classification of the material chronologically and thematically;
3. transliteration or translation of the relevant material;
4. interpretation of the material as it supports or disproves the premises of the thesis.

This thesis is organized into six chapters. After the introduction of the purpose, scope and method of the research, the second chapter provides a critique of the orientalist perspective in the context of the world's fairs and then examines their assessment by later studies. The third chapter focuses on the historical background of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century and shows how the Ottoman exposition agenda was shaped with respect to both domestic concerns and to the broader program of the host countries' organizing committees. In the fourth chapter, the site planning of the international fair grounds and the transformation of the displayed products in the Ottoman pavilions are examined with the conviction that the placement of pavilions on the exhibition grounds revealed a world order as mapped by Western powers. The fifth chapter examines the exchanges between the Ottoman Empire and the West after the closure of the fairs. The last chapter provides an evaluation of the findings of the research.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNTS

Universal expositions celebrated the products of industrial and technological progress. As Walter Benjamin has mentioned, Eastern cultures were brought to Western host countries and exhibited as artifacts in pavilions which presumably offered the summaries of their own cultures. The experiental qualities of architecture made it possible for exhibition buildings to offer a quick and seemingly realistic impression of the culture and society represented.[1] "World exhibitions are the sites of pilgrimages to the commodity fetish" declared Benjamin writing about nineteenth-century international expositions.[2]

Over the past two decades, scholars from various disciplines including humanities and social sciences have built on Benjamin's ideas and focused on the connection between international exhibitons and the values of an emerging consumer society. Their work reiterates the ideological import of the expositions and asserts both the vast potential of the topic and the usefulness of interdisciplinary research.

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[1] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, New York, 1969, p. 240.
[2] Benjamin, p. 232.

As contemporary work has highlighted, the impact of the identity that is constructed at the fairs extended beyond the fair grounds, changing both architectural discourse and practice in the countries that were represented.[3] East-West, traditional-modern, and progressive-underdeveloped are the keywords by which these representations are constructed. Discussions surrounding Ottoman national pavilions centered mostly around such concepts as modern, traditional, oriental and Islamic. These are concepts which also belong to a colonialist vocabulary and its binaries: modern/traditional, East/West, authentic/copy, and real/imaginary.

2. 1. The Critique of Orientalist Perspectives

What is considered the orient is geographically a vast region, spreading across a broad range of cultures and countries. It includes most of Asia as well as the Middle East, spanning Arab cultures as well as Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and others. Through the Arab culture, it traverses North Africa and reaches into Sub-Saharan Africa. Thus, even though initially it emerged as a term that included what lay to the East of Europe, in the course of nineteenth century it came to designate the entire world that laid outside of the West.[4] The main feature of this enormous part of the world is that it is perceived by the West as its colonial, or potentially colonazible, territory. The discourse and visual imagery of Orientalism is inscribed with notions of Western power and superiority, formulated initially to facilitate a colonizing

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[3] Helen Augur, *The Book of Fairs*, Detroit: Omnigraphics, 1992.

[4] Edward Said, *Orientalism,* (New York: Random House-Vintage, 1979), p. 3.

mission on the part of the West and perpetuated through a wide variety of discourses, tactics and policies.[5]

Beginning in the seventeenth century, imperialism and colonialism began to redefine the economic, political and industrial powers of the world. According to European nations, the world was separated into two as Western and non-Western. The non-Western part supplied both raw materials for industrialized Europe and the need for an industrial labor force. Hence, Europeans began to interact with the other parts of the world.[6] This economical, political and cultural interaction led to a new ideology: Orientalism.

The word Orientalism has been used since the early nineteenth century to describe a genre of painting initially practiced by French artists and also developed by artists from Britain and other European countries who painted Middle Eastern and North African subjects.[7] Historians of architecture and art have adopted the word to embrace work which has oriental inspiration that is often Islamic, sometimes Indian, Chinese or Japanese. In this sense the term has been used to identify cross-cultural influences upon patterns, textiles, ceramics, furniture and certain building styles or, more correctly, certain stylistic elements within these.[8]

This cultural exchange resulted in the emergence of an orientalist perspective which prevailed not only in Oriental studies, novels and colonial administrations but also in

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[5] For an elaboration of these points see, among others, John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession,* 1988, p. 111 and Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture,* 1996, p. 67.

[6] Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient, Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1993), p. 1.

[7] Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture,* 1996, p. 53.

[8] John Burris, *Exhibiting Religion* (London: University of Virginia, 2002), p. 65.

museums and world expositions. The international expositions were a potent arena for the new national identities and colonies to express themselves. Britain and France were the principle colonial powers and major sponsors of international exhibitions. The United States held international exhibitions in which it displayed its own colonies while Belgium, the Netherlands, Canada, Australia, South Africa, India, New Zealand and Indo-China also held expositions in which they displayed colonized cultures.

The ideology that governed the Western approach to the colonies was first explained by Edward Said who is best known for describing and critiquing what he perceived as a constellation of false assumptions underlying Western attitutes towards the East. Said claimed a "subtle and persistent Eurocentric prejudice against Arabo-Islamic peoples and their culture".[9] He argued that a long tradition of false and romanticized images of Asia and The Middle East in the Western cultures had served as an implicit justification for Europe and America's colonial and imperial ambitions.

Following Said's work, besides denoting a geographical location, the term *orient* signifies a system of representations framed by political and economic forces that brought the colonized world into contact with Western institutions of learning, knowledge and culture. The Orient exists for the West, and is constructed by and in relation to the West.[10] This implies, above all, that the modes in which it is described, represented, and studied are determined by the West. It is by now well established that what is signified by the Orient comprises a mirror image of what is inferior and

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[9] Keith Windschuttle, *Edward Said's Orientalism Revisited*, 1999.
[10] John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.10

alien (Other) to the West.[11] Said, who made Orientalism a prominent subject of study, defined it as "a manner of orientalized writing, vision, and study, dominated by imperatives, perspectives, and ideological biases ostensibly suited to the Orient."[12]

As he explains, "Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the Orient and the Occident. European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self."[13]

Henceforth, Western countries named themselves as 'us' and the Non- Western ones as 'them' in an uncritical way and this distinction "made that culture hegemonic both in and outside Europe: the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the Non-Western peoples and cultures."[14]

To reinforce and justify their industrial progress, Western countries claimed that they were progressive and the rest of the world (the countries that they colonized) were uncivilized. They also claimed that 'those' people needed to be civilized, attempting to to legalize their colonization politics. As the 'others', the "colonized peoples had to be proven to be barbarous to justify their colonization."[15]

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[11] Mark Crinson, *Victorian Architects and the Near East* (United States of America: University of Pennsylvania, 1989), p. 17.
[12] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House-Vintage, 1979), p. 2.
[13] Said, *Orienatalism,* p. 3.
[14] Said, *Orienatalism,* p. 7.
[15] Patricia A. Morton, *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, Paris* (London: The MIT Press, 2000), p. 179.

Edward Said has shown that the invasion of the Orient beginning with Napoleon at the end of the eighteenth century and continuing as Britain and France colonized the Orient, shaped Orientalist representations where representations of the Orient by the West were constructed in the interest of Western imperial control and power. Far from being objective or scientific, like most professors of Oriental studies used to assert in the nineteenth century, Orientalism was really a function of power and continued control over colonized populations.[16] Islam, as a portrayal, is an important determinant in the orientalist discourse. Said has argued that there is no such thing as Islam, pure and simple as there are many Muslims and different interpretations of Islam.[17] He is critical of the tendency to homogenize and to turn the other into a monolithic entity, not only because of ignorance but also fear.[18] He contends that Western hegemony is perpetuated by portraying the different "other" as dangerous and threatening and by reducing the latter to a few cliches. To the Western view, the Islamic world is out there, inhabiting mainly desert land, populated with a lot of sheep, camels, people with knives and terrorists.[19] Its cultural heritage, novels and other literature are never acknowledged even when they appear in English. On the other hand, the Arabs and the Muslims have not protested the politics of cultural representation in the West as any resistant voice would either be suppressed or not heard in the given power hierarchies.

Said has revealed the Orient to be a "representational chimera" and a 'fantastical image' projected from the Occident. He has argued that in various discursive contexts in which the topic was thematized, the distinction between the Orient and

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[16] Edward Said, Power, Politics and Culture, p. 238.
[17] Said, *Covering Islam.*
[18] This is because the Arab armies came into Europe and were defeated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.
[19] Said, *Covering Islam.*

the Occident was elaborated "by such means as scholarly discovery, philological reconstruction, psychological analysis, landscape and sociological description."[20] Said also claimed that the discourse on the Orient constructed an "internally consistent" representation produced within relations of power.[21] For him, Orientalism manifested "a certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different world".[22] Thus, while Orientalism had –and continues to have- the positive aspect of research, analyses, cataloguing and interpretation, its truth claims are always necessarily colored, if not dominated, by politico-economic interest.

2. 2. Disciplinary Approaches

Scholars from a variety of disciplines have critically addressed the issues that have been raised by Said in the context of literary criticism. From specific disciplinary perspectives the fairs of the nineteenth century have been analyzed from different view points that focus on the ideological importance of the expositions. Contributions by scholars in the social sciences and humanities assert both the vast potential of the topic and the usefulness of interdisciplinary research.

Historians have focused on the materialism and consumerism of the fairs (Greenhalgh, 1988; Rydell, 1984) and have discussed cultural representations as microcosmic spectacles (Mitchell, 1988). Art historians have looked at the role of the exhibitions in the art world (Mainardi and Gilmore-Holt, 1987). Anthropologists

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[20] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 2.
[21] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 3.
[22] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 3.

and ethnographers have analyzed the impact of their disciplines on the orgaization of fairs (Benedict, 1983). The common point of all these approaches is the theme of the expositions as representing a hierarchical order of the world.

Historians Paul Greenhalgh, Robert Rydell and Patricia Morton have also adopted this framework to provide a general panorama of world fairs.[23] Morton has claimed that "as a prominent element of material culture, architecture constituted essential evidence of a society's degree of civilization and its position on the evolutionary hierarchy."[24] Of the various disciplines (ethnography, sociology, anthropology, geography, and so on) that have recorded and classified differences between Europe and the rest of the world, human geography gave architecture the most central role in determining evolutionary hierarchies.[25]

The international exhibitions are normally given a place in history because of the range of objects they assembled on a single site. The art and design historian cannot afford to exclude them from a detailed study on this ground alone because they brought together disparate types of products in a way that no cultural manifestation before them could ever contemplate. Thus they reflected and influenced the taste and attitudes of their respective times. The focus on objects however has tended to detract critical perspectives from a feature of central importance at the exhibitions: the displaying of people.

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[23] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas, The Exposition Universelles, Great Exhibition and World's Fairs*, 1988, Robert W. Rydell, *World of Fairs the Century of Progress Expositions,* 1993.
[24] Patricia Morton, *Hybrid Modernities*, p. 179.
[25] Morton, *Hybrid Modernities*, p. 182.

Critical anthropologists have revealed that the exhibitions became a human showcase when people from all over the world were brought to these sites in order to be seen by others for their gratification and education. It would be no exaggeration to say that as items of display, objects were seen to be less interesting than human beings, and through the medium of display, human beings were transformed into objects. As Johannes Fabian has pointed out, "natives" were placed in "authentic" settings, dressed in "authentic" costumes and made to perform "authentic" activities which seemes to belong to another age.[26] According to the anthropologist Burton Benedict, human displays at the world's fairs were organized into national and racial hierarchies.[27] The nineteenth-century scientific approach based on an interpretation of Darwinian theories, emphasized classification, the diversity of racial types and the hierarchy of these types.[28]

As anthropologists clarify for the European nations, which controlled most of the world, the display of native villages had several aims. It constructed a connection between unrelated people of different parts of the colonial empire physically and psychologically, and it centered the empire at a position of control. The public could see the extent of their imperial extension and feel that the colonies belonged to them. Moreover, it revealed the supposedly degenerate state that the conquered people lived in, making the conquest not only more acceptable but necessary for their moral rescue.[29]

[26] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other.*
[27] Burton Benedict, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs*, 1983, p. 2.
[28] Rober W. Rydell,*All The World's a Fair*, 1984, p. 5
[29] Greenhalgh, p. 84.

Anthropologists and ethnographers have analyzed the impact of their disciplines on the organization of the fairs (Benedict, 1893; Leprun, 1986). According to Burton Benedict, human displays at the fairs were organized in view of constructing racial hierarchies.[30] Non-western cultures were brought piecemeal to European and American cities and exhibited as artifacts in pavilions that were themselves intended to comprise architectural summaries of the cultures represented (Rydell, 1993; Mattie, 1998; Morton, 2000). Natives would also be brought to exhibitions to work in ethnic restaurants and theatre facilities.

When the specific discourses which surround and justify this extraordinary genre are examined, they usually reveal an imperial rationale. Looking at the expositions as a whole, Paul Greenhalgh identifies four types, labelling them as the Imperial, the Educational, the Commercial and the Ambassadorial.[31] Some displays had the features of all four types; most had pretensions to the first two; and those which escaped the influence of the first were often afflicted with a dubiously abrasive nationalism.

 The common point of all these approaches is that the expositions are a microcosm of the hierarchical structuring of different cultures. Most anthropological studies of the expositions concern the organizational agenda of Britain and France, and a number of other rising politico-economic powers such as the United States. They focus on the relationship between the expositions organized by these powers and their representations of the colonies, particularly of Islamic countries, sub-Saharan Africa

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[30] Burton Benedict, *The Antropology of World's Fairs*, p. 43.
[31] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, p. 82.

and Asia. The Islamic focus concentrates on Arab cultures since these were in the forefront of colonial attention in the course of the nineteenth century.[32]

Architectural historian Zeynep Çelik and political critic Timothy Mitchell deal in different ways with the architectural representations of Islamic cultures in European and American World Expositions of the nineteenth century. Çelik threads Saidian insights and terminology throughout her work without engaging in anuanced account of Orientalism and architecture. Neither Çelik nor Mitchell present analyses of orientalist architecture, but each explores the ways in which Orientalism produces certain modernizing and progressive effects outside the West against its own "will". Their work represent a fully developed postcolonial attitute towards the legacy of colonialism in architecture.

Cultural critic John MacKenzie explores directly a grounds for contact between Said's critique of Orientalism and architecture.[33] His discussion of Orientalism is premised on the distinct nature of architecture. For him, the "orientalist" interpretation is ill-equipped to handle what he describes as the hybrid products of Western representations and adaptations of the cultural artifacts of the East. He says that, orientalism "takes disturbingly ahistorical forms".[34]

MacKenzie's discussion of Orientalism is premised on the distinctiveness of the arts as he attempts to translate Said's insights into various art forms. His is a comparative study that focuses on art, architecture, design, music, and theatre in order to

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[32] Virtually all studies of the expositions identified in the enclosed bibliography may be cited as examples of the orientation described in this paragraph.
[33] John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism* (Manchester University Press, 1995), p. xvii.
[34] John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism* (Manchester University Press, 1995), p. xvii.

"examine the extent to which the Orientalist thesis can be revised in more positive and constructive ways by escaping the literary obsession and to consider the relationships among different cultural forms, both elite and popular in character".[35]

MacKenzie is keen to reveal an Orientalism that was more "productive and constructive" than Said's version. Hence he presents numerous examples of a kind of interaction, hybridization and "continuity" between the arts of the Occident and the Orient. For him, Orientalism does not so much function as the cultural accomplice of colonial power as to offer "new routes and lessons and opportunities" for architecture in the West. In his analyses, it is the West that benefits from cultural enrichment.

Architectural historians have made it clear that architecture has played a crucial role in displaying cultures as spectacles and that the world fairs have proved to be a most appropriate environment to stage architecture as spectacle. Architectural critic Montgomery Schuyler has argued on the occasion of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago that the buildings erected for the fairs belonged to a "festal" world and formed the "stage setting for an unexampled spectacle." This was, he claimed, a world of dreams and "in the world of dreams, illusion is all that we require."[36] Zeynep Çelik asserts that "World fairs were idealized platforms where cultures could be encapsulated visually through artifacts and arts but also, more prominently, through architecture."[37] Historical critic Patricia Morton reinforces this point by stating that "Colonial sections in 1878, 1889, 1900 expositions established

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[35] MacKenzie, p.xvii.
[36] Montgomery Schuyler, "Last Words about the World's Fair," *The Architectural Record 3*, July 1893-July 1894: 299-300.
[37] Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, p. 11.

exotic conventions for pavilions, decorative programs, entertainment sections, landscaping, exhibits and native displays."[38]

There have been some efforts to include a discussion of the Ottoman Empire in the framework of the 'representation of Islam' in the expositions. The most detailed study of fairs which includes Turkish participation is the 1994 book entitled *Displaying the Orient. Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* by Zeynep Çelik whose orientation toward "Islam" confines the interpretation of Ottoman participation to a religious framework.

For architectural historians, the expositions provided experiments for new architectural forms and compositions. All architectural accounts of the nineteenth century include the Eiffel Tower and Galerie des Machines for explaining the new aesthetics of iron in Exposition Universelle in 1889. According to these the fairs also reflected new trends in architecture. In addition to this, the participation of many prominent architects in these events helped to include the expositions in the grand narrative of architectural history. However, architectural historians have mostly discussed the buildings in isolation or have looked at them in their immediate environments. The theme of the ordered world of the expositions analyzed by historians and anthropologists not been extended to the study of their architecture.[39]

Following the concept of orientalism as defined by Edward Said (1979) and a political agenda supported by cultural studies, Balkan researchers have made an unprecedented contribution to scholarly debates by arguing that the way their

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[38] Morton, *Hybrid Modernities*, p. 177.
[39] Zeynep Çelik, Displaying the Orient, p. 5.

cultures were included in the Ottoman exhibitions was "colonialist".[40] Starting with the 1990s, when the possibility of the joining of numerous Balkan countries to the European Union arose on the horizon, researchers in these countries sought to extricate their past from Turkish-Ottoman history. They focused on Ottoman pavilions at the expositions which included the representation of different *millets* within the Empire. Fed by the concept of Orientalism as this had been defined by Said and by the eclectic viewpoints and political agenda supported by "cultural studies," Balkan researchers have argued that the way their cultures was included in the Ottoman exhibitions was colonialist. The Turko-Ottoman approach to their cultures is considered as the approach of the "enemy" and rests upon a dichotomy between Islam and Christianity.[41] Thus, between the studies by Balkan researchers and the others represented by Çelik (1992), Davis (1993) and Denny (1994), Turkish participation in the fairs has been homogenized under the category of Islamic countries and presented in a rather biased manner. It is worth pointing out that not only the Balkan method of research, geared toward European Union ascendancy, but also the American publications cited here, are politically motivated.

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[40] Zeynep Çelik, Displaying the Orient, p. 6.
[41] A bibliography of these studies may be found in Danova 2006, 149-51.

CHAPTER 3

THE MAKING OF AN IMAGE: PREPARING THE FAIR

This chapter focuses on not only the participation of the Ottoman Empire in the expositions but also the historical background of the Empire in the nineteenth century. It highlights the specific context of the displays and their production. The historical background played a decisive role in shaping the aims and the strategies of participation at the international expositions. Thus, this chapter aims to provide a comprehensive illustration of the general organization agenda of the expositions and conceive the standpoint of its organizers vis-a-vis the Western and non-Western participants to the expositions.

3.1. Background / History

The period 1851-1900 witnessed turbulent transformations in both the political and cultural spheres of the Ottoman Empire. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Empire was on the verge of disintegration, no longer able to defend itself against European military incursions. Amidst this crisis, it faced the Crimean War of 1854-56 and the revolt of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1876. Bulgaria, Serbia and Romania obtained their independence in 1877. Britain occupied Egypt in 1882.

Attempting to vitalize the Empire, the Ottoman government undertook modernization programs. Technical, legal and educational reforms based on European models were pursued during the nineteenth century, culminating in the declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923.[42] A crucial debate was how to balance European norms and Ottoman traditions as reflected in the Young Ottoman thought of the 1860s.

Until 1908, the Ottoman Empire underwent an intense phase of economic and sociopolitical transformation aimed at the modernization of the existing system. The Anglo-Turkish Commercial Treaty of 1838 and the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, one economic and the other political, marked important turning points in the history of the Empire. The Anglo-Turkish Commercial Treaty of 1838 granted British tradesmen the same rights as native tradesmen by allowing the British to purchase goods anywhere in the Empire.[43] The Young Turk Revolution marked the beginning of a new era and cleared the way for the creation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. The Young Turks were reformers and revolutionaries who believed in the necessity of radical improvements in the state and society.

The nineteenth century was a time when the image of the Ottoman sovereign and the political and cultural elements were subjected to intense scrunity and revision. From the late sixteenth century onwards, an enduring and pervasive consciousness of decline continued to inform the disparate revisionist programs articulated within

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[42] For extensive accounts of this period see the work of Stanford J. Shaw, J.Mc.Carty and Bernard Lewis.

[43] Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, University of California Press, 1993, p. 31.

various strata of the Ottoman society.[44] Especially in the latter half of the eighteenth century, substantial efforts were made in military and administrative fields in order to restore the authority and efficiency of the central state apparatus.[45] The most outstanding reformer of the period was Selim III (1789-1807). He attempted to improve administrative efficiency, established permanent embassies in major European capitals and dared to form an alternative army (in addition to the traditional troops) trained by European specialists. However, the decisive turning point in the history of Late Ottoman reforms came with the reign of Mahmud II (1808-39). Under the initiative of this modernizing ruler, the early decades of the nineteenth century saw a fundamental transformation in the essence of Ottoman reform psychology. The reformative discourse of the new era was centered less upon an ideal paradigm embedded in the distant past than on novel standards of order and change derived from the intellectual arsenal of the modern West. The extensive measures initiated by Mahmud II were destined to regulate and restructure all levels of social and political life.[46] These ranged from the reformulation of the legal and administrative structure to the imposition of new sartorial codes along Western models.[47] Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz were his true followers as, enthusiasts of Westernization.

The essential objectives of Mahmud II's modernizing endeavor were rendered into a public contract after his death, with the proclamation of the "Gülhane" edict in 1839

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[44] Cemal Kafadar, *The Myth of The Golden Age: Ottoman Historical Consciousness in The Post-Suleymanic Era*, İstanbul:1993, pp. 37-48.

[45] Stanford Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire Under Sultan Selim III*, Cambridge: 1971.

[46] Carter Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, Princeton: 1980.

[47] In 1829 Mahmud II issued a new dress code that obliged all Ottoman officials to wear a uniform, Western outfit. Eliminating all traditional markers of identity, the new official dress comprised the fes and the frock coat. Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 29, 1997, pp. 403-425.

under Sultan Abdülmecid's (1839-61) reign.[48] The edict was a formal manifestation of the state's commitment to creating a secularized and egalitarian political entity based on European concepts of administration. It marked the official beginning of the period usually referred to as the Tanzimat, named after the set of legal and economic reforms conducted by the Ottoman bureaucratic elite.[49] The Tanzimat Charter, which announced reformation according to a European model official policy, was signed in 1839, under Abdülmecid. With this charter, the nature of the relationship between the sultan and the people was defined for the first time in the history of the Ottoman Empire. Concepts of equality, liberty and human rights began to enter Ottoman political discourse.

The Ottoman state remained firmly committed to the modernizing program of the Tanzimat during the reign of Abdülaziz. This latter phase in this period of intense reforms was also the seedbed of rising uncertainties, disillusions and contradictions that haunted the new generation of the Tanzimat's modernizing elite.[50] The development of a modern media opened up a broader field of public discussion for the reassesment of the reforms during the Late Tanzimat era. Gaining momentum within this nascent milieu of public debate and self-reflection were the concerns voiced by the Muslim intelligentsia on the rising threat of European economic and cultural hegemony. In turn, in an effort to obtain a wider base of public support for the reforms, the officials of the Abdülaziz era revised the reformative strategies of the Tanzimat with reference to the rising conservative mood among the dominant

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[48] Ahmed A. Ersoy, *Architectural Revival and Its Discourse During the Abdülaziz Era*, PhD Thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge: June, 2000.

[49] Ilber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, Istanbul: 1987. For more basic source: *Tanzimat*, Istanbul: 1940.

[50] Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, Princeton: 1962.

Muslim population. Messages of dynastic/national stability were conveyed in the official discourse, which was now suffused with references to a glorious Ottoman past and its common and immutable traditions.[51] Although the state retained the egalitarian rhetoric of the Early Tanzimat, revised definitions of Ottoman identity acquired an unmistakable Islamic coloring during the reign of Abdülaziz. These were to pave the way for the religious legitimizing strategies of his successor Abdülhamid II (1876-1908).[52]

Starting in 1862 the state started on a new set of administrative reforms that were aimed to bind the centrifugal ethnic groups in the Empire under the central authority of the state by affording them certain representational rights. Between 1863 and 1865 the three major millets the Greek, Armenian and Jewish religious communities were allowed to form their own constitutions. Reforms in provincial administration then followed between 1864 and 1876.

The obvious fact that the Ottoman Empire was never itself colonized draws a definite limit to the relevance of some comparisons with colonial countries. While Western pressure played an undeniable part in the way Ottoman modernization materialized in its political, economic and cultural manifestations, the mostly diplomatic nature of the European-Ottoman confrontation brought about a set of complexities that were on a significantly different level than those within the colonial setting. First of all, the violence of colonial experience never became a part of Ottoman public memory. In the absence of a systematized imposition of colonial power and identity, with all its cultural and political institutions and practices shared between the colonizer and

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[51] Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876*, Princeton: 1963.
[52] Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*, London: 1998.

colonized, the modernizing agenda of the Tanzimat was defined mainly under the initiative and control of an indigenous reforming elite.[53]

The bureaucratic cadres of the Tanzimat were dominated by men who were educated in the modernized institutions of the new regime and were closely habituated to Western ideas and life styles. These men of diverse backgrounds were steeped in a rooted scribal literary tradition that constituted, over the centuries, a central strand of Ottoman learned culture. As Carter Findley has explained this composite tradition, with its intellectual roots in the Turkish, Persian and Arabic literary worlds, was expanded in the nineteenth century to include many Western ideas.[54] The official intelligentsia saw the West mainly through the framework of this intellectual tradition.

The sultans who guided the Ottoman participation in universal expositions were Abdülaziz (1861-76) and Abdülhamid II (1876-1909). The trend toward Westernization continued along the lines established in 1839 well into Abdülhamid II's reign. Abdülhamid II, though a reformist in the Tanzimat sense, was at the same time opposed to the liberal ideas shared by the preceding sultans and statesman. Whereas Abdülaziz supported Westernizing reforms, Abdülhamid's reign was shaped by a return to Islamic ideas on the one hand and change and reform on the other hand. In spite of weakening under Abdülhamid II, the Tanzimat ideology was a powerful force and it had two main concepts that differentiated it from the classical Ottoman tradition. First, modern European society was seen as superior to the Ottoman society and the solution for the problems of the Empire was sought in the

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[53] Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, University of California Press, 1993, p. 32.
[54] Carter Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte 1789-1922*, Princeton, 1980.

importation of Western methods. Second, old institutions needed to be eliminated so that new ones could be established.[55] Until the Tanzimat, Westernization was confined to the technological, scientific and educational fields and was almost exclusively oriented toward the improvement of the military forces. With the Tanzimat Charter, the Western intellectual system was imported as well, resulting in more radical social changes. The traditional Ottoman system was decentralized; responsibility for social programs such as public health, education and social security, was in the hands of various autonomous communities. The Tanzimat reformers put an end to this system by introducing an agenda of codification, systematization and centralized control.[56]

The developments were not only dependent on the structure of the Tanzimat reforms; the state of the national economy played a crucial role as well. During the first half of the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire experienced several challenges to its manufacturing industry. Local products circulating within the empire were taxed, but foreign merchandise was taxed only upon entrance and exit from Ottoman territories.[57] In the next decades, the development of the transportation networks especially the railroads, facilitated the penetration of European goods to all corners of the Empire. The recognition of this problem led to a series of attempts to create a modern Ottoman industry. In addition to these, a number of concessions were issued mainly to private European companies.[58] All machinery, as well as the foremen and

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[55] S. Shaw, "Some Aspects of the Aims and and Achievements of the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Reformers" in *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East*, Chicago: 1968, p. 32.
[56] Shaw, p. 33.
[57] D. Chevallier, "Western Development and Eastern Crisis in the Mid Nineteenth Century", *Beginning of Modernization,* p. 218.
[58] O. C. Sarç, "Tanzimat ve Sanayimiz", *Tanzimat*, Istanbul: 1940, pp. 437-38.

craftsmen needed to run it, were imported from Europe. The workers were mostly English, Belgian, French, Italian and Austrian.[59]

European influence on industry also manifested itself in the form of promotional measures taken by the Ottoman government. The nineteenth century fashion of holding international expositions in major Western cities found its way to Istanbul in 1863 under Abdülaziz's reign, when an international exposition was held at the Hippodrome in a vast construction which used industrial materials and technologies. Local products and machinery imported from Europe were exhibited for five months.[60] In addition to this exposition, the Empire also participated in two international expositions and Ottoman displays were prepared in Paris in 1867 and in Vienna in 1873 which Abdülaziz himself visited (see Figure 1).
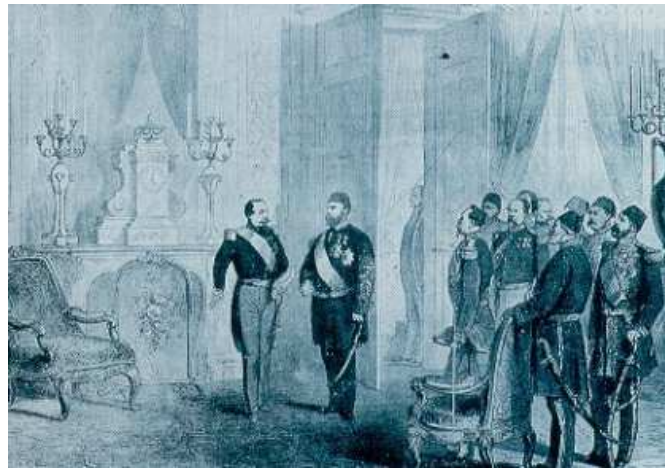

Figure 1. Sultan Abdülaziz in Vienna, 1873.

Sultan Abdülaziz used the opportunity of this visit to convince European powers of the Ottoman Empire's commitment to modernization and hence their desire to become part of the European system. His visit destroyed Orientalizing romantic

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[59] E. C. Clark, "The Ottoman Industrial Revolution", *International Journal of Middle East Studies 5*, 1975: 67, p. 60-70.
[60] Ergin, *Mecelle*: 1, p. 738-40.

beliefs and stereotypes. This effect was especially important for Abdülaziz who was making his first trip to Europe.

Abdülaziz was intent on reshaping Ottoman cities according to European models and the most dramatical physical transformation was witnessed in Istanbul. After a fire that destroyed huge sections of the city in 1865, a campaign was launched to replace the irregular urban fabric with straight streets arranged in grid patterns. Modern services such as street lighting and cleaning were also introduced at the same time.[61] The new plans were believed to match those of "the most recently designed places in the world".[62]

Thirty years later, in 1893 under Abdülhamid II, a second industrial fair was planned with the goal of "promoting the development of the wealth and well being of the country".[63] A site covering 142,000 square meters in Şişli, was selected for the Dersaadet Ziraat ve Sanayi Sergi-i Umumisi.[64] Raimondo D'Aronco was appointed architect with the agreement that some exposition buildings would be designed in a "modern style", while others would display a "national character".[65] However, the exposition never materialized. During the reign of Abdülhamid II, Ottoman industrial products were exhibited in the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago and the 1900 Universal Exposition in Paris.

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[61] Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, Seattle and London: 1986.
[62] Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-I Umur-u Belediye*, Istanbul: 1914-1922, I: 1013.
[63] *The Levant Herald*, 6 March 1893.
[64] *The Levant Herald*, 4 September 1893.
[65] *The Levant Herald*, 12 March 1893.

In summary, between 1851-1908 the Ottoman Empire staged its final but doomed struggle for survival. To recover from the economic crisis and technological underdevelopment, it attempted to enact a series of social and institutional reforms based on Western models. These reforms, not well adapted to Ottoman society, failed to "save" the empire.[66] They introduced, however, vital Western concepts and institutions which though often in conflict with the centuries old values and traditions, were equated with progress and modernization in the minds of the Ottoman bureaucrats.

3.2 Organizational Decisions

In their great stride towards reform and modernization, the Tanzimat bureaucrats were well aware that their participation in the expositions was a profoundly political act. Under Abdulaziz, the Ottoman Empire participated in the 1867 and 1873 expositions in Paris and Vienna, respectively. During the reign of Abdulhamid II, the Empire participated in the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago and the 1900 Universal Exposition in Paris. Sultan Abdülaziz's desire to participate in the cultural life of Europe was reflected in the attention given to the design and construction of the Ottoman pavilions for the 1867 Universal Exposition in Paris. These pavilions marked a turning point in Ottoman architectural history as the end products of a profound transformation whose terms were defined in Europe. French architects lead the approach but it was endorsed by the Ottoman commissioners to the exposition.

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[66] Z. Çelik, p. 37.

The Ottoman pavilions of the 1867 exposition were designed in Istanbul by the self-trained French architect Leon Parvillee (1830-1885) in collaboration with the Italian architect Giovanni Battista Barborini.[67] Barborini, a Levantine architect with a private office in Istanbul, was the chief architect of the Ottoman commission. Parvillee had been commissioned by the Ottoman government before to document and restore the historical monuments of Bursa.[68] He was appointed as the assistant architect to the Ottoman imperial commission.[69] At the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago the pavilion was designed by a Chicago architect J. A. Thain, although the scheme was specified by the imperial commission.[70] The Ottoman pavilion of the 1900 Universal Exposition in Paris was designed by the French architect Adrien-Rene Dubuisson.[71] At that exposition, not only the Ottoman Empire but also Luxembourg, Greece, China, Japan and Russia commissioned French architects to design their pavilions. As the architectural historian Louis Hautecoeur asserted, many nations trusted French architects to make their countries known.[72] The Ottoman government hired Europeans as architects and consultants, but not as policy makers.

Contemporary discussion of the Ottoman participation in the fairs is largely based on the assumption that, since Arab culture was represented based on its Islamic identity, Ottoman culture too must be represented in the same way. Thus, from the start, the study of Ottoman participation is determined by a framework that does not engage the specific character of this participation. The representation of Arab culture in the

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[67] *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustre*, I (Paris, 1867), p.38.
[68] H. Batu and J.-L. Bacque-Grammont, eds. *L'Empire Ottomane la republique de Turquie, et la France,* Istanbul: 1986, 247-282.
[69] *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustre*, I (Paris, 1867), p.38.
[70] David Burg, *Chicago's White City of 1893*, Lexington, 1976.
[71] Çelik, p. 109.
[72] Louis Hautecoeur, *L'Architecture classique en France*, Paris, 1957, 7:384.

expositions, on the other hand, is a much studied area. The reason for this derives from the fact that the exhibits representing Arabs and other colonized or soon-to-be-colonized nations were organized not by those nations themselves, but by French or British businessmen who conducted trade there[73] In contrast, Ottoman participation was organized directly by the Ottoman State, which acted upon invitation by the host country's Ministry of International Affairs that is issued only to "sovereign states." Thus, in the case of Arab, Chinese, and sub-Saharan cultures, for example, we may speak of the way in which they were 'represented' by the West. This certainly enabled the colonialist culture to represent the colonized in its own terms. All decisions regarding Ottoman pavilions, on the other hand, were taken by Ottoman organizers.

In a similar manner, the curators, exhibition commissars, the organizational procedures pursued and the correspondence among ministries of foreign affairs, followed an itinerary reserved for "sovereign states".[74] Aside from the Ottoman Empire, these states included England, France, Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Spain and Sweden.[75] The procedures for the "sovereign states" are readily available in numerous studies on French and British organizations of expositions.[76] These studies include material concerning the representation of the colonies since these were included in the organizational procedures of the colonizing states.

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[73] Burris, 2001.
[74] Allwood, 1977, p. 70.
[75] Allwood, 1977, p. 70.
[76] Davis, John. "Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs", *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 52: 4 (December, 1993): 491-92.

The difference between the representation of Egypt as a colony and the Ottoman Empire as a sovereign state is remarkable in this context. While situated side by side, the two countries were not granted the same status in relation to the size of land that had been allocated to them due to their different status. The first elaborate staging of the Egypt- Ottoman competition took place in the 1867 Paris Exposition where the governments of Abdülaziz and Ismail Pasha organized shows of unequaled scale and detail. By this time the expositions had become such established occasions for the display of power and control that the leaders of both countries felt the need to organize personal visits to the Champ de Mars. The way Sultan Abdülaziz and Ismail Pasha took part in the exposition and promoted the exhibits was a major source of interest in the Ottoman Empire and Egypt since this was the first time the leaders of these two countries made formal public visits to a Western country.[77] The pressure imposed on the Ottoman state is expressed as follows in a report written by the exposition commission concerning the preparations:

> Many states, in particular the provinces of Egypt and Tunisia along with other lands that are within the imperial territories, are spending generous sums for building and decorating [their own sections in the exposition]. Accordingly, it is a requisite of the proper course of affairs that the buildings and displays to be exhibited by the sublime state eclipse those of the mentioned lands in firmness, elegance and beauty.[78]

In another report to the palace from the Ministry of Trade and Public Works, it is stated that the 1867 exposition entailed "more expenses.. [and] greater sacrifices in order to preserve the supreme dignity of the state."[79]

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[77] Taner Timur, "Sultan Abdülaziz'in Avrupa Seyahati", *Tarih ve Toplum*, 2, 1984: 42-48.
[78] From the official reports of the Ottoman exposition commission dated October 4, 1866 in BOA, I(Meclis-I Vala) 25257.
[79] BOA, I (Meclis-I Mahsus) 1284.

During the design phase of the Ottoman pavilion, architects Parvillee and Barborini were asked by the Ottoman commission to refer to various studies on the historic monuments of Istanbul and Bursa made under the direction of the Ministry of Public Works. However, all structures of the Egyptian section were designed by French artisans and archeologists under the supervision of architects Edouard Schmitz and Jacques Drevet. Such a comparison between the organization of Ottoman and Egyptian exhibits in the 1867 Exposition reveals the multilayered complexity of the politics of representation in the nineteenth century Middle East.

In the 1873 Exposition, the members of the Viennese committee saw the event as a powerful instrument of education, like a museum or school, that would impose higher aesthetic and functional standards for mass produced goods and regulate the effects of a developing marketplace for consumption. The theoreticians who played a major role in the visual and conceptual organization of the Vienna Exposition were the two prominent committee members, Rudolf von Eitelberger,[80] the first director of the Museum of Art and Industry, and Jacob von Falke,[81] the assistant director. Rudolf von Eitelberger (1817-1885) was an art historian who had served in the Austrian commissions to the 1851 London and 1855 Paris Expositions. Jacob von Falke (1825-1897) was a historian who had worked in German museums as an archivist before his arrival in Vienna in 1858. Then he was appointed by Eitelberger as the assistant director to the museum.

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[80] For a detailed bibliography of Eitelberger see Fliedl, pp. 58-66; and Felix Czeike, *Historisches Lexikon Wien*, 5 Vol's (Vienna, 1992-97).

[81] For a detailed bibliography see his autobiography: *Lebenserinnerungen*, Leipzig, 1897.

No	Name of Exhibition	Country, City	Year	Duration	Architect Of the Ottoman pavilion
1	Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations	London, England	1851	1 May - 15 October 1851	Gottfried Semper
2	Exposition Universelle	Paris, France	1855	15 May - 15 November 1855	-
3	International Exhibition	London, England	1862	1 May - 1November 1862	-
4	Exposition Universelle	Paris, France	1867	1 April - 31 October 1867	French architect Leon Parvillee and Italian architect Barborini
5	Weltausstellung	Vienna, Austria	1873		Italian architect Montani Efendi
6	Centennial Exposition	Philadelphia, USA	1876	28 September - 10 November 1876	
7	Exposition Universelle	Paris, France	1878	1 May - 10 November 1878	French architect Jacques Drevet
8	Exposition Universelle	Paris, France	1889	6 May - 31 October	Charles Garnier
9	World's Columbian Exposition	Chicago, USA	1893	21 October 1892 - 30 October 1893	J. A. Thain from Chicago
10	Exposition Universelle	Paris, France	1900	14 April - 10 November 1900	French architect Adrien Dubuisson
11	Lousiana Purchase Exposition	Saint Louis, USA	1904	30 April - 1 December 1904	
12	Panama-Pacific International Exposition	San Francisco, USA	1915	20 February - 4 December 1915	

Table 1. International Expositions which included Ottoman participation from 1851 to 1923.

The equal distribution of the exposition grounds among the lands to the East and West of Austria meant that countries with lesser competitive status in the previous expositions such as Russia, the Ottoman Empire, Egypt and Japan had a much larger share of the exhibit area. For the Ottoman Empire, the success of the Vienna Exposition aroused great national interest and increased the prestige of the exposition organizers. The Ottoman commission had never been in such close contact with the organizers of an international exposition regarding the preperations and was never informed about the agenda of the host country so directly. Since the Ottoman capital was taken as the base by the Austrian committee for coordinating the preperations for the Eastern exhibits, the exposition turned out to be a novel ground for extensive collaboration between the two states.

The exposition targeted a broad range of audiences and was prepared with imperial claims and internal political strategies. The Ottoman Empire was motivated by the aim to display a strong imperial profile in this international arena. Ottoman authorities cooperated with the Austrian committee in joint projects such as the design and construction of the Persian pavilions or the production of maps, surveys and models that were displayed as parts of the Ottoman exhibit in Vienna.[82] One of the most interesting displays in the Ottoman section was the relief plan of Istanbul and the Bosphorus. It was produced under the direction of Ibrahim Edhem, the president of the Ottoman commission, by a group of native and Austrian engineers, scientists and artists. The original designs of the Persian pavilion were undertaken by Pietro Montani who was the Ottoman chief architect in the exposition. Another artist from the Ottoman commission, Eugene Maillard, assisted him in the construction. Montani was also a member of the Persian exposition commission which was dominated by Austrians.[83]

By May 1872, Joseph Ritter von Schwegel, Austrian Consul General in Istanbul and the head of the Department of Commercial Policy in the Foreign Ministry, was appointed by Schwarz Senborn as the director of all Oriental exhibits.[84] Before his formal entitlement, he was active in Istanbul, organizing the main office which would be followed during the next two years by local exposition committees in Izmir, Tunis, Tokyo and other locations. Schwegel emphasized Ibrahim Edhem Paşa's important role in the exposition project as an enthusiastic and attentive partner to the Austrian organizers and as a serious administrator for the Ottoman

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[82] IAZ, No. 3130, May 11, 1873: 4.
[83] AIWZ, II, No. 11 March 20, 1873: 129.
[84] IAZ No.3121, May 2, 1873: 5.

commission.[85] Schwegel not only acted as a coordinator between the Austrian foreign ministry, the exposition administration and the Committees for the East, but was also a key figure who maintained and stimulated communication between these institutions and the Istanbul bureaucracy throughout the preperations. He attended the meetings of the Ottoman exposition committee as an observer and as a participating member who had an active role in the planning and implementation of Ottoman participation.

Although the *Sublime Porte* formally accepted the Austro-Hungarian State's invitation to the Vienna Exposition in October 1871, the Ottoman commission was already formed and functioning regularly during the first month of that year,[86] when Schwegel started his contacts in Istanbul as the coordinator of the Committes. It is reported that the exposition officials met every Monday and Thursday in the Yalı Köşkü, a royal shore pavilion near the Topkapı Palace gardens which was reserved as the commission headquarters.[87]

Due to Schwegel's presence and the previos exposition experiences of many commission members like the secretary Marie de Launay and architects Montani, Barborini and Maillard,[88] even the earlier reports reveal a clear idea of the general exposition agenda and the Ottoman Empire's strategy of representation. First, the preliminary architectural projects for the Ottoman sections in the park were presented to the palace. The total area of display for the Ottoman exhibits was almost three

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[85] See BOA I (Hariciye) 15790.
[86] BOA, I (Meclis-i Mahsus) 1776.
[87] BOA, I (Meclis-i Mahsus) 1776.
[88] BOA, HR.SYS, 211/25.

times larger that the Paris Exposition.[89] Hence, in comparison to previous events the 1873 Exposition must have appeared as a tougher challenge to the Ottoman commission. In spite of this advantage, the government decided to keep the exposition expenses on the same level with the previous one.[90] The total area of Ottoman displays was 1500 square meters in Paris and 3800 in Vienna.

The Ottoman officials had a clear idea about their goals of representation in the 1873 exposition. In terms of the display of objects, a commission report presented to Edhem Paşa in March, which explains the essentials of the Ottoman agenda, takes the shortcomings of the previous expositions into consideration. For example, the Ottoman section in the Industrial Palace of 1867 was described as "an amusing bazaar which lacked any serious instructive value".[91] The report states that, the Ottoman commission for the Vienna Exposition was determined to adopt a more appropriate display strategy.

With specific reference to Schwegel, the commission viewed the exposition as a good opportunity for bringing together Ottoman artists and officials. Thus, the energies of the Ottoman commission were directed at utilizing better display techniques. The outlined priorities of the commission were in accord with the conception of the Vienna Exposition as a setting for comparing and making use of historical models related to domestic industry. Although the integration of crafts with modern means of production had been an important issue for the Ottoman commission in the 1867 exposition, this time, they were fully ingrained within the

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[89] See Appendix B.
[90] BOA, I (Meclis-I Mahsus) 1776.
[91] From the commission report prsented to Edhem Paşa in March 5, 1872. The proceedings were recorded in French by the secretary Marie de Launay. HHStA, AR, F34 S.R.

discourse of the Ottoman program as one of the main objectives of the whole endeavor. The emphasis of the exposition organizers on applied arts and history seems to have found a strong reflection in the professed national and humanitarian aims of the Ottoman commission.[92]

The decisions for the design of the Ottoman exhibits and buildings were taken by consultation between the members of the Exposition Commission and the Industrial Reform Commission in Vienna. The commission architect Pietro Montani presented a report and a set of drawings to the Reform Commission in January 29, 1871.[93] Montani proposed four structures to be placed in the oriental quarters in the park. Two of them were specified in the exposition program: an urban dwelling and a farmhouse. Montani proposes to demonstrate the basic organization and decorative features of a typical urban dwelling built according to the "traditional methods and customs of Ottoman architecture."[94] He describes the building as a two storey wooden structure divided into the males' quarters and the harem. It would contain decorated lofty halls, rooms, two internal marble courtyars with pools and a kitchen in addition to a three-chambered marble bath, similar to the one built in the previous exposition, annexed to the harem side. The third structure was a small cemetery with gravestones made of imitation stones. It must have been designed in connection to the religious art group specified in the exposition agenda. He recommended that instead of commissioning the work to foreign contractors, as was done in previous

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[92] Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy, 1800-1914*, London, 1981, pp.100-121.

[93] BOA, I (Meclis-i Mahsus) 1776.

[94] BOA, I (Meclis-I Mahsus) 1776, p.1. "Adet-i Osmaniyye üzre bir ane inşa edileceği zaman bunun gerek taksimatını ve gerek heyet-I umumiyesini yalnız osmanlu usul-i mi'mariyyesine tatbik eylemek gerek divarlarının ve gerek tavanlarının boya ve nakışlarını dahi Osmanlu usul ve adetine Tevfik etmek iktiza eder…"

expositions, all the workers should be sent from Istanbul to demonstrate their skill in replicating the traditional crafts and adapting them to modern construction.

Because of the financial crisis that gradually paralyzed the state, Montani's project had some cutbacks. The commission maintained that the farmhouse and the cemetery had no direct relevance to the function of the Ottoman section. The desired function was to create splendor in the exposition and to illustrate the progress of products and industries in the Ottoman Empire.[95] They also decided to reduce the cost of decoration in the other buildings by using imitation materials instead of real ones. In terms of architecture, the Ottoman show in Vienna failed to result in the unprecedented spectacle that the commission had anticipated it to be. The exposition committee contemplated a display that was "at least four times more impressive than the one in Paris in terms of scale and refinement."[96]

Osman Hamdi Bey and Schwegel were busy travelling between Istanbul and Vienna, surveying the construction of the exposition hall and getting feedback from the exposition officials. By June 1872, the chief architect Montani, along with his assistant Eugene Maillard, arrived in Vienna to start working on the buildings of the Ottoman section, the Cercle oriental complex which included a library, offices of information and several exhibit galleries which contained a collection of industrial/handcrafted products that were supposed to constitute the Orient and the Persian pavilion.[97] While some objects arrived only weeks after the commencement of the exposition, the work on the construction and furnishing of some pavilions,

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[95] BOA, I (Meclis-i Mahsus) 1776. Any Montani's drawings are reachable.
[96] See their postscript to Montani's proposal.
[97] Among the team members, Maillard, Gani Kalfa and Usta Mıgırdıç Babalıyan received "Medals for collaboration" for their work in the Ottoman section. See BOA, I (Dahiliye) 46146.

such as the Sultan's Treasury, lingered on till the end of June. The decoration of the Ottoman house, as well as that of the Cercle oriental complex, was finalized by the end of May. The Sultan's Treasury was the latest section in the Ottoman exhibit to be opened to public. Visitors were accepted only by the beginning of July.[98]

Following an assessment of the general conceptual framework of the expositions, the remaining section of this chapter focuses on the way the Ottoman Empire defined its own representational agenda within the boundaries of the expositions' programmes. The Empire conformed to, appropriated and reshaped the order and discourse of the expositions in specific ways before the Vienna Exposition, in order to illustrate their own vision of integration in to the new world order. Concentrating on how and why Western norms of representation were appropriated by the Ottoman Empire at the expositions explains their broader objectives in the historical context of the nineteenth century and demonstrates the complicated interplay of ideas between the eastern and western wings of the exposition.

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[98] AIWZ, IV, No.1, 1 July 1873, 12.

CHAPTER 4

THE FAIRS AS THRESHOLDS OF AGENCY

4.1. Site Planning

The placement, the planning principles and architectural image of the expositions were not always the same. The changes that occured from 1867 to 1900 mark shifts in power relations and in the struggle for national cultural identity. Analyzing these changes clarifies the internal logic of the exhibitions as diagrams of a world order.

The Great Exhibition of 1851 opened a new era of international communication. The Crystal Palace, which was an iron and glass monument, was the architectural centerpiece of this event. It was a large single hall that could be divided by partitions. However, the exhibitions assumed increasingly important commercial and socio cultural roles and grew larger, such structures were no longer effective and a different kind of exhibition space was required involving the planning of the site. Independent structures for indigenous displays were first built at the 1867 Expositione Universelle. The design of the exhibition grounds thus changed to include both a symmetrical area with imposing structures for the main exhibition and an arrangement of buildings scattered in the surrounding gardens. The site planning

also signified the power hierarchy among the exhibiting countries. It portrayed a world where nations occupied relationally fixed places determined by the exposition committees of the host countries who occupied the center and the other industrial firms surrounded it; colonies and other non-Western countries were relegated to the peripheries.[99]
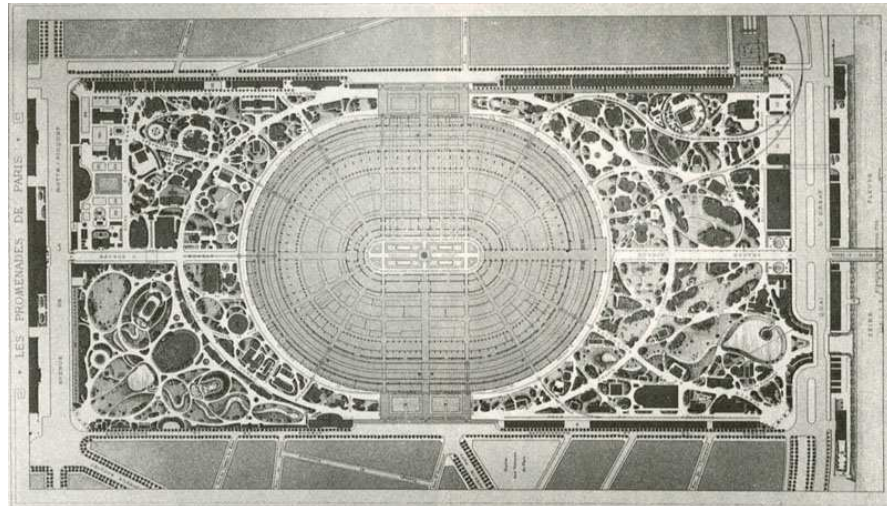

Figure 2. Plan of Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1867.

The 1867 Exposition was the first example of at two-part organisation which consisted of the buildings and the park (see Figure 2). There the park surrounded the exhibition as the necessary complement of the ensemble.[100] The main goal of the 1867 Exposition was to give all nations the opportunity to represent themselves architecturally. In the exhibition hall, designed by engineer Frederic Le Play, the oval shape symbolized the globe and the hall was divided into seven galleries where each was reserved for a particular purpose. Industry was located outside, followed by exhibitions of clothing, furniture, raw materials, history of labor and fine arts. The monumental exhibition hall was surrounded by a garden. Transverse segments, allocated to different nations, divided these galleries. A visitor who walked from the

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[99] *L'Exposition universelle de Paris*, Paris, 1867, I:5.
[100] Z. Çelik, p.52.

outer gallery toward the center could see all the products of one nation; a visitor who walked each concentric gallery would be able to compare the similar products of different nations.[101]

Although the park was seen to signify the peaceful gathering of nations, in reality it introduced division in both its organization and its architecture. The pavilions in the parks were replicas of buildings from various cultures in a variety of architectural styles. In contrast, the major exposition buildings differed notably from the indigenous quarters surrounding them. These included architectural monuments such as the Eiffel Tower and the Galerie des Machines of the 1889 Universal Exposition in Paris; the neoclassical buildings of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago; and the Grand Palais and Petit Palais of the 1900 Paris Universal Exhibition which were all conspicuously located.

The indigenous displays in nineteenth century world's fairs aimed to create the atmosphere of the places represented. There, the ambience was enriched by representatives of different cultures dressed in their exotic clothing. Artisans worked in the pavilions, traditional music played and authentic food was served. The peripheries were not reserved for non-Western cultures. All nations displayed their lighter side there with emphasis on entertainment rather than power. For example, in Paris in 1867 the French quarter pavilions recreated the country's historical periods. Old Vienna was brought to Chicago in 1893. "Also at the periphery technological

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[101] S. Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture*, Cambridge: 1965, pp. 258-262.

displays were presented as a curiosity. In 1867, France and England erected lighthouses powered by electricity."[102]

In the design of Islamic pavilions, attention was paid to "authenticity" of both architecture and atmosphere. The obsession with authenticity is generally associated with nineteenth century Orientalist painters who represented architectural settings as combinations of architectural forms and details of buildings from different places and times.[103] A similar method was employed in the construction of exhibition pavilions which were architectural collages incorporating various periods of Islamic civilization.[104] Islamic cultures at the universal expositions were architecturally represented as frozen in a distant past and incapable of change.

As representatives of Islamic urban settings, Ottoman and Egyptian quarters were placed side by side in 1867 in Paris and both quarters were deliberately made irregular in their planning. Despite their independent designs, they formed an ensemble. Visitors could tour through the Egyptian street into the Turkish square. The choice of an irregular urban design to represent Istanbul and Cairo at the expositions shows the dilemma of Ottoman and Egyptian officials and their European advisors. Even though Istanbul in the 1860s was marked by an intense campaign to regularize and rebuilding the city, the exposition planners turned to the past, to an image that the West associated with Islam.[105] The Ottoman pavilion, designed by Leon Parvillee, had three parts: a designated open space around the

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[102] Patricia Mainardi, "The Eiffel Tower and the English Lighthouse," *Art Magazine 54* (March 1980): 141-144.

[103] Sylviane Leprun uses the formal conventions of Oriental paintings to analyze the architectural representations of French colonies in the expositions.

[104] Z. Çelik, p. 56.

[105] Z. Çelik, p. 57.

borders of a haphazard mosque, a house called Bosphorus and a bath (see figures 3,4,5). There was a fountain in the centre of this space (fig). The mosque represented the region, Bosphorus represented home life, the bath represented social and cultural tradition and the fountain showed a public area. Because of the visit of Sultan Abdülaziz, a triumphal arch was erected at the entrance. Like the Egyptian section, the organization of the Ottoman pavilion was also irregular. Because the design contains a fountain in the center and the buildings with symmetrical facades, the design did not belong to Ottoman, but French designers. The aim was to create an authentic view with a geometrically irregular plan.[106]
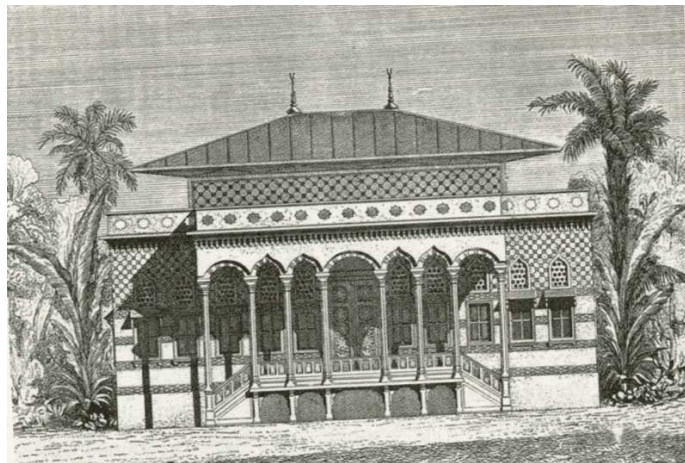

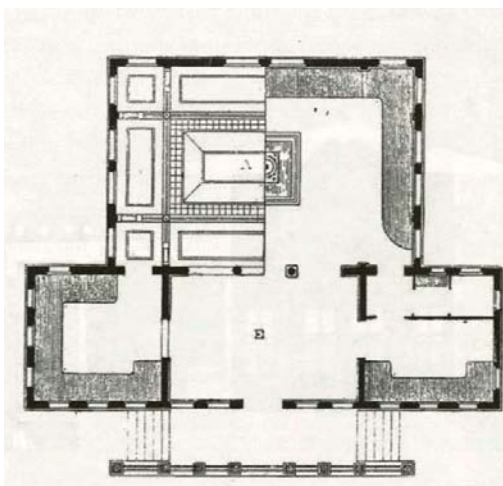Figure 3. Parvillee, façade of the house called Bosphore, Paris, 1867.

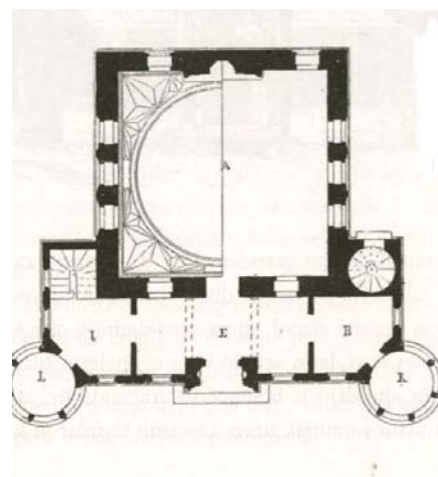Figure 5. Parvillee, plan of the Pavillion du Bosphore, Paris, 1867.

Figure 6. Parvillee, plan of the mosque, Paris, 1867.

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[106] *The Levant Herald*, 19 February 1867.

The representations of the Ottoman Empire and Egypt in the 1867 exhibition became the basis of the format in Vienna six years later. There, the main exhibition building had a domed middle section and a long structure. Two main galleries that framed an inner courtyard in the southeastern corner of the Palace of Industry was also reserved for Ottoman exhibits. The Ottoman section covered the easternmost wing to the south of the main hall and a portion of the central gallery extending along the width of two wings and one courtyard. The portal of the eastern half of the main exposition building opened directly into the Ottoman section. In terms of the number of exhibitors, the Ottoman Empire held the second place after Austria. The total area of the Ottoman galleries in the exposition hall amounted to about three thousand square-meters. The Egyptian pavilions were also in the southeast sector of the park in front of the main hall. Once again, landscape arrangements combined the two exhibition areas.

The Ottoman section consisted of seven small buildings: a main pavilion with a replica of the Sultan Ahmed Fountain, a high domed pavilion with valuable items, a house constructed on the basis of Yalı Köşk in Istanbul, a bath which matched with the properties of Parvillee's bath in the 1867 exhibition, a coffee shop, and a two story building which had markets downstairs and houses upstairs.[107] Here, at the centre of the courtyard, a kiosk designed by Montani housed a collection of objects that were selected from the imperial treasury.[108] A replica of the Ahmed III fountain was prominently placed at the centre of the courtyard which covered the area between the eastern façade of the Palace of Industry and Fine Arts Galleries facing to the east. The interior space, accessed by two doors that replaced the decorative

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[107] *Basiret* 779, 14 Ramazan 1289.
[108] Dethier, "Exposition universelle de Vienne", *La Turquie*, no.36, February 28, 1873.

niches on the eastern façade, was used as an office for the Ottoman commission. The rich details of the marble original were reproduced with considerable success in Montani's wooden structure by using marble plates, gypsum, bronze and tarpaulin.[109] Strategically located between the entrance of the fine arts complex and the eastern wing of the main galleries the minutely decorated pavilion was regarded by many observers as a perfect embodiment of what eastern art could offer to the West.[110] One Austrian writer even stated that the fountain provided sufficient proof to alter the generally held belief that the Ottomans "did not have the capacity to impress the Western 'giaours' through their art and industrial arts."[111]

The remaining Ottoman pavilions were lined along the main artery of the oriental section on the south-eastern corner of the Prater Park, facing the Egyptian building complex. The Ottoman "urban dwelling" which closely followed the detailed outline of Montani's initial proposal, was situated next to the pavilion of the Cercle oriental and marked the end of Elisabeth Avenue that ran parallel to the Palace of Industry.[112]

The design of all Ottoman buildings were based on historical references at the 1867 exhibition, whereas at the 1873 exhibition the main pavilions had some influences from the monuments and commercial structures representing local traditions. The guardhouse consisted of a stone base, and storage, and an impervious octagonal hall, with an iron frame and massive decorated panels made of the same material reportedly derived from the dome of the Süleymaniye. In the basic plan and organization of the building there is an obvious reference to fifteenth and sixteenth

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[109] BOA, I, Hariciye, 15904.
[110] AIWZ, II, No. 6, 13 February 1873, 63.
[111] AIWZ, II, No. 6, 13 February 1873, 63.
[112] IAZ, No. 4017, 8 August 1873, 1-2.

century Ottoman imperial mausolea. The massive staircases leading to the pavilion's two entrances and the verandas surrounding the upper gallery were unconventional modifications that made the building in Montani's eyes a creative example of the novel "Ottoman Renaissance" in the Vienna exposition. Considering its overall proportions with its structural and decorative details, the pavilion should be considered as a remarkably accurate reproduction of a medium sized Ottoman mansion. Near the dwelling there were two smaller Ottoman pavilions. One of these, the "Bazaar Turc" was a two story gallery containing private shops where various Ottoman commodities and memorabilia were on sale for international clients. The other was an "Ottoman Café" a rectangular hall surrounded by an open veranda and containing four small shops at the back. Although the building appeared simple from the outside, the inner hall was decorated by Montani. This was a brightly painted chamber illuminated with stained glass windows and crowned from the inside by an ornate dome. Marking the centre of the room was a miniature pool, circumscribed by wide divans along the walls.[113]

Figure 7. The plan of the fair, Vienna, 1873.

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[113] AIWZ, III, No.9, 15 June 1873, 100.

Figure 8. Ottoman pavilions, Vienna, 1873.

In response to the priorities of the exposition program and conditioned by the financial constraints that delineated the strategies of the Ottoman commission, the buildings of the Ottoman Empire in the Vienna Exposition were intended to demonstrate the level of competence and refinement achieved by the artists of the Abdülaziz era in the realm of decoration and applied arts.

In 1878 in Paris, the desire to bring order to the peripheries led the organizers to introduce a new linear arrangement named Rue des Nations where a series of national pavilions would be erected. The idea was to create an architectural collage which each nation represented according to its own taste and tradition. Although the facades had to be 5 meters wide, some nations such as Belgium, England, the United States and Italy were allowed more width.[114] Morocco, Tunisia and Persia were the only Muslim countries represented on the Rue des Nations.[115] Other Islamic pavilions in 1878 were sited to show their relationship with France. All of their pavilions were in front of the Trocadero Palace which represented France and the structure encircled North African nations.

The 1900 Universal Exposition, like the 1878 exhibition, had a street of nations but at a more visible location. "The Street of Nations now occupied the Quai d'Orsay

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[114] *L'Exposition universelle de 1878 Paris*, 1882, I:4.
[115] H. Gautier and A. Desprez

between the Pont des Invalides and the Pont de l'Alma the bridges connecting the two principal sections of the exhibition, the Champ de Mars-Trocadero and the Esplanade des Invalides – Avenue Nicolas II along the waterfront."[116] Nations considered more important were given larger sites facing both the river and the street. The Ottoman Empire had its pavilion on the Rue des Nations. The display of the Ottoman Empire was confined to a single building. It was located between the pavilions of Italy and the United States and faced the embankment. Here, Egypt was represented as a British colony and was thus in the Trocadero Park with the other colonies. Persia's small pavilion sat on the back row between Peru and Luxembourg.

Figure 9. Rue des Nations, Ottoman pavilion to the right, Paris, 1900.

The 1900 Paris exposition expressed changing attitutes about French architecture. The 1889 exposition celebrated great engineering achievements whereas the Grand Palais and the Petit Palais in the 1900 exposition returned to the vocabulary of art. In contrast, the classical architecture of the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago was influential in this change. Along with the return to classicism a stricter control was done in planning the fair areas in 1900. The buildings along the Rue des Nations

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[116] Z. Çelik, p. 88.

were designed in many different styles. They were neatly aligned and their regularized siting complemented the symmetry and axiality across the river. In this exhibition, indigenous villages were hidden from immediate view.

Figure 10. The Ottoman pavilion, Chicago, 1893.

The site planning of expositions reflects sociopolitical and cultural trends crucial to an understanding of the transformations both in the West and in the East. The placement of pavilions on the grounds revealed the world order that is imagined by the Western participants. The position of the Ottoman Empire as an independent state as opposed to the other non-Western nations as colonies marks the planning decisions in remarkable ways which demonstrates the significance of recognizing differences within broad cultural categorizations.

4.2. Architecture

At the international expositions, the architecture of the main Ottoman pavilions were based on the Empire's key monuments, and its residental and commercial structures. Two types of pavilions stood out in the Ottoman sections: Replicas of existing buildings and the exhibition hall. Replicas were sometimes artifacts themselves, serving their original functions and therefore introducing social and cultural traits of

the Ottoman Empire. The mosque was a major focus of curiosity as a symbol of Islam for Westerns. The first exhibition mosque was built in 1867 in Paris and others followed. Like the mosque, the model residential structure, displayed as an artifact, made its beginning in 1867 in the Ottoman section, along with various public structures such as fountains.[117] In some cases, the replicas were adapted to new functions according to exhibition needs. Also, the exhibition hall was not modeled directly on any known building but designed to fit the requirements of the national display. Although the Islamic pavilions were similar and seemed to belong to a single culture, their architecture varied according to the politics, culture and wealth of the country.

Sultan Abdülaziz's desire to join the cultural life of Europe was reflected in the attention given to the design and construction of the Ottoman pavilions for the 1867 Universal Exposition in Paris. The Ottoman Empire was represented at the 1867 fair: by a mosque (derived from the Green Mosque in Bursa), a residence (recalling the Çinili Kiosk in the Topkapı Palace), a bath (a diminutive version of Sinan's Hürrem Sultan Bath in Istanbul) and a fountain. Ottoman agricultural, industrial and artistic products were displayed in the main exhibition halls.

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[117] Saint-Felix, "Les Installations d'Orient dans le parc", *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustree*, 38.

Year	Name of Exhibition, City	architectural products exhibited
1855	Exposition Universelle, Paris	-
1867	Exposition Universelle, Paris	mosque, residence called Boğaziçi Köşkü, a bath, a fountain
		Turkish bath, public fountain
1873	Weltausstellung, Vienna	residence, Turkish bath, coffee house
		market, replica of Sultan Ahmed III Fountain
1876	Centennial Exposition, Philadelphia	-
1878	Exposition Universelle, Paris	-
1889	Exposition Universelle, Paris	-
1893	World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago	mosque, hippodrome, public fountain, Turkish restaurant, theatre building

Table 2. Architectural products at the Ottoman pavilions.

The 1867 pavilions marked a turning point in Ottoman architectural history as the end products of a transformation whose terms were defined in Europe. As Çelik states, "Although the change appears to have been enforced from the outside, it should be understood within the general framework of Westernizing reforms undertaken by the ruling elite."[118] The design of French architects was readily accepted by the Ottoman commissioners to the exposition. They revised European architects' stereotypes of Islamic architecture just as decorative devices. Interestingly, Ottoman buildings at this fair affected European architecture in return.

Figure. 11. Ottoman Village: the house, the mosque, fountain and bath, Paris, 1867.

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[118] Z. Çelik, p. 96.

The Ottoman pavilions were designed in Istanbul by Parvillee in collaboration with the Italian architect Barborini. In Viollet-le-Duc's analysis, in the preface to *Architecture et Decoration Turques*, he argued against the beliefs of the fantasies, Parvillee's works are praised for their "spirit of examination and analysis, necessary for the discovery of truth in the sciences just as in the arts."[119] Parvillee, he continued, demonstrated the role of "cold science" in these artistic productions which on the surface seemed as belong to a world of dreams.[120] Le Duc, who examined Ottoman architecture evaluated it as "very developed and learned, in terms of design and color"; it dependent on rules and formulas, rather than instincts.[121] The mosque by Parvillee had a main hall called the worship room as well as a rectangular room divided into three parts: the ablution hall, prayer room and the entrance lobby. Two round symmetrical "verandas" framed the mosque. There were no precedents in Ottoman mosque types for such an arrangement of spaces and functions. Ablution fountains were outside or at the centre of interior halls under large domes. The architect had integrated these new elements into his mosque using Ottoman forms to create a symmetrical plan. The only element breaking the symmetry was the minaret. Parvillee showed his knowledge of Ottoman architecture by not making a double minaret for the sake of symmetry.

The residential structure, Pavillon du Bosphore, consisted of a vestibule and a main hall. The vestibule opened on to a terrace and had service rooms at either end that communicated with the large main room. The Ottoman pavilions attracted a great deal of attention and illustrated an extensive essay on their architecture by Anatole de

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[119] Z. Çelik, p.98.
[120] Parvillee, Archi*tecture et Decoration Turques*, Paris: 1874, p.iii-iv.
[121] For further discussion on nineteenth century European texts that deal with Islamic architecture see Gülru Necipoğlu, 1995.

Baudot, the student of Viollet-le-Duc.[122] Baudot found the exterior of the building very simple. Inside, however, the main room was dramatic, especially due to its colors and light. Daylight entered at two levels from three sides, softened by the stained glass of the lower level's windows. The lower interior wall was defined by the windows and simple woodwork, the upper one by decorative panels, the ceiling was exquisitely detailed in wood. The dominant colors inside were green, blue, red and white. One reporter wrote: "we Occidentals, who believe that we know all about the refinement of luxury; there is a lot for us to learn from the Orientals on the art of interior decoration."[123]

Parvillee's bath had three rooms: a dressing room, a warm room and a main room lined with benches with a small pool in each corner. A dome pierced by small lanterns in the Ottoman fashion rose over the main room. Symmetry was achieved on the exterior by a second dome over the dressing room. For Baudot, the point here was the faithful repetition of an Ottoman building type.[124]

The Ottoman displays in 1867 were enriched by numerous photographs by the Abdullah brothers of Istanbul depicting Turkish life and a cross section of the population by a watercolor portrait of the Sultan by Amadeo Presiozi, by French artists' paintings of Ottoman subjects, by three works by the Ottoman painter Osman Hamdi who studied under Gustave Boulanger and Jean-Leon Gerome in Paris.[125] Osman Hamdi continued to play a significant role in representing nineteenth century Ottoman art and culture at world expositions after 1867. He acted as the commissary

[122] Anatole de Baudot, "Exposition Universelle de 1867", *Gazette des architects et du batıment*, Paris, 1867.
[123] Saint-Felix, "Les Installations d'Orient dans le parc," 38.
[124] *Basiret* no.779, 14 Ramazan 1289 (15 November 1872).
[125] Selahaddin Bey, *La Turquie a l'Exposition universelle de 1867*, Paris, 1867, pp.142.

general for the Ottoman Empire in the 1873 Vienna exposition. His paintings were included in the Ottoman displays and contributed to the making of a new Ottoman image.

The Ottoman pavilion of the 1873 Vienna exposition, a replica of the Sultan Ahmed Fountain in Istanbul, records a similar concern with historical precedent. The Sultan Ahmed pavilion was a small one with a sebil at each corner from which water and sherbet were served to the public. There were several reasons to exhibit this building abroad: its scale was appropriate for pavilions, it was a highly visible public monument belonging to the recent past, and it was a fresh interpretation of Ottoman forms under European influences. The Ahmed III fountain, for instance, was chosen to be reproduced as the most prominent element of the Ottoman architectural exhibit because, according to the authors of the *Usul-u Mimari Osmani*, it "brought together the exquisite products of the myriad fine arts and industries practiced by the Ottoman nation" and displayed the "artistic finesse and technical skill" that was imminent to Ottoman art prior to the "destructive and annihilating dominance of Western taste."[126]

The 1873 building, unlike the pavilions of 1867, was a faithful full scale copy. Ottoman artisans had crafted the details of the facade panels, and most of the materials were brought from the Ottoman Empire. The floors and display cases were loaded with new and antique furniture and tile collections, handcrafted objects of all kinds including the exhibits of the schools of art and industry, musical instruments and a plethora of other commodities aimed at creating a sense of collective national

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[126] The book *Usul-u Mimari Osmani* prepared at imperial command by Montani Efendi and Boghos Efendi Chachian on the occasions of the 1873 Universal Exhibition in Vienna, p.42.

achievement.[127] A large number of tiles from Kütahya and Çanakkale workshops were displayed to promote the State's effort to revive these industries. Many geographical and architectural exhibits were displayed in the main gallery including views of various Ottoman cities, plans and photographs of Ottoman monuments from Edirne, Bursa and Istanbul, models of the Dome of the Rock and the Temple Mount.[128] Among the Jerusalem exhibits in the Ottoman section, the archeological model of the Temple Mount attracted the most attention.[129] Through its exposed cross-section it displayed the various historical stages in the development of the area. While the temple site was situated in one of the lower layers, the upper tier displayed Islamic and Ottoman monuments in detail.

Historic pieces of Ottoman art were also displayed in the pavilion's rooms, framed by wall panels, embellished roofs and furniture that were modeled after Montani's designs for the Çırağan Palace.[130] Similarly, Osman Hamdi's *Les Costumes populaires* presented an anthology of Ottoman costume as an instructive applied arts exhibit, rather than an isolated and picturesque medley of exotica, that was offered, as the authors note, to the use "of not only the artists but industrialists and economists alike."[131] Even the *Usul-u Mimari Osmani*, when considered just as an object of art, appeared within the Ottoman exhibit as the product of an ambitious artistic and technical achievement. Considering the quality of its vivid and flawless plates produced in Sebah studios and the exacting care given to the graphical layout of its illustrations, the book matched the highest standards of contemporaneous

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[127] AIWZ, III, No.3, 25 May 1873, 26.
[128] AIWZ, I, No.16, 11 September 1872, 188.
[129] IAZ, No.3128, 9 May 1873, 4.
[130] IAZ. No.4017, 8 August 1873, 1-2.
[131] *Les Costumes populaires,* p.7.

Western publishing and was awarded with the highest medal in the category of graphical arts and design.[132]

The other two Ottoman buildings erected in Vienna in 1873 were looser interpretations of Ottoman styles. The Sultan's Treasury was a two-story centralized structure, covered with a high dome. Outside, it had a large staircase to the main level and arcaded projecting porches. Because the building housed a valuable collection of jewels, its design was deliberately luxurious in detail.[133]

At the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago the main Ottoman pavilion was placed with other national pavilions in Jackson Park away from the Midway Plaisance, and again referred to the Sultan Ahmed Fountain. But the Chicago pavilion experimented with an approach different from that of the Vienna pavilion, for it was designed as a new type. Built on a larger scale than the foundation, the 1893 pavilion interpreted the formal and decorative principles of the historical structure, editing out some features –for example the curving sebils at the corners- and adding others –stairs leading to the central entrance-.[134] The pavilion's tripartite facade was simpler than that of the fountain. The rectangular structure had an overhanging roof which further emphasized its horizontality. Although the roof, with its eaves and domes mimicked the Sultan Ahmed Fountain, the arches over the side door and windows with their pointed tops were departures from the original model. The exterior decoration of the stone fountain was evoked in the wood panels of the

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[132] A copy of the Usul, p.139.
[133] *L'Esposizione universale di Viena*, no.211; no. 10:74, no. 19:145.
[134] Z. Çelik, p.108.

facades fabricated in Damascus by local artisans and shipped to Chicago.[135] The orthogonal panels created an overall planar effect. This was almost "a modern building".[136]

The Ottoman pavilion at the 1900 Universal Exposition was an exhibition hall on the Rue des Nations and it was designed by the French architect Adrien-Rene Dubuisson. A two story porch delineated by a vast pointed arch dominated the riverfront. The structure had a bazaar, artisan's workshop and a cafe on the ground floor and an industrial exposition on the first floor. On the second floor a military museum was modeled and a theatre where operettas representing vignettes from Turkish life were performed.[137] Unlike other, earlier Ottoman pavilions, this building made no direct reference to particular Ottoman monuments. Western observers were puzzled by the style of this pavilion. As Wailly wrote:

> "Under the pretext of Orientalist, only Arab art –true or imitation- has been presented to us Occidentals until now. But Dubuisson is showing us at last, for the first time, pure Ottoman art.. Here the eminent architect has made a synthesis of Ottoman art. In an ensemble that he brilliantly conceived, he grafted the important parts and true details of the most beautiful monuments of the pure style of Turkey."[138]

The architects of the pavilions based their designs on one of two theoretical positions: rationalist and intuitionist.[139] Rationalists looked for scientific rules of composition; Leon Parvillee was the most prominent among them. Intuitionist relied on feelings and fantasy as sources of inspiration and the architect Jacques Drevet was

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[135] *The Dream City: A Portfolio of Photographic Views From The World's Columbian Exposition*, Chicago: 1893.
[136] David Burg, *Chicago's White City of 1893*, Lexington:1976. As David Gebhard pointed out this pavilion inspired Frank Lloyd Wright, whose Winslow House in River Forest, Illinois, designed in 1893 and completed 1894, showed striking similarities to the Ottoman building: it too had an overhanging roof, a band of windows, and terra-cotta ornament under the eaves. See David Gebhard, "A Note on the Chicago Fair of 1893 and Frank Lloyd Wright", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 18*, no. 2, May 1959.
[137] *Le Figaro*, 16 May 1900.
[138] Wailly, *A Travers l'exposition de 1900*, no. 8:42.
[139] Çelik, p. 137.

an example who represented this approach. They tried to understand the architecture of the cultures they represented at the expositions.

The pavilions erected on the grounds of the universal expositions raised serious and complex questions about cultural definition and the role of architecture in representing cultures. As temporary installations, they could be experimental and because of the high visibility of the national pavilions and the attention they received in contemporary publications, the scale of their regional and cross cultural impact contrasted the short life of the buildings.

Underlying all programmed displays of Ottoman culture in the world expositions was a struggle, on the part of the Tanzimat reformers, to defy marginality by forging a unique cultural synthesis through direct and equal access to the privileged tools of representation defined by the West. Thus, the destiny of Ottoman representation in the expositions was fashioned by the unavailing quest for affirmation and recognition in Europe on the one hand, and the contradictions of the process of redefining an imperial self-identity on the other.

Nineteenth century museums, public exhibits and expositions reflected the principles of display that were aimed to present a stable order of things. The order of these new arenas of display was in direct conformity with the values of the Western bourgeoisie and the ideologies of the centralized imperial state. The common discourse of representation delineated by these institutions rendered an idealized and self sufficient world of images that was read as a manifestation of larger realities: national, imperial and colonial. For a modernizing pre-industrial empire constantly faced with the threat of disintegration, such as the Ottoman Empire, the appropriation

of these new venues of public expression was crucial for shaping a distinctive imperial identity.

Starting with the 1850's, Tanzimat reformers experimented in internalizing the novel discourses of representation by establishing museums, organizing exhibits and participating in the world expositions. These new arenas of self expression demanded and engendered new criteria for the selection, classification and evaluation of the exhibited materials. Within the context of the exhibition and the museums, these objects were recharged with new meaning in the Ottoman realm as veritable evidence to a shared cultural existence in the past. The Ottoman archaeological exhibits in the world expositions not only reflected an emerging consciousness in the Empire to view and present the antiquities through a historical depth of field that was shared with the West but also to possess and protect them as an integral part of imperial property.[140]

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[140] BOA, (Meclis-I Mahsus), 2348; (Dahiliye), 41355; (Şura-yı Devlet), 547; (Meclis-I Vala), 24685.

CHAPTER 5

AFTER THE (AF)FAIR: RECONSTRUCTED IMAGES

Examining the exchanges between Western and non-Western participants of the expositions reveals the existence of mutual communication which effected the cultural discourse of both sides. These revelations help us modify the understanding of East and West as polar opposition. The publications which were prepared after the expositions reflected the emerging discourse that was the effect of cross-cultural communication

5.1. Publications

The 1867 Universal Exposition generated several important books by the Ottoman commission. These publications discussed the themes of the displays as well as the contemporary trends and developments in each nation considered worthy of international exposure. The Ottomans relied more on local sources and focused on Ottoman culture in order to reflect on efforts to modernize their institutions along Western lines. The Ottoman officer at the 1867 fair, and the head commissioner of the Ottoman Empire, Selahaddin Bey, authored the book *La Turquie d l'Exposition universelle de 1867*, where he presented the Ottoman displays. The book used the displays as a vehicle to summarize the history of the Ottoman Empire and its

participation in modern civilization. Selahaddin Bey's goal was to present the Ottoman Empire as modern and advanced. He adopted European conventions to ensure the acceptance of his work in the West. For example, when describing the Ottoman pavilions, he used the terms of rationalist architects, noting that the structures were designed according to certain scientific principles.

Osman Hamdi and Marie de Launay also contributed a book, *Les Costumes popularizes de la Turquie en 1873* published on the occasion of the Universal Exposition in Vienna which documented Ottoman costumes according to class and region with photographs by Pascal Sebah (Figure 12). For each plate, models wearing costumes were photographed in groups of two or three against a blank wall in Edhem Paşa's residence at Kantarcılar.[141] Orientalist paintings were deliberately avoided. The book's aim was to present a detailed typological documentation of Ottoman costume, classified according to geographic location, ethnicity, social class, religion and profession. Local dresses and accessories commissioned from artisans from different parts of the Empire were collected and grouped geographically. The chapters are divided according to costume types. *Les Costumes populaires* went beyond documentation to show "the diversity in the unity" of Ottoman culture.[142] The authors insisted on the richness and pluralism of Ottoman culture. The majority of the collection of the popular costumes documented in the *Les Costumes populaires,* related to the immediate past of the Empire and to its contemporary realities. With this collection, Hamdi Bey and de Launay aimed to portray the ordinary Ottoman subject, the commoner who largely maintained the traditional

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[141] Halil Edhem, "Teracim-I Ahval: Ahmed Midhat Efendi", *Şehbal*, 70, 15 February 1328, pp. 428-9.

[142] Hamdi Bey and Marie de Launay, *Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, Constantinople, 1873, 6.

tastes and lifestyle of the pre-Tanzimat era, from a detached ethnographic viewpoint. They hoped that the detailed documentation of Ottoman clothing would not only present a holistic picture of the Empire to the viewers, but also correct the orientalist generalizations of the West. In the Vienna Exposition, the Ottoman Empire held an ambitious and impressive ethnographic exhibit of costumes.

Figure 12. From *Les Costumes Populaires De La Turquie*, 1873, taken by French photographer Pascal Sebah.

Osman Hamdi Bey's education in France was reflected in his vision of Ottoman society. Although his technique and the settings he painted belong to the Orientalist school, his topics, as statements about Ottoman culture and society in the new age, distinguish him from the artists of this school. His men and women, who are dressed in the colorful garments of the Orientalist mode and placed in authentic architectural settings, are thoughtful, questioning, and acting human beings who display none of the passivity and submissiveness of Eastern subjects characteristic of the Orientalist tradition.[143] The Orientalist feature in Osman Hamdi's pantings are comments on the

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[143] Çelik, p. 41.

"difference between Ottoman society and other societies rather than its otherness which European artists depicted".[144] These paintings are carefully composed essays on Ottoman society, expressed in a Western vocabulary.[145]

The second Ottoman publication for the 1873 exposition, *Usul-u Mimari Osmani* or *L'Architecture Ottomane* focused on Ottoman architecture. It was the outcome of an officially delineated project that brought together a group of bureaucrats, artists and architects with highly diverse backgrounds. A collaborative effort by Marie de Launay, the Italian architect Montani Effendi, an Armenian architect Boghos Effendi Chachian and a French architect M. Maillard, the book illustrated the superior qualities of Ottoman monuments to modern architects. The idea came from Edhem Hamdi Paşa who was the minister of public works and the president of the Ottoman Imperial Commission for the exposition. One common condition that was shared by each member of this mixed group, as far as their artistic careers were concerned, was their lack of distinctly circumscribed areas of specialization. Marie de Launay's artistic and intellectual mission involved, to a great extent, salvaging and promoting the Ottoman crafts and upgrading the working environment of the artisans. Marie de Launay as the secretary of the Ottoman Exposition Commission and the chief scribe of the Council of Public Works in charge of French correspondence, was responsible for the final editing of the whole text. Montani on the other hand, was an imperial decorator whose only large scale architectural accomplishment was the design of the Ottoman pavilions in the Vienna exposition – a complex that was aimed to impress not through architectural scale but through a display of crafts and decorative elements. Maillard's only recorded architectural activity involved his work as the

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[144] Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginery Orient" *Art in America 71*, no.5, May 1983: 121.
[145] Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, İstanbul, 1971.

second architect of the Ottoman exhibits in the Vienna exposition, where he assisted Montani in the construction of the Ottoman as well as the Persian pavilions. Except his role in the Vienna Exposition, Maillard's participation at the Ottoman exhibits has always been as a craftsman, and a producer of household objects.[146] According to the frontispiece of the book, the original text was written in French by de Launay, while the technical documents, constituting a separate chapter on the theory of Ottoman architecture, were provided by Montani Efendi. Except a few plans rendered by de Launay, most of the drawings and color plates were executed by Montani and the artists Eugene Maillard and Boghos Effendi. It seems that de Launay and Montani were largely responsible for shaping the main body of the text while Mehmed Şevki Efendi authored the introduction.

At first, eighteen copies of the publication were sent by the state to major Western libraries, and various reprints (without the Ottoman text) were distributed to publishers around Europe. The format of the book followed similar books on Western architecture. The book narrated the degeneration of Ottoman architecture in the nineteenth century and suggested remedies. It expressed and articulated the Tanzimat's official discourse on Ottoman identity in distinctly architectural terms . A *historical précis* of the most important Ottoman monuments analyzed the causes of their decline. French architects and artists were seen as a destructive influence which led to a loss of purity in Ottoman architecture. The authors accused nineteenth century architects of Istanbul of imitating Western styles. On the other hand, they claimed that some positive tendencies emerged during Abdülaziz's reign.[147] A

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[146] In the Vienna exposition he exhibited a "crafted object on a stone base" in the exhibit section reserved for stone, clay and glass products. He also produced an extensive report on the Ottoman participation to the 1862 Paris Exposition, which is published in Selahaddin Bey, pp.15-23.

[147] Montani Effendi and Boghos Effendi, 7.

chapter entitled *Technical Documents* outlined the rules of Ottoman architecture. With Vitruvius's system of classification as a model, "the Ottoman orders were divided into the ordre echafrine, ordre brechiforme and ordre crystallize, corresponding to the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian orders".[148] Each was described in detail with a few Vitruvian statements. The authors' goal was to make a place for Ottoman architecture within the wide spectrum of Western architectural styles and to encourage the use at home and abroad of a neo-Turkish style.[149] Considered within the general setting of the world expositions, the book's unaccredited quest for promoting Ottoman architecture outside its prescribed "ethnographic" context sharply underscored the larger aspect of nineteenth century Ottoman self representation in the West.

Although the objectives guiding the production of these texts were by no means delimited by the specifics of the Ottoman display in Vienna, their strategies of ordering and explanation were inextricably linked to a broader Ottoman agenda on self representation. The decisive control of the predominant official agenda over the production of the *Usul-u Mimari Osmani and Les Costumes Popularizes* also has to do with the absence of a separate and formalized platform of discussion concerning art and architecture in the Ottoman Empire. Prior to the emergence of academies of art and professional journals, the production of Ottoman texts on art and architecture were tightly connected to an official project of imperial display.

The third publication that was specifically prepared for the Vienna Exposition was a guide book on Istanbul, *Le Bosphore et Constantinople,* authored by the director of

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[148] Çelik, p. 44.
[149] Çelik, p. 44.

the Imperial Museum of Antiquities in Istanbul, Philipp Anton Dethier.[150] He explained that the Vienna exposition offered a good opportunity to present the Ottoman capital to other nations. The book provided brief historical information on many Byzantine and Ottoman monuments in the city, including some of the modern buildings built recently by the state. Supplemented with a map illustrating the layout of the city, the book was a basic reference for the European traveler. While reflecting Dethier's academic disposition, the guide's clear emphasis on Istanbul's Byzantine heritage also confirmed the Tanzimat elite's desire to portray the Ottoman Empire as a modern state that valued its non-Islamic cultural inheritance. Neither that book nor the Ottoman archeological exhibits in the previous expositions were intended merely as responses to the glamorous shows of ancient Egypt or Greece organized by the Empire's contested vassals.[151]

The *Usul* and the *Elbise* were displayed in the southern gallery, along with other books and journals by the official and private publishing houses in Istanbul.[152] These two Ottoman publications were the outcome of serious and systematic studies that followed Western precedents and formats. They reflected the larger goal of generating respect in the West for the Ottoman Empire which would continue to maintain its cultural identity. For similar reasons, a large collection of Ottoman photographs was brought to the United States in 1893 for the World's Columbian Exposition. Sultan Abdülhamid II donated fifty one albums to the National Library of the United States and some of them went to Chicago as part of the Ottoman

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[150] Dethier (1803-81) was a German historian and archaeologists who arrived in Istanbul around 1847 and worked many years as the president of the Austrian School. He was also a member of the exposition commission in 1873. See Semavi Eyice, "İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinin İlk Direktörlerinden P. A. Dethier Hakkında Notlar", İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı 9, 1960.

[151] *La Turquie a l'exposition*, pp.151-152.

[152] There were fifty one newspapers and journals displayed in the Ottoman section published in the diverse tongues of the empire: Turkish, Armenian, Greek, French, Italian and Bulgarian. See, Ludwig Lott, pp.14.

display.[153] These photographs constitute a reliable record of the prevailing Ottoman self image. They highlighted the development of schools, factories, hospitals and military establishment. To correct the dominant Western view, images of "harem girls and backward occupations" were omitted.[154]

5.2. Exchanges

The fairs that provided architects with an unprecedented freedom to experiment, were also, with their hundreds of thousand of visitors, active disseminators of ideas, spread even more widely by the popular and professional journals that dedicated long sections to the architecture of the pavilions. Expositions created rare opportunities to extend the discussion of architecture beyond professionals circles to the general public, and foreigners' responses to architectural experiments could indicate future success or failure.

Because of the impact of Owen Jones's ideas on many architects, his contribution to the Crystal Palace must be discussed along with his theoretical stand. Jones developed his ideas in his book *Grammar of Ornament*, published in 1856 where he presented various Islamic styles as valuable guides for a new architecture especially in their use of decoration and color.[155] The exposition provided an opportunity to test his ideas. Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace, was decorated by Owen Jones according to the principles from Islamic architecture and especially Alhambra (fig).[156] He

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[153] *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, 27 March 1893.
[154] William Allen, 1The Abdülhamid II Collection", *History of Photography 8*, no.2, April 1984:119.
[155] Owen Jones, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, London, 1842.
[156] Çelik, p. 165.

proposed the use of new materials such as iron and glass in a grammar derived from Islamic buildings. In the Crystal Palace Jones also put into practice a color theory he had formulated based on archeological sources. His design called for large hangings to separate the sections of the upper level to evoke the look of a bazaar and the touch of the East.[157] He created this not by replicating Islamic forms but by interpreting them according to theoretical premises.

Frank Furness, the controversial Philadelphia architect, designed the Brazilian section in the main building of the 1876 Centennial Exposition in neo-Islamic style. Owen Jones appears to have been the main source of Islamic influence on Furness. He adopted Jones's theoretical position on the integrity of form and decoration. His Islamic themes can be seen in the Brazilian Pavilion where he used the pointed arch, crenellations, the superposition of square-sectioned columns over circular ones to create height and an elongated effect, clusters of circular columns, brightly colored glass tiles and floral ornament.

Louis Sullivan and Dankmar Adler's Transportation Building was one of the most memorable structures at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. They referred to Islamic architecture because the source was formally a novel and refreshing one. Their ideas which were used in this building -the small domed porch, the multiplication of receding arches, the curvilinear vine and scroll motif, the hierarchical treatment of surface elaboration from planar to complex ornamentation- were common in the architecture of Islam.[158]

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[157] Darby, *The Islamic Perspective*, 105.
[158] Çelik, p. 175.

The French architect Eugene Henard too was searching for an architectural vocabulary for the new century and sought inspiration in Islamic architecture. Like many architects of his era, he apprenticed at the world's fairs, as both architect and urban designer. It was the Palace of Electricity at the 1900 Paris Exposition that Henard appealed to Islamic architecture; "to create a building in air, he relied on an intensive and original decoration, but only on the upper levels of the structure."[159]

Architectural representation at the world's fairs brought a new focus to the discussion of architecture in Islamic countries themselves. The Ottoman Empire played a leading role among other Muslim nations, both in architectural practice and in theoretical debate. The Ottoman Empire hired European architects and consultants but not as policy makers. This was the result of a conscious choice by the ruling elite. Developments in graphic representation techniques and in architectural philosophy during the last three decades of the nineteenth century diverged considerably from the conventions of the classical period. Exhibitions acted as catalysts by publicizing them. They were embodied in the pavilions, in architectural drawings displayed at the exhibitions and in theoretical debates published on these occasions.

European architects who began practicing in the Ottoman Empire, brought their own graphic traditions with them, which soon became the norm. For example, when Parvillee was commissioned to work on monuments in Bursa, he documented his surveys with precise plans, elevations, sections and drawings of many details. Furthermore, in some of the section and elevation drawings, he indicated the analytical lines demonstrating the rules of geometry. Some of his work, displayed at

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[159] Wailly, *A travers l'exposition de 1900*, no. 7:51.

the 1867 Paris exposition, legitimized the official adoption of modern graphic techniques. European drawings of Islamic monuments from the eighteenth century on presented carefully rendered perspectives, elevations and sections as well as plans.[160] These were executed using European techniques of graphic representation, which differed from the Ottoman practices in their rendering of elevations, sections and perspectives. Detail drawings also belonged to the Western tradition and were introduced to the Ottoman Empire by European architects. The emphasis on Islamic details in Western drawings stemmed from the widespread belief among European architects that the value of Islamic architecture lay in its decorative creativity.[161]

In *Usul-u Mimari Osmani*, published by the Ottoman government on the occasion of the 1873 exposition in Vienna, the drawings by Montani Effendi, Boghos Effendi and Maillard displayed the same techniques and the same repertoire of plans, sections, elevations and details as in Parvillee's work. Although *Usul-u Mimari Osmani* was published one year before *Architecture et Decoration Turques*, the introductory essay is not coincidental or original but a continuation of discussion of the science of architecture stemming from Parvillee's designs for the 1867 Exposition, Anatole de Baudot's analyses of these pavilions the same year and Parvillee's *Architecture et Decoration Turques*, whose foreword was written by Viollet-le-Duc. However, there was no philosophical approach in *Architecture et Decoration Turques*, which rationalized Ottoman architecture according to geometric and formalistic relationships.

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[160] Examples demonstrating Western architects' interest in Islamic buildings are Lewis Vulliamy (1810s), Pascal Xavier Coste (1830s), Arundale (1830s), Texier (1830s and 1840s), Owen Jones (1840s-1870s).

[161] Leon Parvillee's *Architecture et decoration turques* is the outstanding example of this viewpoint.

Participation in the world's fairs had an impact of architectural practice in the Ottoman Empire as the search for a representational image in the exposition pavilions enhanced the development of an Ottoman style. For the Ottoman Empire and the Western countries the expositions provided a setting to test new ideas. Extensive information on buildings in the contemporary Ottoman press suggests their potential as models to be followed at home.[162]

In fact the evolution of a neo-Islamic style in Istanbul went hand in hand with architectural experimentation in the Ottoman exposition pavilions. It was different from earlier architecture that referred to the Ottoman Empire's classical period and was applied to new secular building types, adopted from Western precedents.

An example for the use of classical Ottoman elements was the tripartite portal of Bourgeois and Parvillee's 1863 building for the General Ottoman Exposition in the Istanbul Hippodrome. The radical applications of a neo-Islamic style occurred later in the century, most strikingly in two monumental buildings: the 1889 Terminal of the Orient Express (the Ottoman pavilion erected for the 1900 Universal Exposition) and the 1899 Public Debt Administration Building designed by the French architect Antoine Vallaury. The later structures have an imposing presence, as they integrate the traditional vocabulary into their design. These buildings correspond to such reinterpretations of Islamic architectural forms as those in the Chicago and Paris exposition pavilions in 1893 and 1900.

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[162] Z. Çelik, p. 157.

In the nineteenth century, the frequency of contacts between Ottoman and Western cultures increased and the exchange between artistic and architectural vocabularies became much more complex. The fairs celebrated the exchange between East and West. Some of the most striking experiments in integrating Islamic forms into Western buildings were carried out on the fairgrounds. In the Ottoman Empire, the expositions acted as catalysts for local cultural development. The architectural styles of the Ottoman pavilions and the related publications reflected a quest for self-definition and a self image. The exposition pavilions were thus forerunners of neo-Islamic styles in the Ottoman Empire.[163]

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[163] Çelik, p. 179.

CONCLUSION

The impact of the international fairs on world history needs to be considered at a number of levels. These concern not only the economic, social and cultural history but also art and architectural history. The first fairs started toward the end of the eighteenth century, but turned into more comprehensive organizations in the course of the nineteenth century. Within this context, technology, architecture and cultural identity are the main components which have been in the foreground of discourse and practice during their organization process. All involved countries saw the world's fairs as an opportunity to exhibit their identity and culture, to reflect their achievements and their ideas about the future and to prove themselves to the world. As their level of technology –representation of power- proved their industrial development in the world arena, architecture was used as a symbol of cultural identity and became a key element of the world's fairs. The issue of cultural self-definition for many non-Western societies during the nineteenth century is particularly complicated due to their struggle to balance modernization imported from the West with local values and forms. To analyze the controversy in its original terms, simplified and crystallized in the expositions helps us to locate it historically.

While claiming to be platforms for peaceful cultural communication, in reality the expositions displayed the entire nineteenth century world in a stratified relationship which empowered the West. Furthermore, for contemporary critical theorists they provided a complex reading of non-Western cultures which resists their homogenization. Since some Eastern nations were independent powers such as the Ottoman Empire while others were colonies during this period, the architectural representation of the East can be viewed from different perspectives. Historical documents clearly indicate that the Ottoman Empire always offered itself as a bridge between East and West, underlined participation in the modernization process and emphasized the universal quality of Ottoman architecture. Hence, instead of taking the norms of the West in the exhibitions, it tried to define its cultural identity in the context of its own historical accumulation. In nineteenth century world's fairs, the Ottoman Empire was excluded from the authentic and orientalist themes that dominated the representation of colonies, especially after the 1873 Vienna exposition, especially non-Western societies were often represented in authentic images determined by Western legacies. Before then, even when architecture demonstrated some principles, as seen in the Ottoman pavilions in the 1867 Universal Exposition in Paris, it was received as a dream environment, because of preconceptions about other cultures that were established by the nineteenth century. However, the Ottoman Empire can not be assessed in the same category because it was not a colony. The investigation of the non-Western scene reveals alternative perspectives that enlighten the complicated web of representational politics. This results in a complex picture of a nineteenth century world in which the West is not the only active agent.

A change from the display of traditional rugs and handicrafts in the early exhibitions toward industrial products and textiles of contemporary design may be surmised. The design of the pavilions become increasingly professional and modern. They reflect sociopolitical and cultural trends crucial to an understanding of nineteenth century transformations both in the West and the non-West. Their placement of pavilions on the exhibition grounds revealed the world order by Western powers. Western reception of these pavilions and Western architects' interpretation of Eastern traditions shed light on the dominant attitudes in cross-cultural exchanges. The expositions changed the medium through which the East was introduced to the West from drawings and descriptions to actual buildings. For contemporary critical scholarship this process justifies a reassessment of the agency of various actors in a hierarchised world order; of their respective cultures; and of what had been presented as Eastern culture.

Examining the Ottoman Empire's participation in the international expositions with a critical reading from the original archive documents, it can be seen that the Ottoman Empire was an active agent in the organization and planning of the events. As such it cannot be considered to be in the same category with the other colonial non-Western nations.

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