



ISTANBUL MEDENİYET UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

**Representing the Empire: Damage-Control and Image-
Management Strategies of the Hamidian Regime in the
International Exhibitions**

Master's Thesis

Yunus Emre Yiğit

June 2024



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Style and Reference Manual Statement

Having reviewed this thesis written under my supervision, I confirm that it has been written in accordance with Chicago Manual of Style and used its [footnote/in text] reference format consistently throughout the entire text.

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Declaration of Originality

I hereby declare that all information in this dissertation has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conducts, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

Representing the Empire: Damage-Control and Image-Management Strategies of the Hamidian Regime in the International Exhibitions

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Master's Thesis, Department of History

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This study examines the damage-control and image-management strategies of the Hamidian Regime in the international exhibitions. In the 1870s, the Ottoman Empire significantly lost its reputation in the international arena due to political and economic crises. The Ottoman Empire and Abdulhamid II were largely criticized and satirized in European newspapers and magazines. As the military and economic power of the empire was considerably weakened, the Hamidian Regime applied some soft power policies in order to restore the tarnished image of the empire and ensure its survival in the international platform. The international exhibitions constituted one of the areas that offered the Hamidian Regime the opportunity to implement these soft power policies. In the international exhibitions, the host countries allowed the participating nations to freely represent themselves. Therefore, the Hamidian Regime developed some exhibition strategies in order to improve the empire's worsening image. These exhibition strategies aimed to present the empire's cultural and religious identity accurately on the one hand, and to portray a modern and healthy image of the empire on the other. These strategies aimed to leave a positive impression on visitors from all over the world. I divided these strategies into two parts: during the exhibition and after the exhibition. The latter consisted of giving gifts to the leading figures such as the fair authorities and influential foreign participants that supported these fair strategies.

Keywords: International Exhibitions, Universal Expositions, World Fairs, Representation, Abdulhamid II, The Hamidian Regime, Paris, Chicago, Antwerp, Brussels, Budapest, St. Louis, San Francisco, Amsterdam.

ÖZET

İmparatorluğu Temsil Etmek: Uluslararası Sergilerde Hamidiye Rejiminin Hasar-Kontrol ve İmaj-Yönetim Stratejileri

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Bu çalışma, Hamidiye Rejimi'nin uluslararası sergilerdeki hasar kontrolü ve imaj yönetimi stratejilerini incelemektedir. 1870'lerde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, siyasi ve ekonomik krizler nedeniyle uluslararası arenada itibarını önemli ölçüde kaybetti. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve II. Abdülhamid, Avrupa gazetelerinde ve dergilerinde yoğun bir şekilde eleştirilmiş ve hicvedilmiştir. İmparatorluğun askeri ve ekonomik gücü önemli ölçüde zayıfladığından, Hamidiye Rejimi imparatorluğun zedelenen imajını düzeltmek ve uluslararası platformda hayatta kalmasını sağlamak için bazı yumuşak güç politikaları uygulamıştır. Uluslararası sergiler, Hamidiye Rejimi'ne bu yumuşak güç politikalarını uygulama fırsatı sunan alanlardan birini teşkil etmiştir. Uluslararası sergilerde ev sahibi ülkeler, katılımcı milletlerin kendilerini özgürce temsil etmelerine izin vermiştir. Bu nedenle Hamidiye Rejimi, imparatorluğun kötüleşen imajını düzeltmek için bazı sergi stratejileri geliştirdi. Bu sergi stratejileri bir yandan imparatorluğun kültürel ve dini kimliğini doğru bir şekilde sunmayı amaçlarken diğer yandan imparatorluğun modern ve sağlıklı bir imajını resmetmeyi hedeflemiştir. Bu stratejiler dünyanın her yerinden gelen ziyaretçiler üzerinde olumlu bir izlenim bırakmayı amaçlıyordu. Bu stratejileri sergi sırasında ve sergi akabindeki stratejiler olmak üzere ikiye ayırdım. Sergi sonrası stratejiler, bu sergi stratejilerini destekleyen fuar yetkilileri ve nüfuzlu yabancı katılımcılar gibi önde gelen isimlere hediyeler vermekten oluşuyordu.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Uluslararası Sergiler, Evrensel Sergiler, Dünya Fuarları, Temsiliyet, II. Abdülhamid, Hamidiye Rejimi, Paris, Şikago, Antwerp, Brüksel, Budapeşte, St. Louis San Fransisko, Amsterdam.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION



Figure 1. "The Illustrious Convalescent." Punch or the London Charivari, July 20, 1867.

This thesis examines the strategies followed by the Hamidian Regime in the international exhibitions to restore the empire's worsening image abroad since the mid-1870s. Drawn at a time when Sultan Abdulaziz visited London during his European journey, figure 1 from *Punch or the London Charivari*, a British weekly magazine of humor and satire, depicts the Ottoman image abroad during the Tanzimat in two ways. Firstly, it reminds us that the Ottoman Empire was dubbed the Sick Man of Europe. Secondly, it stresses that the Ottoman Empire tried to recover its health through reforms. For the Russian Tsar Nicholas I (1825-1855), the Ottoman Empire was "a sick man" who was dying, and Russia and Britain must make a preliminary agreement to share his inheritance.¹ Palmerston, however, believed that the Ottomans could regain their strength through administrative, military, and financial reforms.² Hanioglu argues that the Tanzimat reformists saw reform as a tool to repair the empire's

¹ Candan Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856)* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 69.

² Bayram Soy, "Lord Palmerston'un Osmanlı Toprak Bütünlüğünü Koruma Siyaseti," *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları (HÜTAD)* 4, no. 7 (2007): 149.

tarnished prestige among the Great Powers.³ Gaining public opinion in Europe was also vital for restoring the empire's deteriorating image. In 1848, the Sublime Porte showed its goodwill to the Western world by refusing to cede Polish and Hungarian refugees to Austria and Russia. On the eve of the Crimean War, "European public opinion was certainly pro-Ottoman and almost all British and many French newspapers were full of pro-Ottoman and anti-Russian sentiments".⁴ After this war, the Ottoman Empire was promoted to the Concert of Europe and was referred to as "the Grand Old Turk"⁵, the opposite of the Sick Man of Europe.

When we return to the cartoon's meaning, its headline defines the Ottoman Empire as a convalescing sick man. In its caption, John Bull, a national personification of Britain in cartoons, tells Sultan Abdulaziz: "*You A Sick Man! Ha! Ha!—I knew my Crimean doctors would set you up, and this visit will do you all the good in the world.*" Its first message refers to the Reform Edict of 1856 and debt agreements starting in the Crimean War. Its second message evokes the positive impression left by the sultan and his entourage upon European politicians and civilians during this European journey. Sultan Abdulaziz stated that the primary aim of this visit was to firsthand observe and identify the deficiencies of the ongoing reforms throughout the empire.⁶ To sum up, this visit left a positive image of the Sick Man in the eyes of European politicians and civilians. In this political order, the Sublime Porte paid great attention to attending major world fairs held in London, Paris, and Vienna. Its primary goal was to display the empire's modernization efforts, strength, and unity after the catastrophes in the 1820s and the 1830s. In other words, the Sublime Porte sought to show that the empire was still strong, modern, and an equal member of the Great Powers. However, the Sublime Porte did not see the empire's representation as vital for its survival since the empire was not under a full attack of the European press. Rather, it tried to show that the Sick Man was getting better.

In the 1870s, this relatively positive image was shattered by two events that made the the empire's representation in the international exhibitions vital. Firstly, on October 6, 1875, a spectacular incident that significantly tarnished the Ottoman image abroad took place. The Grandvizier Mahmud Nedim Pasha declared that the Sublime Porte suspended unilaterally interest payments on the empire's debt to ease the severe fiscal burden on the Imperial Treasury.

³ Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 76.

⁴ Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War*, 87-90.

⁵ Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domain: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1999), 137.

⁶ Nihat Karaer, "*Sultan Abdülaziz'in Avrupa Seyahati ile Osmanlı ve Batı Kamuoyundaki Yankıları*" (PhD diss., Ankara, 2003), 122.

This sudden decision between the Herzegovina Uprising and the Bulgarian Uprising shocked hundred of thousands of European investors who held Ottoman bonds. The rumor that Mahmud Nedim Pasha took this decision with the suggestion of the Russian ambassador Ignatyev further infuriated the British and French bankers and shareholders. The hearsay that Mithat Pasha, Mahmud Nedim Pasha, and Ignatyev gained huge profits by manipulation in stock market has virtually ruined the empire's reputation in European public opinion.⁷ European investors insulted the Ottoman ambassadors; the British and French newspapers blamed the Sublime Porte for wasting European investments and even questioned the Ottoman existence in the Balkans⁸; and the masses held anti-Ottoman demonstrations. Hanioglu claims that these public reactions severely restrained "the freedom of action of Ottoman diplomats" during the Balkan Crisis of 1875-1878 and reduced British commitment to the empire's territorial integrity.⁹

Secondly, the efforts of W. E. Gladstone, the head of the Liberal Party, had a great effect on the empire's tarnished image during the Bulgarian Uprising in 1876. The British liberals led by him attacked the Disraeli government on political and moral grounds and accused the Ottomans of killing the Christians.¹⁰ Even before this crisis, liberal and even conservative newspapers had started to stress that Britain must alter its traditional eastern policy.¹¹ They largely depicted the Ottoman Empire as corrupt, unfit for modern rule, and a backward empire that abused its Christian citizens.¹² By the end of 1878, The Times and The Daily News published 359 and 159 articles respectively under the same title about the Eastern Question.¹³ Gladstone wrote "*Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*" that harshly criticized the Turks and the Disraeli government. In the first month after its release, 200.000 copies were distributed and nearly 500 demonstrations were held.¹⁴ Gladstone, who labeled the Ottomans as "the Unspeakable Turk"¹⁵, claimed that the Turkish executive power in Bulgaria had vanished and all Turkish civilian and military officials, "bag and baggage", must be expelled from the Balkans they have "desolated and profaned".¹⁶ Hanioglu stresses that this campaign

⁷ Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir IV* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1991), 146-147.

⁸ Mahmut Kemal İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar I (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1982), 291.*

⁹ Hanioglu, *A Brief History*, 92.

¹⁰ Davide Rodogno, *Against Massacre: Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, 1815-1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 147.

¹¹ Leslie Rogne Schumacher, "*A Lasting Solution: The Eastern Question and British Imperialism (1875-1878)*" (PhD diss., The University of Minnesota, 2012), 60-74.

¹² *Ibid.*, 63.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁴ Rodogno, *Against Massacre*, 154.

¹⁵ Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domain*, 135.

¹⁶ W. E. Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* (London: John Murray, 1876), 61-62.

largely replaced “the British imagination of the post-1848 image of liberal Ottomans with one of bloodthirsty Muslim tyrants brutally oppressing defenseless Christians.”¹⁷

Another significant issue that tarnished the Ottoman image abroad was the 1894-1896 Armenian Crisis. While this crisis did not result in an external intervention in contrast to Bulgaria, it led to unrepairable damage to the empire’s credibility and its sultan’s image abroad. Gladstone’s verbal support for the Armenian cause through newspapers, parliamentary debates, and public meetings was enough to harm the empire’s image abroad. His anti-Ottoman policy received considerable support from British public opinion, and many demonstrations and rallies were held to urge the Salisbury government to press the Hamidian Regime. The headlines of British newspapers made a crucial contribution to the deterioration of the empire’s reputation and its sultan’s image abroad. The Graphic constantly filled its pages with the news of the murders with astonishing images and extraordinary illustrations.¹⁸ Moreover, political cartoons satirized Abdulhamid II as a cruel autocrat who took pleasure in shedding his Christian subjects.¹⁹ Georgeon stresses that the European press widely criticized and satirized Abdulhamid II who was accused of deliberately inciting and arming the Muslims against the Armenians.²⁰

The abovementioned story shaped Abdulhamid II’s foreign policy based on soft counterattack. Selim Deringil conceptualizes this policy as damage-control and image-management strategy. I built my argument on this expression. Deringil states the fact that the Yıldız Archive was full of the pejorative newspaper clippings shows how Abdulhamid II wanted to control this perceived damage. Servet Yanatma tells that the state language defined these news as detrimental (muzır), despitious (garazkâr), hostile (düşmanca), malicious (kötü niyetli), and insulting (aşağılayıcı).²¹ The Hamidian Regime, thus, tried to minimize the damage of these pejorative publications and theatre plays which aimed at presenting the empire “as a degenerate nest of bloodthirsty tyrants at worst, or a decaying fleshpot of the orient vice at best.”²² Deringil states that “[A]s their world shrank around them, the Ottomans realized that a vital aspect of

¹⁷ Hanioglu, *A Brief History*, 111.

¹⁸ Rodogno, *Against Massacre*, 197.

¹⁹ For many political cartoons that satirized Abdulhamid II, see Necmettin Alkan, *Karikatürlerle Sultan II. Abdülhamid: Propaganda ve Gerçek Arasında Bir Padişah* (İstanbul: Kronik, 2018).

²⁰ Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2018), 427.

²¹ Servet Yanatma, “*The International News Agencies in the Ottoman Empire (1854-1908)*” (PhD diss., Middle East Technical University, 2015), 65.

²² Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domain*, 135.

survival was the projection of a positive image abroad.”²³ One influential way to reflect a positive image to the outer world through this soft counterattack policy was to participate in the international exhibitions visited by millions of people from all over the world. They offered “peaceful competition” to the participants²⁴ and allowed them to mould their national identities in global scale. As the host countries did not impose any restrictions on them, the participating nations had the freedom to represent themselves in any way they wished. In a half-real or half-exaggerated way, the participants had the opportunity to prepare an exhibition that would show a favourable image to visitors. In the Ottoman context, the international fairs gave “the Unspeakable Turk” the chance to express himself freely. The world fairs were open to visitors on the one hand, and to many local and international journalists on the other. These journalists published their impressions on the world fairs in newspapers and made it accessible to millions of people.²⁵ These ephemeral events have become immortal in the memories of visitors, in newspaper headlines, and un/published memoirs. Therefore, the Hamidian Regime recognized the significance of the state-controlled representation of the empire and systematized the way of representation to avoid any individual initiatives which would potentially harm the empire’s honor and prestige. This state-controlled representation included private entrepreneurs who made a contract with the empire to organize the Ottoman exhibition.

1.1.Literature Review

Ottoman participation in the international fairs has been studied in two ways. Firstly, some scholars produced descriptive and monographic works. For example, Rıfat Önsoy wrote an article that gave detailed information about the first three exhibitions (London 1851, Paris 1855, and London 1862) in which the Ottoman Empire participated and the 1863 Istanbul Exhibition.²⁶ He shortly stated that the Ottomans attended these three exhibitions to show the progress of their empire and the skills of their citizens in the fields of agriculture, industry, and art, and the efforts of the Ottoman sultan to develop his country. For him, the Sublime Porte held the 1863 Istanbul Exhibition, which was open to foreign exhibitors, in order to identify the problems of the Ottoman economy and seek solutions to them. In their master’s theses, Nurdan

²³ Ibid., 135.

²⁴ David Raizman and Ethan Robey, “Introduction” in *Expanding Nationalisms at World’s Fair: Identity, Diversity, and Exchange, 1851-1915*, ed. David Raizman and Ethan Robey (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 8.

²⁵ Eric Storm and Joep Leersen, “Introduction,” in *World Fairs and the Global Moulding of National Identities: International Exhibitions as Cultural Platforms, 1851-1958*, ed. Eric Storm and Joep Leersen (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2021), 8.

²⁶ Rıfat Önsoy, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Katıldığı İlk Uluslararası Sergiler ve Sergi-i Umûmî-i Osmânî (1863 İstanbul Sergisi),” *Belleten* 47, no. 185 (1983), 195-235.

Gür describes the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition²⁷ whereas Didem Fidan presents a comprehensive account of the Chicago World's Fair by using almost all the documents in the Ottoman archive.²⁸ In her master's thesis, Nilgün Özilhan deals with the Ottoman participation in the London Great Exhibition in 1851 by examining contemporary newspapers such as *Takvim-i Vekayi*, *Ceride-i Havadis*, and *The Times*.²⁹ In his dissertation, Şefik Memiş examines the influence of Ottoman participation in the international exhibitions on the formation and implementation of Ottoman industrialisation policies.³⁰ He scrutinizes the connection between the Ottoman industrialization strategies and the Ottoman exhibition perspective through the newspapers and the reports of those who attended in the world fairs. All these studies underline that the Ottoman Empire attended the international fairs to show its agricultural and industrial progress to the world.

Secondly, some scholars focused on the Ottoman participation in the international fairs in the context of self-representation. In her pioneering work, Zeynep Çelik scrutinizes the representation of Islamic cultures in the nineteenth-century world's fairs with a specific emphasis on architecture.³¹ She underscores that the international fairs, though peaceful venues, were platforms where power relations that have been stratified between the Occident and the Orient throughout the ages were displayed. For her, the exhibition pavilions allowed the colonizers to embody their "concept of Islamic culture" and Muslim nations to define themselves. She states that Muslim nations endeavored to establish an identity in a world almost entirely under the influence of the West by building verisimilar replicas of their architectural works and by adorning them with Islamic motifs. She aims to refute the Western notion that defined Islam as a "silent" and "frozen" by focusing on the political, social, and cultural transformations in the 19th century.

Similarly, Ahmet Ersoy analyzes how the Ottomans sought to establish "a unique and localised position for their empire" in the 1873 Vienna World's Fair which attempted to

²⁷ Nurdan Gür, "1900 Yılı Uluslararası Paris Sergisi'nde Osmanlı Devleti" (Master's Thesis: Marmara University, 2014).

²⁸ Didem Fidan, "Osmanlı Belgelerinde 1893 Şikago Sergisi" (Master's Thesis: Marmara University, 2022).

²⁹ Nilgün Özilhan, "1851 Londra Uluslararası Sergisi'ne Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Katılımı" (Master's Thesis: Ankara University, 2020).

³⁰ Şefik Memiş, "19. Yüzyılda Bir Sanayileşme Stratejisi Olarak Uluslararası Fuarlar: Osmanlı Örneği" (Doktora Tezi: İstanbul, 2015).

³¹ Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

comprehensively display the Orient and enabled the participants to represent themselves.³² Like Zeynep Çelik, Ersoy opposed the Western assumption that saw Islam as “silent” and “frozen”. He highlights that the Ottomans regarded the international fairs as an opportunity to exhibit their empire’s “strength and coherence”. The Sublime Porte prepared two self-orientalistic but national exhibits for this fair: the *Usûl-i Mimârî-i Osmânî* and the *Elbise-i Osmâniyye*. The former aimed to prove that the Ottomans had a national architectural style whereas the latter sought to show the multi-ethnic, multi-religious, and multi-cultural components of the empire.

In the seventh chapter of his path-breaking book, Selim Deringil investigates Ottoman participation in the international fairs during the Hamidian Era in the context of imperial self-portrait.³³ He contends that the Hamidian Regime, which paid special attention to attending the world fairs to improve the empire’s deteriorating image abroad, developed two exhibition strategies. The first was to present the empire as the leader of the Islamic World on the one hand and a member of the civilised world on the other. The second was to prevent any unpleasant exhibition that would damage the empire’s honor and prestige because the Hamidian Regime opposed “what Edward Said has termed representations as representations.”³⁴ Therefore, the Hamidian Regime took great care in the selection of the products to be displayed and the accurate representation of cultural activities in the international fairs.

These three seminal works have led to some theses that focused on the imperial self-representation. Cafer Sarıkaya explores how the Ottomans represented themselves in the Chicago World’s Fair through Turkish Theatre which offered visitors musical performances and theatrical amusements.³⁵ Emphasizing that the international fairs offered the Orient a ground for architectural and theatrical representation, Sarıkaya attempts to construct this distinctive experience via published memoirs and reviews. In her dissertation, Bengi Başaran addresses the Ottoman representation in the Chicago World’s Fair in the context of political, social, and architectural conditions of the nineteenth century.³⁶ She emphasizes that the Hamidian Regime paid great attention to the display of a true image of the empire in this fair. In the last chapter of her dissertation, Başaran mentions the views of foreign contemporary

³² Ahmet Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Imaginary: Reconfiguring the Architectural Past in a Modernizing Empire* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2015).

³³ Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domain*, 150-165.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 156.

³⁵ Cafer Sarıkaya, “*Celebreting Difference: Turkish Theatre in the Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893*” (Master’s Thesis, İstanbul, 2010).

³⁶ Bengi Başaran, “*1893 Chicago Kolomb Dünya Sergisi’nde Osmanlı Temsili*” (PhD diss., İstanbul Technical University, 2015).

sources about the Ottoman representation in the Chicago World's Fair in order to measure the reflection of this image management strategy over foreigners. In her master's thesis, Zeynep Gerdan-Williams examines how the concessioners of the Middle Eastern exhibits in the Midway Plaisance in the Chicago World's Fair made a huge commercial profit against the White City and the World's Parliament of Religions by benefiting from the Muslim image in the American's mind which has been entrenched for centuries at a time when the US consumer culture was emerging.³⁷ She argues that these concessionaires under Sol Bloom, the director of the Midway Plaisance, succeeded because they identified what visitors needed and offered them a world of entertainment.

In her master's thesis, Ece Özçeri argues that the Ottomans sought to accurately represent themselves in the international fairs in order to dismantle the western cliches and stereotypes about the Ottoman Empire.³⁸ She objected to the Western notion that saw the East as the nest of backwardness, superstition, and non-industrial production. Stressing that the Ottoman Empire was a sui generis civilization that endeavored to modernize its institutions on the one hand and preserve its cultural and religious identity on the other, Özçeri examines the self-representation of the Ottoman Empire in major world fairs between 1851 and 1900. She identified six exhibition strategies pursued by the Sublime Porte which sought to demonstrate the empire's modernizing face to the world. The first three seek to surpass exotism, to reflect an image of a modern empire, and to show a capable member of the Great Powers. The fourth is to portray the empire and its sultan as the leader of the Islamic world. The fifth was to present social harmony and solidarity in a multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic, and multi-religious empire. The final strategy was to associate the empire with the history of the historical geography it ruled. Although Özçeri successfully explains these strategies, she uses almost no archival documents in the main section of her study. Rather, Özçeri applies photography to support her arguments because she tells that photography was the most ideal instrument to depict and propagate the empire. She also gives one example for each strategy.

The main chapters of this thesis deal with the fair strategies developed by the Hamidian Regime. I divide these strategies into two parts: during the exhibition and after the exhibition. The first part consists of six strategies while the second part comprises two strategies. For each

³⁷ Zeynep Gerdan Williams, *"Triumph of Commercialism: The Commodification of the Middle Eastern Exotica at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893"* (Master's Thesis: Bilkent University, 2008).

³⁸ Ece Özçeri, *"Displaying the Empire: A Search for Self-Representation of the Ottoman Empire in the International Exhibitions of the Nineteenth Century"* (Master's Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2014).

strategy, I give examples from at least two exhibitions to prove that these strategies were consciously determined by the Hamidian Regime. Instead of examining only major exhibitions, my study focuses on the official and unofficial exhibitions that the empire attended during the reign of Abdulhamid II. Therefore, this thesis contains exhibitions that have not been previously mentioned in academic studies. Besides, it encompasses unused archival documents and photographs. All these strategies seek to prove how the Ottoman foreign officials had been always on the alert to protect the honor and prestige of the empire as if they had received verbal or written orders from Istanbul before going to their posts. This thesis includes some strategies not mentioned in previous studies. In the first place, this study is the first to address the post-exhibition strategies of the empire. Secondly, I deal with how Ottoman foreign mission was always vigilant to prevent Bulgaria and Egypt from displaying unfavorable things against the empire. Furthermore, this study is the first to deal with the Ottoman museology as an image-management policy in the context of the world fairs. I also limited some previous strategies to the Hamidian Era in order to present a more comprehensive era policy.

1.2. Methodology, Sources, and Thesis Outline

This study builds its arguments and its conclusions from intensive archival research. I tried to find every relevant archival document about a topic I mentioned in my thesis to get the whole story. I meticulously analysed documents that had already been used in other studies because I found some documents that had been read haphazardly and incompletely. Therefore, I did cross-reading of contemporary foreign sources and archival documents; found contemporary photographs which gave me an idea of where the event took place; and read secondary sources written abroad on the subject in order to determine the accuracy of the story told in an archival document due to the possibility of exaggeration or incomplete and missing information given by state channels when reporting an incident. In the third and fourth chapters, which constitute the main parts of this thesis, I based my arguments on a critical analysis of archival documents. In some parts, I supported my arguments with contemporary newspapers and photographs that have never been used in an academic study before. Additionally, I applied exhibition pamphlets to reach more detailed information.

This study consists of five chapters, including an introduction and conclusion. In the first part of the second chapter, after a brief mention of the genesis and meaning of the international expositions, I address three main political and cultural events introduced in the age of high imperialism (1870-1914), which coincided with the reign of Abdulhamid II:

colonial exhibitions, old villages, and the themed foreign villages with national pavilions. Of these three main events, the last two were manifestations of Eric Hobsbawn's well-known phrase: "invented traditions." Colonial exhibitions were educating and amusing venues built by the 19th-century imperial nation-states to justify their imperial and colonial policies in the eyes of their own citizens and visitors from all over the world. By displaying the raw materials and indigenous peoples brought from the colonies in the international expositions, imperial nation-states sought to show the difference between their superior civilization, resulting from their purported racial superiority, and the inferior civilization of the colonized peoples. Colonial exhibitions based their ideological justification on Social Darwinism, a highly influential movement of thought in the late 19th century, which asserted the idea that the fittest would survive in a world where resources were scarce. The old villages were informative and funny exhibits built by imperial nation-states for imperial purposes. The 19th-century nation-states sought to associate their current empires with a deep-rooted but vanished past. Themed villages allocated to the participating countries allowed them to present their cultures comprehensively and accurately. In the second part, I give a comprehensive compilation of some of the major international expositions in which the Ottoman Empire participated during the reign of Abdulhamid II. These expositions are as follows: Antwerp 1885, Paris 1889, Chicago 1893, Antwerp 1894, Berlin 1896, Budapest 1896, Brussels 1897, Paris 1900, and St. Louis 1904.

In the third chapter, I discuss the strategies pursued by the Hamidian Regime in the international expositions. These strategies sought to improve the empire's deteriorating image in the international diplomacy and press in the 1870s. The first strategy aims to represent the empire and the sultan as the leader of the Islamic world in order to increase their prestige among the Christian powers which had millions of Muslim population and among the Muslims living under these Christian powers. This strategy was based on Abdulhamid II's pan-Islamism policy. The second one focuses on preventing unpleasant portrayals of the East in order not to further increase the Western perception of the East as exotic and backward. The third targets to monitor autonomous parts of the empire such as Bulgaria and Egypt because they could display anything injurious to the empire's image. The fourth tries to exhibit the empire's glorious past through the cultural properties in museums and the historical geography over which the Ottomans ruled because this kind of display would show the world the traces of powerful times of the weakening empire. The fifth attempts to portray the empire as an equal member of the civilized world because the Ottomans still saw themselves as an equal member of the Great Powers as recognized in the Treaty of Paris in 1856. The final strategy seeks to emphasize the

empire's multi-ethnic and multi-religious character through the diversity and homeland of the goods on display and the exhibitors' ethnicity.

In the fourth chapter, I scrutinize the second stage of the damage-control and image-management strategy of the Hamidian Regime: post-world fair relations. This stage is an extension of the strategies implemented during the international expositions. In this chapter, I cope with two post-world fair strategies implemented to minimize the empire's tarnished image abroad. The first part of this chapter examines the Hamidian Regime's gift policy that comprises giving medals to influential figures among the fair authorities and donating exhibition items to institutions like museums and libraries. The second part of this chapter addresses the Hamidian Regime's attempt to hold an international exhibition: the 1894 Istanbul Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition.

CHAPTER 2. THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS DURING THE HAMIDIAN ERA

2.1. International Exhibitions in the Age of High Imperialism (1870 and 1914)

The first precursors of the age of international exhibitions, which started with the Great Exhibition in London's Hyde Park in 1851, began in France. Between 1797 and 1849, France held ten national exhibitions, closed to the foreign exhibitors for the fear of economic competition, in order to boost its national economy and to consolidate its national unity against a British-led embargo over France. Similar national exhibitions were organized in the first half of the 19th century in Germany, England, Belgium, Spain, Sweden, Russia, Ireland, and the US. In 1851, Great Britain held the first international exhibition known as the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations. After that, large and small hundreds of international exhibitions were held in many countries. Paris 1855, London 1862, Paris 1867, Vienna 1873, Philadelphia 1876, Paris 1878, Paris 1889, Chicago 1893, Paris 1900, and St. Louis 1904 were the most popular. Although Great Britain invented this genre, France and the US took the lead with five major events until the Great War.

International expositions were a product of a peace period starting with the Congress of Vienna in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars.³⁹ Ece Özçeri emphasizes that the organizers of the international expositions rhetorically underlined the peace because they saw the war as the main threat to their capitalist economies, which needed a continuous trade network and a stable monetary system. Whereas earlier national exhibitions focused on the only domestic economy, the international expositions were an arena for nation-states to define themselves in technological, economical, and cultural terms. Rıfat Önsoy underlined that the international exhibitions were a promotional centres for industrial powers in Europe which sought to find markets for their growing production.⁴⁰ Rydell argues that the international exhibitions were “the exercise of political and economic power in cultural terms.”⁴¹ Zeynep Çelik notes that the international expositions represented the 19th-century global world in a “microcosm.”⁴² They displayed nations' industrial, technological, and cultural assets. Greenhalgh states that all the international expositions between 1851 and 1914 were shaped by liberal ideology and

³⁹ For a good explanation about the relation between peace and international expositions, see Özçeri, “*Displaying the Empire*,” 19-28.

⁴⁰ Önsoy, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Katıldığı,” 195.

⁴¹ Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press), 14.

⁴² Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 1.

encompassed a mixture of material progress, free trade, philanthropy, capital, and imperialism that reflected the 19th century.⁴³ He stressed that the international exhibitions allowed wealthy entrepreneurs to introduce themselves; merchants to engage in free trade; and philanthropic organisations to increase their effectiveness.

The international expositions were sponsored by governments, lotteries, private individuals, or exhibition companies such as the Elia Suhami & Sadullah Company as in the Ottoman case. Especially governments paid special attention to support and fund expositions which became a powerful stage for them to convey a message to millions of people. In the age of high imperialism (1870-1914), the international expositions witnessed three innovative events: the colonial exhibitions, the themed foreign villages, and the old cities. These new exhibitions, beyond being a place of amusement, allowed on the one hand the imperial powers to advertise and impose their existing colonialist policies and on the other hand the participating nations to represent themselves. They were manifestations of what Hobsbawm conceptualised as the invented traditions. Both the host nations and the participating ones always intended to present a positive image of their countries. Furthermore, Roche stressed that these new exhibitions had “a touristic and consumerist character” which advertised and commodify different cultures.⁴⁴ This part focuses on main features of these three new events.

One of the most entertaining, informing, and educating events in the international expositions in the age of high imperialism was colonial exhibitions which displayed the other for some imperial goals. The historical roots of colonial exhibitions go back to the ethnographic exhibitions. The study of the other through collections of human skeletons was a common practice in the scientific world which sought evidence for the hierarchical classification of human specimens. Scientists and anthropologists, however, needed living human samples they can see, touch, and measure in order to conduct their studies comparatively. The first ethnographic park to meet this need was built by the French architect Edme Verniquet in 1802.⁴⁵ In this ethnographic park, men were displayed in their native clothes in a setting that reflected their ways of life. In the first half of the 19th century, similar ethnographic showcases became popular in the US and Europe through travelling circuses. P. T. Barnum’s American Museum

⁴³ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World’s Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 27.

⁴⁴ Maurice Roche, *Mega-Events and Modernity: Olympics and Expos in the Growth of Global Culture* (London: Routledge, 2003), 42.

⁴⁵ Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boetsch, Eric Deroo, and Sandrine Lemaire, *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 5.

founded in New York in 1841 overshadowed the success of all entrepreneurs who established ethnographic parks. Barnum began to stage his living human specimens in an amusement area that included magical tricks, dancing, theatrical reconstructions, and scientific lectures.

In 1874, Carl Hagenbeck, Barnum's collaborator, transformed ethnographic exhibitions into human zoos which displayed only one racial group and animals together. He exhibited the Lapps from Finland together with their tools, tents, weapons, and reindeers in Hamburg in 1874.⁴⁶ Extending his catalogue of human specimens and professionalizing his shows, Hagenbeck exported his exhibitions under the name of anthropological-zoological ones. This type of ethnographic exhibition became an indispensable part of the international expositions under the title of colonial exhibitions in the following decades. The 1878 Paris Universal Exhibition was the first to include colonial peoples. The display of four hundred natives brought from the French colonies Senegal, Tahiti, and Indochina drew the attention of great number of visitors.⁴⁷ Amsterdam International Colonial and Export Exhibition in 1883 was the first colonial fair to devoted to a colonial empire. After these two examples, this genre became one of the most attractive events in the international expositions. Some world fairs such as the 1889 and 1900 Paris Universal Expositions also featured foreign nations' colonies.

The ideological motive behind the colonial exhibitions was closely associated with Social Darwinism which means the adaptation of Darwin's biological theory based on "struggle for existence" and "the survival of the fittest" among the same or different species into social, political, and economic life. In fact, Darwin borrowed these concepts from the economist Thomas Malthus and the sociologist Herbert Spencer, respectively. Thus, his theory, adapted to social sciences, was immediately adopted by the 19th-century imperialist nation-states. According to Collin Wells, Social Darwinism is the general doctrine of the continuous progress of people who emerge victorious in the struggle for dominance over the scarce resources owing to population growth.⁴⁸ Similarly, Halliday argues that Social Darwinism supports "the struggle for existence" between nations and races.⁴⁹ Its proponents, thus, saw imperialism as an essential process of racial cleansing. In this context, the colonial exhibitions were a stage for imperial nation-states to justify their colonial policies in the eyes of the public. Luis Sanchez claimed

⁴⁶ Bodhari Warsame, "A Brief History of Staging Somali Ethnographic Performing Troupes in Europe: 1885-1930," in *Staged Otherness: Ethnic Shows in Central and Eastern Europe 1850-1939*, ed. Dagnoslaw Demski and Dominika Czarnecka (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2021), 81.

⁴⁷ Raymond Corbey, "Ethnographic Showcases: 1870-1930," *Cultural Anthropology* 8, no. 3 (1993), 341.

⁴⁸ Collin Wells, "Social Darwinism," *American Journal of Sociology* 12, no. 5 (1907), 695.

⁴⁹ R.J. Halliday, "Social Darwinism: A Definition," *Victorian Studies* 14, no. 4 (1971), 391.

that the public, who demanded “to see and fell the other”, greatly appreciated the colonial exhibitions and asked for more exoticism, more civilising missions, more colonial products, more conversions, and more indigenous people presented to the white man’s power.⁵⁰

Table 1. A List of Colonial Exhibitions in the World Fairs

Year	Host City	Title	Colonies
1878	Paris	Universal Exposition	Senegal, Tahiti, and Indochina
1883	Amsterdam	International Colonial and Export Exposition	Dutch East and West Indies
1885	Antwerp	International Exposition	The Congo Free State
1886	London	Colonial and Indian Exposition	India and Lagos
1887	Madrid	Philippines Exposition	Philippines
1889	Paris	Universal Exposition	Algeria, Tunisia, Senegal, Annam, Tonkin, Cochinchina, Martinique, Caledonia
1893	Chicago	World’s Columbian Exposition	Java, Dahomey, and Samoa
1894	Lyon	International and Colonial Exposition	Algeria, Tunisia, French Indochina, West Africa
1894	Porto	Insular and Colonial Exposition	Portugese Colonies
1894	Antwerp	International Exposition	The Congo Free State
1896	Berlin	Great Industrial Exposition	Herero and Nama
1896	Rouen	National and Colonial Exposition	Sudan, Senegal,
1897	Brussels	International Exposition	The Congo Free State
1899	Omaha	Greater America Exposition	Hawai, Cuba, Portorica, and Philippines
1900	Paris	Universal Exposition	French, British, Dutch, and Portugese Colonies
1904	St. Louis	Louisiana Purchase Exposition	Philippines
1905	Liege	International Exposition	The Congo Free State
1906	Marseille	Colonial Exhibition	Indochina, Algeria, Tunisia, West Africa, and Madagascar
1907	Paris	Colonial Exposition	Indochina, Madagascar, Congo, Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco
1908	London	Franco-British Exhibition	Senegalese and Irish Villages

⁵⁰ Luis A. Sanchez-Gomez, “Human Zoos or Ethnic Shows? Essence and Contingency in Living Ethnological Exhibitions,” *Culture & History Digital Journal* 2, no. 2 (2013): 3.



Figure 2. Surinamese Inhabitants, Amsterdam International Colonial and Export Exposition, 1883.
<https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/mijn/verzamelingen/2627769--damiet-schneeweisz/koloniale-tentoonstelling-1883/objecten#/RP-F-1994-12-46,49> (05-04-2024)

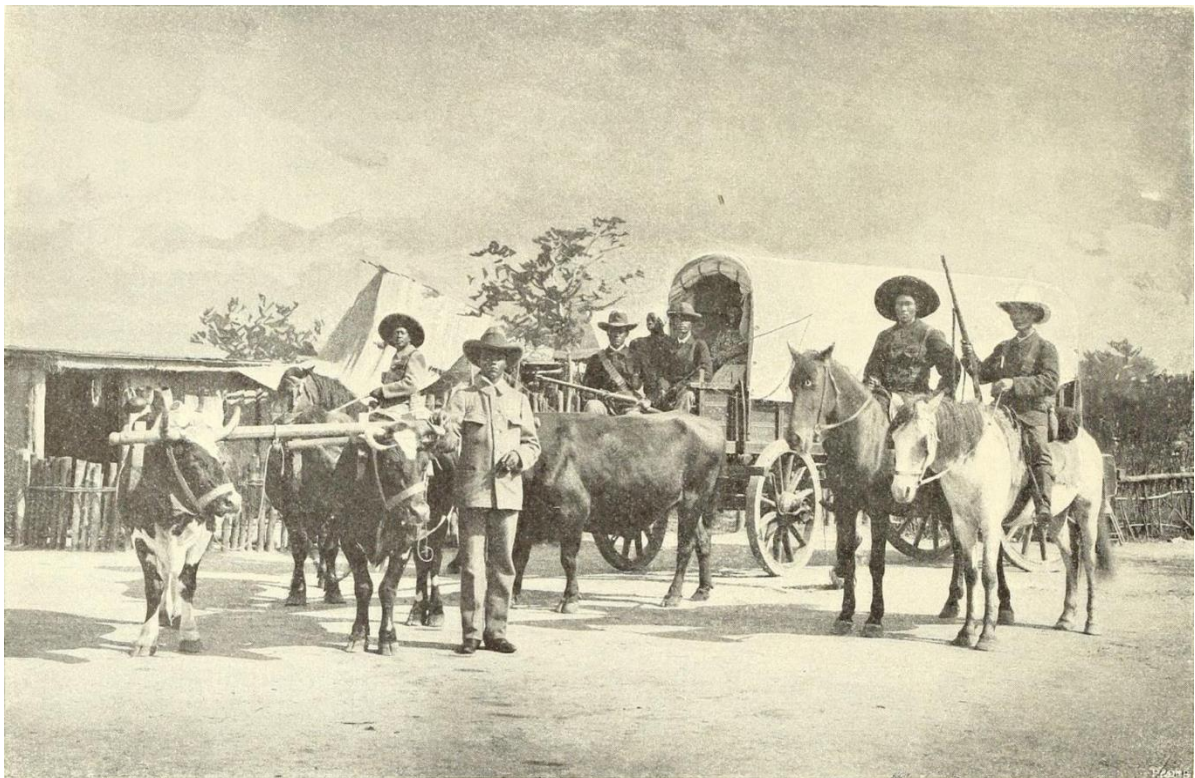


Figure 3. Herero and Nama Natives with Ox Cart, Great Industrial Exposition of Berlin, 1896.
<https://blackcentraleurope.com/sources/1850-1914/photographs-at-the-berlin-colonial-exhibition-1896/> (05-04-2024)

Colonial exhibitions consisted of the display of colonial raw materials on the one hand and colonial natives on the other hand. The main purpose of the display of raw materials from the colonies was to portray the colonies as a vital part of a continuously functioning imperial economies based on industry.⁵¹ The imperial nation-states sought to gain public support for their colonial policies by showing the public the raw materials of the products they used. The classification method of the exhibition buildings reflected Social Darwinist thought which put Europe as the zenith of the civilization pyramid. Ece Özçeri argues that the international expositions hierarchically consisted of four main categories that symbolically expressed the stages of civilisation: the Raw Materials, the Machinery, the Manufactures and the Fine Arts.⁵² She emphasized that this kind of classification aimed at revealing the imperial nation-state's scientific and technological superiority, resulting from their so-called racial superiority.

Similarly, the display of native people from the colonies was intended to show the civilisation visions of the imperial nation-states. Colonial exhibitions hierarchically categorized human beings according to their level of development. They allowed visitors to see the primitive stage of the humanity. The imperial nation-states presented "the cultures of their colonies as not only different, exotic, and interesting, but also as flawed, inferior, stagnant, and in need of the imperial nation's intervention to control their destinies."⁵³ The colonial natives constituted the foundation of imperial powers' perception about "primitives," shaped by imperialist ideology and Social Darwinism.⁵⁴ They were displayed with their daily semi-naked clothes, primitive tools, tents or one-storey makeshift huts. The location assigned to colonial villages in the exposition site also represented the place of colonial people in the civilisation pyramid. They were located in either small areas on the periphery of the exhibition site or in the opposite to main industrial buildings in order to demonstrate the difference between the uncivilized and civilized world. To sum up, the colonial empires displayed the raw materials and indigenous people from their colonies in order to show their citizens that the colonised people were inferior to them and thus colonizable. In this context, colonial exhibitions symbolized "the inevitable triumph of higher races over lower races and progress through science and imperial conquest."⁵⁵

⁵¹ Roche, *Mega-Events and Modernity*, 60.

⁵² Ece Özçeri, "Displaying the Empire," 35.

⁵³ Roche, *Mega-Events and Modernity*, 60.

⁵⁴ Corbey, "Ethnographic Showcases," 340.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 341.



Figure 4. Congolese Village, Antwerp International Exposition, 1894.
<https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/zoeken/objecten?set=RP-F-2001-7-1494#/RP-F-2001-7-1494-33,33> (07-04-2024)

Another colorful event in the international expositions was the themed foreign villages and national pavilions. First national pavilions apart from the main exhibition buildings of the host country was constructed in the 1867 Paris Universal Exposition.⁵⁶ National pavilions gave the participating countries the opportunity to present their cultures with more options. Zeynep Çelik states that the architectural design of national pavilions reflected nations' cultural identity. It allowed spectacles to experience different architectural tastes. The invention of national pavilions brought about the expansion of exhibition site. This, in turn, led to an enormous increase in the number of visitors attending the world fairs. As an extension of national pavilions, the themed villages enabled the participating countries to display their cultural identity more comprehensively. These themed villages allowed more exhibitors to attend the international expositions. They mostly consisted of bazaars, theatres, cafes, restaurants, places of worship, shops, the life-size replicas of cultural symbols, and different indigenous people and unique goods.

Both national pavilions and themed foreign villages made long-standing assumptions of a cultural hierarchy visible among the nations. For the host country, assigning a place for foreign's countries' pavilions and themed villages permitted its citizens to experience more

⁵⁶ Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 2.

different cultures and compare them with their own cultures. For the participating countries, a national pavilion and themed village enabled them to truly represent their own cultures. Well aware of this opportunity, the Ottoman Empire was the first country to officially break ground on the Midway Plaisance in the Chicago World's Fair.⁵⁷ The most famous one of the themed villages was the Midway Plaisance in the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, the Street of Nations in the Paris Universal Exposition in 1900, and the Pike Street in the St. Louis Fair in 1904. The themed villages also included some colonial exhibitions which were held by protectorate of a colonial power. The most common example of this kind of the themed villages was Cairo Street or Cairo City which reflected Egypt's pharaonic and Islamic past together. For instance, the 1889 Paris Exposition, the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, the 1896 Berlin Trade Exposition, the 1900 Paris Exposition, and the 1904 St. Louis Fair hosted a Cairo Exhibit. The most significant feature of the themed villages together with national pavilions was that they commodified of national cultures and Near and Far Eastern exoticism. Hundreds of thousand of products from all over the world were sale in these themed villages visited by millions of people for nearly six months. This turned them into centres of ephemeral tourism and consumption.



Figure 5. The Pike, the St. Louis World's Fair, 1904.

<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/yk5amsa5/items> (08-04-2024)

⁵⁷ Neil Gale, *The Midway Plaisance at the 1893 World's Columbia Exposition in Chicago* (Belleville: Neil Gale Publishing Company, 2017), 12.



Figure 6. Cairo Street, the Chicago World's Fair, 1893.

<https://worldsfairchicago1893.com/2020/11/04/halcyon-days-in-the-dream-city-3/> (09-04-2024)

In the age of high imperialism, another popular exhibition in the international expositions was old cities, whose faithful reconstructions served some national and imperial ambitions. The early example of old cities was a medieval castle erected in the General Italian Exposition held in Turin in 1884. In 1886, an Old London Street was constructed in Colonial and Indian Exhibition. In the next year, the Royal Jubilee Exhibition in Manchester comprised Old Manchester and Salford, filled with costumed paid participants.⁵⁸ After these first examples, old cities became one of the most popular amusement venues of the international expositions. Table 2 shows a list of old cities.

Old cities were first and foremost places of entertainment which allowed guests to experience a nostalgic past and a colorful world. Katja Zelljadt conceptualizes old cities as “presenting and consuming the past.” Behind being an amusement venue, old cities enabled the 19th-century imperial nation-states to impose their imperial ideas on both their own citizens and foreign visitors. It also allowed them to reinforce their national unity with an emphasis on a

⁵⁸ Alexander Geppert, *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Exposition in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 52.

glorious past. In her article about “the Old Berlin at the Industrial Exhibition of 1896,” Zelljadt argued that the Old Berlin represented a strong national and historical roots of 19th-century Berlin which targeted to be a world city.⁵⁹ Conversely, Paul Greenhalgh argued that old cities were a harbor to escape fin-de-siècle reality for visitors which were saturated with the myth of progress.⁶⁰ Stijn Bussels and Van Oostveldt rejected the idea that old cities were a pure nostalgic land to escape fin-de-siècle reality. They asserted that the Old Antwerp in the 1894 International Exposition not only permitted spectacles to re-experience a glorious, but disappeared past, but also reminded a media reflection that bore witness to the historiographical accomplishments of the present.⁶¹ They added that the Old Antwerp was a tool to stimulate “Flemish emancipation in the future” and to constitute “an imagined community.”⁶² Shortly, they told that the Old Antwerp was a product of an actual political and cultural agency which purified and rejuvenated the current and guaranteed a powerful future.

Table 2. A List of Old Cities in the World Fairs

Year	Host City	Title	Old Cities
1884	Turin	General Italian Exposition	Medieval Borgo
1886	London	Colonial and Indian Exhibition	Old London Street
1887	Manchester	Royal Jubilee Exhibition	Old Manchester and Salford
1889	Paris	Universal Exposition	Old Bastille
1893	Chicago	World’s Columbian Exposition	Old Vienna
1894	Antwerp	International Exposition	Old Antwerp
1895	Amsterdam	Hotel and Travel Industry Exhibition	Old Holland
1896	Berlin	Great Industrial Exposition	Old Berlin
1896	Budapest	National Millennium Exhibition	Old Budin
1897	Brussels	International Exposition	Old Brussels
1900	Paris	Universal Exposition	Old Paris Old Andalusia
1904	St. Louis	Louisiana Purchase Exposition	Old St. Louis Old Jerusalem Old Paris
1905	Liege	International Exposition	Old Liege
1908	London	Franco-British Exposition	Old London Street

The Third French Republic made a great investment in old cities to reinforce its republican ideology. In its life-size replica, the Old Bastille in the 1889 Paris Universal

⁵⁹ Katja Zelljadt, “Presenting and Consuming the Past: Old Berlin at the Industrial Exhibition of 1896,” *Journal of Urban History* 31, no. 3, 307.

⁶⁰ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 47.

⁶¹ Stijn Bussels and Bram Van Oostveldt, “Re-enacting a Scrutinised Past at the Antwerp World Exhibition of 1894,” *Forum Modernes Theater* 26, no. 1 (2011): 36-37.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 37.

Exposition was the best example of this investment. The Old Bastille permitted visitors to experience the historical texture of a holy place that signified the transition from the ancient regime to the republic. This emphasis was significant for France who lost its leadership to Germany in the Continental Europe in 1871. Through such a faithful reproduction of storming of the Bastille, the Third French Republic on the one hand aimed to reemphasize its republican ideals against the monarchies and on the other hand to consolidate its citizens's commitment to these republican ideals. Although France did not achieve its initial goal because the monarchies boycotted this exposition, the Old Bastille undoubtedly had a national impact in inflaming republican sentiments among the French.

Old cities contained an ideological message based on religion for Americans. In her article titled "Seeing is Believing: US Imperial Culture and the Jerusalem Exhibit of 1904," Keith Feldman contends that the Old Jerusalem in the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair served the US imperial culture. Since the 1820s, American Protestant missionaries were active in Jerusalem to spread the Protestantism. Protestant Americans have been fed by the stories of American Protestant missionaries, pilgrims, and travelers about Jerusalem. Thus, they were acquainted with "the pulsing biblical heart of Protestant Christianity": the Via Dolorosa, the Mount of Olives, the Bethlehem Manger, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and a Model of the Tomb of Christ.⁶³ The Old Jerusalem, therefore, removed geographical distances and enabled those who could not go to Jerusalem to experience its faithful atmosphere. Exhibiting Jerusalem ruled by the Ottomans was a priceless event that reinforced the US cultural imperialism.

To sum up, the colonial exhibitions, themed villages, and old villages created a temporary touristic and commercial event for the visitors. They had a huge role in the dramatic increase of the number of visitors to the expositions. They enabled the nation-states to impose their imperial and national ideologies over people. Particularly, themed villages permitted the participating countries to represent themselves more comprehensively and effectively.

⁶³ Keith Feldman, "Seeing is Believing: US Imperial Culture and the Jerusalem Exhibit of 1904," *Studies in American Jewish Literature* 35, no. 1 (2016), 106.



Figure 7. Old Vienna, the Chicago World's Fair, 1893.
<https://www.periodpaper.com/products/1893-print-chicago-worlds-fair-old-vienna-plaisance-original-historic-image-093694-far1-019> (11-04-2024)



Figure 8. Old Paris, the Paris Universal Exposition, 1900.
<https://www.histoires-de-paris.fr/vieux-paris-exposition-universelle-1900/> (11-04-2024)

2.2. The Ottomans in the International Exhibitions between 1876 and 1909

This part gives a complete compilation of international expositions in which the Ottoman Empire participated officially and unofficially during the Hamidian Era. After the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, the Ottoman Empire only participated officially in two international expositions: the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition and the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition. It was not possible for the Ottoman Empire to officially participate in each exposition due to both their financial burden and the time conflict between some expositions. The Hamidian Regime mostly paid special attention to establish a stand in the international exhibitions in which the empire did not attend officially and to appoint a commission to it to manage the individual exhibitors. The goal was to prevent any unpleasant situation which might damage the empire's honor and prestige. To minimize the expenditures, the Hamidian Regime generally commissioned the ambassadors, consul-generals or consuls in the host countries to establish and head a commission and stand. In this part, I draw a detailed scheme about the following international expositions: Antwerp 1885 and 1894, Paris 1889 and 1900, Chicago 1893, Berlin 1896, Budapest 1896, Brussels 1897, and St. Louis 1904.

2.2.1. The Ottomans in the 1889 Paris Universal Exposition

The 1889 Paris Universal Exposition was held to commemorate the centenary of the French Revolution. It attracted 61.722 exhibitors and nearly 28 million visitors from May 5 to October 31.⁶⁴ This fair, however, became a national rather than an international event because it was boycotted by many monarchies such as the Ottoman Empire, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, Belgium, Spain, Netherlands, Portugal, and Sweden due to its emphasis on the republican ideals.⁶⁵ France tried to keep the exhibition alive by establishing a colonial exhibition in the Esplanade des Invalides. British colonies also attended this exposition.

The 1889 Paris Exposition covered two large sites in an area of 96 hectares. The main exhibition site on Champs de Mars and Trocadero Square comprised the Eiffel Tower, Palace of Machines, the Palaces of Fine Arts and Liberal Arts, the Horticulture Exhibition, participants' pavilions, and the British colonies, whereas the Esplanade des Invalides housed the pavilions of the French colonies and Agricultural Exhibition. Zeynep Çelik argued that "the 1889

⁶⁴ Pieter van Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight: A Socio-Historical Analysis of World Exhibitions as a Didactic Phenomenon (1798-1851-1970)* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2001), 672.

⁶⁵ Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 78.

Exposition developed the commercial potential of the street” by constructing two streets which “incorporated urban and commercial life”: the History of Habitation and the Cairo Street.⁶⁶ The former, consisting of forty-four houses, aimed to display the slow but inevitable development of humanity from pre-historical ages to modern ages.⁶⁷ Situated in a longitudinal park along the Seine, opposite the Eiffel Tower, which was the product of the latest construction technology, these dwellings represented the stages of historical progress of humanity through the ages.

The Council of Ministers announced that the Ottoman Empire would not participate in the 1889 Paris Exposition by citing that the great monarchies had decided to boycott it.⁶⁸ Mahmud Esad Pasha was instructed to leave Paris before the opening day.⁶⁹ The Council of Ministers also declared that the Ottoman exhibitors were to be allowed to travel to Paris, but archival document about the Ottoman participants in this fair was rare. One document mentions that Hoca Nasri Tütüncü, a fabric merchant from Aleppo, applied the Sublime Porte to be exempted from customs to take his products to Paris.⁷⁰ Moreover, the paintings of Osman Hamdi Bey and Halil Pasha were exhibited in the Palace of Fine Arts.⁷¹

Ahmed Midhat Efendi visited the 1889 Paris Exposition and wrote his observations in his work “Avrupa’da Bir Cevalan.”⁷² He conveyed the following passage about the Cairo Street while touring the exposition site with Madam Gülnar:

“After visiting the Algerian and Tunisian pavilions in the Esplanade des Invalides, we came to the Eiffel Tower by tramway. Following a short walk and rest around the Eiffel Tower, we came to the Cairo Street. Madam Gülnar was very pleased with the oriental items here. We laughed at the inexperience behaviours of westerners trying to ride donkeys. The oriental-style bargains we made with a number of Arabs, Turks, Christians, and Jews from Alexandria, Bayrouth, Damascus, Izmir, and Istanbul, sometimes in Turkish, sometimes in Arabic, for our small purchases such as beads, shoes made of red oak, cigarette-holder, cookies, and delights entertained Madam Gülnar, who admired this kind of bargain. We also watched the Egyptian dancers, the source of happiness and joy of the Cairo Street.”⁷³

More specifically, İbrahim Edhem Mesud visited Paris with the permission of the Sublime Porte and prepared a descriptive booklet with photographs about the 1889 Paris

⁶⁶ Ibid., 70.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 70.

⁶⁸ BOA. HR.TH.72/37, (16 April 1887).

⁶⁹ BOA. Y.A.HUS.224/96, (28 April 1889).

⁷⁰ BOA. DH.MKT.1617/131, (20 April 1889).

⁷¹ Özçeri, “*Displaying the Empire*,” 70.

⁷² Ahmed Mithat Efendi, *Avrupa’da Bir Cevalan* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2015), 496-790.

⁷³ Ibid., 515.

Exposition and submitted it to Abdulhamid II.⁷⁴ The R  gie Company also built a pavilion named Turkish Tobaccos in this exposition, but archival document and secondary sources about the activities of this pavilion are absent. Even Ahmet Mithad Efendi did not give any detail about it except for this brief mention: “*bizim t  t  n rejisinin in  a ettirdiĐ i g  zel barakayla.*”



Figure 9. Pavilion of Turkish Tobaccos, the Paris Universal Exposition, 1889.
<https://www.abebooks.com/photographs/France-Paris-Exposition-Universelle-1889-Pavillon/31523471573/bd> (12-04-2024)

⁷⁴ İbrahim Edhem Mesud Dirvana, *1889 Paris Um  m   Sergisi* (  stanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar Daire Ba  kanlıĐ ı, 2010).

2.2.2.The Ottomans in the 1893 Chicago World's Fair

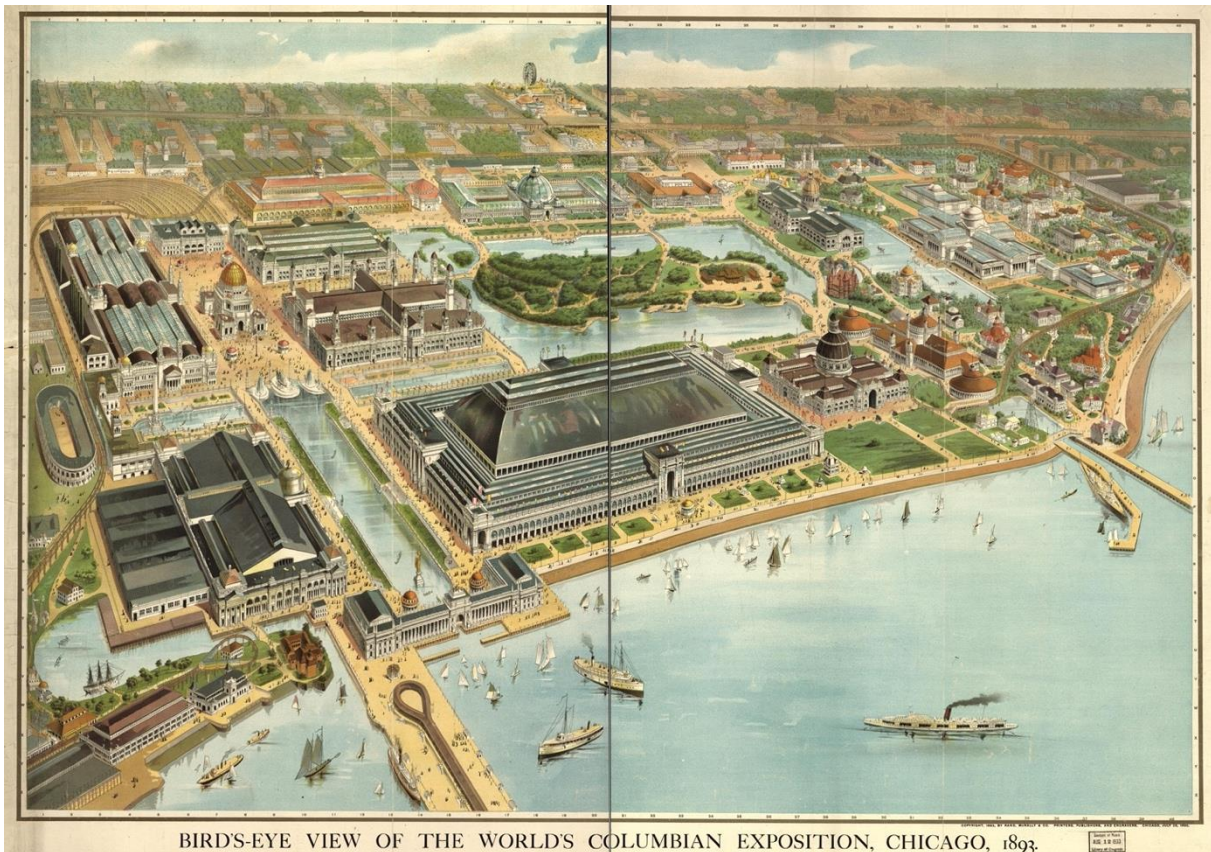


Figure 10. A Bird's-Eye View of the Chicago World's Fair, 1893.

<https://www.loc.gov/resource/g4104c.pm001522/?r=-0.035,0.29,0.722,0.341,0> (13-04-2024)

The Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 was held in Jackson Park and the Midway Plaisance in an area of 278 hectares with one-year delay to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. It was also the manifestation of a show of force against the European industry. It hosted 100.000 exhibitors from eighty-six countries and approximately 27 million visitors between May 1 and October 30.⁷⁵ The Chicago World's Fair consisted of two separate exhibition sites: the White City and the Midway Plaisance.⁷⁶ The former was devoted to the representation of countries' industrial, scientific, and artistic accomplishments whereas the latter, which was the world's amusement center, focused on the display of countries' cultural accumulations which attracted millions of visitors curious about different cultures.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Sarıkaya, "Celebrating Difference," 48.

⁷⁶ Norman Bolotin and Christine Laing, *Chicago's Grand Midway: A Walk around the World at the Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2017), 3.

⁷⁷ Özçeri, "Displaying the Empire," 70.



Figure 11. The Map of the Chicago World's Fair, 1893.
<https://www.loc.gov/resource/g4104c.ct002834/> (13-04-2024)

The Ottoman Empire, which was officially invited by the US government on February 19, 1891, announced that it would attend the Chicago World's Fair on May 30. Yıldız Palace paid special attention to the empire's representation in Chicago. Two commissions were established in Istanbul to manage the exhibition preparations throughout the empire. A 32-point instruction was sent to all provinces and published in local newspapers to select the best quality goods and products. Abdulhamid II said that "the selection must be done carefully as Americans are known to be people hard to please."⁷⁸ A third commission consisting of Hakkı Bey (the Commissioner-General), Fahri Bey (the Commissioner), Ahmet Sabit Bey ve Mehmet Tevfik Bey (Attachés), Hohannes Pushman (the Secretary), and Mr. Thompson and Mr. Sweeney

⁷⁸ Gültekin Yıldız, "Ottoman Participation in World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago 1893)," *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 9 (2001), 140.

(Honorary Commissioners) was formed to operate the affairs in Chicago. It presented a detailed English pamphlet of the Ottoman exhibits to the Directorate of the Chicago World's Fair.

The Ottoman Empire was represented in the Chicago World's Fair with two distinct structures: the official pavilion in the Jackson Park and the Turkish Village in the Midway Plaisance. The former was largely built to exhibit the goods and objects of the empire and for official reception while the latter was mainly devoted to the display of the Ottoman culture. Both were constructed by a private entrepreneur, the Elia Suhami & Sadullah Company, which made a 13-article contract with the Ministry of the Trade and Public Works. The most significant emphasis of this contract was that this company would take great care to prevent anything that might damage the empire's honor and prestige.



Figure 12. The Ottoman Pavilion in Jackson Park, the Chicago World's Fair, 1893.
https://www.gutenberg.org/files/22847/22847-h/22847-h.htm#PLATE_77 (13-04-2024)

The Ottoman pavilion, which resembled the design of Fountain of Ahmed III, was built in the Jackson Park, opposite the Fisheries Building on a busy street between the Brazilian and Venezuelan pavilions. Goods and products were put within display cabinets. A panorama of Istanbul was painted on a part of the walls and ceiling of this pavilion. An office, adjacent to the pavilion, decorated with Uşak carpets on the floor and Hereke carpets and silk fabrics on

the walls was erected to accept official intivations.⁷⁹ The Ottoman goods and products were also displayed in different exhibit buildings such as the Transportation Building. Fatma Aliye's books "*Hayal ve Hakikat (1891)*," "*Muhadarat (1892)*," and "*Nisvan-ı Islam (1892)*" were exhibited in the library of the Women's Building as well.⁸⁰ The Ottomans also attended some international congresses during the Chicago World's Fair. For example, the World's Parliament of Religions, seeking to establish brotherhood between Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism, Shintoism, Buddhism, and Taoism, was closely followed by the Sublime Porte.⁸¹

In the Midway Plaisance, the Turkish Village and the Bedouin Encampment, also known as the Wild East, represented the Ottoman Empire. In the Turkish Village, visitors could feel as if they were in Istanbul. The Turkish Village comprised a mosque reflecting Turkish-Islamic architecture, a grand bazaar consisting of forty shops, including carpet, tobacco, drapery, jewelry, furniture, candy, sweet, and sherbet stores, 1000-seat theatre hall where Arabic plays with an English translation performed by sixty-five actors and actresses were staged for a fee of 50 cents⁸², two-storey cafe and restaurant serving the Ottoman foods and soft drinks, twelve houses resembling ones in Istanbul with shops and offices under them, which of the two belonged to the Illustrated Chicago Fair who made news about the Turkish Village and the Consulate of Chicago, a hippodrome with the replicas of obeliks and serpentine column and a fortuneteller tent in front of them as well as the Damascus Palace which bore the traces of culture, art, history of Damascus and a Badiye tent which depicted the lives of the Bedouins.⁸³

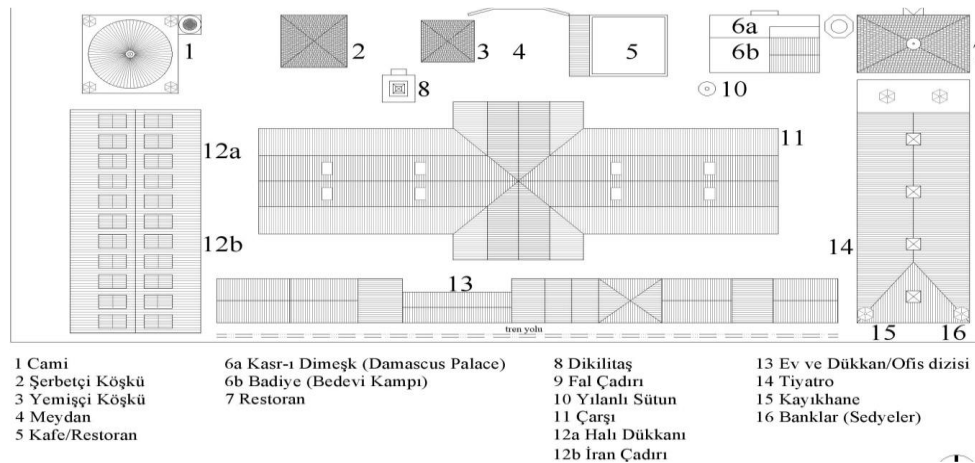


Figure 13. The Plan of the Turkish Village, the Chicago World's Fair, 1893.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Didem Fidan, "*Osmanlı Belgelerinde*," 92.

⁸⁰ Özçeri, "*Displaying the Empire*," 94.

⁸¹ Gerdan-Williams, "*Triumph of Commercialism*," 60.

⁸² Sarıkaya, "*Celebreting Difference*," 74. For detailed information about the Turkish Theatre in the Chicago World's Fair, for detailed information about the Turkish Theatre in the Chicago World's Fair, see 68-94.

⁸³ Fidan, "*Osmanlı Belgelerinde*," 103-121.

⁸⁴ Başaran, "*1893 Chicago*," 82.



Figure 14. The Turkish Village, the Chicago World Fair, 1893.
https://collections.carli.illinois.edu/digital/collection/nby_chicago/id/8799 (14-04-2024)



Figure 15. Turkish Restaurant, Theatre, and Cafe, The Turkish Village, the Chicago World's Fair, 1893.
<https://images.chicagohistory.org/search/?searchQuery=Turkish+village> (14-04-2024)



Figure 16. Street of Constantinople, the Chicago World's Fair, 1893.
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/349428> (14-04-2024)

The Turkish Village enabled visitors to see some views of Istanbul such as the Hagia Sophia, Yıldız Palace, the Hamidiye Mosque, the Galata Bridge, the Gate of Seraskerlik, a quarter in Şehzadebaşı, the Street of Tophane, and Dolmabahçe Palace through a panorama. The scenes of Jerusalem and Syria were added into this panorama as well.⁸⁵ Ali Beyzade from Gemlik also exhibited the Janissary uniforms, together with modern military uniforms, to showcase both the empire's glorious past and the development in military through centuries.⁸⁶ Set up by Radji from Acre, the owner of the Hamidiye Company, the Bedouin Encampment adorned with the Ottoman flags and surrounded by fences in an area of 200 meters length and 80 meters width⁸⁷ was located to the right of the western gate of the Midway Plaisance in line with the Turkish Village. Various games such as “mock battles” and races were organized by some skilled 300 Bedouins riders living in tents with their native clothings within the Wild East with the sixty highest quality Arabian horses and twenty-two camels of the empire.⁸⁸ The riders must hold Turkish and American flags so that the spectators can distinguish the competing

⁸⁵ Fidan, “*Osmanlı Belgelerinde*,” 104.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 64-65.

⁸⁷ Yıldız, “*Ottoman Participation*,” 143.

⁸⁸ Bolotin and Laing, *Chicago's Grand Midway*, 50.

teams from each other.⁸⁹ According to Deringil, the Wild East was an expression of the empire's effort to appear equal to the west. To illustrate, the Ottomans named the horses with special nicknames such as "the Little Arab Boy" as in the US.⁹⁰ They also made sure that the riders were strong, handsome and charismatic. Moreover, the Turkish Village offered visitors a unique service: a sedan chair which took guests on a short trip within the village or a destination on the Midway Plaisance for a fee of 75 cents per hour.⁹¹ According to the detailed tables prepared by Norman Bolotin, the Turkish Village was one of the most popular and profitable complexes in the Midway Plaisance with nearly \$500.000 earnings from various enterprises.⁹²



Figure 17. Arabian Horses and Riders, the Wild East, the Chicago World's Fair, 1893.
<https://worldsfairchicago1893.com/2020/05/06/100-picturesque-worlds-fair-arabian-horses-and-riders/> (14-04-2024)

⁸⁹ Başaran, "1893 Chicago," 75.

⁹⁰ Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domain*, 157.

⁹¹ Bolotin and Laing, *Chicago's Grand Midway*, 49.

⁹² Ibid., 54. For a detailed information, see 103-108.



Figure 18. The Sedan Chair Carriers, The Turkish Village, the Chicago World's Fair, 1893.
<https://worldsfairchicago1893.com/2021/04/15/6391/> (14-04-2024)

2.2.3. The Ottomans in Belgium: Antwerp 1885, Antwerp 1894, and Brussels 1897

The 1885 Antwerp International Exposition hosted more than 2.000 exhibitors and attracted nearly 3.5 million visitors in an area of 22 hectares between May 2 and November 2. For the first time, the Congolese Village was established to display Congolese people as “living objects” with their regular clothings. The Sublime Porte did not officially participate in this exposition, but allowed the Ottomans who wished to showcase their goods and products to go to Antwerp.⁹³ Upon the approval of the Sublime Porte, Karatodori Efendi, the Ottoman ambassador in Brussels, appointed Alphonse Allard, the Consul-General of the Ottoman Empire in Brussels, as the Commissioner-General of the Ottoman Section and Albert Van de Vin, the Vice-Consul of the Ottoman Empire in Antwerp, as the Commissioner of the Ottoman Section.

The Ottoman Section was mostly filled with goods and products such as carpet, rug, fancywork, gun, bronze pots and pans, and ivory brought by Elia Suhami & Sadullah Company. Its facade was adorned with embroidered fabrics as well as the Ottoman coat of arms and flags.

⁹³ BOA. HR.TH.54/29, (9 November 1884).

The Elia Suhami & Sadullah Company also built an oriental-style hall, adjacent to the Ottoman Section, decorated with precious fabrics and embroidered curtains and rugs in order to entertain guests. Robert Levy, the agent of the Elia Suhami Company, had built and prepared this hall without demanding any financial aid. The most notable guest of the Ottoman Section and the Elia Suhami & Sadullah Hall was the Belgian King and Queen with Prince and Princesses. On the opening day of the 1885 Antwerp Fair, Karatodori Efendi, Alphonse Allard, Albert Van de Vin with his wife, and Max Müller, the Consul-General of Antwerp, with his wife welcomed King Leopold and Queen Marie Henriette and their entourage. The Ottoman exhibitors in their native clothings also greeted them. The greeting of a handsome Albanian with a machete in his hand and a gun in his waist was particularly impressive. Albert Van de Vin talked with Leopold II about trade between the Ottoman Empire and Belgium. The Ottomans entertained the king and his cortege in the hall and offered them native soft drinks and börek.⁹⁴ Leopold II was pleased with both the Ottoman Section and Elia Suhami & Sadullah Hall and awarded it with white oak medal.



Figure 19. The Ottoman Section, The Antwerp International Exposition, 1885.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ BOA. HR.TO. 38/27, (6 May 1885); BOA. HR.TO.38/25, (7 May 1885).

⁹⁵ René Corneli and Pierre Mussely, *Anvers et L'Exposition Universelle 1885* (Bruxelles: Typographie & Lithographie Adolphe Mertens, 1886), 331.



Figure 20. The Ottoman Section, The Antwerp International Exposition, 1885.⁹⁶

The 1894 Antwerp International Exposition between May 5 and November 12 covered 26 hectares and attracted nearly 3 million visitors. Along with the Congolese Village which was the human zoo, “the Old Antwerp”, the verisimilar reconstruction of many historical buildings from 16th century, constituted the center of attraction in this fair.⁹⁷ The Ottoman Empire, upon the decision of the Council of Ministers, did not officially participate in the 1894 Antwerp Fair because except for Russia, the European states did not attend it officially.⁹⁸ The Sublime Porte, however, permitted the Ottoman merchants who wished to exhibit their goods and products to go to Antwerp.⁹⁹ M.G.P. Walford, the Vice-Consul of the Ottoman Empire in Antwerp, was appointed to this exhibition as the commissioner. The concessionaire of the Ottoman Section was Butros Antonius who also run a theater in the Ottoman Village in the Chicago World’s Fair.



Figure 21. The Ottoman Section, The Antwerp International Exposition, 1894.

<https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/zoeken/objecten?set=RP-F-2001-7-1487#/RP-F-2001-7-1487-40,40>
(16-04-2024)

⁹⁶ Corneli and Mussely, *Anvers*, 332.

⁹⁷ Bussels and Van Oostveldt, “Re-enacting a Scrutinised Past,” 21-42.

⁹⁸ BOA. HR.TH.140/103, (26 April 1894).

⁹⁹ BOA. BEO.168/12570, (11 March 1893).

In addition to the Ottoman Section, there was also the Syrian Section run by Georg Fazlullah Iyd from Beyrouth in the 1894 Antwerp International Exposition. Georg Fazlullah informed the Sublime Porte that he obtained a concession from the Belgian government in order to open the Syrian Section. He asked the Sublime Porte to hang the Ottoman coat of arms and flag in this section which consisted of a theatre, a coffeehouse, a panorama, a restaurant and twenty-eight shops. He also requested exemption from customs to take both products/goods and servants to Antwerp. Georg Fazlullah underlined that this section would encompass all products of the Ottoman Empire and pledged that he would pay special attention to protect the empire's honor and prestige in this section.¹⁰⁰ He added that this section could also develop trade between the Ottoman Empire and Belgium. Consequently, the Sublime Porte allowed him to use the Ottoman coat of arms and flag in the Syrian Section.



Figure 22. The Syrian Palace, The Antwerp International Exposition, 1894.

<https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search/objects?set=RP-F-2001-7-1494#/RP-F-2001-7-1494-41,41> (16-04-2024)

The 1897 Brussels Universal Exposition was held in Cinquantenaire Park and Tervueren between May 10 and November 8. It covered 36 hectares and attracted roughly 7.8 million visitors. The main section in Cinquantenaire Park was devoted to the nations' industrial, agricultural, and artistic achievements whereas the colonial section in Tervueren was dedicated to the Congo Free State, the King Leopold II's private property. The latter included the scenes of human zoo where the Congolese people were displayed with their half-naked bodies. This exposition also prepared some panoramas such as the Alps and the Cairo to amuse the visitors.

¹⁰⁰ BOA. BEO.385/28845, (16 April 1894).

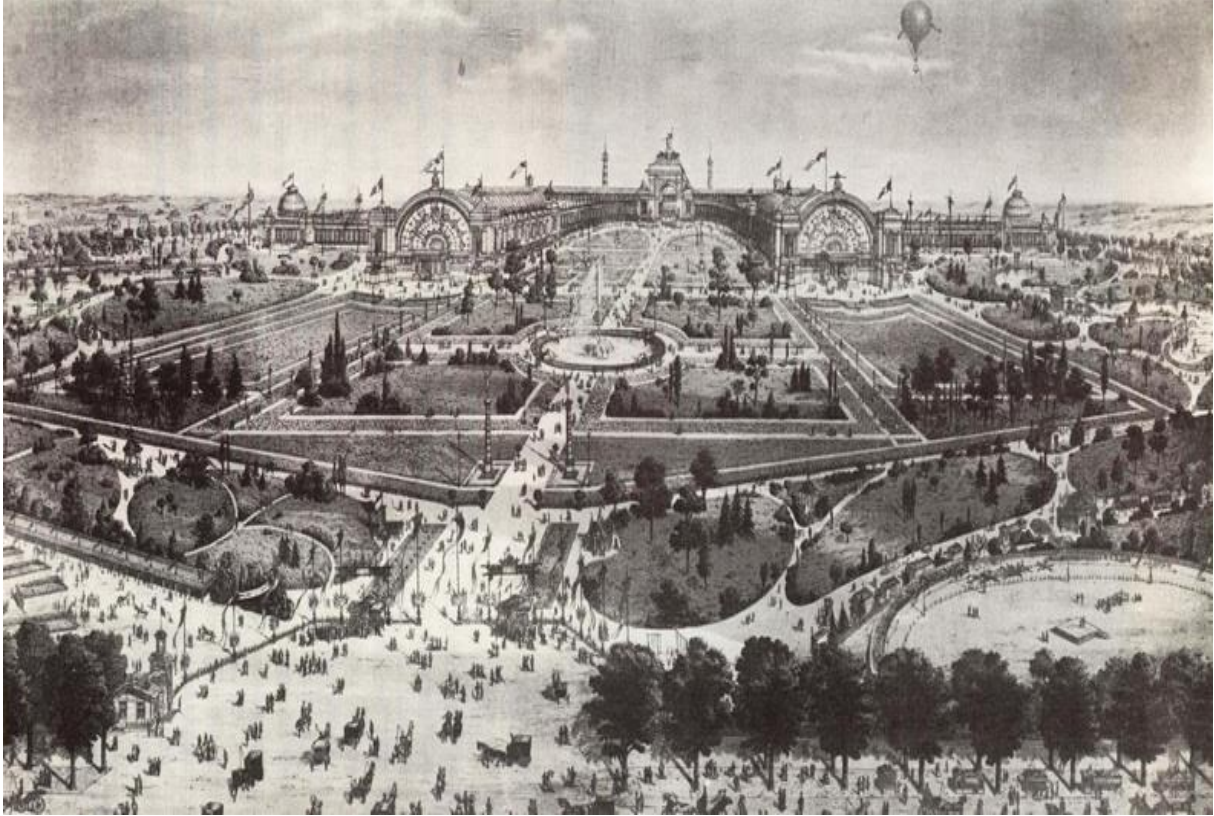


Figure 23. A View of the Cinquantenaire Park, the Brussel Universal Exposition, 1897.
<https://neonatology.net/gallery/exhibitions/brussels-international-exposition-1897/> (17-04-2024)

The Ottoman Empire did not officially participate in the 1897 Brussel Universal Exposition by citing that preparation had started for the 1900 Paris Exposition.¹⁰¹ It, however, established an exhibition commission and a stand to operate the affairs of the Ottoman exhibitors who individually attended this exposition with the permission of the Sublime Porte. This commission consisted of Alphonse Allard (the Consul-General of the Ottoman Empire in Brussels and the Commissioner-General of the Ottoman Section), Emile Stinglhamber (the Consul of the Ottoman Empire in Brussels and the Commissioner of the Ottoman Section), Agob Sherbetian (an industrialist from Istanbul and the Secretary-General of the Ottoman Section), Joseph Salem Efendi (the Vice-Consul Chancellor and the Secretary of the Ottoman Section), M.A. De Curte (a lawyer in Antwerp and the Consulting Secretary) and seven other members. On February 28, 1898, Alphonse Allard as the Commissioner-General sent Yıldız Palace a list of people awarded with medals of different grade and honoured with different diplomas in the Ottoman Section.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ BOA. HR.İD.1224/27, (22 October 1896); BOA.HR.TH.185/68, (13 December 1896).

¹⁰² BOA. HR.İD.1224/34, (28 February 1898).

Table 3. A List of Ottoman Medal Winners in the 1897 Brussels Universal Exposition
Source: BOA. HR.ID.1224/34, 28 February 1898.

Grand Prix	The Ottoman Empire for Its Official Participation	---
	The Ottoman Empire for Its Section	---
	Karatodori Efendi as the Commission Organizer of the Ottoman Section	---
Diploma of Honor	Alphonse Allard, Consul-General of the Ottoman Empire in Brussels and the Commissioner-General of the Ottoman Section	---
	Emile Stinglhamber, Consul of the Ottoman Empire in Brussels and Commissioner of the Ottoman Section	---
	Agop Sherbetian, Secretary-General and Clerical-Commissioner of the Ottoman Section	---
	Franquet Frères, Cigarette Manufacturer	Alexandria
Commemorative Diploma	J. Salem Efendi, Vice-Consul Chancellor of the Ottoman Empire	Brussels
	A. De Curte, Attorney, Consulting Secretary of the Ottoman Section	---
	Ali Nihad Bey, Vice-Consul of the Ottoman Empire	Antwerp
	G.P. Walford, Vice-Consul of the Ottoman Empire	Antwerp
	Alphonse Dumon de Menten de Horne, Consul of the Ottoman Empire	Bruges
	G. Auger Vincent, Vice-Consul of the Ottoman Empire	Gand
	F. de Hasse, Consul of the Ottoman Empire	Liege
	E. de Hasse, Vice-Consul of the Ottoman Empire	Liege
	R. Serruys, Vice-Consul of the Ottoman Empire	Ostende
	Agop Sherbetcian, Jury Member	---
	Ascher Salem, Engineer, Jury Member	---
	Ed. Lauren, Cigarette Manufacturer, Jury Member	---
	Oh Aznarour, Merchant, Jury Member	---
	Léon Brulè, Merchant, Jury Member	---
	Faustin Veggetti, Engineer, Jury Member	---
Gold Medal	Jean Michel Axelos, Architect	Brussels
	M. Foscolo and Company, Cigarette Manufacturer	Cairo
	Hacı Bekir, the Confectioner of Abdulhamid II	Istanbul
	C.L. Haim, Carpet Manufacturer	Istanbul
	G.D. Nomico, Confectioner	Istanbul
	D. Sifico, for the Section Portico	---
	D. Sifico, for the Decoration of the Ottoman Section	---
Silver Medal	Domaine d'Omoardja, Wine and Liquors	Istanbul
	Dimitri Nassan and Company, Wooden Furniture Manufacturer	Damascus
	Sevy and Alfaudary, Embroiderer	Istanbul
	John R. Thomson and Sons, Wine	Istanbul
	Paul Tarkoul, Photographer	Istanbul
	Léon Hischli, Collaborator of C.L. Haim	Istanbul
	Karnick Simonian, Collaborator of Hacı Bekir	Istanbul
Bronze Medal	Michel Frères and Ch. Abufhele, Manufacturers of Articles	Jerusalem
	A. Sifico, Furniture Manufacturer	Antwerp
	R. Tilkian, Silk Spinner	Bilecik
	A. Sifico, Collaborator of D. Sifico	Antwerp
	Minne, Cooperator of D. Sifico	---
Honorable Mention	M. Alitenssi, Embroiderer	Istanbul
	Turkish Cigarette Factory	Brussels
	Nishan Muradhan, Embroiderer	Istanbul
	Albert Modiano, Embroiderer	Salonica
	Dimitri Nassan and Company, Embroiderer	Damascus
	J. Verstaepfen, Cooperator of D. Sifico	---
	Vilageno, Cooperator of D. Sifico	---



Figure 24. The Ottoman Section, the 1897 Brussels Universal Exposition.

<https://lib.ugent.be/viewer/archive.ugent.be%3A84466EFE-9FD3-11DF-B71B-CB3CC2C209CF#?cv=&c=&m=&s=&xywh=-653%2C-63%2C3414%2C1780> (17-04-2024)

2.2.4. The 1896 Budapest National Millennium Exhibition



Figure 25. An Aerial View of the Budapest Exhibition in City Park, 1896.

https://pestbuda.hu/en/cikk/20210513_celebrating_the_millennial_past_of_the_hungarian_nation (26-03-2024).

The 1896 Budapest National Millennium Exhibition was held in Budapest's City Park situated on the eastern edge of the city with one-year delay to celebrate the 1.000th anniversary of the coronation of Arpad, the leader of the Magyar tribes, in the aftermath of the conquest of the Carpathian Basin and Transylvania in 895.¹⁰³ It was officially inaugurated on May 2, 1896 with a brief speech of Franz Joseph, the Emperor of Austria and the King of Hungary, in front of an imaginative replica of Attila's tent and closed on November 3, 1896. It attracted about 5.2 million visitors. Mahmud Nedim Pasha, the Ottoman ambassador in Vienna, along with first secretary and military attaché participated in the opening ceremony of the Budapest Exhibition and other ceremonies and banquets to represent the empire. The Budapest Exhibition consisted of two major sections:¹⁰⁴ the Historical Exhibition and the Modern Exhibition and two additional amusement exhibitions named "Ós-Budavára" (Budín under the Ottomans) and "Constantinople in Budapest" built by private entrepreneurs.

The Historical Exhibition sought to showcase the main stages of Hungary's cultural development through historical, architectural, and artistic materials. Servet-i Fünûn conveys the opening purpose of the Historical Section to its readers as follows:

"There is also a national exhibition among the buildings to be constructed to celebrate the 1.000th anniversary of the foundation of the Hungarian Kingdom. The objective of this national exhibition is to display the main phases of Hungary's development since its formation and then indicate visitors to the level that Hungary reaches today."¹⁰⁵

The Historical Exhibition, located on a small island in the lake of the City Park, categorized historical materials into eight separate periods by focusing on "ecclesiastical life, cultural development, private life, and the conduct of warfare."¹⁰⁶ The second period from 1301

¹⁰³ Dorothy Barenscott, "Articulating Identity through the Technological Rearticulation of Space: The Hungarian Millennial Exhibition as World's Fair and the Disordering of Find-de-Siecle Budapest," *Slavic Review* 69, no. 3 (2010): 572.

¹⁰⁴ Servet-i Fünûn, "Macaristan'ın Bininci Sene-i Devriyesi," No. 255, 31 January 1896, 326-327. "*Sergi başlıca iki kısımdan ibâret olup birincisi kısm-ı târihiyyedir. Burada Macaristân'a Macarların yerleştiği târihten itibaren şimdiye kadar vukû'ât ve edvâr sırasıyla terakkiyâtı gösterilecek ve âsâr-ı atika vesâir beyenât-ı târihiyye teşhîr ve irâe olunacağı gibi mebânî ve mü'essesât-ı kadîme aynen gösterilecektir. Kısm-ı sâni hâl-i hâzıra müte'allik olup sanâyi'-i nefîse, fünûn ve edebiyât, terbiye-i etfâl ve hıfz-ı sıhhat, zirâ'at, orman ve sayd ü şikâr, ma'âdin, makineler ve edevât-ı fenniye, sanâyi', ma'mûlât-ı züccâciyye, istihzârât-ı kimyeviyye, mevâd-ı mugaddiyye vesâire şu'belerini ihtivâ edeceklerdir.*"

¹⁰⁵ Servet-i Fünûn, "Macaristan'ın Bininci Sene-i Devriyesi," No. 255, 31 January 1896, 326-327. "*Macaristân'ın bininci sene-i devriyesi münâsebetiyle icrâ olunacak şenlikler sırasında ve bu hâtıraya binâen vücûda getirilen mü'essesât meyânında bir de meşher-i millî vardır. Bu serginin te'sisinden maksad Macaristân'ın te'essüsü gününden beri terakkiyatını müctemian göstermek ve bugün vâsıl olduğu mertebeyi de temâşâgerânın nazarına arz etmektir.*"

¹⁰⁶ Samuel Albert, "The Nation for Itself: The 1896 Hungarian Millennium and the 1906 Romanian National General Exhibition," in *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840-1940, Great Exhibitions in the Margins*, ed. Marta Filipová (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 117-118.

to 1699 also comprised the traces of the Ottoman rule in Hungary. The Ottoman Empire under Abdulhamid II sent some precious historical objects and the spoils of war such as swords, cannons, thrones, machetes, maces, and helmets from 15-17th centuries that were a part of Hungary's history.¹⁰⁷ Franz Joseph had pledged that the invaluable objects from Istanbul would be displayed in most visible part of the Historical Exhibition Museum.¹⁰⁸ Germany, Austria, Russia, Poland, and Italy also exhibited historical objects which belonged to Hungary's history in the Budapest Exhibition.

The Modern Exhibition targeted to display various aspects of modern Hungarian industrial, technological, and agricultural progress in more than one hundred buildings.¹⁰⁹ It comprised an Ethnographic Village consisting of 24 replica houses from all over the Greater Hungary¹¹⁰, Bosnian and Croatian pavilions, several public buildings such as school, church, hospital, and post office, and entertainment venues such as coffeehouse, restaurant, café, and an artificial lake for watching it as well as boat trip over it.

Designed by the famous Austrian amusement park architect Oskar Marmorek, "Ós-Budavára", situated in the west of the Modern Exhibition, was a verisimilar reconstruction of Budin under the Ottomans (1541-1686) and encompassed amusement places that portrayed the Orient such as coffeehouses, restaurants, theatres, concert stages, a bazaar and a harem as well as a Sarajevo-style mosque at its center and an orphanage.¹¹¹ It also included a wine tasting room. Samuel Albert argues that Ós-Budavára was built as an entertainment area which used the exotic and the alien to minimize the national trauma, the Ottoman rule in Budin. The Sublime Porte, therefore, closely followed the harem in Ós-Budavára to inhibit any injurious act to the empire's honor and prestige. It also managed to diplomatically prevent some Bosnians from praying for a fee and selling ticket for watching the prayers.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ I give a detailed list of these historical objects and the spoils of war in Chapter 3. Servet-i Fünûn also mention them as follows: Servet-i Fünûn, "Macaristan'ın Bininci Sene-i Devriyesi," No. 255, 31 January 1896, 326-327. "*Sergiye cânib-i hükûmet-i seniyyeden dahî iştirâk edilmiş olub taraf-ı zî-şeref-i hazret-i şehriyârîden Macar kralı Hunyadi devrine müte'allik zî-kıymet pek çok eşyânın Budapeşte'ye gönderilüb teşhîrine müsâ'ade ve fermân buyurulmuşdur.*"

¹⁰⁸ BOA. HR.İD.2089/59, (23 January 1894).

¹⁰⁹ Albert, "The Nation for Itself," 119.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 121.

¹¹¹ Alexander Vari, "From Paris of the East to Queen of the Danube: International Models in the Promotion of Budapest Tourism, 1885-1940," in *Touring Beyond the Nation: A Transnational Approach to European Tourism History* ed. Eric Zuelow (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 107.

¹¹² For detailed information about this issue see Chapter 3.



Figure 26. Ós-Budavára Funfair Complex, the Budapest Exhibition, 1896.
<https://www.oszk.hu/en/exhibitions/millennium-dreams-exhibition?mobile=off> (04-03-2024)



Figure 27. Ós-Budavára, Great Coffeehouse, the Budapest Exhibition, 1896.
<https://fotók.hu/picture.php?/45908/categories> (04-03-2024)



Figure 28. Ós-Budavára, Bazaar, the Budapest Exhibition, 1896.
<https://fotók.hu/picture.php?/45916/categories> (04-03-2024)

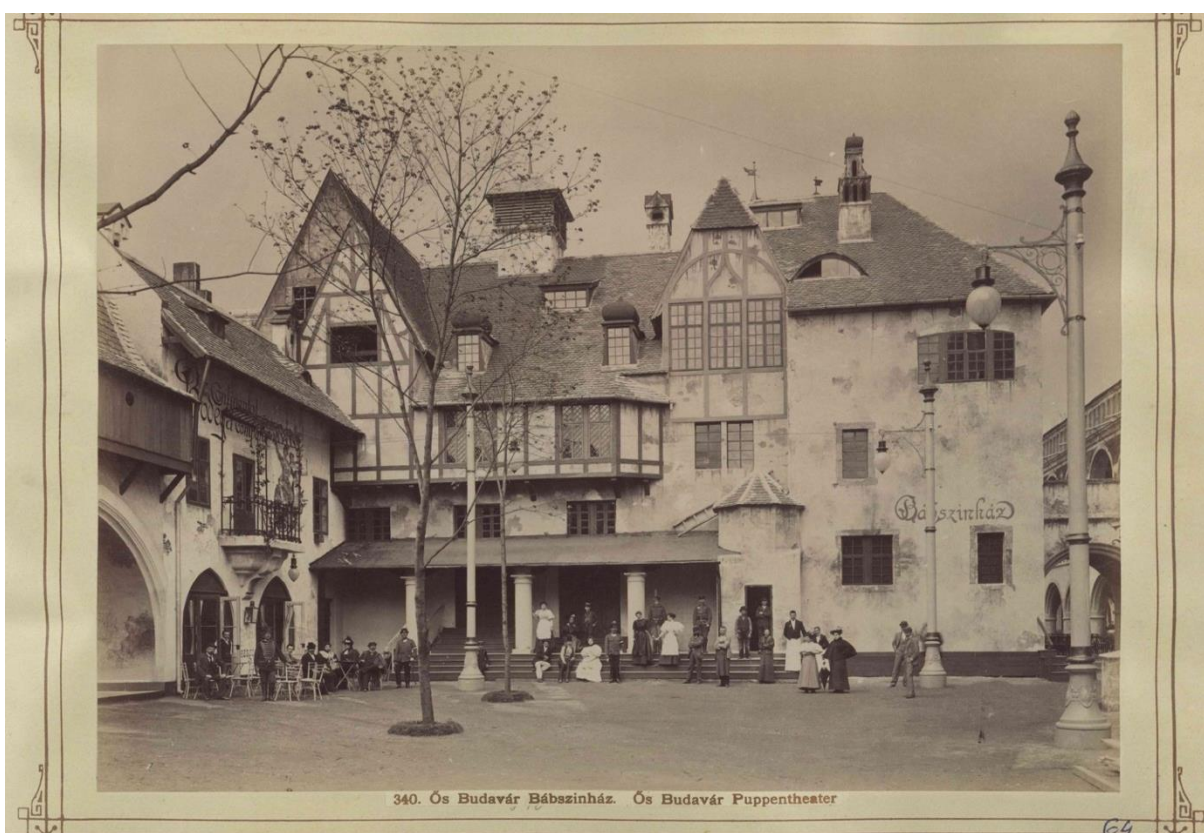


Figure 29. Ós-Budavára, Puppet Theater, the Budapest Exhibition, 1896.
<https://fotók.hu/picture.php?/45918/categories> (04-03-2024)



Figure 30. Ós-Budavára, Music Pavilion, the Budapest Exhibition, 1896.
<https://fotók.hu/picture.php?/45909/categories> (04-03-2024)

“Constantinople in Budapest” was a faithful reconstruction of the Ottoman capital with its landscape and most famous buildings on a large island located on the lower right bank of the Danube in Lágymányos.¹¹³ Inaugurated on May 24, 1896, Constantinople in Budapest consisted of a lake depicting the Golden Horn, the replicas of Hagia Sophia and the Galata Bridge, some mosques with minarets, the Istanbul Street, the Sublime Porte Square, the Janissary Square, the Galata Square, and two harems with Turkish girls.¹¹⁴ It also contained coffeehouses, taverns, exotic bazaars, a Turkish theatre, a French theatre, an Italian restaurant, a wine kiosk, a music hall and a funfair.¹¹⁵ In this model city which would house 40.000 people on one time, visitors could see fortunetellers and camels in everywhere and find any kind of oriental goods.¹¹⁶ This diversity allowed fairgoers to experience an atmosphere of Istanbul as a Turkish-Islamic capital

¹¹³ Alexander Vari, “Bullfights in Budapest: City Marketing, Moral Panics, and Nationatism in Turn-of-the-Century Hungary,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 41 (2010): 147.

¹¹⁴ “Constantinople in Budapest: The Long Forgotten Turkish Party District,” translated by Hungarian Conservative (19 February 2023) from The Budapestester (26 February 2022), accessed March 28, 2024, https://www.hungarianconservative.com/articles/culture_society/constantinople_in_budapest_nineteenth_century_party_district_istanbul_turkey_danube_island/

¹¹⁵ “Budapeşte’deki İstanbul,” Macar Kültür Merkezi, Istanbul, 2019, 13.

¹¹⁶ Hungarian Conservative, “Constantinople in Budapest.”

with its peculiar characteristics.¹¹⁷ Boat races and international swimming tournaments were organized on the lake designed as the Golden Horn.¹¹⁸ The following passage Pesti Hírlap mentioned harems on the opening day of “Constantinople in Budapest” supported Abdulhamid II’s damage-control and image-management strategy which focused on the rejection of the unpleasant portrayals of the Orient:

“We must point out that the management has placed the greatest importance on showing the Turkish life faithfully, in its original authenticity, with certain Mohammedan morals and customs. This is also to say that there are no ‘fake harems’ or any such places on the site, so it is perfectly appropriate for every family man to take the female members of his family there, just as there were many women of honourable families at today’s showcase, too.”¹¹⁹



Figure 31. A View of Constantinople in Budapest, the Budapest Exhibition, 1896.

<https://thebudapester.hu/retro/kis-konstantinapoly-budan/> (05-03-2024)

¹¹⁷ Dorothy Barenscott, “Official and Unofficial Spaces of the Budapest Millennial Exhibition, 1896,” in *Meet Me at the Fair: A World’s Fair Reader*, ed. Laura Hollengreen, Celia, Pearce, Rebecca Rouse, and Bobby Schweizer (Carnegie Mellon University: ETC Press, 2014), 251.

¹¹⁸ “Budapeşte’deki İstanbul,” Macar Kültür Merkezi, İstanbul, 2019, 13.

¹¹⁹ Hungarian Conservative, “Constantinople in Budapest.”



Figure 32. Constantinople in Budapest, the Janissary Square, the Budapest Exhibition, 1896.
<https://thebudapester.hu/retro/kis-konstantinapoly-budan/> (05-03-2024)



Figure 33. View of Constantinople in Budapest from the Danube, the Budapest Exhibition, 1896.
<https://thebudapester.hu/retro/kis-konstantinapoly-budan/> (05-03-2024)

2.2.5. Great Industrial Exposition of Berlin in 1896

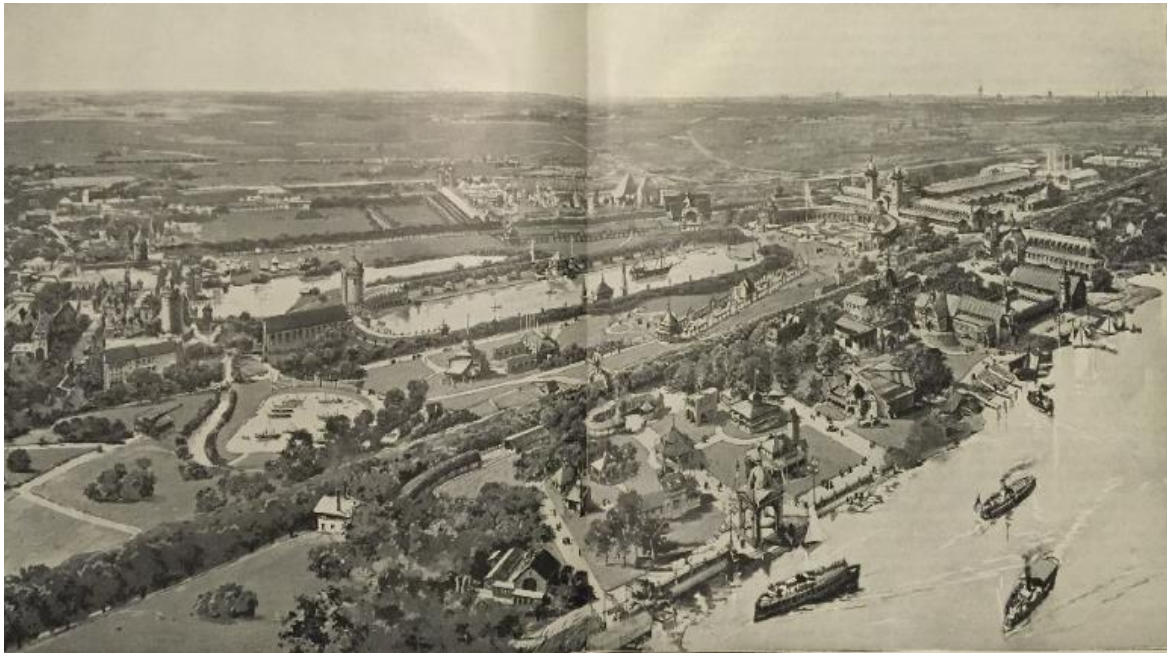


Figure 34. Berlin Trade Exposition, Treptow Park, 1896.

<https://www.stadtbild-deutschland.org/forum/index.php?thread/9506-gewerbeausstellung-in-berlin-trepto-1896/> (06-03-2024)

Great Industrial Exposition or the Berlin Trade Exposition of 1896 was held in Treptow Park which consisted of extensive artificial lakes, canals, hills, and trees in an area of 100 hectares and attracted nearly 7.5 million visitors and roughly 3.800 companies and exhibitors between May 1 and October 15.¹²⁰ The aim was to show Germany's industrial and commercial achievements to the world and to make Berlin a world city. This exposition, however, remained a regional rather than national exposition as it was not funded by both the empire and the Municipality of Berlin notwithstanding many requests by prominent industrialists and investors.¹²¹ The most popular and profitable exhibits in Treptow Park became the Old Berlin, Cairo, and the German Colonial Exhibitions. The Old Berlin Exhibit was a verisimilar reproduction of Berlin in circa 1650 and housed approximately 2 million visitors.¹²² The Cairo Exhibit also presented an exotic but daily social, economic and religious life of the east to the west. The German Colonial Exhibit aimed to show the ethnic difference between Germans and Germany Empire's colonial subjects.

¹²⁰ Zelljadt, "Presenting and Consuming the Past," 308.

¹²¹ Jennifer Kopf, "Picturing Difference: Writing the Races in the 1896 Berlin Trade Exposition's Souvenir Album," *Historical Geography*, 36 (2008), 116.

¹²² Zelljadt, "Presenting and Consuming the Past," 306.

The Ottoman Empire did not officially participate in the Berlin Trade Exposition and did not establish a commission or a stand to manage the Ottoman exhibitors who would travel to Berlin. Nevertheless, it is possible to find traces from the Ottoman lands in this exposition. For example, the Cairo Exhibit Company asked the Ottoman Embassy in Berlin to convey the matter to the Sublime Porte so that 35 horses, 25 camels, and 30 donkey from Syria could be displayed at the Cairo Exhibit. The Sublime Porte eventually allowed the Cairo Exhibit Company to take 35 horses, 25 camels, and 30 donkeys from Syria to Berlin although the export of these animals have been prohibited.¹²³ The Sublime Porte also played a key role in the repatriation of around four hundred Egyptian workers hired by the Cairo Exhibit Company to Egypt when they were stricken with hunger and misery as the the German Director of the Cairo Exhibit Company did not pay their wages.¹²⁴ Besides, *Servet-i Fünûn* closely followed this exposition and published some pictures about it.

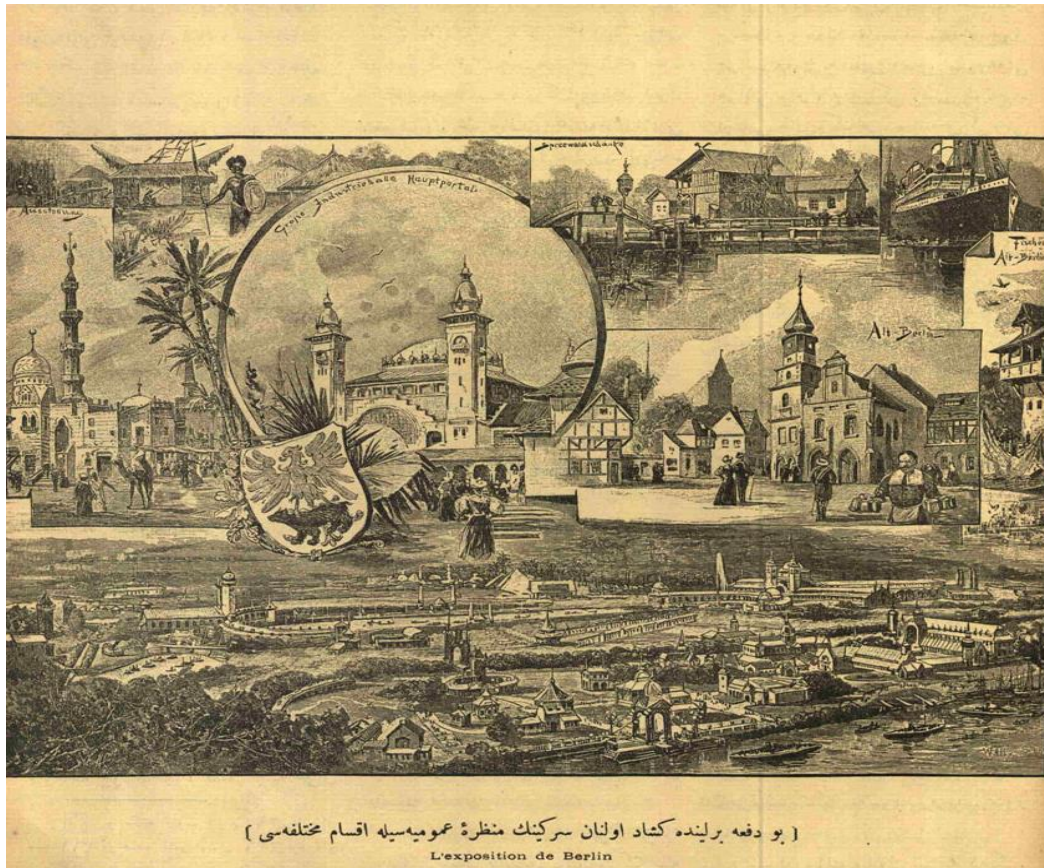


Figure 35. The General View of Berlin Trade Exposition, *Servet-i Fünûn*, No 279, 16 July 1896.

¹²³ BOA. BEO.701/52566, (10 November 1895).

¹²⁴ For detailed information about this issue see Chapter 3.

2.2.6. The Ottomans in the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition



Figure 36. A Panoramic View of the Paris Universal Exposition, 1900.
<https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.15645/> (08-03-2024)

The 1900 Paris Universal Exposition, which was held to celebrate the 19th century's accomplishments and welcome the 20th century, opened on 15 April and closed on 12 November and hosted about 83.000 exhibitors from forty countries and roughly 48.1 million visitors¹²⁵ in an area of 216 hectares which covered the Champ de Mars, the Esplanade of Les Invalides, the Trocadero, and the Banks of the Seine¹²⁶ as well as an added large site in the Bois de Vincennes. Along with the exhibition, the 1900 Exposition witnessed 127 international congresses with over 6.000 participants and the 1900 Summer Olympics.¹²⁷

The pavilion of the Ottoman Empire occupied a very prestigious position on the Rue des Nations on the left bank of the Seine between the US and Italy pavilions. The Ottoman pavilion, which resembled a mosque, was built by French architect René Dubuisson and

¹²⁵ Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight*, 672.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 350.

¹²⁷ Richard Mandell, *Paris 1900: The Great World's Fair* (Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 69.

reflected a mix of famous mosques throughout the empire.¹²⁸ James Boyd and Nurdan Gür gives an elaborate depiction of the Ottoman pavilion as follows:

“The Ottoman pavilion had four floors. Firstly, it contained four bazaars where tobaccos, pipes and smoking appurtenances peculiar to the Orient could be purchased. The ground floor comprised a great hall, typical Syrian coffeehouses in the left and right of this hall, a place for Arabian orchestra and a group of Arab dancers who performed characteristic war dance, and an enjoyable panorama of the Bosphorus at the end of this hall. The great hall and reception rooms of the first floor encompassed precious industrial works such as the Hereke and Ushak carpets and rugs, porcelains, embroideries, mother-of-pearl, copper, silver, and brass work and other valuable things sent from the Ottoman provinces. In a neighboring bazaar, there were the Ottoman candies and sweets to be tasted and bought. The second floor was allocated to embroideries, carpets, copper and brass works, precious fabrics, mines, perfumes, and pharmaceutical goods. It also had a small-scale replicas of Jerusalem and Bethlehem in an adjacent room. The upper floor had a Turkish restaurant, an Oriental orchestra, and a terrasse which enabled visitors to have a panoramic view. In the Bois de Vincennes, the Ottomans exhibited Arabian horses.”¹²⁹



Figure 37. The Ottoman Pavilion on the Rue des Nations, the Paris Universal Exposition, 1900.
<http://www.arthurchandler.com/paris-1900-exposition> (08-03-2024)

Salih Münir Pasha, the Ottoman ambassador in Paris, was appointed to the Ottoman pavilion as the Commissioner-General. The Sublime Porte permitted Halil Efendi, the

¹²⁸ Gür, “1900 Yılı Uluslararası Paris Sergisi,” 52.

¹²⁹ James Penny Boyd, *The Paris Exposition of 1900: A Vivid Descriptive View and Elaborate Scenic Presentation of the Site, Plan, and Exhibits* (American Edition, 1900), 486-487; Gür, “1900 Yılı Uluslararası Paris Sergisi,” 55.

concessionaire of el-Ahval newspaper which would make news about Syrian exhibits in the Ottoman pavilion, to publish French articles and photographs in his newspaper as supplement, as it thought that this would draw a positive image for the Ottoman Empire.¹³⁰ Muzafferredin Shah of Iran and Oscar I, the King of Sweden and Norway, visited the Ottoman pavilion.¹³¹ The Ottomans organized several banquets in their pavilion. The most significant one was the feast held in honor of Abdulhamid II's 24th year on the throne. More than two thousand leading figures, including the commissioner-generals of Germany, Britain, Russia, Austria, Spain, the US, Belgium, and Japan as well as prominent French statesmen attended the reception on the occasion of the festivities on the night of August 30.¹³² Many theatre plays, magic shows, bedouin dances, native Senegalese, Indochinese, Spanish and Japanese dances, and swordplays were performed in the Ottoman pavilion.¹³³ Furthermore, a religious rite was organized by Cericeri, the Greek Catholic Patriarch, in a Greek church in the presence of Salih Munir Pasha, many religious leaders, foreign statesmen, and the Ottoman citizens. In its end, Salih Munir Pasha gave a speech which thanked the participants and glorified Abdulhamid II.¹³⁴



Figure 38. The Front of the Ground Floor of the Ottoman Pavilion, the Paris Universal Exposition, 1900.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ BOA. DH.MKT.2265/122, (5 November 1899).

¹³¹ Gür, "1900 Yılı Uluslararası Paris Sergisi," 62.

¹³² BOA. Y.PRK.TKM.44/3, (1 September 1900).

¹³³ İkdâm, 7. Sene Sayı 2222, (5 September 1900).

¹³⁴ İkdâm, 7. Sene Sayı 2228, (11 September 1900).

¹³⁵ Aytaç Işıklı, *The Album of Turkish Fairs* (İstanbul: İhlas Matbaacılık, 2012), 165.



Figure 39. The Ottoman Pavilion, the Paris Universal Exposition, *Le Petit Journal* Supplement, 3 June 1900.

2.2.7. The Ottomans in the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair

The 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, known as the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, was held to celebrate the centennial of the US acquisition of the Louisiana Territory from France. It was the largest exhibition in the world until that date with an area of nearly 510 hectares and

attracted roughly 19.1 million visitors from 30 April to 1 December.¹³⁶ Apart from its main exhibition buildings, large parks, state pavilions, lakes, lagoons, and a forest, the St. Louis Fair comprised the Pike Street as an amusement center. The Pike Street resembled the Midway Plaisance in the Chicago World's Fair, but was larger than it. In addition to its concessions like the Old Jerusalem and Philippine Exhibit in distinct parts of the Exposition Site, the Pike Street had colorful and exotic world with Constantinople, Tyrolean Alps, Irish Village, Over & Under Sea, Seville, Ancient Rome, Hagenbecks, Fair Japan, Old St. Louis, Creation & Hereafter Exhibit, Siberian Railway & Russian Village, Wild West, Old Plantation, Chinese Village, Eskimo Village, Magic Whirlpool, Southsea Island, Cliff Dwellers, Water Chutes, The Scenic Railway, Naval Exhibit, Battle Abbey, Mining Camp, Moorish Palace, Cairo, Palace of Costumes, Ancient & Modern Paris, Moving Pictures, Jim Key, Golden Chariot, Ostrich Farm, Divers, Mysterious Asia, Alaska, Temple of Mirth, Galveston Flood, and Hale's Fire Fighters.



Figure 40. The Pike Street at the St. Louis Fair, 1904.

<https://www.loc.gov/item/2006679156/> (10-03-2024)

Constantinople was located between Chinese and Eskimo villages on the northern side of the Pike Street. Its vice-commissioner-general was Shekib Bey, the Ottoman ambassador in Washington. Herman Schoenfeld was appointed as commissioner while George Eli Hal became secretary-general.¹³⁷ Constantinople, which included the faithful reproduction of eleven sections of Grand Bazaar in Istanbul, was designed by Celal Esad Bey. According to Sevil

¹³⁶ Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight* 672.

¹³⁷ "Official Directory of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, World's Fair," compiled by the Secretary of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, (Saint Louis: Woodward & Tiernan Printing Company, 1905), 70.

Derin, Pangalo from America, an exhibition concessionaire, had persuaded Celal Esad Bey to attend the St. Louis Fair in 1904 by preparing a project about the quarters and bazaars of Istanbul.¹³⁸ Celal Esad Bey stated that he accepted Pangalo's offer in order to prevent the misrepresentation of the Turkish image and to increase the reputation of the sultan. Although he could not go to St. Louis due to passport procedures, Pangalo built Constantinople through his drawings and became its concessioner. The book prepared by Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company depicts the Constantinople as follows:

“Constantinople on the Pike was designed by Celal Esad Bey, aide-de-camp to Abdulhamid II and operated by Pangalo. It was a realistic reproduction of eleven sections of bazaars in Istanbul. The gate of Nuri Osmaniye Mosque was selected as entrance gate of Constantinople. This gate led to a replica of Kalpakçılar Street running in a straight line from east to west to the extremity of the bazaars. A typical Turkish street was shown outside of the bazaars. Each street bore its proper relation to the other streets and the minutest details of the architecture were imitated. Despite the shortening of the streets to meet the requirements of the allotted space, the difficulty of preserving perspective effects was accomplished to an astonishing degree. The bazaars filled with Turkish merchants and their goods reflected the street life in Constantinople.”¹³⁹

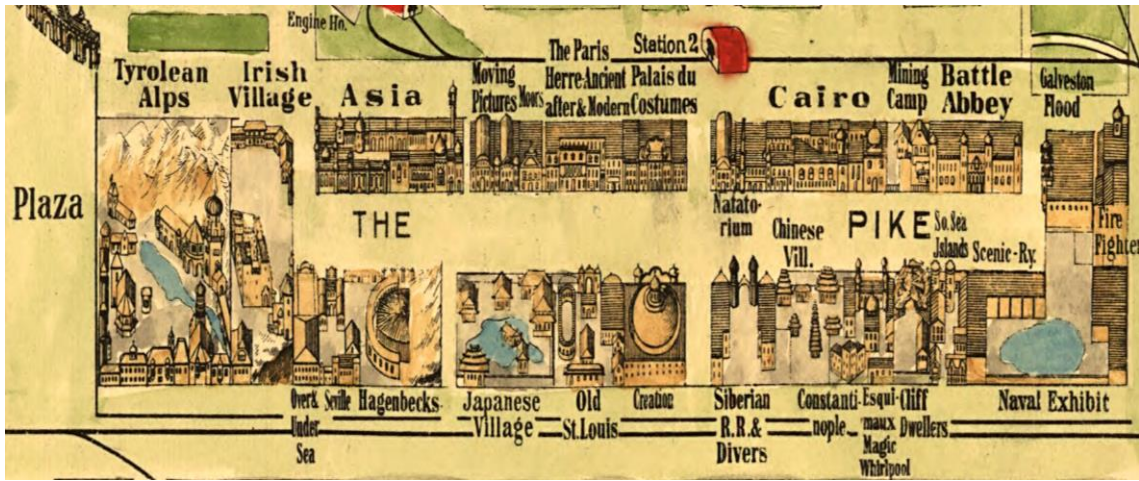


Figure 41. Constantinople, the Pike Street, the St. Louis Fair, 1904.

<https://www.loc.gov/item/99466762/> (10-03-2024)

The archival document about Constantinople is absent, but it is possible to find some details in secondary sources. To illustrate, Ernest Hamwi, a Syrian immigrant, run a concession making zalabia, a kind of waffle, in Constantinople on the Pike Street.¹⁴⁰ Figure 42 indicates a

¹³⁸ Sevil Derin, “1904 St. Louis Dünya Fuarı ve Osmanlı Temsiliyeti: Celal Esad Arseven Sergisi,” *Art-Sanat*, 13 (2020), 102.

¹³⁹ David Francis, *The Universal Exposition of 1904* (St. Louis: Louisiana Purchase Exposition Co., 1913), 598.

¹⁴⁰ Anne Cooper Funderburg, *Chocolate, Strawberry, and Vanilla: A History of American Ice Cream* (Bowling Green, Bowling Green State University Press, 1995), 117. “According to a rumor, Ernest Hamwi (1883-1943) was the introducer of ice cream cone in the US. At the St. Louis Fair, he was making zalabia, a kind of waffle, in Constantinople on the Pike Street. In his memories, Hamwi told that his booth was next to an ice cream concession.

lemonade seller in Constantinople. Figure 44 shows a performance of dancing girls, a drummer and a “zurnacı” trying to attract visitors to Constantinople. The entrance was free but visitors had to pay twenty-five cents to watch the theater, particularly these dancing girls, “whose muscles obey every desire.”¹⁴¹ Parezo and Fowler also mention the fighting and swordsmanship of Turkish warriors on the Pike Street.¹⁴²

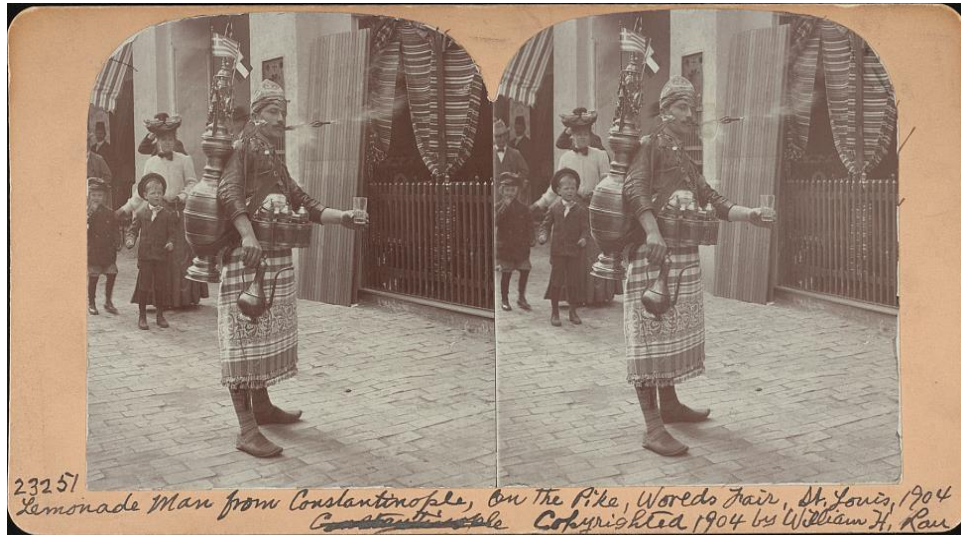


Figure 42. Lemonade Man from Constantinople on the Pike Street, the St. Louis Fair, 1904.
<https://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/stereo.1s47285/> (10-03-2024)



Figure 43. Turkish Officials at the St. Louis Fair, 1904.¹⁴³

After customers purchased his zalabia, they also bought ice cream to eat with zalabia. One day his workers offered him to combine zalabia and ice cream. Then Hamwi rolled zalabia into a funnel shape and filled it with ice cream. It was liked by his workers. Hamwi began to sell zalabia to ice cream concessions in the St. Louis Fair. Visitors liked his invention as it was portable. After the St. Louis Fair closed, J.P. Heckle, the owner of the Cornucopia Waffle Oven Company, hired Hamwi. Soon, it opened branches in Georgia, Texas, Florida, and South Carolina.”

¹⁴¹ Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition: Anthropology Goes to the Fair* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 262.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 115.

¹⁴³ *Portfolio of Photographs of the World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904*, (Chicago: The Educational Company, 1904), 54.



Figure 44. Turkish Dancers in Constantinople on the Pike Street, the St. Louis Fair, 1904.¹⁴⁴

<https://robtar.wordpress.com/2014/01/07/1904-st-louis-fair-constantinople-turkish-attraction-on-pike-with-dancing-girls-in-native-costumes-two-men-wearing-fez-hats-with-one-drumming-other-playing-flute-to-attract-attention-to-exhibit/> (10-03-2024)

A series of archival documents mention an interesting offer to Abdulhamid II by Alexander Konta, the General-Manager of the Jerusalem Exhibit Company, which was one of the concessions of the Pike Street. Konta made a six-article suggestion to Abdulhamid II in return for taking some photographs of Jerusalem to build a replica of the Old Jerusalem in the St. Louis Fair in 1904.¹⁴⁵ The first three articles of this suggestion gave some concessions to Abdulhamid II as the caliph of the Islamic world. Firstly, Muslim visitors could perform their worship in the Mosque of Omar. No public prayers will be allowed in another mosque and any unpleasant thing will not be permitted within and around the mosque. The Sultan can appoint an imam, a muezzin, and a servant to this mosque. Secondly, the Sublime Porte can send a brigade to protect the Jerusalem Exhibit. This would display the reputation of the Ottoman soldiers to the world. Thirdly, the Sublime Porte can send a military band to showcase the greatness of the Ottoman military band. The other three articles focused on some requests.

¹⁴⁴ The author of this blog, Robtnar, says that this photograph was an unpublished negative and he processed it in 2003. According to him, the dancer in the right of this photograph was probably from Alaska Village. This photograph was firstly used in this thesis as an academic work.

¹⁴⁵ Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domain*, 163-164.

Firstly, he wanted to take some piece of land of Jerusalem and some water from the River Aron and the Dead Sea which were sacred for Christians and Jews to St. Louis. Secondly, he requested a permission to easily take servants from the Ottoman lands to St. Louis. Thirdly, he specifically wished to take some spoils of war such as gun and flags captured against the Crusaders to the Jerusalem Exhibit. In his letter, Konta said that he would apply Egyptian, Tunisian, Algerian, and Moroccan governments unless the Sublime Porte accepted his offer. Deringil argues that this indicates that Konta knew the claim of Abdulhamid II to be leader of Islam and tried to benefit from it. However, there is no archival document whether Abdulhamid II acknowledged this offer or not.

CHAPTER 3. EXHIBITION STRATEGIES OF THE HAMIDIAN REGIME

The Hamidian Regime saw the international exhibitions as a stage to improve the empire's tarnished image abroad. Abdulhamid II believed that the West mostly distorted or exaggerated what they heard about the Ottoman Empire and only photographed what they saw negatively. The world fairs enabled the Hamidian Regime to represent the empire comprehensively and accurately. It paid great attention to the empire's representation in the world fairs. In cases where the empire did not officially attend, the Hamidian Regime mostly assigned commissioners to manage the affairs of the Ottoman exhibitors. It developed some strategies to defend and protect the empire's honor and prestige. The first was to depict the empire and the sultan as the leader of the Islamic World. The second was to avert the unpleasant portrayals of the Orient. The third was to monitor Bulgaria and Egypt. These first three strategies sought to impede the displays that might damage the empire's honor and prestige. The fourth was to show the empire's glorious past through cultural accumulation in museums and historical geography the Ottomans ruled. The fifth was to represent the empire as an equal member of the civilized world. The final was to present the empire as a multi-ethnic and multi-religious one. These last three strategies aimed to draw a progressive image of the empire. This chapter studies the implementation of these strategies by examining archival documents.

3.1. Portraying the Empire and Its Sultan as the Leader of the Islamic World

In the world fairs, the most critical one of the damage-control and image-management strategies of the Hamidian Regime was to take the leader and defender of the Islamic world in an era which millions of Muslims lived under the rule of Christian empires. This strategy was an extension of Abdulhamid II's pan-islamism policy that sought to increase his popularity among the Muslims living under Christian empires as a caliph.¹⁴⁶ This was a policy that would ensure that imperial nation-states would take Abdulhamid II seriously because these Muslims could revolt against them with his command. Constructing a mosque as a major symbol of Islam and protecting the Islamic etiquette within and around mosques were two of the very essential instruments of legitimizing the Ottoman Empire and Abdulhamid II's claim to be the leader and defender of the Islamic world in the international expositions in which millions of people from all over the world participated. In this part, I trace this strategy in the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, the 1896 Budapest National Millennium Exhibition, and the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair.

¹⁴⁶ Cezmi Eraslan, *II. Abdülhamid ve İslam Birliği: Osmanlı Devleti'nin İslam Siyaseti* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2018), 37.

On December 12, 1891, Elia Suhami & Sadullah Co. told Foreign Ministry that it started the preparations to construct a mosque in the Turkish Village at the Midway Plaisance in the Chicago World's Fair to provide Muslim visitors with a place of worship. To receive Abdulhamid II's permission as the caliph of the Muslims to build this mosque, this concessioner underlined that not only the Ottomans but also Indian, Iranian, Moroccan, and Algerian Muslims would worship in this mosque and pray on behalf of the Ottoman sultan.¹⁴⁷ It added that the Ottoman exhibition commissioner and an imam to be sent from Istanbul could supervise this mosque to impede any situation injurious to Islam. On December 29, the Council of Ministers permitted it to erect this mosque but rejected to assign an imam and a muezzin to this mosque due to probably refraining from further cost. In any case, the sixth article of the contract signed between the Ministry of Trade and Public Works and Elia Suhami & Sadullah CO. held the latter responsible for making the worship of Muslims more comfortable and ensuring that visitors would not violate the Islamic rules.¹⁴⁸ Citing from his brother's letter sent from Chicago, Mihran Chubukchian depicted the opening ceremony of this mosque as follows:

“The Turkish Mosque at the Midway Plaisance opened with a glittering ceremony in the presence of around two-thousands prominent American figures. In company of participants, an Ottoman unit held a parade from the railway station to the mosque while it was pouring rain. Within the mosque decorated with Ottoman carpets pleasing to the eye and heart, participants were served delicious food, tea, and coffee. For about three hours, attendants observed the inside of the mosque as if it was an Ottoman museum. Prayers were offered to Abdulhamid II and “Long Live the Sultan was chanted.”¹⁴⁹



Figure 45. The Turkish Mosque at the Midway Plaisance, the Chicago World's Fair, 1893.
<https://1893.chicago00.org/assets/imgOrg/87.jpg> (10-01-2024)

¹⁴⁷ BOA. HR.TH.115/14, (12 December 1891).

¹⁴⁸ Sarıkaya, “*Celebreting Difference*,” 183; BOA. Y.A.RES.58/33, (24 May 1892).

¹⁴⁹ BOA. Y.PRK.AZJ.21/106, (28 May 1892).

Stating that Abdulhamid II built a Turkish mosque open to all Muslim visitors in the Chicago World's Fair so that they could worship comfortably without being disturbed by Christian visitors curious about the Islamic rituals, Campbell's Illustrated Weekly brought his claim to be the leader and defender of the Islamic world into its columns.¹⁵⁰ The issue of worship without molestation among millions of tourists in the world fairs became the number one agenda of the Hamidian Regime. For instance, Alexander Konta, the general-manager of the Jerusalem Exhibit Company, who visited the Ottoman lands many times and heard about the sensitivity of Abdulhamid II about this issue asked the Sublime Porte to send an imam and a muezzin to lead prayers for Muslim visitors from all over the world in the name of the Ottoman sultan as the caliph of the Muslims in the Mosque of Omar to be built in the centre of the Jerusalem Exhibit at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition.¹⁵¹ Konta assured that no public prayers would be held in any other place and that nothing injurious to Islam would be allowed. He did not hesitate to warn the Sublime Porte that he would appeal to the governments of Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco if his offer was rejected. Abdulhamid II gave permission to this company to take photographs of Jerusalem in order to prepare a plan of the mosque, but the archival document that would clarify other points is rare.

Two documentable cases from the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 and the Budapest National Millennium Exposition in 1896 demonstrate how the Ottomans officials abroad struggled to defend Abdulhamid II's claim to be the leader of Islam through diplomatic channels. On October 31, 1892, Alexander Mavroyeni, the Ottoman ambassador in Washington, informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Robert Levy, the Turkish Village's concessionaire, reported that a company consisting of Syrians and American missionaries intended to construct a mosque in a location adjacent to the main exhibition area to get Americans to watch Muslims' worship in return for a fee.¹⁵² Mavroyeni stated that he sent a note to the US Foreign Minister John Foster to avert its construction by asserting that this was equivalent to opening a church in an Islamic country to the public for a fee. In another report, Mavroyeni notified that J. Foster had dispatched a telegram to the Governor of Illinois to investigate this shameful situation.¹⁵³ One week later J. Foster told Mavroyeni that the Governor of Illinois had conveyed his note to the Mayor of Chicago.¹⁵⁴ Mavroyeni's intense diplomatic effort eventually came to fruition

¹⁵⁰ Özge Girit Heck, "Labelling the Ottoman Empire as Turkey in the Chicago World's Fair of 1893," *International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity* 3, no. 1 (2015), 122.

¹⁵¹ BOA. İ.HR.386/7, (16 October 1903); BOA. Y.A.HUS.464/86-3, (18 January 1904).

¹⁵² BOA. Y.A.HUS.267/60-2, (3 December 1892).

¹⁵³ BOA. Y.A.HUS.267/82-2, (8 December 1892).

¹⁵⁴ BOA. HR.SYS.72/32, (15 December 1892).

when the Mayor of Chicago halted the construction of this mosque planned to be built for earning money.¹⁵⁵ This diplomatic success reinforced Abdulhamid II's claim to be the leader and defender of the Islamic world.

A similar case took place in the 1896 Budapest National Millennium Exposition. Mahmud Nedim Pasha, the Ottoman ambassador in Vienna, informed Foreign Ministry that visitors to the Budapest Exhibition were watching people praying in mosque at Ós-Budavára Complex in exchange for an entrance fee.¹⁵⁶ Pasha stated that he assigned the Consul-General of Budapest, Ismail Lütüfî Bey, to investigate this situation injurious to Islam. Ós-Budavára Complex, located to the west of the Modern Exhibition Section of the Budapest Exhibition, was a faithful replica of the Ottoman Budin by a private entrepreneur and consisted of theatres, cafes, restaurants, concert stages, and a Sarajevo-style mosque at its center.¹⁵⁷ After his search, Ismail Lütüfî Bey reported that some Bosnians have signed a contract with the concessionaire of Ós-Budavára Complex to pray for a fee and sell tickets to visitors who wanted to watch the prayers.¹⁵⁸ Ismail Lütüfî Bey asked the Austrian Foreign Minister to put an end to this disgraceful situation, but the latter reminded himself of the aforementioned contract. Ismail Lütüfî Bey concluded his report by stating that he will do his best to resolve this matter.

In another report dated June 17, 1896, Ismail Lütüfî Bey said that the Hungarian Interior Minister Dezső Perczel had assured himself that this unpleasant situation was put an end from tomorrow.¹⁵⁹ On 23rd June, Ismail Lütüfî Bey sent a second report summarising his letter to Perczel when he saw that this inappropriate situation was continuing.¹⁶⁰ In this letter, he argued that no places of worship in the world can be entered for a fee. Everyone can visit them with respect. An entry fee would turn them into an exhibition center. Ismail Lütüfî Bey added that Perczel invited himself one hour later after his letter. In this meeting, Perczel told him that the concessionaire of Ós-Budavára stated that Bosnians have signed a contract to sell entry tickets to visitors who wished to observe the prayers and pray for a fee after receiving a fatwa from the Sarajevo mufti. After Perczel, Ismail Lütüfî Bey met with Austrian Finance Minister Béni Kállay to discuss this matter, but Kállay expressed himself that he would not cancel this contract by

¹⁵⁵ BOA. HR.SYS.72/50, (5 May 1893).

¹⁵⁶ BOA. HR.İD.2089/77, (14 May 1896).

¹⁵⁷ Albert, "The Nation for Itself," 121-122. Selim Deringil and Şefik Memiş tells that this mosque was built by the Ottomans, but it was constructed by a private Hungarian entrepreneur.

¹⁵⁸ BOA. Y.A.HUS.352/129-2, (7 June 1896).

¹⁵⁹ BOA. Y.A.HUS.355/36-3, (17 June 1896).

¹⁶⁰ BOA. Y.A.HUS.355/36-2, (23 June 1896).

asserting that he had paid an entrance fee to enter Hagia Sophia during his visit to Istanbul. In response to Kállay, Ismail Lütü Bey underlined that no mosque in the Ottoman lands charged a fee, and contended that the Sarajevo mufti could not issue a fatwa for such a shameful contract if he knew that the concessionaire of Ós-Budavára benefited from it.



Figure 46. Ós-Budavára Mosque, the Budapest Exhibition, 1896.
<https://fotók.hu/picture.php?/45922/categories> (12-01-2024)



Figure 47. Ós-Budavára Mosque and Its Shadirvan, the Budapest Exhibition, 1896.

<https://fotók.hu/picture.php?/45925/categories> (12-01-2024)

Perczel advised Ismail Lütfi Bey to report this matter to Mahmud Nedim Pasha to persuade Kállay to cancel this contract. It would appear that this intense negotiation, even if it's a little late, yielded when Perczel ordered the Minister of Police to terminate this contract and remove the ticket boxes.¹⁶¹ Stating that he visited Ós-Budavára Complex to see the latest situation on the spot, Ismail Lütfi Bey reported that the ticket boxes were removed and the electricity of the mosque was cut off. Ismail Lütfi Bey emphasized that he did not see these paid Bosnians who had publicly performed ablution in the vicinity of the mosque again although they were allowed to pray in the mosque. The removal of such a situation detrimental to the essence of Islam showed the determination of the Ottoman foreign mission to defend the honor and prestige of Islam and made a significant contribution to Abdulhamid II's claim to be the leader and defender of the Islamic World.

To sum up, Abdulhamid II aimed to present the empire and himself as the leader and defender of Islam in the international exhibitions. To this end, it built mosques, sought to

¹⁶¹ BOA. Y.A.HUS 359/18-2, (13 August 1896).

prevent individual entrepreneurs from building mosques to make money, and halt acts contrary to the essence of Islam in other mosques on the exhibition site. At this point, Ottoman officials in Chicago and Budapest engaged in intensive diplomatic processes to protect the honor and prestige of Islam in the international exhibitions and to strengthen Abdulhamid II's claim.

3.2. Avoiding the Unpleasant Portrayals of the Orient

The most vital one of the damage-control and image-management strategies was to impede the displays of unpleasant oriental customs such as dervish rituals and dancing girls which would harm the empire's honor and prestige in the theatres in the Ottoman and other countries' villages in the international fairs. The aim of this strategy was to refrain from displaying the empire to the West as a part of the exotic and uncivilized East. For this purpose, the Sublime Porte and Ottoman officials abroad were always vigilant in both empire's official and unofficial participations in the world's fairs. In this part, I examine four examples of this strategy: the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, the 1894 California Midwinter International Exposition, and the 1894 Antwerp Universal Exposition, and the 1896 Budapest Exhibition.

On February 19, 1891, the Ottoman Empire was officially invited by the US to take part in the Chicago World's Fair organized to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus.¹⁶² A report dated June 15, 1891 from Alexander Mavroyeni, the Ottoman ambassador in Washington, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reveals that the Sublime Porte, even in the early stages of exhibition preparations, diplomatically tried to inhibit the displays of disgraceful oriental performances. The Sublime Porte endeavored to impede the entry of some Ottoman citizens into the US to participate in the Chicago World's Fair.¹⁶³ These Ottoman citizens were the Syrians who have staged oriental theatre plays and have performed local dances by joining almost all fairs to gain money. The objective of the Sublime Porte was to prevent them from staging unpleasant theatre plays that would harm the empire's honor and prestige. Mavroyeni stated that American laws could not restrict the migration of the Syrians into the US, but he stressed that the American government pledged that it would not allow any inappropriate theatre play that would undermine the friendly relations between the two states.

On the 4th day of the Chicago World's Fair, a certain Hüsnü from Beirut sent a letter to the Sublime Porte. In his letter, Hüsnü told that he and Butros Antonius, a Christian Arab from

¹⁶² Sarıkaya, "*Celebreting Difference*," 48.

¹⁶³ BOA. HR.SYS.71/44, (15 June 1891).

the Mount Lebanon, established a theatre company to decently showcase Arab customs and teenagers in the Chicago World's Fair.¹⁶⁴ He stated that a wealthy man who later became a partner to this company would take a few Arab, Druse, and Nusayri sheikhs to Chicago with the goal of introducing Muslims as tyrant and Christians as mistreated and showing Arab customs and teenagers to foreigners in an unpleasant way and foreigners' customs in a pleasant way by changing this company's founding purpose. Hüsnü underscored that an English-speaking Muslim official must be assigned to this company since its new partner will perform theatre plays in English. He stressed that Hakkı Bey, the Ottoman exhibition commissioner in the Chicago World's Fair, must be informed about this new partner's intention. The Sublime Porte, which could not remain indifferent to such a sensitive issue concerning the honor and prestige of the empire, sent a dispatch to both Hakkı Bey and Mavroyeni.¹⁶⁵

On May 24, 1893, Hakkı Bey sent a report refuting the claims of Hüsnü to the Sublime Porte.¹⁶⁶ He stated that according to the seventh article of the contract between the Ministry of Trade and Public Works and the Elia Suhami & Sadullah Company as the concessionaire, a theatre was built in the Ottoman Village and its administration was entrusted to Butros Antonius provided that he would not stage theatre plays injurious to national moral values of the empire. Hakkı Bey reported that in this theatre some harmless but vulgar theatre plays were staging, local dances were performing, and Turkish and Arabic songs were singing with oriental musical instruments. He underlined that most of the theatre actors and actresses were Christian Arabs, and there were no young Muslim actors and actresses as Hüsnü claimed. According to this report, theatre plays were staging in Arabic, and only an English interpreter was making brief explanation about the content of the play to the audience. Denying all of Hüsnü's statements, Hakkı Bey assured that he was always vigilant to protect the empire's honor and prestige. In another report to the Sublime Porte, Mavroyeni refuted the claims of Hüsnü again, and underscored that Robert Levy, the general director of theatre department, will not allow unseemly theatre plays and dances to be staged.¹⁶⁷ As it is seen, the Ottoman foreign mission paid attention to every intelligence in order to remove any inappropriate situation which could injure the empire's honor and prestige.

¹⁶⁴ BOA. BEO.193.14427, (4 May 1893).

¹⁶⁵ BOA. BEO.200.14962, (15 May 1893).

¹⁶⁶ BOA. BEO.200.14962-3 (24 May 1893).

¹⁶⁷ BOA. HR.SYS.72/59, (27 June 1893).



Figure 48. Turkish Theatre, Dancing Girls at the Turkish Village at the Midway Plaisance, the Chicago World's Fair, 1893.¹⁶⁸



Figure 49. Group of Actors and Actresses of Turkish Theatre at the Midway Plaisance, the Chicago World's Fair, 1893.

https://collections.carli.illinois.edu/digital/collection/nby_mms/id/34660 (15-01-2024)

¹⁶⁸ Heck, "Labelling the Ottoman Empire," 127.



“These four girls dance together four different kinds of dances. The Arabian dance, called Delkey, and the square quadrille dance used in the olden time by the Caliphs of Baghdad, with a special song taken from the poem called the “Ringing of the Bell.” Among the Moslems it is regarded as a sacred dance. These dancers are Syrians; two from Damascus, and two from Beirut.”

Figure 50. Group of Four Girls, the Chicago World’s Fair, 1893.

https://collections.carli.illinois.edu/digital/collection/nby_mms/id/34667 (15-01-2024)

The Oriental Village at the California Midwinter International Exposition of 1894 in San Francisco in which the Ottoman Empire did not officially participate comprised a group of “young women as muscle-dancing Turkish girls.”¹⁶⁹ A report dated on April 6, 1894 from Mavroyeni to Foreign Ministry unearths how the Ottoman foreign mission was always on the alert to avert the display of unseemly oriental customs which would shatter the empire’s honor and prestige even at expositions which the Ottoman Empire did not officially attend. Mavroyeni reported that the Consul-General of San Francisco, the Ottoman representative in the Midwinter Fair, had banned shameful dances in the Oriental theatres¹⁷⁰ in this exposition organized in San Francisco’s Golden Gate Park to display selected exhibits from the Chicago World’s Fair from January 27 to July 4.¹⁷¹ According to this report, the theatres in the Oriental Village in the Midwinter Fair had been closed and all the dancers had been arrested to be put on trial upon the order of the Society for the Suppression of Vice (*Muhâfaza-i Âdâb Cemiyyeti*). This was because the Consul-General of San Francisco had warned the head of the Oriental Union not to allow women and young girls to dance who drew a negative image for the empire by sending a letter to him two weeks ago. The Examiner provides an information about the beginning of this case. On January 4, “the Examiner had reported that Catherina Dhaved and Marietta, the two dark-eyed daughters of Turkey who had been compelled to desist from giving public dancing

¹⁶⁹ Barbara Berglund, *Making San Francisco American: Cultural Frontiers in the Urban West (1846-1906)* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 201-203. Turkish Dancing Girls refer to Algerian, Moroccan, Persian, and Egyptian girls .

¹⁷⁰ BOA. HR.ID.2090/2, (6 April 1894); BOA. Y.A.HUS.295.3, (26 April 1894). For the details of the case between the Society for the Suppression of Vice and the Turkish Dancing Girls, see Berglund, *Making San Francisco American*, 205-206.

¹⁷¹ Berglund, *Making San Francisco American*, 171.

performances on Market Street a few weeks ago by the Society for the Suppression of Vice, had visited the officers of the society yesterday.”¹⁷² The Examiner’s news proves that the Ottoman foreign mission tried to inhibit such disgraceful dances injurious to the empire’s honor and prestige both before and during the exposition.



Figure 51. Oriental Village, California Midwinter Exposition of 1894, San Francisco.
<https://oac.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/tf6j49p5wg/?brand=oac4> (23-01-2024)

¹⁷² Ibid., 203-205. For detailed information about this issue, see Appendix A.



Figure 52. LaMaman Dancers and Persian Palace Theatre of the Belle Baya in the Oriental Village, California Midwinter International Exposition of 1894, San Francisco.
<http://opensfhistory.org/Display/wnp37.00047.jpg> (23-01-2024)

On November 3, 1893, Hakkı Bey informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Butros Antonius, the Director of the Oriental Theatre at the Midway Plaisance in the Chicago World's Fair, received a permission from Belgian government to open an Ottoman village in the international exposition to be held in Antwerp between 5 May and 5 November 1894.¹⁷³ He stated that some Syrians who customarily joined all fairs to make some money might thoughtlessly exhibit some unpleasant performances like oriental dance that would mar the empire's honor and prestige. He told that the Ottoman theatre was making great effort to impede such damaging scenes in the last two months of the Chicago World's Fair, but such scenes were becoming more frequent in Egyptian and Iranian theatres. He added that the Ottoman embassy in Brussels must be given clear instructions to prevent Butros Antonius from staging any unpleasant theatre or oriental dance that would shatter the empire's honor and prestige. In reply to the dispatch from the Grandvizierate to the Brussels Embassy on November 30, the latter reported that the necessary instructions were conveyed to the Consul-General of Antwerp in order to prevent Butros Antonius from exhibiting any theatre play or dance harmful to our moral values.¹⁷⁴ It seems that the Ottoman officials were on the alert even before the commencement of the exposition to inhibit the display of detrimental things to the empire's credibility.

¹⁷³ BOA. BEO.348/26028-4, (3 November 1893).

¹⁷⁴ BOA. BEO.348/26028-2, (18 January 1894).

The Sublime Porte closely followed the activities of Butros Antonius since the official opening of the Antwerp International Exposition on May 5, 1894. On July 5, Foreign Ministry sent a telegram to Karatodori Efendi, the Ottoman ambassador in Brussels, to preventing Butros Antonius from exhibiting any oriental performance such as dervish rituals and dancing girls. On July 10, the latter reported that the necessary precautions have been taken in advance on this issue and stressed that the Belgian government conveyed the necessary instructions to Count de Pret Roose, the president of the executive committee of the fair, and Count de Ursel, the commissioner-general of the fair, to show its well-intention and ensure our satisfaction.¹⁷⁵ Stating that he visited Antwerp to investigate the situation on the spot, Karatodori Efendi underlined that any exhibit injurious to the empire's honor and prestige did not take place and will never happen from now on. He underscored that those who would dare to "the shameful displays of Islamic women or dervish life which can our national honor and religious beliefs"¹⁷⁶ will be arrested. In this case, the concern of the Sublime Porte resulted from an actual news. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs had informed the Ministry of Police that a certain Agob Balyan who resided in Beyoğlu, the agent of Butros Antonius, contacted gypsy women in Sulukule and bought some objects to use during Mevlevi dervish ritual¹⁷⁷ and Butros Antonius came to Istanbul to receive these objects from him.¹⁷⁸



Figure 53. Syrian Dancers, Antwerp Universal Exposition, 1894.
<https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/RP-F-2001-7-1494-42> (26-01-2024)

¹⁷⁵ BOA. Y.MTV.100/38, (10 July 1894).

¹⁷⁶ Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domain*, 160.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 160.

¹⁷⁸ BOA. Y.MTV.99/55, (11 July 1894).

Another threat to the empire's honor and prestige was the harem at the 1896 Budapest Exhibition. As the Ottoman harem was closed to the outside world, many myths were produced about it in the West in the 16th and 17th centuries. In her seminal work, Leslie Peirce argues that the main function of the harem was not sexuality, but was to ensure the continuity of the dynasty by "a complex politics of dynastic reproduction."¹⁷⁹ Even in the 19th century, many caricatures depicted the harem as a place of pleasure and entertainment where the sultans satisfied their sexual needs.¹⁸⁰ Abdulhamid II was very disturbed by the publication of images and theatre plays about the harem¹⁸¹ that damaged the honor and prestige of the empire. He used diplomatic channels to stop them. The traces of this policy can be seen in the international fairs. On April 3, 1896, the Consul-General of Budapest informed Foreign Ministry that the concessionaire of Ós-Budavára would build a harem that could serve to reinforce the misconceptions about the Ottoman Empire to attract visitors. The Consul-General said that the General-Director of the Budapest Exhibition stressed that Ós-Budavára was not a part of the main exhibition area and we could not directly intervene in it.¹⁸² By remembering that there was a contract between the Budapest Exhibition and Ós-Budavára, he, however, promised that there would be no unpleasant situation in Ós-Budavára that could harm Ottoman-Hungarian relations.



Figure 54. Ós-Budavára Harem, the Budapest Exhibition, 1896.
<https://fotók.hu/picture.php?/45917/categories> (27-01-2024).

¹⁷⁹ Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 3.

¹⁸⁰ Alkan, *Karikatürlerle Sultan II. Abdülhamid*, 31, 41, 42, 136, 170, 190, 201, 234, 274.

¹⁸¹ Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domain*, 143.

¹⁸² BOA. Y.A.HUS.350/69, (23 April 1896)

In conclusion, the Hamidian Regime sought to avert the display of unpleasant performances such as dervish rituals, local dances, and the scenes of the harem in the international exhibitions in order to protect the honor and prestige of the empire. The aim was to prevent the strengthening of the perception of exotic and undeveloped east. This part shows that the Hamidian Regime tried to intervene in every incident that it perceived as a threat to the empire's prestige, whether the empire officially participated in the exhibition. In the Oriental Village in the 1894 Midwinter Fair, the arrest of dancers was a good example of this.

3.3. Supervising the Empire's Autonomous Parts: Bulgaria and Egypt

The Hamidian Regime strategically needed to follow the participations of Principality of Bulgaria and the Khedivate of Egypt in the international exhibitions to determine whether they exhibited anything against the Ottoman Empire. This policy aimed at halting the growth of damage over the credibility of the empire abroad.

Principality of Bulgaria was the most intensely monitored state by the Hamidian Regime after Russia, according to the Ottoman foreign military and political intelligence reports due to its separatist and expansionist intentions in the period after 1878.¹⁸³ The Bulgarian Commissariat in Sofia, created in the aftermath of the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, was the most critical office that provided intelligence to the Sublime Porte about anti-Ottoman acts of the Principality of Bulgaria.¹⁸⁴ Supervising the participation of Principality of Bulgaria in the world fairs through the Ottoman foreign mission in order to inhibit any exhibition injurious to the Ottoman Empire was a part of this intelligence. The abundance of documents which mentioned Bulgarian attendance at many international expositions proves the empire's close-marking over Principality of Bulgaria.

Alexander Mavroyeni, the Ottoman ambassador in Washington, informed Foreign Ministry that Principality of Bulgaria would open a national exhibition in the Chicago World's Fair.¹⁸⁵ Although he applied diplomatic channels to integrate it into the Ottoman Section in order to eliminate the possibility that Principality of Bulgaria might display anything against the Ottoman Empire, this national exhibition was established. Nevertheless, it did not comprise any exhibit that tarnished the empire's honor and prestige. Similarly, the Ottoman ambassador

¹⁸³ Gültekin Yıldız, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Askeri İstihbarat (1864-1914)* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2019), 93.

¹⁸⁴ Emre Gör, *Abdülhamid Döneminde İstihbarat: Mutlakiyetten Meşrutiyete İmparatorluğun Haber Alma Faaliyetleri (1876-1909)* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2019), 250.

¹⁸⁵ BOA. Y.A.HUS.275/20-2, (31 May 1893).

in Vienna, Mahmud Nedim Pasha, managed to include Bulgarian commissioner in the Ottoman delegation at the 1896 Budapest Exhibition in order to emphasize the Ottoman sultan's authority on paper over Principality of Bulgaria.¹⁸⁶ The Bulgarian Commissioner, Ali Ferruh Bey, informed the Sublime Porte that Principality of Bulgaria would join the Slavic Exposition in Petersburg in 1904.¹⁸⁷ His successor, Sadık Pasha, sent ten copies of some Bulgarian newspapers translated into French to be exhibited at the Milan International Exposition in 1906 to the Sublime Porte to inspect whether they contained anti-Ottoman contents.¹⁸⁸ He also reported that Principality of Bulgaria would attend a Balkan Nations Exhibition to be held in Greece in 1907.¹⁸⁹ It appears that since there were no further correspondences about these exhibitions, a threatening act against the Ottoman Empire was not found.

Some reports about the Bulgarian involvement in the international fairs, however, encompass more serious contents in terms of the Hamidian Regime's damage-control and image-management strategy. For example, the Sublime Porte, upon the report of the Governor of Adrianople, ordered Ali Ferruh Bey to investigate the rumor that Principality of Bulgaria would exhibit the large-scale relief maps and plans of Bulgarian villages and towns in Adrianople, Salonika, Skopje, and Manastır that had been destroyed by the Ottomans in the Balkan Crisis of 1875-1878 at the St. Louis World's Fair which would open on April 30, 1904.¹⁹⁰ Ali Ferruh Bey reported that he confirmed the falsity of this news through the Ottoman ambassador in Washington and the former Third Secretary of the US State Department.¹⁹¹

In his another report, Ali Ferruh Bey, however, stated that Principality of Bulgaria would exhibit an anti-Ottoman relief of rock in this exposition with the consent of Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria. Here, a Bulgarian national hero with a gun in his hand would be depicted hidden in a rock and a bashibazouk with a yatagan knife in his mouth and a gun in his hand would be portrayed on top of the rock.¹⁹² Ali Ferruh Bey asserted that this seditious relief of rock was to be displayed to show the struggle between Islam and Christianity in the Balkans. The official catalogue of the St. Louis Exposition reveals that Principality of Bulgaria showcased this relief of rock. In stead of the large-scale relief maps and plans of the Bulgarian villages and towns

¹⁸⁶ BOA. HR.İD.2089/75, (8 Mayıs 1896).

¹⁸⁷ BOA. HR.SFR.04.381/17, (30 October 1902).

¹⁸⁸ BOA. HR.SFR.04.809/80, (13 September 1906); BOA.HR.HMŞ.İŞO.193/32, (25 October 1906).

¹⁸⁹ BOA. HR.SFR.04.814/61, (8 April 1907).

¹⁹⁰ BOA. HR.SFR.04.262/64-4, (1 February 1904).

¹⁹¹ BOA. HR.SFR.04.262/64-1, (12 February 1904); BOA. HR.TH.298/66, (15 February 1904).

¹⁹² BOA. A.}MTZ.(04).113/29-1, (21 March 1904); BOA. HR.TH.300/36, (21 March 1904).

ruined by the Ottomans, it displayed some watercolor paintings related to the battlefields of the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russo War which played a primary role in the foundation of Principality of Bulgaria. This uncovers that the Sublime Porte could not prevent some Bulgarian exhibitions that damaged the honor and prestige of the empire, but it tried to do its best to restrict the activities of Principality of Bulgaria and to minimize the damage over the empire's reputation.



Figure 55. A rock relief with two Bulgarian Heroes at the St. Louis World's Fair, 1904.¹⁹³



Figure 56. Shipka Pass by Yaroslav Vesin, Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ Bulgaria at the Universal Exposition, Official Catalogue, (Saint Louis: 1904), 5.

¹⁹⁴ Bulgaria at the Universal Exposition, Official Catalogue, (Saint Louis: 1904), 37.

Sadık Pasha informed the Sublime Porte that the Balkan Committee planned to hold an exhibition in London to display the progress in education of the Balkan nations. He stressed that that this committee's scribe persuaded Principality of Bulgaria to attend this exhibition¹⁹⁵ and Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria to patronise it.¹⁹⁶ He warned the Sublime Porte that Principality of Bulgaria would exhibit a relief topographical map of Bulgaria which included some Ottoman provinces and the photographs and watercolor paintings of Rhodope and Rila mountains which was the centre of brigandage (*merkez-i şekâvet olan Rodop ve Rila dağlarını musavver*).¹⁹⁷ The Sublime Porte commissioned Sadık Pasha to negotiate with the Foreign Ministry of Principality of Bulgaria to stop their display. Later, Sadık Pasha reported that the reason for showing some Ottoman provinces on this map was to indicate Bulgaria's adjacent regions, but not portraying them as a part of Principality of Bulgaria.¹⁹⁸ He, however, notified the Sublime Porte that the relief topographical map sent to London depicted the Greater Bulgaria in the Treaty of San Stefano.¹⁹⁹ Although Musurus Pasha, the Ottoman ambassador in London, upon the order of the Sublime Porte, met the Foreign Minister of Great Britain for impeding the exhibition of this map, he could not convince the latter to halt it. As is seen, the Hamidian Regime's damage-control and image-management strategy did not result in a full gain despite the intense efforts of the Ottoman foreign missions.



Figure 57. Relief Maps of the Greater Bulgaria, the Balkan States Exhibition, London, 1907.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ BOA. HR.SFR..04.808/64-1, (9 August 1906).

¹⁹⁶ BOA. HR.SFR..04.808/64-3, (21 October 1906).

¹⁹⁷ BOA. HR.SFR..04.808/64-5, (30 October 1906).

¹⁹⁸ BOA. HR.SFR..04.808/64-6, (23 November 1906).

¹⁹⁹ BOA. HR.SFR..04.808/64-9, (6 April 1907).

²⁰⁰ Balkan States Exhibition: Official Catalogue of the Bulgarian Section, (London: J. C. König & Ebhardt Printers, 1907), 62.

Abdulhamid II continued to regard the Khedivate of Egypt as a part of the Ottoman Empire despite its occupation by Great Britain in 1882. Therefore, he appointed a high commissioner to Egypt in 1885 by negotiating with Great Britain to closely follow any development which would violate the empire's authority on paper.²⁰¹ This supervision was maintained by the Ottoman foreign mission during the international exhibitions in order to impede any situation that might tarnish the empire's honor and prestige. The presence of many archival documents concerning the participation of Egypt in the world fair confirms the empire's supervision over the Khedivate of Egypt.

Some archival documents comprise brief explanations about the attendance of the Khedivate of Egypt in the world fairs. For example, the Consul-General of Budapest informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that former Egyptian Khedive Ismail Pasha, together with his son Ibrahim Pasha and Ratib Pasha, had visited the Budapest National General Exhibition which opened on May 2, 1885 without informing the Consulate-General of Budapest of his arrival.²⁰² The Consul-General reported that he accompanied Ismail Pasha in a banquet upon an invitation, but did not escort Ismail Pasha on his other visits in Budapest. He also stated that Ismail Pasha denied this news when a left-wing newspaper in Budapest published a false news that discredited and satirised Khedive Ismail. Alexander Mavroyeni told the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that *Courrier des États-Unis* mentioned that the Khedivate of Egypt would establish a village consisting of native Egyptians in the Chicago World's Fair and assigned a location for this village.²⁰³ Salih Münir Pasha, the Ottoman ambassador in Paris, reported that the French government invited the Khedivate of Egypt together with the Ottoman Empire to the 1900 Paris Universelle Exposition.²⁰⁴ These documents reveal that the Hamidian Regime was on full alert to identify potential threats to the empire's honor and prestige at the beginning.

Some archival documents encompass more detailed information about threats that had surfaced. For instance, Salih Münir Pasha informed the Sublime Porte that some Egyptian pashas attempted to establish a separate exhibition in the 1900 Paris Universelle Exposition in order to display things which might cause the spread of anti-Ottoman ideas.²⁰⁵ Stating that he averted this attempt through diplomatic channels, Pasha added that the French government gave

²⁰¹ Feroze Yasamee, *Abdülhamid'in Dış Politikası: Düvel-i Muazzama Karşısında Osmanlı (1878-1888)* (İstanbul: Kronik, 2020), 198.

²⁰² BOA. Y.A.HUS.184/112, (1 November 1885).

²⁰³ BOA. HR.SYS.71/41, (29 May 1891).

²⁰⁴ BOA. Y.A.HUS.348/59, (23 March 1896); BOA. İ.MTZ.(05), (1 September 1896).

²⁰⁵ BOA. Y.PRK.EŞA.35/60, (9 May 1900).

himself a written assurance that the Egyptian leading-figures would not be allowed to open an anti-Ottoman exhibition and that Egyptian visitors would not be permitted to do anything that might mar the empire's honor and prestige.

Ahmed Tevfik Pasha, the Ottoman ambassador in Berlin, informed Foreign Ministry about a case between some of around 400 Egyptian staffs working in the Cairo Exhibit at the Berlin Trade Exposition and its German director.²⁰⁶ These workers were recruited by this director's agents under a contract from Egypt without contacting the Khedivate of Egypt, despite its involvement in the design of this exhibit.²⁰⁷ Some of them quarrelled with the German Director of the Cairo Exhibit due to delays in payment. Stating that they had requested help from himself, Ahmed Tevfik Pasha said that they appealed to the Berlin Court and won the case, but the German Director took the case into the Court of Appeal by refusing to pay their accrued daily wages. Stressing that they would face serious housing and food problems until the outcome of the Court of Appeal, which was expected to last for four months, Ahmed Tevfik Pasha told that he requested the German Foreign and Police ministries to put pressure on the German Director to provide shelter and food for them or send them to Egypt. He later conveyed Istanbul that German Foreign Ministry sent necessary instructions to the Mayor of Treptow, which hosted the Cairo Exhibition, to send them to Egypt. Thanks to the diplomatic success of Ahmed Tevfik Pasha, these Egyptian workers was first sent to Treptow in company of the German police and then to Cairo by the Mayor of Treptow.



Figure 58. A Bird's Eye View of Cairo, Berlin Trade Exposition, Treptow, 1896.

<https://www.stadtbild-deutschland.org/forum/index.php?thread/9506-gewerbeausstellung-in-berlin-treptow-1896/> (9-02-2024)

²⁰⁶ BOA. HR.İD.2090/14, (1 July 1896); BOA. HR.İD.2090/15, (3 July 1896).

²⁰⁷ George Steinmetz, "Empire in Three Keys: Forging the Imperial Imaginary at the 1896 Berlin Trade Exhibition," *Thesis Eleven* 139, no. 1 (January 2017): 63.

To conclude, the Hamidian Regime and its foreign apparatus followed the activities of Bulgaria and Egypt in the international expositions. These former provinces of the empire were already under constant surveillance by the Hamidian Regime. This constant surveillance continued in the world fairs because Bulgaria and Egypt tended to display anti-Ottoman exhibits. In some exhibitions, the Ottoman officials were able to prevent anti-Ottoman displays, but in other instances, their efforts proved fruitless.

3.4. Displaying The Ottoman Museology

In the international exhibitions, the display of historical objects and life-size replicas of historical buildings had a significant place in terms of an emphasis on the imagination of a deep-rooted civilization which reinforced the legitimacy of the 19th-century powers. It was a phenomenon related to the birth of 19th-century museology which served the visual representation of nations and the spread of foreign travel through steamboats. Museology, which functioned as the collection and conservation of precious objects and documents in pre-modern ages, gained a political meaning in the 19th century that focused on the re-evaluated display of the physical cultural accumulations of nations.²⁰⁸ In the nineteenth century, states began to construct and exhibit their cultural past and this past's purported links with the civilization in their museums filled with selected objects, some of which were carried from the East as the birthplace of civilization to the West as its last station. This was an international example of "the invented traditions"²⁰⁹ with the goal of gaining respect in the international arena and claiming superiority over other nations in terms of cultural heritage.

The 19th-century Ottomans, closely following recent developments in the West, began to engage in modern museology since the 1840s. The Imperial Treasury at Topkapı Palace and the Church of Hagia Irene, converted into the Imperial Armory after the conquest, housed the spoils of war, precious dynastic objects, and sacred relics of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism for centuries.²¹⁰ The historical geography the Ottomans ruled was also full of historical structures that belonged to Islam, Christianity, and Judaism.

In the world fairs, the display of historical objects that belonged to the Ottoman dynastic history and life-size replicas of historical structures in the historical geography the Ottoman

²⁰⁸ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, and Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), 28.

²⁰⁹ Eric Hobsbawm, "Mass Producing Traditions: Europe 1870-1914," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 271.

²¹⁰ Gül Cephaneçigil, "Osmanlı Dönemi İstanbul Müzeleri," in *Antik Çağ'dan XII. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi* 7 (İstanbul: İsam Yayınları, 2015), 484.

Empire ruled was a common strategy in the reign of Abdulhamid II. The aim was to reflect a positive image by showing the empire's glorious past and pre-Ottoman cultural heritage to the world. This strategy was implemented in two ways. Firstly, historical objects were sent to the host countries under the supervision of a commission which consisted of Ottoman officials and host countries' agents. Secondly, the Sublime Porte either built life-size replicas of historical constructions in the Ottoman geography for the world fairs or allowed entreprising companies who wanted to build and exhibit their life-size replicas.

In the first place, the Council of Ministers disputed whether the janissary models should be exhibited in the Chicago World's Fair when Hakkı Bey, the Ottoman exhibition commissioner, conveyed the request of Nuri Bey from Gemlik who wanted to display the janissary mannequins at the Industrial School together with modern military uniforms by opening an Ottoman museum in this exposition to the Sublime Porte.²¹¹ It rejected Nuri Bey's request since such an exhibition would give rise to some speculations about the Christian origins of the janissaries.²¹² Writing directly to Yıldız Palace through Hakkı Bey, Nuri Bey underlined that the display of the janissaries would not damage the empire's prestige as foreign visitors can see jannisary models in Istanbul, their pictures in the press, and read their history in books.²¹³ He asserted that because the exhibition of old military uniforms was a common phenomenon in Europe and the US, and the exhibition of janissaries together with modern military uniforms will show the progress in the military, this kind of exhibition would present a positive image rather than a negative one. These explanations persuaded Abdulhamid II to acknowledge Nuri Bey's request.²¹⁴ Similarly, a Janissary museum, connected with the Ottoman pavilion, as a replica of the museum in the Hippodrome in Istanbul was established in the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition in order to showcase the glorious past of the empire.²¹⁵

The Ottomans sent fifteen antique lamps made of tiles in the Imperial Museum to the 1892 Historical American Exposition in Madrid organized to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America. The Directorate of the Imperial Museum kept a register of these antique lamps sent to Madrid. Turhan Pasha, the Ottoman ambassador in Madrid, was commissioned to supervise the display of these antique lamps in order to prevent them from

²¹¹ BOA. Y.MTV.75/167, (10 March 1893).

²¹² BOA. MV.74/56, (15 March 1893); BOA. Y.A.HUS.272/21, (22 March 1893). See Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domain*, 158.

²¹³ BOA. Y.MTV.76/36, (25 March 1893).

²¹⁴ Fidan, "Osmanlı Belgelerinde," 64-65.

²¹⁵ JBoyd, *The Paris Exposition of 1900*, 486-487.

being broken and replaced with replicas.²¹⁶ The Directorate of Madrid Exhibition then submitted a golden medal to Turhan Pasha in the name of the Imperial Museum.²¹⁷

Austro-Hungarian Ambassador who appeared before Abdulhamid II asked him to send historical objects that belonged to the history of the Hungarian Kingdom to be exhibited in a special section in the the 1896 National Millennium Exposition in Budapest.²¹⁸ He stressed that since the history department of this exposition will be allocated to show the progress of Hungary in the last ten centuries, the absence of historical objects from Ottoman museums in this exposition, in which states such as Austria, Germany, Italy, Poland, and Russia²¹⁹ will also participate, would mean a deficiency. He underlined that the Ottoman items would be placed in most visible part of the exposition and could even be displayed in a separate section with the name of the Meşher-i Hümayun. Abdulhamid II said the ambassador that if Emperor Franz Joseph himself repeated this request, he will acknowledge it. In reply to the report sent by the ambassador to Vienna, the emperor both repeated this request and invited the sultan to the exposition to strenghten the friendly relations between the two old monarchies. This request had been first unofficially conveyed to the Sublime Porte through the Hungarian Turcologist Arminius Vambery upon the request of the Emperor Franz Joseph.²²⁰ Abdulhamid II agreed to send the requested things, but did not admit a visit to Budapest.

The first catalogue shows the spoils of war sent from the Imperial Armoury to Budapest.²²¹

- *A naked sword (late 17th century), six naked swords (16th and 17th centuries), five 6-rifled muskets (16th century), five 6-rifled muskets (17th century), sixteen helmets (15th century), two helmets with apparatus protecting the nape and nose (17th century)*
- *A 2-meter-long bronze carriage-less cannon capable of firing 3 kgs cannonballs with a depiction of an infantryman on one end, the coats of arms of the Emperor of Austria and the King of Hungary on the other hand, and the inscription Rodolphus II-1586 over it*
- *A 2-meter-long bronze carriage-less cannon capable of firing 3 kgs cannonballs with the coats of arms of the Emperor of Austria and the King of Hungary and the inscription Rodolphus II-1586 over it*

²¹⁶ BOA. BEO.28/2032, (16 May 1892).

²¹⁷ BOA. MF.MKT.197/55, (26 February 1894).

²¹⁸ BOA. HR.İD.2089/59, (23 January 1894); BOA. HR.İD.2089/60, (26 February 1894).

²¹⁹ BOA. Y.A.HUS.344/64, (23 January 1896).

²²⁰ BOA. Y.PRK.AZJ.27/74, (8 October 1893).

²²¹ BOA. Y.A.HUS.337/128, (15 October 1895).

- *Two 2-meter-long bronze carriage-less cannons capable of firing 3 kgs cannonballs with a depiction of of an infantryman on one hand, the coats of arms of the Emperor of Austria and the King of Hungary on the other hand, and the inscription Ferdinandus-1552 over it*

The second catalogue indicates valuable items sent from the Imperial Treasury to Budapest.²²²

- *Selim I's Throne (16th century): Captured at the Battle of Chaldiran in 1514, this throne is adorned with pearls, rubies, and emerald and covered with green and red crystal.*
- *The Throne of The Former Sultans (15th century): It consists of flowers adorned with mother-of-pearl and precious stones.*
- *The swords ornamented with precious stones, clothes, and turbans decorated with diamonds of Bayezid I, Murad II, Süleymân I, Selim II, Murad III, Mehmed III, Ahmed I, Mustafa I, Osman II, Murad IV, and Mahmud I.*
- *Mehmed II's sword (15th century), Bayezid II's sword (16th century)*
- *Murad IV's suit of armour ornamented with gold and diamond rings consisting of a helmet, a shield, gloves, and a sword adorned with ruby and diamond*
- *A machete adorned with emerald and red carnelian (16th century)*
- *A gold and crystal-covered mace with a head made of big stones and a handle made of crystal (16th century)*
- *A machete with a German or Latin inscription (17th century)*
- *An eastern-style suit of armour used by the Hungarians, consisting of a thin shield partly inlaid with gold and a helmet adorned with precious stones (15th or 16th centuries)*
- *Two gilded, inlaid, and decorated with stones maces (15th and 16th centuries)*
- *Two Hungarian swords, one of which was made of red velvet with a red velvet scabbard decorated with stones (16th and 17th centuries)*
- *Two eastern-style Hungarian gilded helmets (16th century)*
- *A tongs decorated with precious stones (16th century)*
- *A gilded helmet and a suit of gilded armour decorated with stones (17th century)*
- *Six Hungarian-style swords partly decorated with stones (16th and 17th centuries)*
- *Two Polish and Hungarian swords (16th century)*
- *Three Hungarian-style swords: Their scabbards were made of red velvet and adorned with gold. (15th and 16th centuries)*

²²² BOA. HR.ID.2089/61, (4 May 1895).

These valuable historical objects were sent to Budapest under the supervision of an Ottoman commission accompanying Vambery. Copies of these catalogues and photographs of each item were dispatched into the commission, the Sublime Porte, and Yıldız Palace in an attempt to prevent their loss and replacement with replicas.²²³ This procedure indicates the level that the Ottomans reached in museology. The exhibition of such valuable objects reflecting the glorious past of the Ottoman Empire in an international fair in which the Great Powers participated made a remarkable contribution to the empire's prestige in the international arena.

Another side of museology was to exhibit the historical structures in the historical geography the Ottoman Empire ruled. For example, the Turkish Village at the Midway Plaisance in the Chicago World's Fair had traces of the Byzantine heritage of Istanbul. The Elia Suhami & Sadullah Company, the concessionaire of the Ottoman Village, built the life-size replicas of the Egyptian Obelisk and Serpentine Column at the Hippodrome by integrating them into the bazaar and mosque in the Turkish Village.²²⁴ Furthermore, Damascus Palace adjacent to the Turkish Theatre represented the city of Damascus.²²⁵

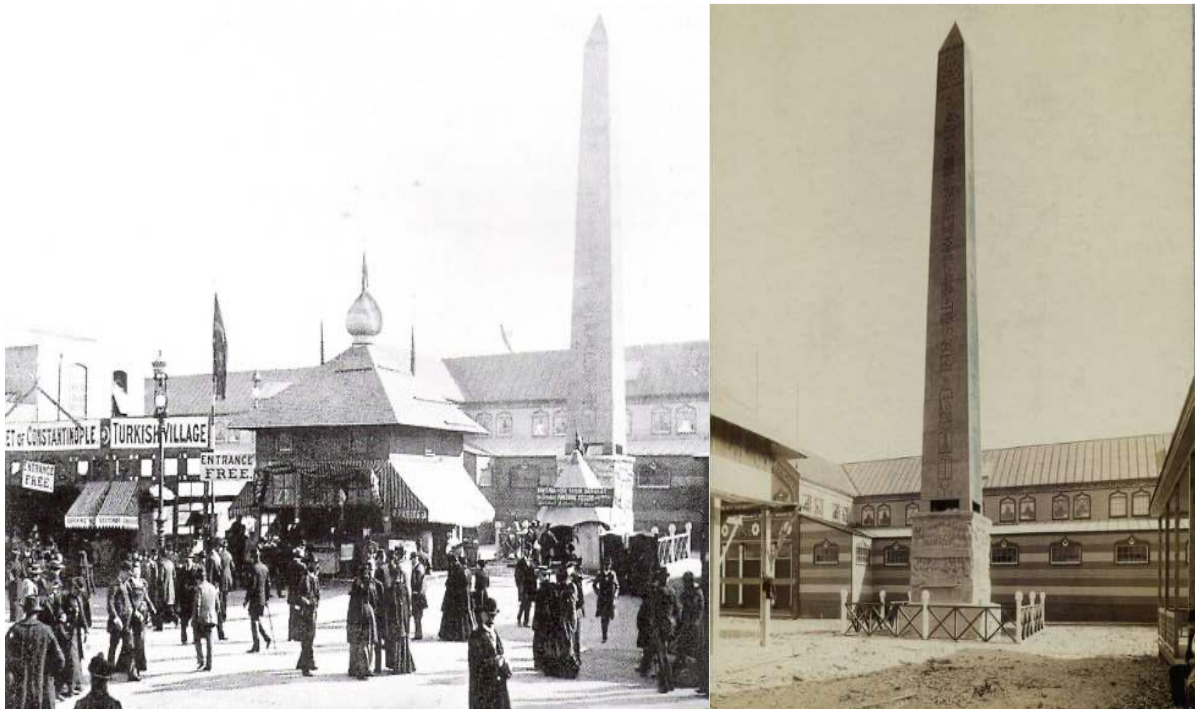


Figure 59. Obelisk and Serpentine Column at the Turkish Village in the Chicago World's Fair, 1893.²²⁶

²²³ BOA, İ.HUS.30/4, (2 October 1894); BOA, BEO.490/36738, (9 October 1894).

²²⁴ Fidan, "Osmanlı Belgelerinde," 103.

²²⁵ Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 87.

²²⁶ Gerdan-Williams, "Triumph of Commercialism," 103; Fidan, "Osmanlı Belgelerinde," 107.



Figure 60. Damascus Palace at the Turkish Village, the Chicago World's Fair, 1893.
https://digital.lib.niu.edu/islandora/object/niu-gildedage%3A19929/print_object (17-02-2024)

A delegation from the Jerusalem Exhibit Company requested permission from the Sublime Porte to take photographs of the holy places, buildings, and streets of Jerusalem in order to build an enormous replica of the Old Jerusalem in the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair.²²⁷ Reminding the Sublime Porte of the American missionaries' unpleasant writings about the Ottoman Empire, this delegation underlined that life-size model of the Old Jerusalem would contribute to the image of the Ottoman Empire as the protector of the holy sites which belonged to Muslims, Christians and Jews in Jerusalem. This delegate proposed that a group of Ottoman soldiers, as the guards of the city of Jerusalem, can take part in the Jerusalem Exhibit under the conditions to be determined by the sultan. To show the glory of the Ottomans, this delegate also expressed its intention to display valuable items such as weapons and flags captured during the wars against the Crusaders in Jerusalem. Abdulhamid II approved this request²²⁸ and ordered officials in Jerusalem to secretly follow its members whether they made an illegal action.²²⁹

The Jerusalem Exhibit Company built a massive replica of the Old Jerusalem on an area of 4 hectares, filled with around three hundred structures (*including the Dome of the Rock, the Wailing Wall, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the Temple of Solomon, the Tabernacle of Moses, and the Tower of David*), twenty-two roads and alleys, and hundreds of native Muslim, Christian, and Jewish inhabitants.²³⁰ This life-size replica of the Old Jerusalem was surrounded by a faithful reproduction of the walls of Jerusalem.²³¹

²²⁷ BOA, HR.İD.2091/42, (20 July 1903).

²²⁸ BOA. İ.HR.383/4, (1 April 1903).

²²⁹ BOA. DH.MKT.683/10, (9 April 1903).

²³⁰ Feldman, "Seeing is Believing," 100.

²³¹ Milette Shamir, "Back to the Future: The Jerusalem Exhibit at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair," *Journal of Levantine Studies* 2, no. 1 (2012), 96.



Figure 61. Walls of Jerusalem and Ferris Wheel, the St. Louis World's Fair, 1904.

<https://www.loc.gov/item/97514011/> (22-02-2024)



Figure 62. "New Jerusalem", the St. Louis World's Fair, 1904.

<https://www.loc.gov/item/2013649750/> (22-02-2024)

Supporting the construction of life-size replica of one of the most important places in the Ottoman geography like Jerusalem in the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, which was built on

the largest area until then and attended by around 19,5 million people,²³² would undoubtedly contribute to the image of the empire. It would appear that Abdulhamid II acknowledged some of its conditions and gave permission to Jerusalem Exhibit Company to take photographs of Jerusalem because all goods destined to the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair were exempted from customs duties,²³³ but the archival document that would illuminate the further relations between Istanbul and Jerusalem Exhibit Company during the exhibition is absent. In the same exposition, Pangalo, the concessionaire of Cairo City, built a replica of Istanbul with its Grand Bazaar, houses, and streets.²³⁴ Sevil Derin presents the drawings of this replica city designed by Celal Esad Arseven. Unfortunately, there was no a photograph of this replica city.

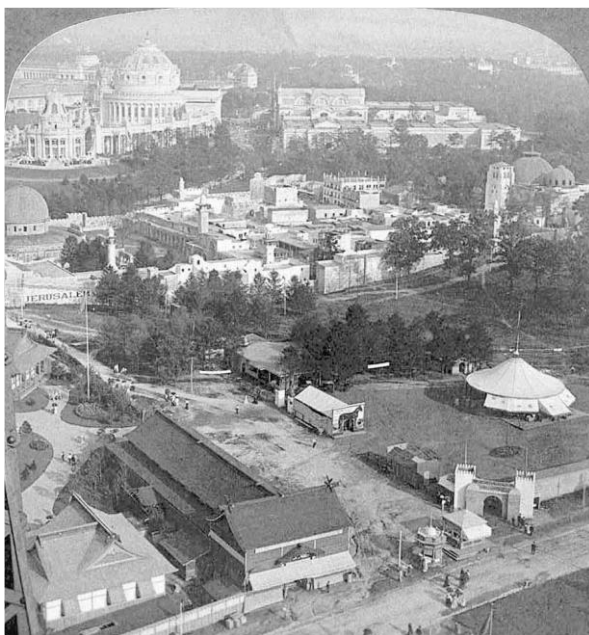


Figure 63. Jerusalem Model
The St. Louis World's Fair, 1904.²³⁵



Figure 64. Natives Riding Donkey,
The St. Louis World's Fair, 1904.²³⁶

In brief, the Ottomans sent valuable items to the international exhibitions. The aim was to draw a positive image by keeping up with the fashion of the age: the museology. Such exhibitions were very important as a reminder of the empire's glorious past. The Ottomans built the replicas of the some historical structures in order to reveal the significance of the historical geography they ruled. They also allowed the private entrepreneurs to construct large-scale replicas of similar historical structures like the Old Jerusalem and the Grand Bazaar of Istanbul in the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904.

²³² Feldman, "Seeing is Believing," 102.

²³³ Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domain*, 164.

²³⁴ Derin, "1904 St. Louis Dünya Fuarı," 102.

²³⁵ Shamir, "Back to the Future," 102.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 98.

3.5. Representing the Empire as an Equal Member of the Civilized World

One of the sine qua non of the Hamidian Regime's damage-control and image-management strategies in the international exhibitions was to draw a strong and prestigious portrait of the empire. The Ottomans militarily, economically, and politically had lost their place among the Great Powers in the first half of the 19th century. Although it had been promoted to this league with the Treaty of Paris in 1856, this had been to a large extent made up of an illusion. After the Ottoman-Russo War of 1877-1878, this military, economic, and political weakness, which became more evident, forced the Hamidian Regime to resort to soft power in foreign policy to cover its deficits. The world fairs were one of the leading arenas for the Hamidian Regime to display this soft power and to strengthen its position on a knife-edge among the Great Powers. Not lagging behind in protocol issues such as appointing an official to the international exhibitions, hosting the prominent figures very well, winning favor in the host countries' citizens, and completing the exhibition building until the opening ceremony was the most significant parts of this strategy.

As the first step of protocol issues, the Hamidian Regime paid great attention to assign an official to the international expositions regardless of whether the empire officially participated in them. In his letter to the Sublime Porte, Turhan Pasha, the Ottoman ambassador in Madrid, reported that the Foreign Minister of Spain was waiting to notify whether he would attend the opening ceremony of the Barcelona Universelle Exposition in 1888. He stated that except for the US envoy, all ambassadors informed the Foreign Minister of Spain that they would take their place on the opening day. Turhan Pasha stressed that if he did not attend this ceremony, it would leave a negative impression on other countries concerning the empire's prestige.²³⁷ The Sublime Porte, then, permitted him to move to Barcelona.²³⁸ Turhan Pasha told that the streets of Barcelona were adorned with the flags of the participating countries on the opening ceremony of this exposition and the Spanish officials showed great respect and reverence when the Ottoman flags were raised.²³⁹ Similarly, Mustafa Reşid Pasha, the Ottoman ambassador in Rome, felt the need to inform the Sublime Porte that he was about to arrive in Rome in order to attend the inauguration ceremony of the Milan International Exposition in 1906.²⁴⁰ In terms of protocol, the Ottomans even kept pace with the Great Powers to in not

²³⁷ BOA. Y.A.HUS.214/57, (17 March 1888).

²³⁸ BOA. HR.TH.80/40, (14 May 1888).

²³⁹ BOA. HR.İD.86/28, (13 December 1888).

²⁴⁰ BOA. Y.A.HUS.502/15, (26 April 1906).

attending the opening ceremony of the 1889 Paris Universal Exposition organized to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the French Revolution. Esad Pasha, the Ottoman ambassador in Paris, asked the Sublime Porte whether he can participate in this ceremony by emphasizing that the ambassasodors of Britain, Austria, Russia and Germany ruled by monarchies like the Ottoman Empire would boycott this exposition which was the symbol of the republic.²⁴¹ The Sublime Porte instructed him to follow other ambassadors in this issue.

Another significant part of protocol issues was to host the leading figures very well. Karatodori Bey, the Ottoman ambassador in Brussels, conveyed a Precursor article about the opening ceremony of the Antwerp International Exposition in 1885 to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. According to this article:

“Belgium’s king and queen along with prince and princesses visited the Ottoman Section. They found a complete exhibition thanks to Albert Van de Vin, the vice-consul and exhibition commissioner. Karatodori Bey, the Ottoman exhibition chief commissioner Alphonse Allard, the Consul-General of Antwerp Max Müller with his wife, and the Vice-Consul of Antwerp Albert Van de Vin with his wife welcomed King Leopold II and his entourage. The Ottoman officials and exhibitors in their national dress also greeted the king and his cortege. Albert Van de Vin talked with Leopold II about the trade in the Antwerp Port. Later, the king and his retinue ate some börek at the hall built by Elia Suhami who put most of the things in this exhibition. The Ottoman Section, which was likely to be very successful, left a good impression both on the king and his cortege and other visitors.”²⁴²

The reflection of this visit to the newspaper enabled thousands of people to read it and to have a good impression about the Ottoman Empire. This was a factor that reinforced the damage-control and image-management strategy of the Ottoman Empire.

Another dimension of protocol issues was to win favour in the host countries’ citizens during the parades and other activities. Sadullah Pasha, the Ottoman ambassador in Vienna, informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that he attended the opening ceremony of the Budapest National General Exposition in 1885 with the ambassadors of other countries. He told that the Emperor Franz Joseph thanked all ambassadors one by one for their participations and emphasized that the cheers of the Hungarians for the Ottomans attracted the attention of other ambassadors.²⁴³ Similarly, his successor Mahmud Nedim Pasha reported that he was welcomed with cheers by the Hungarians at the opening ceremony of the Budapest National Millennium

²⁴¹ Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domain*, 155.

²⁴² BOA. HR.TO.38/25, (7 May 1885).

²⁴³ BOA. HR.SYS.218/17, (4 May 1885).

Exposition in 1896. He told that they chanted “Long Live Abdulhamid” and showed great sincerity and friendship to the Ottoman Empire and Abdulhamid II in all ceremonies.²⁴⁴ He underlined that other countries’ ambassadors could not receive a similar welcome.

It was crucial for the Ottoman to construct an exhibition building in a hierarchically important location in the exhibition area. For instance, the Turkish Village in the Chicago World’s Fair was located in a highly visible place opposite the German Village at the Midway Plaisance and was the first to be completed. The Sublime Porte rented a plot of land between the US and Italian pavilions to build an Ottoman pavilion in the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition. When the rent for this land was delayed, a rumor spread that this land would be allocated to another state.²⁴⁵ Thus, the Sublime Porte immediately sent the rent and was able to retain this important place. A finished exhibition building represents another significant phase in protocol issues. Alexander Mavroyeni told Foreign Ministry that he attended the opening ceremony of the Chicago World’s Fair.²⁴⁶ He underlined that the Turkish Village was ready for the opening ceremony on May 1, 1893 while the villages of Morocco, Iran, Egypt, Algeria, Germany, Ireland, and Japan at the Midway Plaisance could not be completed in time for it.²⁴⁷

Determining a day to celebrate a national day at ceremonies was an indication of the Ottoman endeavour not to fall behind in protocol matters. Hakkı Bey, the Ottoman exhibition commissioner, told the Yıldız Palace that the Administration Board of the Chicago World’s Fair announced that each participating country had to choose a national day to celebrate. The Ottomans, which had no a national day to celebrate, determined Abdulhamid II’s accession to the throne as their national day in order not to leave behind in the festivals.²⁴⁸ The Ottomans also decided that the “band would play the Hamidiye March on the occasion”; the inscription “Long Live Abdulhamid” would be showcased with a device made of gas lamps; a fireworks display would be organized;²⁴⁹ and a banquet would be given to all visitors in the name of Sultan Abdulhamid II.²⁵⁰ On August 31, this accession ceremony was held as follows:

“The ceremony began with the Hamidiye March. At noon, a feast was given to the guests in the Turkish Village. Speeches were delivered to Abdulhamid II in Turkish, Arabic, English, and French during the banquet. The Ottoman platoon, in the front the police,

²⁴⁴ BOA. Y.A.HUS.351/49, (5 May 1896).

²⁴⁵ Gür, “1900 Yılı Uluslararası Paris Sergisi,” 52.

²⁴⁶ BOA. HR.SYS.72/50, (5 May 1893).

²⁴⁷ Fidan, “Osmanlı Belgelerinde,” 84.

²⁴⁸ Özçeri, “Displaying the Empire,” 104.

²⁴⁹ Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domain*, 156.

²⁵⁰ Fidan, “Osmanlı Belgelerinde,” 122.

band, and infantry and in the back, the cavalry with horses and camels of the Hamidiye Company, paraded by chanting the Hamidiye March. The infantry and cavalry, carrying the Ottoman flag in their hands, wore the Ottoman insignia embroidered with the moon and the star on their uniforms. At night, the inside and outside of the official Ottoman pavilion and the Turkish Village were adorned with flags and illuminated by candles, lanterns, and fireworks. Festivities continued until the morning.”²⁵¹

Similar feast was held in the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition to celebrate Abdulhamid II's 25th year on the throne. Nearly two thousand prominent people attended the reception. Among them, there were the commissioner-generals of Britain, Germany, Russia, the US, Japan, Spain, Austria, and Belgium. On the night of August 30, the participants watched theatre plays, bedouin dances, magis shows, and swordplays.

To sum, the Hamidian Regime took great care not to lag behind in protocol issues. Firstly, it tended to appoint an official to the international exhibitions for the empire's representation in the opening ceremonies. Secondly, it paid great attention to hosting prominent figures very well. Thirdly, it sought to win favour in the citizens of the host country. Fourthly, it organized national days and gave feasts in order to catch up with the fashion of the age. All these affairs were to improve the empire's tarnished image.

3.6. Reflecting the Ottomanhood

Another damage-control and image-management strategy of the Hamidian Regime was to showcase all the ingredients of the empire through the regional diversity of the exhibits and the multi-ethnic composition of the exhibitors. It was vital for the Hamidian Regime to reflect this ethnic diversity because the Ottoman Empire had demographically turned into a predominantly Muslim empire after 1878. Moreover, there was an ongoing conflict between the central government and the Christians in the Balkans and the Eastern Anatolia. The Yıldız Palace, therefore, permitted each province to send the industrial, agricultural, and artistic products to the international expositions and every Ottoman citizen who wanted to participate in them to go to the host countries except for some unimportant conditions.

The reflection of this strategy can be best seen in the Chicago World's Fair. On May 12, 1892, Istanbul sent a directive to all provinces to choose the best quality agricultural, industrial, and artistic products and send them to Istanbul without wasting any time before December. It sent another directive to all provinces to inform Ottoman merchants who wanted to send goods

²⁵¹ Ibid., 122-123.

to the Chicago World's Fair about what could be exhibited.²⁵² This instruction was ordered to be published in all local newspapers so that everyone would be aware of it. The Numûnehâne-i Osmânî Administration would select the items worthy of being sent to Chicago. The products to be destined for the Chicago World's Fair would be exempted from customs duties.²⁵³

Consisting of Hakkı Bey (the Imperial Commissioner-General), Fahri Bey (the Imperial Commissioner), Ahmet Sabit Bey ve Mehmet Tevfik Bey (Attachés to the Imperial Commission), Hohannes Pushman (the Secretary to the Imperial Commission), and Thompson and Sweeney (Honorary Commissioners), a commission prepared a English booklet which indicated the Ottoman products to be exhibited it the Chicago World's Fair and submitted it to its administration board.²⁵⁴ In this booklet, the Ottoman products encompassed their homelands and the names of owners/producers.²⁵⁵ This would serve the display of each ingredients of the empire regardless of the ethnic origins of those who sent products. The annuals and population tables of each province were also exhibited in the Chicago World's Fair.²⁵⁶ Furthermore, a photo album consisting of 1819 photographs which included scenes from the empire was prepared by the order of Abdulhamid II for the Chicago World's Fairs. This album encompassed the photographs of non-Muslim Ottomans: 1291 photos of Abdullah Frères, 60 photos of Sebah & Joaillier, and 20 photos of Phoebus.²⁵⁷ Harakim Efendi and Ekrin Efendi were in charge of organizing and preserving the Ottoman exhibition and guiding visitors.²⁵⁸ Table 4 shows a list of non-Muslim Ottoman exhibitors and their products in the Chicago World's Fair.²⁵⁹

The traces of some of non-Muslim participants can be also found among the medal winners. Habif and Polako from Izmir, who exhibited carpet at the Manufactures Building won a medal.²⁶⁰ Muradkhanian, Nishan Hayzazon, and Kasfakian won medals and received certificates.²⁶¹ Hacı Aleksi Kotroni, the owner of beverage factory in Erdek, won bronz Christopher Colombus medal.²⁶² Vakido Efendi, the owner of the Ottoman tobacco company,

²⁵² BOA. DH.MKT.1981/22, (2 August 1892).

²⁵³ BOA. BEO.147/10958, (30 January 1893).

²⁵⁴ Sarıkaya, "*Celebreting Difference*," 49; Fidan "*Osmanlı Belgelerinde*," 40.

²⁵⁵ Fidan, "*Osmanlı Belgelerinde*," 66. For a full list of the products destined to Chicago and the names of the exhibitors' and their homelands, see 204-210.

²⁵⁶ BOA. DH.MKT.1989/71, (19 August 1892).

²⁵⁷ Özçeri, "*Displaying the Empire*," 93.

²⁵⁸ BOA. BEO.300/22460, (25 October 1893).

²⁵⁹ Fidan, "*Osmanlı Belgelerinde*," 204-210.

²⁶⁰ BOA. BEO.321/24075, (4 December 1893).

²⁶¹ BOA. HR.TH.203/111, (18 November 1897). Their medals have not yet been received.

²⁶² BOA. BEO.2868/215073, (10 July 1906). Aleksi Kotroni asked for wearing it.

won two medals.²⁶³ Dr. Violi was awarded with a medal and received a certificate for his exhibition regarding vaccination tools.²⁶⁴ Mihran Chubukchian, the imperial jeweller, who exhibited in the Ottoman Village, the Manufactures Building, and Woman's Building, had received 45 medals.²⁶⁵ The Yıldız Palace, upon of Hakkı Bey's proposal, gave medals to some non-Muslims for their services. For instance, Karabet Muradian, an Armenian who resided in Chicago and decorated the office building, and Hohannes T. Pushman, the business-partner of Muradian and the secretary of the Ottoman exhibition-commission, were awarded with a Medjidi Nishan of fifth grade as well as industrial medal. Isador Masdikian was awarded with a Medjidi Nishan of fifth grade as well.²⁶⁶

Table 4. A List of the Non-Muslim Ottomans in the 1893 Chicago World's Fair

PRODUCTS	THE EXHIBITORS
Junktries	Hacı Bekir and Kolassi
Herbal Oil	Samy Bey, Seib Bey
Wine, Liqueur, Brandy	Yerassimo (Samos), Thomas (Diyarbakır), Nikolaki (Samos), Kolassy (İstanbul), Yanny (Sci), Solomon (Edirne), Kotrony (Karesi), Agassian (Edirne), Agob Sukiassian (Samos), Bogos Agopian (Çanakkale), Athenas (Samos), Dodopula (Kırklareli), Ferandj (Samos), Goruar and Haim (Edirne), İha (Karesi)
Dried Fruit and Fig	Protopazzi Brothers
Tobacco and Cigarette	J. Waked Company (Syria)
Emery Stone	Aphrodisias Emery Stone Mine Co.
Jewelry	Chubukchian, Dikran Kelekian (Istanbul)
Embroidery	Tatavla Rûm Girl's School, Hakin Efendi (Aleppo), Madam Mina and Yorgi (Istanbul), Youvanaki Efendi (Istanbul), Anastasia (Edirne), Muradkhanian (Harput)
Carpet and Rug	Habif and Polako (Izmir), Muradkhanian (Harput)
Charcoal and Watercolour Painting	Akiarona, Yanko Theofilidi, Baroness Hobe Pasha
Printed Books	Zalouhos (Astronomy), Hezarifend Sisters (Music), Garabed Efendi (Bibliopeggy)
Photography	Abdullah Brothers
Replica-Model	Chubukchian Efendi (III. Ahmed Fountain)
Medical Equipment	Dr. Violi (vaccination tools), Dr. Vartanian (Creosote Drugs)

The multi-ethnic nature of the Ottoman Empire can be observed in other international expositions. For example, the Ottoman Commissioner at the Antwerp Universal Exposition

²⁶³ Fidan, "Osmanlı Belgelerinde," 134.

²⁶⁴ BOA. HR.TH.187/69, (13 January 1897).

²⁶⁵ Fidan, "Osmanlı Belgelerinde," 135.

²⁶⁶ Yıldız, "Ottoman Participation," 151.

in 1894 in which the Ottoman Empire did not officially participate was M.G.P. Walford, the Vice-Consul of Antwerp. His secretaries were Ferdinand de Meester, Louis, and Ghemar. They were foreigners, not the Ottomans, but most of the participants in this exposition consisted of Muslims and non-Muslim Ottomans as well as foreigners under the Ottoman flag. Table 5 from the official catalogue of the Antwerp Universal Exposition in 1894 demonstrates the names of Ottoman exhibitors and their homelands along with their products.²⁶⁷ According to this official catalogue, Muslim, Christian, and Jewish exhibitors from Istanbul, Damascus, Izmir, Cairo, Bethlehem and Beyrouth participated in this exposition.

Table 5. A List of the Non-Muslim Ottomans in the 1894 Antwerp Universal Exposition

DEPARTMENT	CLASS	THE EXHIBITORS
Art Industries	Jewelry	Kateb Frères (Damascus)
Building Industry	Upholster and Decoration	Bacri and Bassas (Paris), Behar and Sevy Alfandary (Istanbul), B. Benguiat (London), Habif and Polako (Izmir), Selim Habis and Co. (Istanbul-Beyrouth), Salomon Hatem (Cairo), Michon Liggi (London)
	Fancy Goods and Basketry	Antoine Abouhalil, Celil Batarsé, Joseph David, Paul Deeck, Charles Handal, Selim Michel, Sabbaet and Daddoube, Abdullah Pierre Sabbaet (Bethlehem), Philippe Karmz (Istanbul), Mohammed Hashim, Genito Gebri, Abdullah Michel (Paris), Mathieu Michel (London)
Food Industry	Sugar-Refinery, Bakery, Patisserie, Conserve and Condiment	Charles Aboukalil (Beyrouth), Ivan Kocaré (Macedonia), Moïse Tartour (Anvers), Lazaro Salomon
	Tobacco	Nestor Gianacis (Cairo), Kyriazi Frères (Cairo), Liapopoulo and Berhheim (Cairo-Bernheim, Hamburg), Pachundachi (Alexandria), Simonéides (Alexandria), Vainber (Anvers)
	Wines and Fermented Beverages	G. Desribes (Anvers)

In short, the Hamidian Regime sought to reflect the empire's multi-ethnic character in the international expositions. In the 1873 Vienna Exhibition, the Ottomans had displayed this multi-ethnic and multi-religious feature of the empire through a photograph album. During the Hamidian Era, the Ottoman Empire tried to exhibit this feature of the empire through the regional diversity of the exhibits and the multi-ethnic composition of the exhibitors. It is possible to see this emphasis in each international exhibition.

²⁶⁷ Exposition Universelle d'Anvers 1894 Catalogue Officiel Général, Sections Étrangères, (Bruxelles: Typographie & Lithographie Adolphe Mertens, 1894), 812-815.

CHAPTER 4. POST-WORLD FAIRS STRATEGIES

The second stage of the damage-control and image-management policy of the Hamidian Regime consisted of post-world fair relations. This phase was an extension of the strategies implemented in international expositions. In this chapter, I deal with two post-world fair strategies implemented to minimize the empire's tarnished image. Firstly, I examine the gift strategy of the Hamidian Regime. It comprises giving medals to influential figures among the fair authorities and donating exhibition objects to institutions such as libraries and museums. Secondly, I study the Hamidian Regime's attempt to host an international fair: the 1894 Istanbul Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition.

4.1. Giving Gifts to the Leading Figures and the Institutions

In the 19th-century international expositions, distributing medals to some exhibition officials and donating exhibition items to some institutions such as museums and libraries constituted a significant part of the damage-control and image-management strategy of the Hamidian Regime. French sociologist Marcel Mauss describes three main features of gift: the objective behind the gift, the character of the gifted objects, and reciprocating the gift.²⁶⁸ For the Hamidian Regime, the objective behind it was to make a good impression both over people who received medals and institutions which got objects, and visitors and journalists. Reciprocally, in the first case, the high-profile officials awarded with medals would display their Ottoman medals to other high-profile officials by wearing them and would act as intermediaries between the Sublime Porte and the Western governments, bankers, and other leading figures. Most importantly, in the second case, a journalist's praiseworthy article about the Ottoman Empire would reach millions of people and would be a great salve for the empire's tarnished image. This point was so important because it encompassed a crucial part of the Hamidian Regime's counter-attack policy against the European press which has smeared the empire in the columns of the newspapers.

The first step of the Hamidian Regime's gift policy in international exposition was to award the leading exhibition officials with medals in different degrees. Winning men by distributing medals was one of the main policies of Abdulhamid II's personal regime at home and abroad. For example, although the Ottoman Empire did not officially participate in the 1888 Barcelona Universal Exposition, Turhan Pasha, the Ottoman ambassador in Madrid, sent a

²⁶⁸ Paul Brummell, *Diplomatic Gifts: A History in Fifty Presents* (London: Hurst & Company, 2022), 57.

report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. According to this report, the Consul-General of Barcelona had informed Turhan Pasha that some Spanish officials should be rewarded with the Medjidi Nishan by stressing that these Spanish officials served the Ottoman citizens as if they were the exhibitors of a Great Power section which officially participated in this exposition.²⁶⁹ The Sublime Porte, upon this report, awarded Luis Antúnez Monzón (the Civil Governor of Barcelona), Manuel Girona (the Exhibition Commissioner), and Francesc Rius Taulet (the Mayor of Barcelona) with the Medjidi Nishan of first grade and Luis Rover (the Director of the Exhibition and the Industrial Building) with the Medjidi Nishan of third grade and Angel Alego (the Director of Foreign Exhibitions) with the Medjidi Nishan with fifth grade.

On July 22, 1893, Clotilde Cerdà (stage name Esmeralda Cervantes), a Spanish musician, with the permission of the Yıldız Palace, gave a talk about the education of women in the Ottoman Empire at the Congress of Women held in the Woman's Building of the Chicago World's Fair. In her speech, Esmeralda Cervantes argued that Islam was not a barrier to the education of women by quoting from the Qur'an, the hadiths and Islamic history.²⁷⁰ She also highlighted that Abdulhamid II paid great attention to the public education of women. The Times correspondent stated that her speech eliminated most of misconceptions about the Ottoman Empire in the minds of Europeans.²⁷¹ He added that 5.000 printed copies of this influential speech were sent to India whereas 1.000 copies were distributed in the US. He reported that while it had previously been announced that ten of sixty books in the Ottoman Section would receive a prize, this number increased to fifty books thanks to this speech. He finally told that the well-known members of the Women's Board had prepared letter of thanks which included a few thousand signatures and had conveyed it to Hakkı Bey to be submitted to Abdulhamid II. This report of The Times demonstrated that Esmeralda Cervantes's speech made a remarkable contribution to Abdulhamid II's claim to be the leader of the Islamic world and the defender of Islam. It also reinforced the damage-control and image-management strategy of the Hamidian Regime. As a token of appreciation, Abdulhamid II awarded Mrs. Bertha Honore Palmer²⁷² (the President of the Woman's Branch of the Chicago World's Fair),

²⁶⁹ BOA. İ.HR.316/20335, (21 February 1890).

²⁷⁰ Berrak Burçak, "Deconstructing Orientalism at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition: Esmeralda Cervantes, Sultan Abdulhamid II and the Address on the Education and Literature of the Women of Turkey," in *The Turkish Connection: Global Intellectual Histories of the Late Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey*, ed. Deniz Kuru and Hazal Papuççular (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022), 95.

²⁷¹ BOA. Y.PRK.AZJ.29/3, (3 July 1894).

²⁷² BOA. İ.TAL.86/9, (22 October 1895).

and Mrs. Ellen Henrotin²⁷³ (the Vice-President of the Woman's Branch of the Chicago World's Fair) with the Şefkat Nishanı of second grade.

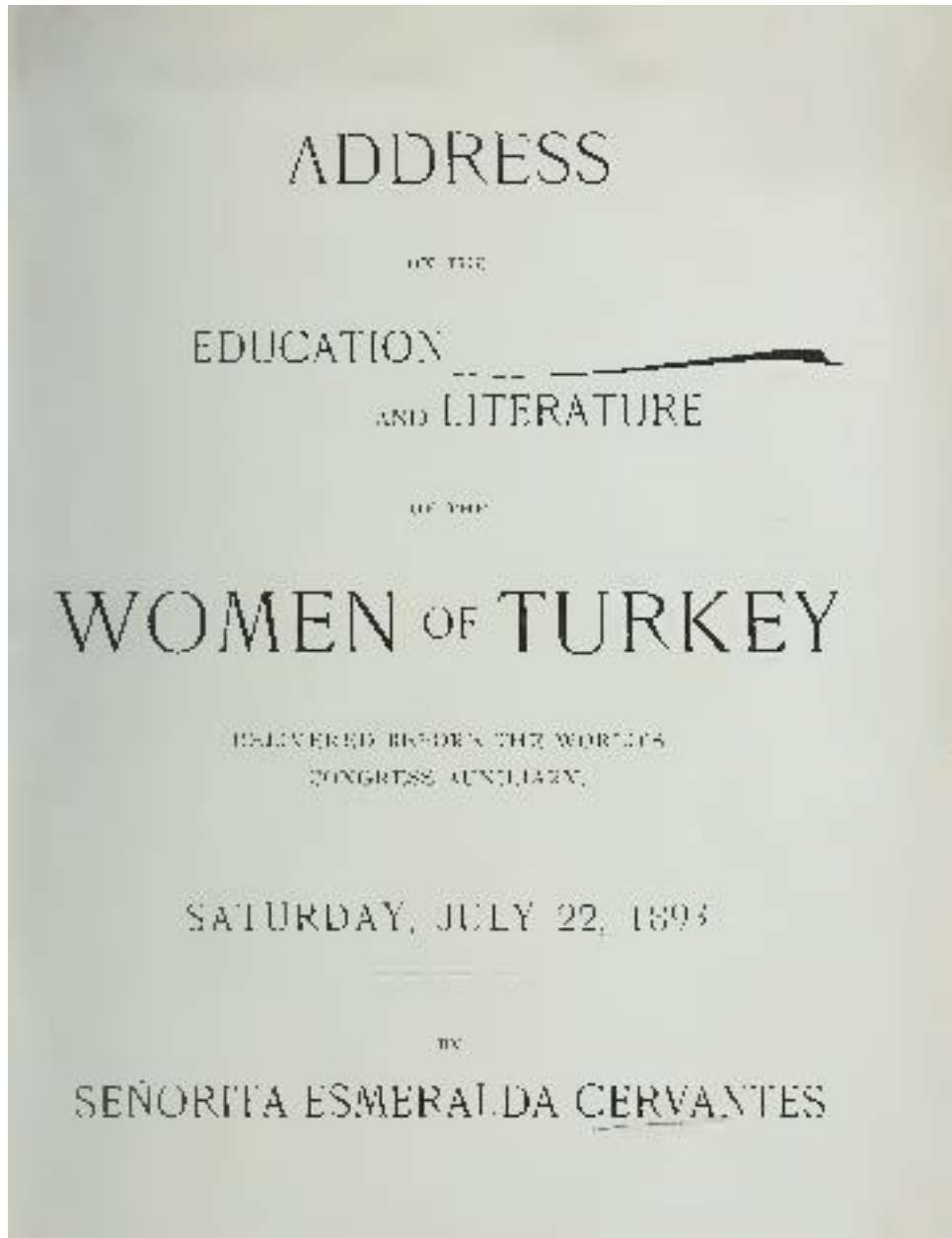


Figure 65. The Cover of the Printed Version of the Speech of Esmeralda Cervantes. <https://ia800304.us.archive.org/29/items/addressoneducati00cerv/addressoneducati00cerv.pdf> (18-03-2024).

Carpets and rugs produced in the Hereke Imperial Factory were exhibited in some international expositions like the 1855 Paris Exposition, the 1862 London Exposition, the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, the 1894 Lyon Colonial Exposition, the 1910 Brussels Exposition, and the 1911 Turin Exposition. Didem Yavuz argued that Abdulhamid II aimed to create an imperial

²⁷³ BOA. İ.TAL.40/20, (10 December 1893).

identity with the Hereke carpets and rugs which attracted foreigners. Thus, these carpets and rugs were displayed in world fairs as a symbol of the empire's cultural diversity.²⁷⁴ To improve the empire's tarnished image abroad through these carpets and rugs as a national brand, Abdulhamid II paid special attention to award the organizers of the international expositions in which the Hereke carpets won a prize. For example, the Consul-General of Lyon informed Foreign Ministry that Mr. Ruben, the Consulate Registrar, assigned a pleasant area to the goods sent by the Hereke Imperial Factory and the Hereke carpets won the first place. The Sublime Porte, upon the notice of the Consul-General of Lyon, rewarded M. Ulysse Pila (the Commissioner-General of the Lyon Colonial Exposition), Felix Mangini (the Exhibition Commissioner), and Mr. Piotet (the Commissioner of the Branch of the Silk Products) with the Medjidi Nishan of third grade.²⁷⁵

The 1900 Paris Universal Exposition was the last great exposition of the 19th century in which the Ottoman Empire officially participated. Abdulhamid II took great care to honor many exhibition officials with medals in different degrees in this exposition. First and foremost, Alfred Picard, the General-Commissioner of the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition, was awarded with the Ottoman Nishan of first grade.²⁷⁶ Some French figures who appeared in this exposition such as Mr. Bovary (the Chief Engineer of Paris), Mr. Bob (the Undersecretary of French Consulate), and Surgeon Monsieur Potzi (Assistant Professor in Paris Medical University), were rewarded with the Medjidi Nishan of first grade. Some prominent women were honoured with medals as well. For instance, Mrs. Jovelier (the wife of French General-Consul Mr Julie), Mrs. Gada (the wife of Mr. Gott-the Deputy Principal Clerk of the French Foreign Ministry), and Mrs. Friedel (the wife of Mr. Friedel-the Second Secretary the French Consulate) were awarded with Şefkat Nishan of second grade. In addition to these figures, there were dozens of French exhibition officials from various positions who received medals in different grades, whose names I have not written in order to keep this example short.

The second step of the Hamidian Regime's gift policy in international expositions was to donate exhibition objects to institutions like libraries and museums in the host countries. The most renowned example of this kind of gift policy was the bestowal of a photograph collection²⁷⁷ consisting of 51 albums including 1819 pictures taken between 1880 and 1893

²⁷⁴ Didem Yavuz, "*Crafting An Empire: The Hereke Factory Campus (1842-1914)*" (PhD diss., New Jersey Institute of Technology, 2018), 186.

²⁷⁵ BOA. HR.İD.2090/4, (18 November 1894).

²⁷⁶ BOA. İ.TAL.386/13, (28 January 1906).

²⁷⁷ For this collection see <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/ahii/> (20 March 2024).

prepared for the 1893 Chicago World's Fair to the Library of Congress. Abdulhamid II ordered its preparation "to counteract the pervasive exoticism of the Orient that entertained the global public."²⁷⁸ Abdulhamid II paid special attention to display the empire's self-portrait to challenge the western perception about the Ottoman Empire. As Deringil conveyed, "the Ottomans were objecting to what Edward Said has termed representations as representations, not as natural depictions of the Orient."²⁷⁹ Abdulhamid II believed that European photographers mostly photographed the backward face of the empire to vilify and mock the empire.²⁸⁰ Hence, this collection was scrutinized by the Yıldız Palace before sent to Chicago to eliminate the ones which would damage the empire's honor and prestige. It consisted of four main categories, each showing the modernising side of the empire in different areas: 1-Views, Buildings, Monuments, and Antiquities; 2-Military, Naval, Rescue, Ancillary Services, Military and Industrial Establishments; 3-Educational Institutions; and 4-Horses, Imperial Stables, and Yachts.²⁸¹



Figure 66. Sample front and back cover of the photograph collection presented by Abdulhamid II to the National Library of the United States of America.

Source: <https://blogs.loc.gov/international-collections/2018/12/the-sultans-gift/> (20-03-2024)

The Ottomans distributed two more gifts in the Chicago World's Fair. Firstly, the Ottoman Exhibition Commissioner Hakkı Bey informed the Sublime Porte that a permanent museum of fine arts, antiquities, science and industry open to millions of visitors would be founded for the memory of the Chicago World's Fair. He emphasized that donating some of the items exhibited in the Ottoman Section to this museum would enhance the empire's prestige now and in the future. Secondly, Hakkı Bey told that the Directorate of Pennsylvania University also requested the bestowal of some agricultural products, mines, and manufactures to the university museum. He underlined that the donation of these things to the Museum of

²⁷⁸ Virginia Aksan, *The Ottomans 1700-1923: An Empire Besieged* (London-New York: Routledge, 2022), 288.

²⁷⁹ Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domain*, 156.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 156.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 152.

Pennsylvania University, which became the biggest science institution of the US at that time and hosted students from all over the world, would have a good impression over visitors about the Ottoman Empire which tried to improve its marred image.²⁸² The Council of Ministers, thus, permitted some selected goods to be left to these museums as a gift and gesture of the sultan.²⁸³

To sum up, the Hamidian Regime continued to implement its strategies to improve the empire's worsening image abroad after the international expositions ended. One of these strategies was to give gifts to the exhibition organisers and the host country's institutions. By distributing medals to the exhibition officials of the host countries and by donating some exhibition objects to the museums and libraries of the host countries, Abdulhamid II sought to gain over influential individuals who would serve to restore the empire's deteriorating image abroad.

4.2.An Attempt to Hold An International Fair: The 1894 Istanbul Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition

Another example of the damage-control and image-management strategies of the Hamidian Regime was the idea of hosting an international exhibition. This exhibition, which was planned to be held in the Imperial Capital in 1894 under the name of the Istanbul Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition, could not be realized due to the earthquake which gave rise to the destruction of more than 1.500 public buildings and destruction and damage of 20.859 houses as well as huge construction and repairment costs.²⁸⁴ Nevertheless, it is possible to get an idea of what Abdulhamid II aimed to accomplish by organizing this exhibition through a study of the exhibition ordinance and the preparations made by the committee formed to organize it.

In 1892, Abdulhamid II decided to hold an international exhibition in Istanbul.²⁸⁵ The aim was to show the advances in agriculture and industry throughout the empire and to encourage the growth of the empire's national wealth. Selim Melhame Pasha was charged to

²⁸² BOA. BEO.300/22436, (7 September 1893).

[...] Müze için meşher-i mezkûrun Saltanat-ı Seniyye şubesinde teşhîr olunan bazı eşyâ numûnelerinin ihdâ ve terki hâlen ve istikbâlen müstelzim-i fevâid ve muhasenât olacağına [...] Pensilvanya Dârülfünûnu Müzesi'nin dahî bu yolda bazı hedâyâyâ mazhariyeti mezkûr dârülfünûn müdürîyeitnden iltimâs olunub buna da ma'âdin ve mahsûlât-ı arziyye ve bazı ma'mûlât parçalarından numûnelerin terk ve ihdâsı hüsn-i te'sîr hâsıl edeceği [...]

²⁸³ BOA. MV.76/108, (12 October 1893).

²⁸⁴ Sema Küçükalioglu, *1894 Depremi ve İstanbul* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015), 67.

²⁸⁵ BOA. Y.A.RES.62/21, (7 December 1892). In her book, Zeynep Çelik says that Abdulhamid II made this decision in 1893 by citing from The Levant Herald and Eastern Express (6 March 1893). If we look at the content of the archival document I used here, this decision must have been taken in mid-1892.

conduct the initial investigation for the organization of such an exhibition. Probably after this investigation, the Ministry of Forestry, Mining, and Agriculture was established on February 7, 1893, with the merging of the Forestry and Mining Administration under the Ministry of Finance and the Agriculture Administration under the Ministry of Commerce and Public Works and he was appointed to its head on February 13.²⁸⁶ Therefore, the agricultural bureaucracy was gathered under a single roof to carry out the empire's agricultural business more swiftly and systematically.

As the Minister of Forestry, Mining, and Agriculture, Selim Melhame Pasha was also assigned to the presidency of the Exhibition Committee and authorized to select its members.²⁸⁷ The Exhibition Committee consisted of Cemal Bey (*the Director of Agricultural Bank*), Nazif Bey (*the Head of the Scientific Board of the Forestry Department*), Ziya Bey (*the Head of the Scientific Board of the Mining Department*), Aram Efendi (*the Head of the Scientific Board of the Agriculture Department*), Abdullatif Efendi (*the Secretary-General of the Ministry*), Silye (*the Director of Istanbul Water Company*), Osman Hamdi Bey (*the Director of the Imperial Museum*), and architects Vallauri, Berthier, and Schuler. Italian and British ambassadors could also join this committee as honorary members if they wanted.²⁸⁸ The high-profile of the committee's members demonstrates the importance attributed to this exhibition.

The Exhibition Ordinance was released on October 16, 1893.²⁸⁹ In this exhibition, the empire's national agricultural and industrial products would be displayed. The native participants must prove that their products were domestic goods. They should first declare their name, title, and place of residence, and then the kind and type of their products, the region where agricultural products grew, and the name of the factory where industrial goods were produced. This procedure would constitute a very significant point in terms of the branding of the Ottoman products in an international exhibition open for commercial sale. The branding of the Ottoman products would make a substantial contribution to the empire's image abroad. So, an inspection would be compulsory to eliminate harmful goods (*mevâd-ı muzır*) and spoilage-prone things (*bozulmağa müsta'id olan eşyâ*) with the goal of exhibiting products worthy of the

²⁸⁶ Özkan Keskin, "*Orman ve Maadin Nezareti'nin Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri*" (PhD diss., İstanbul University, 2005), 57.

²⁸⁷ Hatice Adıgüzel, "Bir Tasarımın İzinde: Yeni Bulgular Işığında Raimondo D'Aronco'nun İlk İstanbul Projesi Dersaadet Ziraat ve Sanayi Sergi-i Umumisi," *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, 36, no. 1 (January 2019): 162.

²⁸⁸ BOA. Y.A.HUS.272/68, (1 April 1893); BOA. İ.DUİT.136/8, (8 April 1893).

²⁸⁹ BOA. Y.A.RES.67/27, (16 October 1893).

empire's reputation. No customs duty will be charged for native exhibitors. In each section, a jury will award a gold medal and a certificate of appreciation to the first, a gold medal to the second, a silver medal to the third, and a bronze medal to the fourth according to the quality of their products to promote the native agriculturalists and industrialists. Those who gained outstanding appreciation would also be honoured with various degrees of the sultanic medals.

Foreigners could exhibit their agricultural and industrial tools and products in this exhibition provided that they labelled the country of production on their products. Their attendance will be on an individual basis. So, there was no question of building separate pavilions for each nation. If they wanted to construct private buildings or exhibitions next to the fairground to display their products, foreigners should declare the kind, type, and number of their products, the size of the requested land, and the plan, architectural style, height, and width of the building or exhibition to be built. The construction of their buildings or exhibitions relied on the approval of the Ministry of Forestry, Mining, and Agriculture. They had to remove their buildings or exhibitions. They would also be exempted from customs duty and could receive an award according to the quality of their products.

Foreigners could also be a full member of the Exhibition Committee. Bringing “a complete collection of products of the soil and toil of the empire” under the eye of European agriculturists and industrialists, the Istanbul Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition would enable the Ottoman agriculturists and industrialists to see foreign methods, models, and kinds of production.²⁹⁰ This might broaden their ideas in agriculture and industry and encourage them to improve their own business to diminish the empire's economic dependent on the foreign countries.²⁹¹ So, an Ottoman portrait that was open to learning the latest developments in agriculture and industry would contribute to the empire's image in the eye of the Europeans.

The Istanbul Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition would be permanent. When it ended in 1894, the fairground, as in each country, would be converted into a business center and the pavilions would be allocated to the exhibition of one commodity each month except for four months each winter.²⁹² This shows that Abdulhamid II both tried to keep up with the time's fashion and to promote the empire's agricultural and industrial growth.²⁹³

²⁹⁰ Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 142.

²⁹¹ Ibid., 142.

²⁹² BOA. ŞD.2622/13, (23 August 1893).

²⁹³ Memiş, “19. Yüzyılda Bir Sanayileşme Stratejisi,” 279.

For a host country which sought to hold an international exhibition, one way to create the image of a modern state to the outer world was to build exhibition buildings in recent architectural style in Europe. Selim Melhame Pasha examined the architectural designs of several exhibitions organized in Europe and presented some examples to Abdulhamid II. Among them, the Sultan highly admired the design of the Turin Architecture Exhibition in 1890. Its designer well-known as a representative of art nouveau, Italian architect Raimondo D'Aronco was invited to Istanbul was hired to prepare the plans for the Istanbul Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition for 20,000 francs per year.²⁹⁴

Before the architectural style of the pavilions, the fairground deserved praise according to The Levant Herald and Eastern Express because a 142,000 square-meter (14 hectares) airy site between Izzet Pasha Farm and Darülaceze in Şişli had a healthful location and landscape and could attract “all classes of the population with its physical and intellectual appeal”.²⁹⁵ It was also a good choice in that it was close to Pera where the non-Muslims and foreigners densely lived. These advantages would positively affect the image of the empire as the host country. Compared with some examples in Europe, the Istanbul Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition, however, covered a smaller area than the 1873 Vienna Exposition (250 hectares)²⁹⁶, the 1883 Amsterdam Exposition (21 hectares)²⁹⁷, the 1888 Barcelona Exposition (46 hectares)²⁹⁸, the 1889 Paris Exposition (95 hectares)²⁹⁹, the 1893 Chicago World's Fair (278 hectares)³⁰⁰, and the 1894 Antwerp Exposition (26 hectares).³⁰¹ For this reason, it would be a second-level international exposition.

²⁹⁴ Adıgüzel, “Bir Tasarımın İzinde,” 162.

²⁹⁵ Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 142-143.

²⁹⁶ Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight*, 672.

²⁹⁷ Arie L. Molendijk, *The Emergence of the Science of Religion in the Netherlands* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005), 229.

²⁹⁸ Agusti Nieto-Galan, “Scientific Marvels in the Public Sphere: Barcelona and Its 1888 International Exhibition,” *Journal of History of Science and Technology* 6 (Fall 2012), 40.

²⁹⁹ Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight*, 672.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 672.

³⁰¹ John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions* (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2008), 125.

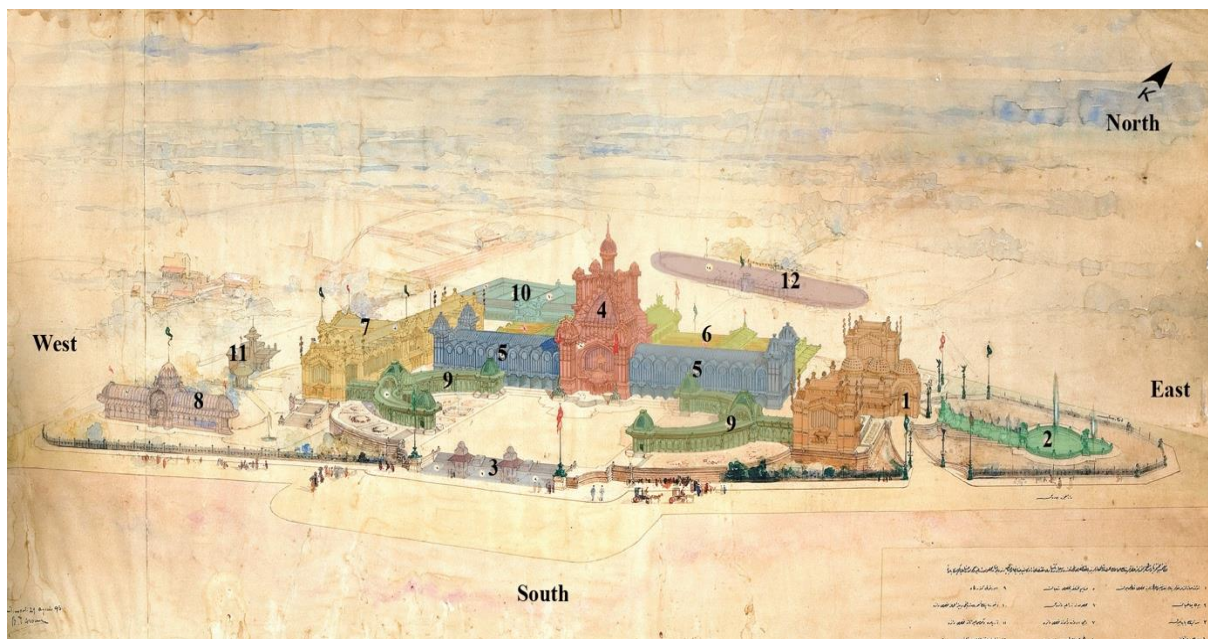


Figure 67. The Istanbul Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition Project, Raimondo D’Aronco, 29 August 1893.³⁰²

1-The Imperial Pavilion	2-The Fountain Pool	3-The Main Gate
4-The Reception Building	5-Native Industrial Products	6-Native Agricultural Products
7-Foreign Exhibitors	8-Greenhousing Building	9-The Covered Routes
10-Animals for Breeding Animal Products	11-Apiculture and Poultry Raising	12-The Hippodrome

The Exhibition Committee paid special attention to the architectural style of the pavilions for a modern image. Arriving in Istanbul on mid-July 1893, D’Aronco submitted the above draft plan of the exhibition site with an explanation to the Exhibition Committee on August 29 and on September 11, the Council of Ministers approved his plan.³⁰³ D’Aronco stated that the pavilions would largely be built in new architectural style in Europe, but some buildings (i.e. the Imperial Pavilion) would be constructed in national (Islamic) architectural style.³⁰⁴ Such a decision was aimed at reflecting recent architectural fashion in Europe as the selection of most prestigious architectural style in Europe, “the Renaissance style based on the Roman, Greek, and Gothic architectural rules”³⁰⁵, would make a huge contribution to the empire’s image.

Reminiscent of the model of the 1867 Paris Universal Exposition, D’Aronco’s plan presents the image of a miniature city with its buildings, square, entertainment venues, and

³⁰² Adıgüzel, “Bir Tasarımın İzinde,” 167.

³⁰³ Ibid., 169.

³⁰⁴ BOA. İ.DUİT.136/13, (2 September 1893).

³⁰⁵ Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 143.

landscape.³⁰⁶ On the top floor of the Reception Building (number 4), covered with a glass and iron structure, a promenade for the public with an open front will be built and stairs and elevator will be used to access it.³⁰⁷ This will offer visitors a panoramic view. Similar promenades had been built in the 1867 and 1889 Paris Expositions and D'Aronco probably knew about these fairs.³⁰⁸ After the Main Gate (number 3), the semi-circular covered roads (number 9) to be built adjacent to the pavilions on the right and left will be a pleasant place for visitors with coffeehouses and restaurants inside.³⁰⁹ D'Aronco said that promenades such as the observation terrace, squares, and the fountain pool (number 2) and entertainment venues like the Hippodrome (number 12), coffeehouses, and restaurants promised visitors the opportunity to have a pleasant time.



Figure 68. The Istanbul Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition Model, Annibale Rigotti, 1894.³¹⁰

The above three-dimensional model of the Istanbul Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition was prepared by Annibale Rigotti, one of D'Aronco's Italian assistants and submitted to Abdulhamid II.³¹¹ This exhibition model, measuring 3.0 by 2.5 meters was seen as "masterpiece, perfect in every detail, a work of rare beauty and finish, a work of art".³¹² According to Adıgüzel who examined the contemporary Italian newspapers, it would be displayed in the groundbreaking ceremony postponed to December 3, 1894. Apart from this three-dimensional model, two available examples of D'Aronco's numerous drawings presents us a visual understanding of the exhibition's architecture.

³⁰⁶ Adıgüzel, "Bir Tasarımın İzinde," 175.

³⁰⁷ BOA. İ.DUİT.136/13, (2 September 1893).

³⁰⁸ Adıgüzel, "Bir Tasarımın İzinde," 175.

³⁰⁹ BOA. İ.DUİT.136/13, (2 September 1893).

³¹⁰ Adıgüzel, "Bir Tasarımın İzinde," 173.

³¹¹ Ibid., 171.

³¹² Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 144.

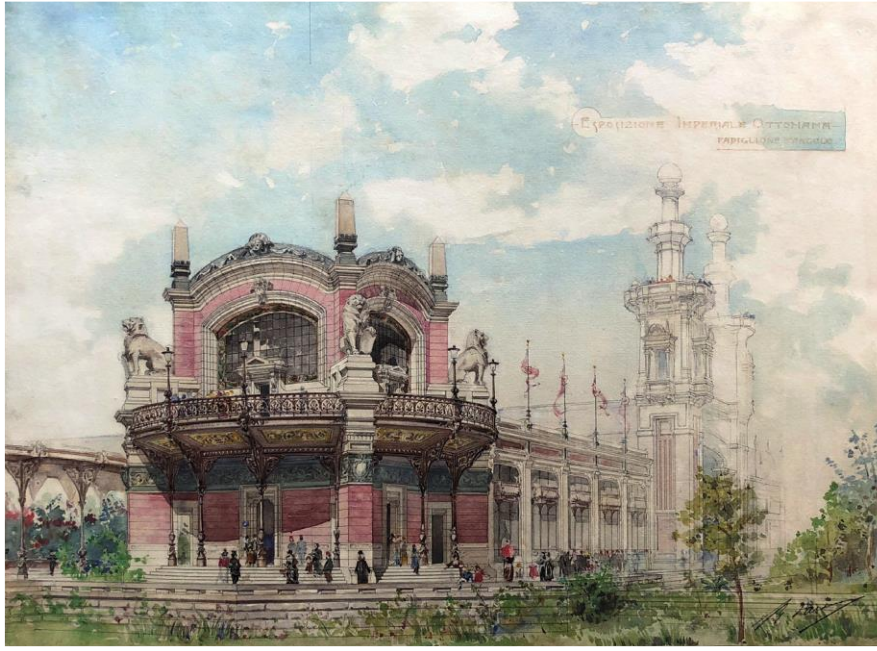


Figure 69. D'Aronco, British Pavilion in the Istanbul Agricultural and Industrial Pavilion, Istanbul, 1894.³¹³

Figure 69 depicts a British pavilion which was planned to be built in art nouveau with “oversized sculptures applied to the facades, the decorative use of metalwork, large windows, and curving lines”.³¹⁴ According to Adıgüzel, the fact that this drawing of the British pavilion was not available in the Figure 67, which showed the entire exhibition area, suggests that it was one of D'Aronco's later revisions.



Figure 70. D'Aronco, Pavilion for the Istanbul Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition, Istanbul, 1894.³¹⁵

³¹³ Ibid., 164.

³¹⁴ Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 144.

³¹⁵ Adıgüzel, “Bir Tasarımın İzinde,” 165; Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 144.

Figure 70 illustrates the light-structured temporary project of an imperial pavilion for ceremonies. This pavilion, which was planned to be constructed from materials such as awnings and wood, was “an interpretation of Islamic forms in new materials such as the iron-ribbed dome and the arcades.”³¹⁶

The Istanbul Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition could not be held in 1894. The groundbreaking ceremony of the exhibition site which was planned to be held on February 10, 1894, coinciding with the second day of the Feast of Sacrifice, was postponed to the Ramadan Feast on December 3 because of the extremely cold weather.³¹⁷ Even if the groundbreaking ceremony had been taken place on schedule, it was unlikely that the exhibition would have been held in 1894 because, according to an archival document dated August 23, 1893, the construction of the exhibition pavilions would take two years.³¹⁸ Moreover, since the idea of organising the exhibition was conceived, no clear opening date had been set. Even the Exhibition Ordinance did not appoint a day for the exhibition’s opening ceremony.³¹⁹ Here, the construction cost of the exhibition buildings was a major obstacle. Struggling with the ongoing budget deficits, the Yıldız Palace tried to fund the exhibition by taking loans from the Ottoman Bank³²⁰, raising the ticket prices of the Anatolian and Rumelian Railway Companies and the Şirket-i Hayriye³²¹, and some other additional taxes. The preparations for the exhibition were going so slowly that the Daily News republished the Budapest *Tageblatt*’s false news which claimed that Abdulhamid II would postpone the Istanbul Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition and personally attend the National Millennium Exhibition to be held in Budapest in 1896.³²² The July 10 Earthquake in Istanbul completely destroyed the possibility of organising this exhibition. Furthermore, it was likely that this exhibition, which was claimed to have an international character, would be boycotted by major countries owing to the 1894-1896 Armenian Crisis. This could have seriously undermined the expected benefits of the exhibition. Nevertheless, the Exhibition Ordinance, D’Aronco’s drawings and plan, and the ongoing preparations promised to present a positive image of the Ottoman Empire to the outer world.

³¹⁶ Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 144.

³¹⁷ BOA. İ.HUS.21/52, (20 February 1894).

³¹⁸ BOA. ŞD.2622/13, (23 August 1893).

³¹⁹ BOA. Y.A.RES.67/27, (16 October 1893). [...] Sergi-i Umûmî bâ-irâde-i seniyye-i hazret-i hilâfetpenâhî ta’yîn buyurulacak târîhde küşâd edilecektir.

³²⁰ BOA. Y.PRK.TKM.28/2, (20 June 1893); BOA. İ.DUİT.136/15, (5 March 1894).

³²¹ BOA. A.}MKT.MHM.728/4, (25 May 1893).

³²² BOA. Y.MTV.95/82, (12 May 1894).

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION

The international exhibitions were one of the most significant organizations of the nineteenth century. From the 1870s onwards, exhibition sites became larger and larger. This allowed imperial powers to display their industrial, technological, and cultural developments on the one hand, and other countries to represent their cultures comprehensively and accurately. In the international fairs, the host countries did not impose any restriction on the participating countries. Therefore, the latter had the opportunity to express themselves freely. In this context, the Hamidian Regime paid great attention to the empire's participation and representation in the world fairs. Its aim was to restore the empire's tarnished image abroad due to the political and economic crises in the 1870s. Abdulhamid II, thus, saw the empire's representation as vital and developed some fair strategies to prevent any exhibit injurious to the empire's honor and prestige and to draw a modern image of the empire.

In Chapter 2, I firstly examined the evolution of the international exhibitions since the 1870s. This period witnessed the emergence of three new exhibitions that sought to justify the nation-states' imperial and colonial policies. These new exhibitions were colonial exhibitions, old villages, and themed villages. Colonial exhibitions enabled the imperial nation-states to show their citizens and other visitors the difference between the colonizers and the colonized. Old villages allowed the imperial nation-states to demonstrate the powerful roots of their current developed empires and to impose their national and religious ideologies on their citizens and other visitors. Themed villages gave the host countries and the participating nations to make comparisons between different cultures. Secondly, I gave a detailed compilation of the following international exhibitions in which the Hamidian Regime participated: Antwerp 1885, Paris 1889, Chicago 1893, Antwerp 1894, Berlin 1896, Budapest 1896, Brussels 1897, Paris 1900, and St. Louis 1904.

In Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, I examined the damage-control and image-management strategies pursued by the Hamidian Regime in the international fairs. Chapter 3 comprised six fair strategies implemented during the exhibition. The first strategy aimed to represent the empire and its sultan as the leader and defender of the Islamic world. This strategy was actually a reflection of the Hamidian Regime's pan-Islamist policy, which was based on the soft power of the caliphate. The Hamidian Regime took great care to build mosques in the world fairs in which the empire officially participated. The aim was to ensure that all Muslim visitors could worship in this mosque and pray in the name of Abdulhamid II as the caliph of the world's

Muslims. The Hamidian Regime also tried to prevent the private entrepreneurs who dared to let Christians watch Muslim prayers for a fee in the international exhibitions. For this reason, Ottoman officials abroad made intensive diplomatic efforts to implement this strategy and have been largely successful in achieving this goal. The second strategy sought to halt the display of the unpleasant portrayals of the empire. The aim was to destroy the Western perception that regarded the East as the exotic and the undeveloped. In other words, the Hamidian Regime avoided contributing to Western misconceptions about the empire. For this purpose, Ottoman officials in the country where an international exhibition was held closely followed the belly dances and theatre plays of the Syrians, who participated in almost every exhibition to earn money. Therefore, the Hamidian Regime's foreign apparatus were always vigilant against the Syrians, who exoticized and uncivilized the empire with their belly dances and theatrical performances in order to minimize the deteriorating image of the empire. Third strategy targeted to supervise Bulgaria and Egypt because they tended to display anti-Ottoman exhibits. Although Egypt tends to showcase its ancient and Islamic past in the international exhibitions, some prominent Egyptian figures have been involved in anti-Ottoman exhibitions. As in the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition, Ottomans officials managed to prevent such attempts. As for Principality of Bulgaria, this autonomous territory of the empire acted quite independently in the international exhibitions. It attempted to showcase anti-Ottoman exhibits reflecting the imagination of the Greater Bulgaria. Ottoman officials managed to prevent some of these exhibitions, while in others, despite their best efforts, they failed. These first three strategies aimed at preventing the negative exhibits that might harm the empire's honor and prestige.

The fourth strategy was to display the empire's material accumulation in museums in accordance with the fashion of the nineteenth century. Such exhibitions were very important in showing the glorious past of the empire to the whole world. Therefore, some dynastic objects were sent to the international exhibitions. The Hamidian regime also allowed the display of some historical buildings such as Obelisk, the Serpent Column and Old Jerusalem to emphasize the importance of the historical geography ruled by the empire. The fifth strategy was designed to emphasize that the empire was still an equal member of the great powers. To this end, the Hamidian regime paid great attention to protocol issues such as attending opening ceremonies of the international fairs, giving banquets, and celebrating national days. The sixth and final strategy was developed to stress the multi-ethnic aspect of the empire. The Hamidiye Regime allowed every individual in the empire to participate in the international exhibitions, regardless

of their nationality and religious origin. Therefore, each exhibitor had to state his name and the origin of his product. These last three strategies sought to draw a positive image of the empire.

Chapter 4 focused on the post-world fairs strategies. For this chapter, I studied two strategies. The first strategy was to distribute gifts in the international exhibitions to prominent exhibition figures and people who rendered important services to the Ottoman Empire and Islam. This strategy also included the bestowment of some of the exhibited items to institutions in the country where the exhibition was held. This policy was essentially a general policy implemented by Abdulhamid II in the international arena to recruit people for his cause. The second strategy consisted of the idea of organizing an international exhibition. The Hamidiye Regime planned to hold an exhibition open to international participation in Istanbul in 1894. When I look at the plans of this exhibition, I see that it will be held in a much smaller area compared to the exhibitions held in Europe. This exhibition, planned to be held in Şişli, never took place due to the 1894 Istanbul Earthquake. Even if the earthquake had not occurred, archival documents show that preparations for the exhibition would have been progressing very slowly due to limited financial resources. So much so that there was no a specific plan to provide transportation between the exhibition area and other areas. Nevertheless, the ongoing preparations reveal that this exhibition would undoubtedly contribute to the image of the empire.

To sum up, the Hamidian Regime paid special attention to the empire's image abroad. It saw the international exhibitions as a good chance to improve the empire's marred reputation and applied some fair policies. I used news archival documents and unused photographs in order to strengthen my arguments.

APPENDIX A

Trial of Turkish Dancing Girls in the 1894 California Midwinter Exhibition

“An earnest desire to rid the city of indecency-which included safeguarding the ordered environment created by the Midwinter Fair organizers and cracking down on the Barbary Coast-motivated the Society for the Suppression of Vice. For the Turkish dancers, however, the Society’s decree that deemed their dances to be beyond the bounds of respectability and prohibited their performance meant a disruption in their capacity to earn a living. In Chicago everybody liked us,” Catherina Dhaved told the Examiner; “We made a big hit in the Midway Plaisance; thirty-five and forty dollar week; plenty to eat, plenty sleep, plenty everything-plenty money.” Since coming to San Francisco, however, the girls had experienced “perilous times.” By early January they had earned about \$1.000 in the employ of two different leisure entrepreneurs in the weeks before the fair opened but had not “received a cent of it.” First an Armenian man hired us,” Catherina continued, “Twenty-five dollars a week, on Market Street. We work one, two three weeks, no money. Then an American man, Crosby, hired us. We work one, two or three weeks more, no money. We owe plenty money at the hotel, and now we cannot dance and cannot pay what we owe.” During the time they waited for the directors to convene in early January, the women lived on “short rations.” When the dancers finally performed for the Society for the Suppression of Vice, the proprietor of their hotel was also present as “an interested witness.”

According to the Examiners, “He told the Directors that the girls owe him about \$100 for back board and he did not propose to keep them any longer unless he was assured that they would be allowed to dance and make some money.” Several days later after the “sample dances” at the Alhorn Hotel, on January 7, 1894, the Society for the Suppression of Vice paid a visit to the Turkish Dancing Girls performing at the Midwinter Fair. Although the fair did not officially open until later in the month, by early January so many concessions were upon that thousands of people were paying to pass within its gates. Once again Secretary Kane expressed displeasure at what he saw, especially since the dancers had received strict instructions to tone down their performance to the Western audiences.” A sample of the entire dance was again presented that same day for “the edification of the secretary.” To guard against errors in other leniency or severity, two other agents of the society accompanied Secretary Kane as well as “a newspaperman or two, a company of Turks, and a few chosen friends.” The Examiner reported Kane’s findings on January 10, “In the muscular contortions of the majority of the ladies he found nothing to object so seriously; but in the closing measures of the dance du ventre, as rendered by the dusky Egyptian Hamede, he found grievous cause for the complaint.” Kane remained steadfast in his judgment even though the press cited the chief of the Midwinter Fair police as one among many admirers of the dance who did not object to it. The Examiner’s reporter captured the way that Hamede’s gyrations left Kane unnerved to the point of scrambling for words to describe what he had seen. “The muscular dances and the spinning exercises of the majority of the ladies can go on,” he was reported as saying, “but the -er-er-er the eccentric convolutions of the little brown lady must be curtailed.”

Three months later, on April 9, 1894, the Turkish Dancing Girls had their day in court. As the Call reported, “Under the glare of the gaslights and in the suffocating heat of Judge Conlan’s courtroom the muscle-dancers of the Cairo Village last night illustrated their peculiar dance for the benefit of the jury impaneled Friday last.” Secretary Kane’s testimony about the dance demonstrated that he “had studied it pretty thoroughly” and the description provided by Frank D. Gibson, a hardware clerk, likewise “showed keen powers of observation and perception, and

that he had the dance down finer than even Secretary Kane.” Nevertheless, despite the fact that the dance had been made familiar to officials through two sample performances as well as shows on Market Street and at the fair, the dancers’ attorney requested that one of the dancers, Belle Baya, “give a representation of the dance.” She agreed to perform to the packed courtroom despite the fact that she was not outfitted in her dancing costume but in a “lilac silk dress, lace fichu and white straw hat with green and white ostrich feathers.” As the Call described, “Belle Baya followed in her dance, taking a silk handkerchief in each hand and the castanets on her fingers. The solitary fiddler mangled “La Paloma” with frightful barbarity as an accompaniment. As the handsome Baya went through her dance the auditors went wilde with excitement and a clapping of hands was strenly rebuked by the court.” Order was restored in the court in the wake of Belle Baya’s dancing and proceeding in the dancers’ case came to a close soon after. Her performance had apparently satisfied the jury that there was truly nothing immoral in her dance. The case was (...) without argument,” reported the Call,” and the jury retired at seven minutes past 11, returning five minutes later with a verdict of not guilty.” The jury, it seems, had a much different opinion than the Society of what constituted the kind of indecency that would mar the city’s image or detract from the glory of the fair.

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