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Market-making strategies in Tanzimat era Istanbul: The quest for an elusive cosmopolitanism

Kubra Uygur^a , Cagri Yalkin^b  and Selcuk Uygur^a 

^aCollege of Business, Arts and Social Sciences, Brunel Business School, Brunel University London, London, UK;
^bDepartment of Business Administration, Middle East Technical University, Northern Cyprus Campus, Mersin, Turkey

ABSTRACT

Focusing on a pivotal period of the Ottoman Empire, we illustrate how advertising tactics act as market-making tools for local and non-local businesses during the Tanzimat (1839–1876) (Re-organization) era through a study of advertisements in the popular Armeno-Turkish daily newspaper *Manzume-i Efkâr*. We show that using standardised marketing communications in both form and content to invoke Westernness, forging dealership networks to induce demand, and legitimising the products and brands acted as market-making mechanisms and helped to introduce new products into the local market. Our findings further illuminate that although the market making efforts of the era might suggest the existence of a multilingual, ethnically, and culturally diverse consumer group, the adverts only speak to a limited and inorganically bound set of consumers.

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Introduction

Much has been written about the advertising industry and the trajectories of business development and consumer culture in Western societies during the 1800s and early 1900s (Godley, 2003; Mollanger, 2018; Norris, 1990; Ramon-Muñoz, 2020). In contrast, research in contemporary market-making in contexts outside North America and Western Europe during this time period is still limited in comparison (Köse, 2019; Loveridge, 2021; Min, 2013; Sreekumar, 2018; Thomas, 2016). One such context about which we have limited knowledge is market-making in the late Ottoman Empire. Previous literature has focused on marketing and consumption patterns of the Ottoman Empire, yet those works primarily concentrated on either the early modern period (Karababa, 2012, 2015; Karababa & Ger, 2011) or late modernity viz during the Republic of Turkey (post 1923) (Karamullaoglu & Sandikci, 2020; Köse, 2019; Uray & Burnaz, 2003; Yücel, 2021). Thus, there is still less known about the market-making through advertising in the Ottoman Empire during the *Tanzimat* (Re-organization, 1839–1876), an era characterised by its modernisation movements (Aydin, 2018; Alavi, 2011) in all aspects of life including press, transportation, and trade which profoundly changed and improved the social, political and

CONTACT Kubra Uygur  kubra.uygur@brunel.ac.uk; uygurk05@gmail.com

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economic conditions of the Empire (Eldem, 1994, 2013b; Exertzoglou, 2003; Kasaba, 1988; Owen, 1981; Pamuk, 1987; Quataert).

Scholarly works on the changing consumption culture of the nineteenth century Ottoman world have explored the international trade activities of the era through specific European brands' such as Nestle's and Singer's advertising efforts (Köse, 2008; Godley, 2006). Others have documented the existence and type of newspaper advertisements during the nineteenth century (Yerlikaya, 1994; Çakır, 1997; Kizilca, 2021) and have looked at the spread and adoption of western clothing among Ottoman women (Falierou, 2017). Seyitdanlioğlu (2009) provided the local industrialisation angle for Tanzimat era production and consumption. Yet, there is still an absence in scholarly works focusing on market-making strategies and the characteristics of the targeted consumers in the diverse Ottoman capital during the Tanzimat era, when the Empire witnessed a wide range of transformations, including the centralisation of state power, the modernisation of the legal system, the transformation of the economy, and the development of urban infrastructure. The Tanzimat reforms initiated a series of institutional changes aiming to modernise the Ottoman market economy and bring it in line with European standards. They marked a shift towards a more formalised and regulated market economy (Pamuk, 2004). Hence, focusing on the market-making practices in the Tanzimat-era Ottoman Empire is significant for several reasons. First, it highlights the role of new market actors and institutions in the emergence of a capitalist-oriented economy in a non-Western context. Second, it provides insights into the social and cultural dimensions of market-making practices and the ways in which markets are embedded in broader social and political structures. Finally, studying the Tanzimat era is crucial because it had a significant and long-lasting effect on the way businesses and economy unfolded in the subsequent decades (Pamuk, 2000).

In order to fill this gap, we explored the market making activities through advertiser's tactics in Ottoman Istanbul during the Tanzimat era, popularly characterised as cosmopolitan. As a case study, the paper focuses on the advertisements published between 1870–1878 in *Manzume-i Efkâr* (Course of Opinion), a mainstream Armeno-Turkish newspaper of the time. We contend that focusing on a thematic analysis of the advertisements of the Tanzimat era in Ottoman Istanbul enables critical understandings to offer not just in terms of the blossoming of a Western induced advertising industry and its intended cosmopolitan audience, but also in terms of the introduction of new products and services to the capital. While doing these, our overarching research question will be: *what are the market-making tactics used in advertisements during the Tanzimat Era Ottoman Empire and what do the marketing communications adopted by businesses tell us about the cosmopolitanism of its time?*

Literature review

Market-making and the late nineteenth century

According to Callon (1998), markets are not just natural phenomena that emerge spontaneously from supply and demand but are rather the result of ongoing efforts by various actors to shape and define them. These actors include not only buyers and sellers, but also regulators, industry associations, and other third-party intermediaries and professionals who play a role in establishing market rules and norms. What we can loosely call supply-side

agents of markets and market-making has garnered considerable attention in business history and economic sociology (e.g. Godley, 2006; Mollanger, 2018; Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2007). For example, Phelps and Wood (2021) illustrate how the Fantus company was instrumental in making the market for location in the USA. Godley (2006) highlights the role of international marketing strategies, in particular, the selling approach in distributing the Singer sewing machine around the globe. Mollanger (2018) recounts how trademarking practices adopted by companies shaped the relations among companies, intermediaries, and consumers. The intermediaries, actors in the market which possess contact points with both the supply and the demand side of the market such as advertising agencies and the media, have received relatively little attention (Komljenovic & Robertson, 2016). Given the symbolic value imbued on products and services through advertisements and advertising (Hackley, 2002; Schor & Holt, 2011), which is necessary for their correct positioning and pricing in the market, we seek to contribute to this area of literature in our study. Our rationale for this is as follows: Per Nixon (2014) we view advertising as beyond mere cultural intermediaries and advertisements as artefacts and explore advertising's capacity within an understanding of it as a market device used by marketers and businesses. 'The construction and operation of markets relies on a series of heterogeneous and distributed set of expert contributions' (Araujo, 2007, p. 223) of which advertising is one (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2007). Since goods being traded in the market as products/brands after they are imbued with symbolic meaning through advertising (cf. Hackley, 2002), we seek to address the absence of advertising in market-making studies.

Secondly, while 'law and accounting can be regarded as playing an infrastructural and totalising role in the construction of markets by providing solid institutional frameworks for exchange. The role of marketing has, however, been less explored...' (Araujo, 2007, p. 217). Araujo (2007) extends this perspective by arguing that marketing activities themselves can play a critical role in market-making. Rather than simply responding to existing consumer demand, marketers can actively shape consumer preferences and behaviours through advertising, branding, and other marketing management activities. In this way, marketing can not only influence market outcomes, but can also be seen as a form of market-making in its own right. Advertising, a key part of promotion in the marketing mix (Kotler & Armstrong, 2013), and consequently advertisements, are some of the devices concurrently contributing to the making of the market. For the market to happen, whether in solid institutional frameworks or in terms of individual exchanges in an unstable market, a form of activity which imbues goods/services with symbolic meaning must take place (see Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2007).

Evidence suggests that state and non-state actors alike were influential in shaping the imports to Istanbul, and therefore the unfolding of the market (Geyikdađı, 2017). For example, due to the taxing arrangements, foreign merchants gained significant privileges compared to local merchants (see Quataert, 2002). The British Embassy was active in negotiating relationships between the state and the commercial actors and aimed to facilitate the Istanbul-based British merchant's activities (Cezar, 1999). However, these actors and their dynamic interaction in the existing marketplace still needed advertisers and advertising as meaning makers to imbue the brands with specific utilitarian and/or symbolic meanings (see McCracken, 1986). As such, we view advertisements as part of the mediascape, an influential actor in the Tanzimat era. Their presence in particular media outlets by design denote their power in market making.

There is an existing body of knowledge about market-making, branding, and advertising in the West during the nineteenth century (Godley, 2003; Mollanger, 2018; Norris, 1990; Ramon-Muñoz, 2020). Godley (2003) studied foreign direct investment in the retailing industry in Britain between 1850 and 1962 and charted the relative importance of foreign entrants. Mollanger (2018) exemplified how legal arrangements helped shape branding particularities in the cognac business in the second half of the nineteenth century. Norris (1990) has detailed the role advertising played in market-making in America between 1865 and 1920. Ramon-Muñoz (2020) has illustrated the trajectory of branding in the olive oil industry between the 1870s and 1930s and how international marketing activities interacted with migration patterns. On the other hand, literature on market-making, branding, and advertising in the non-Western world during the late nineteenth century is scant. Mittler (2004) documents that advertising in Shanghai was dominated by foreign companies, goods, and services between 1872 and 1912 and that the advertisements presented advice on how to act – and to consume – in Shanghai which was then positioned in the advertisements as a foreign city. Sun (2015) illustrates how advertising elicits desire for mooncake products in colonial Macau. An understanding of the market-making, branding, and advertising activities in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century, an important period of business history in general and for the Ottoman Empire in particular, is largely missing from the body of literature.

Soydemir and Erçek (2023) illustrate the institutional changes during the Tanzimat period through agricultural credit cooperatives which uniquely blended state, community, and market logics. There is also extensive literature on business history, markets, and marketing in the modern Turkish state (Colpan & Jones, 2016; Erçek, & Günçavdı, 2016; Karamullaoglu & Sandikci 2020; Köse, 2019; Kuruoğlu & Ger 2015; Sandikci & Ger, 2010; Uray & Burnaz, 2003; Üstüner & Holt, 2010), the early modern (Karababa, 2012; Karababa & Ger, 2011) and late-period Ottoman Empire (Soydemir & Erçek, 2023; Köse, 2016). In his work detailing the marketing practices in the Ottoman Empire, Köse (2016) covers a period including both the early modern and late modern periods and highlights the adaptability of Western companies operating in the Ottoman Empire, and their willingness to tailor their product mix decisions to meet the needs and preferences of a diverse consumer base. However, there is no literature on market-making capabilities of advertising during the Tanzimat era.

As existing literature indicates the lack of studies primarily focusing on the Tanzimat era Ottoman Empire, we contend that examining market-making during this period is significant for several reasons. First, it provides insights into how markets were created and governed in a non-Western context. The Ottoman Empire, as a large and diverse multi-ethnic and multi-religious society, provides an insightful case study for exploring the cultural and institutional factors that shaped market-making practices. Second, the Tanzimat era (1839–1876) was a period of significant economic and political reform in the Ottoman empire. The study of market making in this period can shed light on how these reforms relate to the creation and management of markets. The changing structures of the Ottoman Empire made the population an ideal target market for European companies looking to expand (Köse, 2007). Trade agreements and tax regulations between the Ottoman Empire and the Western powers enabled a rapid increase in European imports, and the western tastes of the capital's residents guaranteed a steadily increasing number of consumers for foreign brands (Exertzoglou, 2003; Eldem et al., 1999; Quataert, 2002). The increase in European trade activity extended into a variety of spheres that shaped the political, cultural, and social worlds of individuals

and communities which enabled expanded mobility and social mixing (Fuhrmann, 2020). This, Fuhrmann (2020) argues, resulted in the diversity and cosmopolitanism of the port cities allowing for the exchange of ideas and cultural practices, creating a vibrant and dynamic urban culture. The network of social and political relationships informed economic practices and shaped consumption patterns, bringing about new services and goods that flooded the Ottoman market. *The Oriental Trade Yearbook of 1863-1921* dedicated a large section for the businesses that emerged within these changing conditions. The yearbook categorised these businesses under the title 'Services related to the New Lifestyle' and demonstrated the constant increase of goods and services between 1868 and 1921 (Aktar, 1998). Lastly, studying market making in the Tanzimat era Ottoman empire can provide insights into the relationship between markets, marketing activities, and broader social and political structures. In economic sociology, markets are not viewed as separate entities but are embedded in social relations and power structures (Venkatesh & Peñaloza, 2015). Examining the market-making in the Tanzimat era Ottoman Empire contributes to the broader debate on the historical roots of modern economic development. The Tanzimat era saw the emergence of new economic institutions and practices that laid the foundations for the modern Turkish economy. Understanding the origins of these institutions and practices is crucial for understanding the trajectory of economic development in the region.

Advertising and the Tanzimat era

Following the endeavour of studies which focus on alternative historical trajectories in relation to market-making and marketing (Karababa, 2012), we turn our attention to the *Tanzimat* period of the Ottoman Empire (1839–1876) which manifested itself as extensive reforms and modernisation efforts and illustrate the development of advertising during the era. During the *Tanzimat*, the Ottoman government aimed to modernise the state and the society based on the principles of rationalism, secularism, and equality. Among the significant reforms was the introduction of the millet system, a legal framework that gave autonomy to religious communities in matters of personal law and governance (Braude, 2013). It allowed for a degree of religious and ethnic diversity and 'created the conditions for the emergence of a new class of notables who acquired the power to represent and articulate the interests of their communities' (Mardin, 1974, p. 428). New schools and universities, based on European models with the goal of producing a new generation of educated and skilled professionals, were also established (Davison, 2015). The reforms created a new social order based on the principles of equality and secularism (Hanioğlu, 2008), enabling the introduction of mixed schools where Muslim and non-Muslim students could study together (Akgün, 1991; Goodwin, 2006). The press, which emerged during the Tanzimat period, played a crucial role in disseminating new ideas and promoting the goals of the reforms by providing a platform for intellectuals and reformers from diverse ethnicities to debate and discuss social, political, and cultural issues (Mazanec, 2016). These changes were reflected in the market sphere as a growing body of potential consumers. Mardin (1974, p. 427) names this transformation as 'super-westernisation,' during which the changes in urban life led to the formation of a new urban middle class, consisting of bureaucrats, professionals, and merchants who adopted Western-style lifestyles, values, and modes of behaviour.

The Ottoman Empire underwent economic reforms which modernised the economy, introducing the Ottoman lira currency in 1844 and establishing new financial institutions such as the Ottoman Bank in 1856 (Pamuk, 2004). These reforms further facilitated trade

with European markets, contributing to the development of a capitalist economy in Turkey that was characterised by market competition, private property rights, and the separation of economic and political power (Akyildiz, 2004; Pamuk, 1987). The reforms also enabled the growth of industries and expansion of transportation networks which increased trade within. All the while newspapers increased in number and simultaneously, numerous foreign companies were using billboards, product demonstrations, promotions such as handing out samples, and advertising in multilingual newspapers to market their goods (Köse, 2016). Press advertising was used more increasingly and provided a platform for companies to reach potential customers. The Ottoman press, particularly Tanzimat newspapers such as *Tercüman-ı Ahval* and *Ceride-i Havadis*, were among the first to introduce Western-style advertising to the Ottoman Empire by featuring ads for European goods and services (Çakır, 1997). This blossoming of advertisements is attributed both to the extensive availability of Western products and the emergence of new consumption patterns (Köse, 2007, 2008). *İbret* and *Hadika*, which had previously advertised shops selling Indian and Chinese products, quickly adapted to the changing cultural norms and values and began to devote significant space to promoting European imports after the mid-19th century (Kizilca, 2021). The advertisements in these newspapers were particularly targeted towards women, highlighting the growing importance of female consumers in the market. For example, the beauty and fashion accessory products advertised were designed to appeal to female consumers and their changing tastes (Kizilca, 2021).

The Tanzimat era in Istanbul was a time of significant urban change too, with a focus on modernisation and Europeanisation during which Istanbul underwent a series of transformations aimed at modernising its infrastructure, architecture, and institutions (Çelik, 1993). The government began to invest in urban planning and infrastructure projects such as railways, bridges, sewage systems and telegraph lines (Bagbanci & Bagbanci, 2010). The neighbourhoods of Galata and Pera, home to a diverse population, including Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Europeans, Levants, and Muslims, played a key role in this process and served as the centre of the city's commercial and cultural life (Özlu, 2019). Beginning in the mid-19th century, Galata and Pera accommodated a large number of Western-style shops and businesses, many of which were owned by non-Muslims (Köse, 2016). These included European-style department stores, restaurants, and hotels, and businesses catering to foreign residents and tourists. Advertisements both shape (consumer) culture and reflect the culture of a society in a given time (Hackley, 2002; Schor & Holt, 2011). As such, the newspaper advertisements both reflect and contribute to urban change in the Ottoman capital as the names and addresses of the businesses are provided with the featured products and services, which enabled brands and symbols to travel beyond specific parts of the city. While Galata and Pera fully adopted a European outlook, the urban transformation of the historic peninsula (old city) was not simply imitative of European styles but rather involved a complex negotiation between Ottoman traditions and European influences (Çelik, 1993).

During Tanzimat, the old city was also significantly renovated and became better connected through new roads and bridges, which facilitated the movement of people and goods around the city. Compared with the European quarter (Galata/Pera), the old city kept its traditional Ottoman culture, with its narrow streets, traditional markets (Çelik, 1993). Despite the separation between the two districts, there were connections and interactions between them, both through human movement, goods and the press. Residents of the old city often

travelled to Galata and Pera for work or leisure, and many businesses in Galata and Pera employed Muslim and minority workers (Köse, 2016).

Finally, the reforms enabled a new source of upward mobility and opportunity for individuals who had previously been excluded from political and economic life (Faroghi et al., 1997). These new elite groups played an important role in shaping the political, economic, and cultural landscape of the Ottoman Empire during this period. The emergence of this new diverse culture, popularly known as cosmopolitan, was a product of the interplay between local and global forces including the press and was shaped by the interaction between Ottoman and European cultures (Eldem, 2013b; Keyder, 2020). This new culture emerged through a complex process shaped by various social, political, and economic actors, including the press, and thereby, advertisements. However, while it is easy and tempting to assume an empire-wide cosmopolitan new group of consumers who readily awaited these goods, it is important to consider the true nature of the audience which this new form of capitalism addresses. As such, we consider the particularities of the intended vs. the actual audience in terms of demographics and lifestyle in relation to cosmopolitanism.

Cosmopolitanism

For historians focusing on the urban centres and port cities of the Ottoman Empire, cosmopolitanism has been used as a term to describe the plurality and diversity to characterise the Ottoman society, especially during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (e.g. Aytekin, 2022; Freitag, 2014; Örs, 2002). One of the primary reasons for the scholarly usefulness of this term is its efficiency in describing culturally and socially plural, diverse and hybrid characteristics of the Empire accommodating the mixed ethnic or religious groups of local or foreign origin. The usage of the term cosmopolitan is quite broad, but it is also quite 'slippery and indiscriminate' (Eldem, 2013a, p. 4). Driessen (2005, p. 135–), criticises the tendency of scholars to take the concept for granted in their desire to label cosmopolitanism as 'nostalgic celebrations by elites of a lost world that never really existed' and insists on the need for 'a working definition' of the term. Within the Ottoman context, Driessen (2005, p. 138) argues that the label of cosmopolitanism applied only to certain groups of the population, meaning such a cosmopolitan lifestyle owed its existence to 'the encounter between the non-Muslim Ottomans and the different communities of Western Europe'. Despite this, Driessen (2005, p. 138) describes the milieu as 'the cosmopolitics of the eastern Mediterranean port cities, involving multilingualism, religious plurality, openness, enterprising ethos, inter-cultural exchange and at least a weak form of tolerance rooted in the Ottoman millet system of non-Muslim communities that were granted protection and relative autonomy'. Hanley (2008) criticises this common tendency of applying the term by focusing on an elitist formulation of a lost golden age when multiple ethnicities lived together under the same state. He suggests limiting the horizon of the notion to avoid the common misuse and to create a proper understanding of the concept's own philosophical and historiographical background (Hanley, 2008).

Describing the milieu in pre-modern Ottoman Empire as a kind of multiculturalism or near-cosmopolitanism, Eldem (2013a) attempts to identify the fundamental qualities that set nineteenth century cosmopolitanism apart from the previous era and tentatively uses the term 'Levantine cosmopolitanism' to understand its nature. The term Levantine

provides a better insight into the geographical and cultural context of the Empire, which was not openly colonised, but was under the high influence of the Western world. Following a route in line with Eldem's approach to Ottoman cosmopolitanism, this article differentiates the nineteenth century Ottoman environment from the pre-modern era and cautiously uses the terms 'inorganic' and 'limited' cosmopolitanism to describe the nineteenth century Ottoman milieu by focusing on one of its major urban centres, Istanbul to add nuance to Eldem's study by focusing on the entire corpus of advertisements from the newspaper.

While Istanbul's streets, porches, window displays, and bazaars, along with its circulating local newspapers, visiting cards, and receipts, were distinguished by the parallel use of Arabo-Persian (for Ottoman Turkish), Arabic, Armenian, Cyrillic, Greek and Roman scripts' (Bodin, 2020, p. 784), we contend that this type of cosmopolitanism, as similarly critiqued by Eldem, was limited and inorganic. It was limited in the sense that it had middle-class and upper middle class consumption codes and ideals as its cause-célèbre, and it was inorganic because it was part of a market-making mechanism by political, economic, and commercial actors infused with Westernisation in its codes of business conduct, marketing, and consumption. As such, 'the city's cosmopolitanism was more a geographically and culturally contextualised social praxis than it was an ideology' (Bodin, 2020, p. 786).

In this vibrant context, amongst the plethora of changes in economic, political, social, and cultural realms as illustrated by our literature review, we seek to answer the research question: *what are the market-making tactics used in advertisements during the Tanzimat Era Ottoman Empire and what do the marketing communications adopted by businesses tell us about the cosmopolitanism of its time?*

Method

We sampled and studied the advertisements in *Manzume-i Efkâr* and adopted a qualitative thematic content analysis in order to explain the dominant advertising themes that were circulated. Thematic content analysis has previously yielded rich insights into marketing research in business (Belk, 2007; Murgado-Armenteros et al., 2015) as it facilitates processing the data, reviewing, and sorting it into sub-categories. This approach has enabled us to relate the sociocultural and political-economic dynamics of the Tanzimat era to specific advertisements. We have limited our inquiry to the Tanzimat period between 1839 and 1876. The 1860s newspapers did not feature advertisements as such. Therefore, we started sampling *Manzume-i Efkâr* in the 1870s and we slightly extended our sample beyond 1876 to account for the immediate aftermath. Due to the repetition of the advertisements, we have randomly sampled five months of every year between 1870 and 1878 and have taken a random sample of 10 days from within each month. Thus, we have analysed a total of 400 issues of the newspaper.

The reasons for focusing on advertisements published in Armeno-Turkish *Manzume-i Efkâr* are manifold. Firstly, the Ottoman Empire, a non-western context, witnessed the emergence of print media much later than its European counterparts, and the Ottoman Armenians were more advanced in journalism than the Ottoman Turks. Thus, during the Tanzimat era, both the number of the Armenian, and Armeno-Turkish newspapers were much higher than the Turkish ones. Their content was also richer compared to the Turkish periodicals, since Armeno-Turkish newspapers included numerous news items on both national and

international affairs. The existing literature has either focused on the Ottoman Turkish advertisements published from 1880 onwards (due to the scarce advertising in Ottoman Turkish newspapers before those years) or examined the European press advertisements published in the Ottoman Empire (Çağlar, 2021). *Manzume-i Efkâr* (1866–1917) was published in Istanbul by an Ottoman Armenian journalist Garabed Panosian, and it had subscribers from various parts of the Empire. Although the exact number of its readers is not known, the editorial of *Ararad* newspaper indicates that in the 1869, which is the very beginning of its publication, *Manzume-i Efkâr* had 1,300 subscribers (*Ararad*, Ararad, 1869). Considering the coffee houses of the era, where newspapers were read aloud, this number can easily be multiplied by ten which suggests a significant audience for the period. Although the script of *Manzume-i Efkâr* was Armenian, evidence suggests that Armeno-Turkish print media of the period was also read by the Ottoman Muslims and other ethnic minorities of the Empire (Ahmet Mithat Efendi, 1874; Tokgöz, 1993). Different from today, scripts were not a barrier among the educated Ottomans to follow each other's publications, since they were mostly familiar with Turkish, Armenian, and Greek alphabets, along with their common knowledge on French. Armeno-Turkish newspapers of the Tanzimat era were particularly popular among Ottoman Muslims as they were the best channels for the middle and upper middle class educated Turks to be informed about the state and world politics (Ali Suavi, 1867). Additionally, there were even some Turkish-speaking European residents of Istanbul who deliberately learnt Armenian letters to be able to read Armeno-Turkish texts (Cankara, 2015). Such a popular medium with a diverse and cosmopolitan audience was an efficient channel for both local and European companies which desired to introduce their products to the Ottoman market.

Findings

Our findings are threefold. First, studying market-making during the Tanzimat era reveals insights into the complex relationship between markets and broader social and political structures. Second, we illustrate the market-making tactics used in the advertisements by taking into account the political and economic events and climate of their time and highlight how the newspapers acted as a medium which enabled market-making through these tactics: introduction of Western advertisements without significant local adaptation, establishment of dealer/agent/authorised retailer networks, and application of legitimisation techniques. Within our discussion of market making, we illustrate how the advertisements, by imbuing goods with symbolic associations and informational content, forged the positioning and legitimacy of many brands that were already circulating in the West to the Ottoman middle-class public. Lastly, our research explains those advertisements targeted a specific consumer group, assuming that this group had homogenous cosmopolitan preferences and behaviours. However, our findings indicate that this segment was, in fact, a narrow and inauthentically cosmopolitan audience.

Market making a la Franga

Standardised advertisements for a new market

Kologlu's (1999) accounts on Ottoman Turkish newspapers indicate that until the 1880s newspaper advertisements in the empire were in the form of a local 'ilanat' (announcements). Çakır (1997) also notes that the early newspaper advertisements in the Ottoman Empire

were often in the form of classifieds or simple text-based announcements. For example, in 1855, the Ottoman Turkish newspaper *Takvîm-i Vekayi* published an advertisement for a local bookbinder written in Turkish which included the bookbinder's name and address, and information about the quality of their work (Çakır, 1997). Kologlu (1999) argues that the advertisement format changed only after the 1880s to reflect shorter texts, more catchy and shorter headings, use of images and frames, and testimonials of the users. However, this shift in advertising format was already visible in *Manzume-i Efkâr's* title page beginning with the 1870s.

The advertisements of *Manzume-i Efkâr* during the 1860s were in bulletin format mostly aiming to inform. The last page of the newspaper usually featured official announcements, introduced new books, and sometimes announced the need for a servant or a private tutor for a rich family. During the 1870s, companies began to introduce their products in a more appealing way such as shorter texts and catchy titles to encourage consumption (Yavuz, 2011). These changes in advertising format were both constituted by and reflected a larger social, economic, and political transformation. The emergence of the press and the formation of a public sphere provided a platform for individuals to exchange ideas (Frierson, 2004), and we contend that consumption was one of those. The rising middle class with purchasing power became more receptive to advertising for consumer goods, which was part of a larger trend towards modernisation and the adoption of Western-style consumerism in the Ottoman Empire (Köse, 2007). The structural changes, and the emerging marketing efforts in the empire were reflected in the advertisement format of *Manzume-i Efkâr* during the 1870s and the newspaper's title page was filled with adverts featuring personal care products and cosmetics. Among those products were *Odeur des Pieds*, a liquid claiming to remove foot smell (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1872a), *Evalina Pommadé* claimed to strengthen hair and prevent its loss (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1872b), *Hydrocerasine*, an antiperspirant (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1873a), *La Mélanine* hair dye for voluminous blond hair (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1872c), *Savon Royal Soaps* promising a fresh and beautiful face (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1873b) and *La Céréaline* giving a natural black colour to silver hair and making people look younger (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1872d). Similarly, other fast moving consumer goods such as biscuits, chocolates, pharmaceuticals, nutritional supplements for babies like Nestlé flour (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1878a), machinery (sewing machine, lemonade machine), and intangible goods such as dental and insurance services were advertised (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1875b).

Manzume-i Efkâr's title page, which was dedicated to the adverts promoting mainly European goods and services, were in simple text formats, mostly framed and sometimes provided with a simple image. To catch the attention of the audience, the adverts sometimes were featured under the headings 'Avis Important' in French and 'Mühim İlan' in Turkish, meaning important notice, but often had a short and a catchy heading (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1875a). The prevalence of French language reflects the work of more than one market-making actor in tandem: French expatriates issued newspapers in French starting in the early 1800s, the missionaries were active in disseminating language and culture (Birsell, 2013) and politicians in tandem with businessmen sought to open the Ottoman market further to their exports (Raccagni, 1980). The advertisements under the heading of 'New Invention' generally featured a newly developed medication or cosmetic in Europe. A mouthwash advert suggested its product was developed by Dr Morel, who had been trained at the world-famous medical academy of Paris (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1875b), Académie Nationale de

Médecine, established in 1820. The advertisement claims that 'Those Who Use It Will Never Have Tooth Pain Again' (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1875b). Similarly, *La Vulnerine* cream, used to heal wounds, burns and insect bites, was advertised with the heading 'It Heals All Kinds of Wounds' (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1877a). 'No medicine can beat this' was another catchy title to advertise *Holloway Pills* which was described as 'unrivalled in curing liver, stomach, and intestinal diseases' (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1873c).

The content of these advertisements and the way the messages were delivered are similar to, if not the same as, the Western adverts of the time including both the information and symbolism (e.g. Godley, 2003; Mollanger, 2018). For example, during the 1870s *Manzume-i Efkâr* featured the advertisements of some medical products akin to the English newspaper adverts of the 1860s. The advertisement of *Pate et Sirop De Berthe a La Codeine* was positioned as a great remedy for healing colds, constant cough, and flu (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1872c). *Papier Fayard & Blayn's* main benefit (unique selling point) was to cure rheumatism, back pain and wounds, and it was symbolically positioned as superior because it was approved by the Imperial Academy of Medicine in Paris (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1875c). The same products in a similar framed format were featured in a local English newspaper, *The Lancaster Gazette* in 1863. As seen in Figure 1 and 2, the companies advertised their products in *Manzume-i Efkâr* with largely the same messages as their advertisements in Western publications. The practice of adapting the marketing communications for local markets did not fully take place in the Tanzimat era and most brands appeared for the first time in the Ottoman press without significant local adaptation, which was intended as a market-making tool.

This adoption of standardised (rather than locally adapted) advertisements contrasts with previous literature by Köse (2016) whose work shows that product selection and products were adapted to the needs of the local market of the time. Western businesses had already been familiar with the particularities of the Ottoman market and the needs of their diversified consumers since the late eighteenth century and were willing to adapt their products to the local culture for a successful tap into the Ottoman market (Köse, 2016): Nestlé introduced new products that were tailored to the local tastes and preferences, or some others were

<p>SIROP AND PATE DE BERTHE A LA CODRINE. <i>Approved by the Imperial Academy of Medicine, Paris.</i> Recommended by the best Physicians to cure COLDS, COUGHS, & CONSUMPTION. The SIROP & PATE de CODEINE of BERTHE of Paris is the best, the most agreeable, and the most efficacious Remedy. Observations collected by M.M. WILLIAMS GREGORY, Professor at the University of Edinburgh; VIGLA, Professor agrégé of the Faculty of Medicine, Physician to the Hospitals of Paris; and a number of other distinguished medical men, confirm the above opinions. 3s. per Bottle of 5oz. net. One Bottle is generally sufficient to cure a Cold taken in time. Retail—DINNEFORD and CO., 172, New Bond-street. Wholesale Dépôt in London:— M. PEREAU, 5, St. Andrew's-hill, Doctors'-common.</p>	<p>NO MORE PAINFUL DIGESTION. DRAGÉES DIGESTIVES DE PEPSINE, RETAIL Per Box. 2s. RETAIL Per Box. 2s. PREPARED ACCORDING TO THE FORMULA OF P. BERTHE. These Dragées are the most powerful and the most agreeable Digestive for persons who have painful digestion. Easy and agreeable in their use, their success is always certain. A box for trial will be forwarded to any medical man applying to Mr. Pereaue. Retail in London—Messrs. DINNEFORD & CO., 172, New Bond-street; And at the principal Chemists in every large Town of the United Kingdom. Wholesale—E. PEREAU, 5, St. Andrew's bill, E.C., London.</p>
<p>PAPIER FAYARD ET BLAYN</p>	
<p>For Gout, Rheumatism, Lumbago, Pains in the Back and Loins, Tumours, and Scrofulous Wounds. DÉPÔT — E. PEREAU, 5, ST. ANDREWS'-HILL, DOCTORS'-COMMONS, LONDON, E.C.</p>	

Figure 1. *The Lancaster Gazette*, 1863.

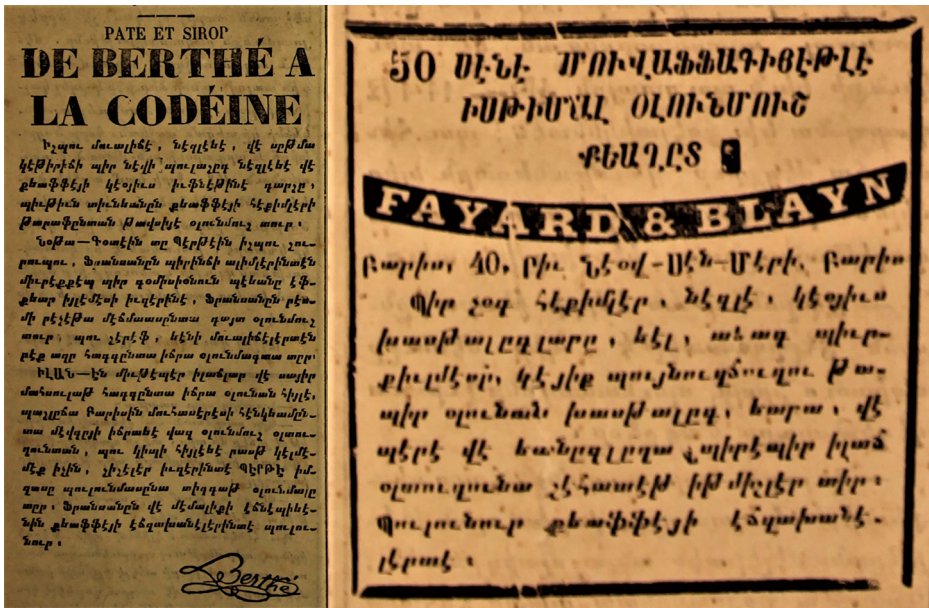


Figure 2. *Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1872c. *Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1875c.

adapted to the local religious and cultural traditions by offering special promotions during the festive seasons (Köse, 2016). Drawing on our data, except for advertising in the local languages (Ottoman Turkish, Armeno-Turkish, Karamanlidika, Armenian or Greek), it is difficult to argue that the format and the content of the adverts were adapted to the local populations. This indicates that not all elements of the marketing mix (product, price, place, and promotion) were adapted locally. On a standardization-local adaptation continuum, one element of the marketing mix (product) was locally adapted whereas another element of the marketing mix (promotion) was not.

Forging new transnational trade links through dealerships

The second mechanism with which market-making was intended was to forge a dealer network in Istanbul through B2B marketing. Some of the advertised products in *Manzume-i Efkâr* were not sold in Istanbul yet. Thus, the Western companies sought to target the business owners and merchants based in the Ottoman Empire to increase awareness of their products and to solicit business by providing warehouse addresses for those who would be interested in importing them. This coincides with the influence the Western diplomats had on the formation of commercial activity such as lowered tax rates (Exertzoglou, 2003) and therefore intended to contribute to market-making. Lemonade machines and the sewing machines were among those advertisements addressing potential companies. In Figure 3, the advertisement copy reads:

This machine is for making lemonade and fizzy drinks, the use of which is increasing every day. Those who are interested in selling the item can get the book of the machine free of charge at number 10, Şekerciler Han in Galata. (Manzume-i Efkâr, 1875d)



Figure 3. *Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1875d.

As such, both creating and targeting dealers' networks was the primary aim of these advertisements. The advertisements targeted entrepreneurs and business owners as opposed to actual consumers. At the time, embassies were influential in the success of their merchants – linking commerce and the political spheres, which helped make markets through lowered import taxes, etc. (Kasaba, 1988). Simultaneously, the advertisements served to facilitate the market expansion for the merchants of the time through recruiting dealers. The *Singer* company declared that it would give agency rights to those who intended to sell its products in major eastern cities in addition to those in Egypt and Syria and invited those who wish to obtain information on the subject to apply to the company headquarters at 39 Foster Lane Cheapside, London (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1875e). Figure 4 shows a sewing machine with an illustration; the advertisement copy is written in both Armenian script and French. The ad copy targets 'women in every household, shoemakers, tailors' and declares all textile factories could benefit from the sewing machine, which is the only one available on the market. The exact same sewing machine was positioned for both home and commercial use, which constitutes an aggressive international market entry strategy. Kupferschmidt (2004) states that the entry date of Singer sewing machines to the Ottoman lands was between 1860s and 1870s through dealerships. However, this advertisement in *Manzume-i Efkâr* in 1875 indicates that Singer was still looking for agencies in large Ottoman cities. The sewing machine, which started to be sold on a large scale through agencies in the following years, paved the way for the company to open its own branch in 1881 (Godley, 2006).

Another example of market-making through establishing local dealerships or authorised retailers can be seen in *Edward Prior's* pocket watches advertisements. During the nineteenth century, English and continental watchmakers produced large numbers of pocket watches with Ottoman numerals for the Ottoman market. Pocket watches were seen as both a fashionable accessory and a technical novelty and were highly popular among the local populous (Yagou, 2018). Among the watchmakers, London based Edward Prior's pocket watches were famous, and his advertisement addresses both sellers/dealers and



Figure 4. *Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1875e.

consumers: ‘those who want to sell or buy world famous Edward Prior watches should apply directly to the factory at 18 Powell Street East, London’ (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1875f).

A report on the Levant trade of the British states how popular English watches were in the Levant, especially those holding the signature of Edward Prior’s as they were sent by dozens to cities such as Istanbul, Thessaloniki, Mora and Izmir. Upon this high demand for his watches from the Ottoman land, the English watch manufacturer Prior was surprised and said, ‘The

pavements of the Ottoman cities must have been paved with watches' (Michoff, 1950), indicating that advertisements had, among other factors, a visible impact on consumption.

The European products and services featured on *Manzume-i Efkâr's* front page were not sold directly by the producing companies, which again confirms that creating a demand for dealerships, authorised retailers, and local partnerships through advertisements was a market-making tactic. While some advertisements sought to recruit distributors, agents, and authorised resellers, other advertisements aimed to inform the consumers about which brand or product was associated with which retailer. There were agencies and dealerships, mostly based in Istanbul and in some other urban port cities like Izmir, which officially sold various imported brands. Among these, the popular *Della Suda Pharmacy* in Pera carried numerous medical and cosmetic products and served as the official agent of many European brands. The pharmacy placed numerous advertisements which featured its name and address to inform the consumers of its position in the market as an authorised retailer for different brands. Figure 5 below shows the name of the pharmacy written in different languages, *Droguerie Centrale* and *Maison Della Sudda* in French, and *Della Suda Eczahanesi* (Della Suda Pharmacy) in Armeno-Turkish, intending to target cosmopolitan consumers of the capital. The advertisement featured the products that were sold and how many medals the pharmacy was rewarded for its success in the field (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1873e). There were numerous other pharmacies such as *Velic and His Company*, *Kasabian Pharmacy*, *Pharmacy of V. Dzanni*, *The Pharmacy of N. I. Kandzuk and His Brothers* and *A. Lefaki's Pharmacy* which served as the official agents and authorised retailers for numerous Western brands.

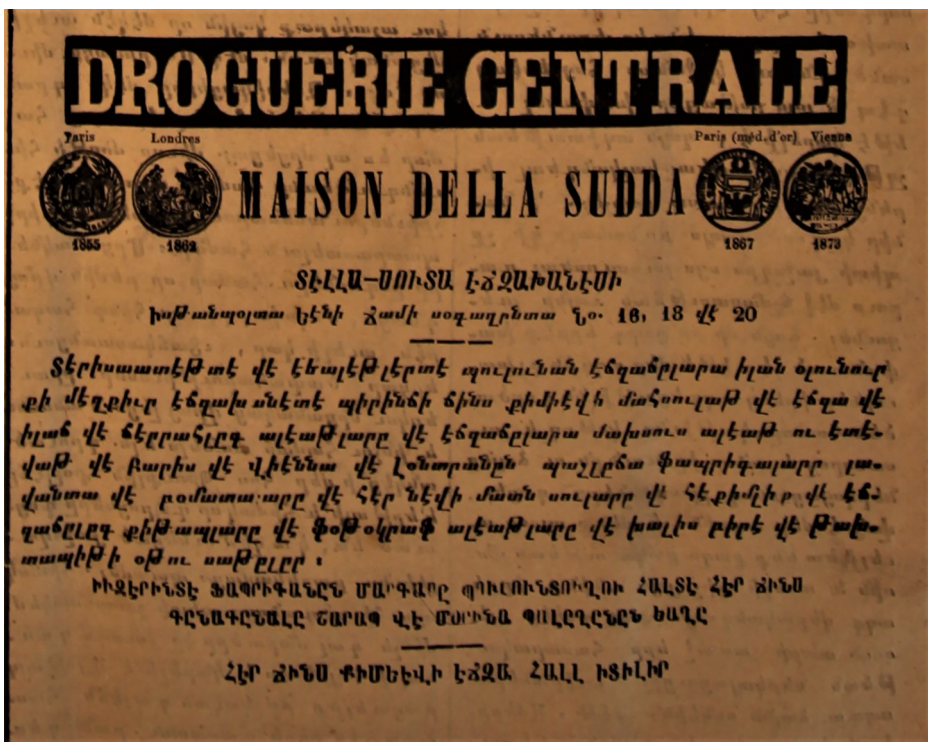


Figure 5. *Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1873e.

A pharmacist selling pills named *Pilules De Blancard* (*Blankar Habları*) in Istanbul framed the advertisement on the title page of *Manzume-i Efkâr* with the title *Contre Façons* in capital letters and warned that 'there are some shameless men who imitate our factory brand and even our signature in order to deceive the people. They substitute the main element of our pills. It is our duty to protect our patients, thus we like to warn you to avoid the fraudulent pills. Until the cheaters are punished by the government, we request you to buy the real Blancard pills from our officials and the pharmacies who are our distributors' (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1875b). These warnings serve to shape authenticity, act as positioning statements, and seek to construct both a symbolic association in the consumers' minds and a web of protection for the company.

Product positioning and legitimation: do as the royals and westerners do

The positioning and persuasion strategies that were used in the advertisements of *Manzume-i Efkâr* are numerous. For example, introducing a product by associating it with nobility, a positioning and persuasion tactic used before in Western consumer culture (see Godley, 2003 for an account of similar endorsement for Steinway pianos), was very common. In the nineteenth century, the Ottomans, under Western influences on all spheres of life, produced literature on public-health issues, personal hygiene, infant mortality, and the proper methods of feeding and rearing children (Anastassiadou, 2003; Duben & Behar, 2002). The corpus of advertisements in *Manzume-i Efkâr* shows the diversity and abundance of the personal care products, cosmetics and medicines available. These targeted the middle classes, associated the products with the aristocracy (Martin, 2009; Pope, 2003; Veblen, 2017), and therefore used the authority principle in persuasion to induce sales (Cialdini, 2009; Jones & Simons, 2017). They often named European or Russian nobility and members of the royal families who used and benefitted from the product. At the time, British, Russian, and French officials had a strong presence in both the public sphere and at the state level (Frierson, 2004), which made the reference to European nobility relevant. The positioning of the products in the advertisements offer distinction by way of association – consuming or even knowing about these goods constituted a kind of privilege through which the urban middle classes could associate with the elite. The newly emerged bourgeoisie class who resided in the cosmopolitan Ottoman capital were able to afford and consume these goods (Gekas, 2009) and the adverts were tailored towards teaching this new consumer class to demand them.

The products associated with the nobility were mostly health-related products and cosmetics. *Revalesciere*, a type of flour made of mixed grains, was advertised as a miracle cure for diarrhoea, gastrointestinal syndromes, kidney failure, anaemia, dizziness, bad breath, heartburn, heart diseases and liver problems (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1875g). The advertisement stated that the medicine developed by London based pharmacist Mr. Barn, the flour had healed 85 people among whom there were numerous people of nobility from France, Germany and England. The variety of dental care products such as teeth whitening powders and mouthwashes is also noteworthy, as it hints at the increasing (and intended) awareness of dental care among the middle class of the period. Advertising dental care products developed by famous European doctors and tested by nobility to promote healthy and fresh mouths and white teeth was a legitimation strategy reflecting advertisers' market making tactics. One of the dental products featured by *Manzume-i Efkâr* stated that:

A famous doctor from Vienna developed a dental powder whitening the teeth and giving strength to gums. (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1875f)

... the new cleaning powder cleans even the dirtiest teeth and gives them their natural whiteness, developed by the dentist of the Austrian emperor and granted the first patent from the Austrian and British governments. (Manzume-i Efkâr, 1875h)

John Gosnell and Co. also referenced European monarchs to market their 'Cherry Toothpaste'. [Figure 6](#) shows the company's advertisement featuring an endorsement by Queen Victoria of England. It also claims the Prince and Princess of Wales were among its customers (Manzume-i Efkâr, 1878b). Similarly, a hair and beard dye advert published in 1872 was advertised as the hair dye of the Queen of England and the Emperor of Russia (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1872a). Besides the dental products, the dental services provided by famous dentists were also advertised. For example, the newspaper announced that Dr M. Pellez, the dentist to the Shah of Iran and very well-known in Paris, was now treating patients in Istanbul (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1873f). The advertisement claimed M. Pellez's success in making prosthetic teeth for those without teeth and in his cavity prevented treatments (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1873f).

Another persuasion tactic to secure legitimacy and sales was highlighting the trustworthiness of the product by way of its historical legacy, the extent of its market reach, and its market success as reflected through the prizes it gained in competitions such as those held at the Vienna Exposition 1873. For instance, the advertisement of *Fayard & Blayn* introduced its paper-shaped medicine that healed cold, chest pain, and wounds as '*the paper that was used for 50 years of success*' (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1875c), constructed a legacy for the brand in the consumers' minds. Marketing a product through the awards it gained in Vienna

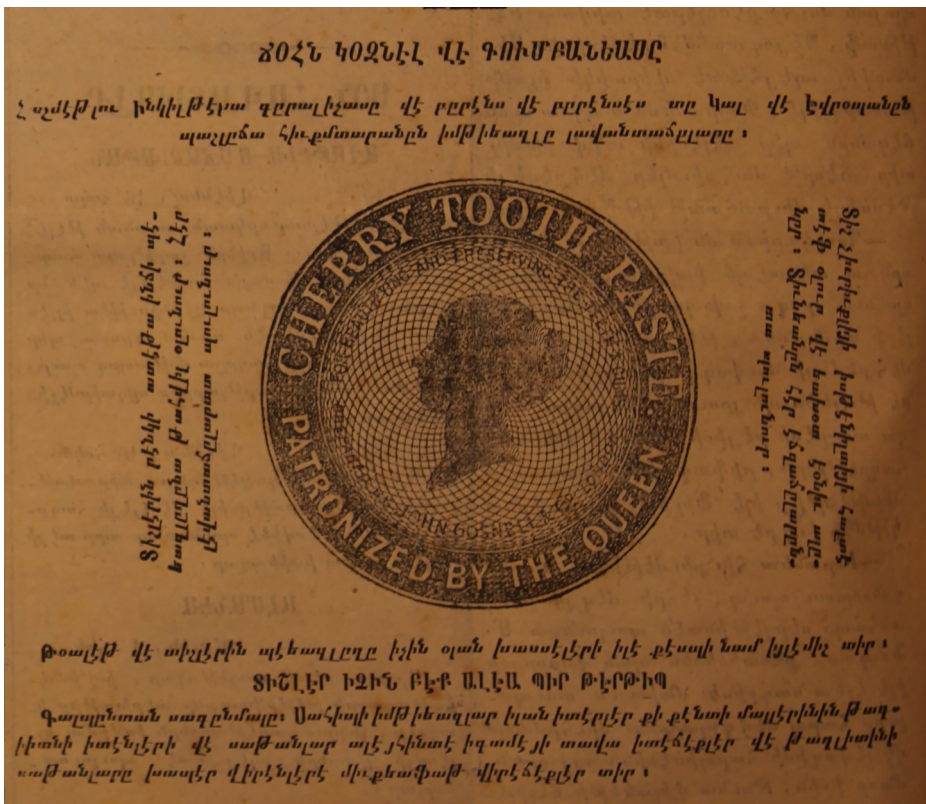


Figure 6. Manzume-i Efkâr, 1878b.

Exposition 1873 served as the authority and certification of the West, since it was an exposition intended as a showcase for Vienna's thriving bourgeoisie and was the largest, most expensive, and most ambitious event of its kind at the time (Ersoy, 2003). Thus, promoting a brand with a Vienna expo prize was a legitimation tactic as it had a Western reference point. For example, the first line of the *Vin de Bellini* (non-alcoholic, cinchona wine) advertisement stated that '*this wine was awarded the medal of merit at the exhibition held in Vienna in 1873*'. Promoting its energising, appetising, and malaria-fighting benefits, the advertisement described how widely the product was praised by the testers at the Vienna Expo 1873 and how much better it was than its equivalents (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1874a). The syrup *Quina Laroche* that claimed to give strength to the body and prevent malaria was another product which gained both a gold medal and a 16,000 French Franc reward (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1874b). Similarly, *Eau Des Féesa (Fairy Water)*, a hair and beard dye which was awarded during the Vienna Expo in 1873 was splashed extensively on the front page of *Manzume-i Efkâr*. The advert stated that the product had been tested for 10 years and proved to be the long-lasting hair dye and had also gained a gold medal in Vienna Expo 1873 (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1875f).

Thus far, we have illustrated the market-making strategies in Tanzimat era Istanbul. Now we turn our attention to the audience whom these market-making efforts targeted. The market making-strategies adopted by businesspeople to market these goods and services were addressed at what seems to be a uniformly cosmopolitan audience. However, further analysis suggests that a cosmopolitan audience who demanded and consumed the advertised goods and services did not exist outside certain parts of the urban centres and port cities. Below, we illustrate the emerging social and demographic changes in Istanbul through their reflections in the newspaper advertisements and illustrate the limited and inorganic qualities of this form of cosmopolitanism.

Limited and inorganic cosmopolitanism

Having summarised the market-making tactics of the era's advertisements, we now turn to the consumers as imagined by the business owners/marketers. Pre-modern diversity of the Ottoman Empire does not map onto terms such as cosmopolitanism, interculturalism, or multiculturalism (Eldem, 2013b) as there was a strict hierarchy separating the Muslim and non-Muslim citizens, the latter being exposed to a form of segregation despite having a great degree of autonomy (Goffman, 2002). This plurality was not one of a system intentionally promoting cultural exchange among its subjects: it was more of a system tolerating the coexistence of diverse religion and ethnicity (Eldem et al., 1999). However, during the late 1800s, the Ottoman Empire's political, economic, and social structure began to change due to the Tanzimat reforms. The reform movements prepared the ground for the ethnically/religiously diverse communities to intermingle, since they provided channels such as state administration, bureaucracy, newly established educational institutions and the press that helped to overcome the barriers among Ottoman *millets*.

Connected with these structural shifts, there was an urban and demographic change in the empire's capital. While the historical peninsula kept its authentic structure and demography to a certain extent, Galata and its extension Pera underwent a rapid transformation during the nineteenth century (Özlü, 2019). The transformed district became the forefront of an Ottoman goal of integration with the West (Eldem, 2013a) and its residents comprised

of a considerable number of European expatriates who were merchants, traders, and bankers along with local Levantines, non-Muslim and Muslim Ottomans (Shaw & Shaw, 1977). This shift in the Ottoman capital's population coincided with the emergence of a local middle class increasingly aligned with Western economic interests and cultural values. Given the diversity in the city with its potential intercommunal encounters and the nature of the advertisements featured in *Manzume-i Efkâr*, it is difficult to avoid using the term 'cosmopolitanism'. Our analysis illustrates that this cosmopolitanism was not adopted by a wide populace of the Empire however, nor did it create a distinct and original cosmopolitan culture. Rather, it spoke to a newly emerging bourgeoisie and was limited to a certain segment of the population, notably, the potential consumers of the imported products who dwelled in the major urban cities and adopted a heavily Western influenced lifestyle.

The phrasing and content of the *Manzume-i Efkâr* advertisements during the 1870s indicate that they targeted the new bureaucratic elite – the Tanzimat reformers and a sizable number of local Christians and Muslims who comprised a kind of urban bourgeoisie who were wealthy enough to afford the products that were featured. For this ethnically/religiously diverse group, the West and its approach to consumption was the reference point for a socially and culturally developed lifestyle, and French was their language of choice. French was already in use by expatriates, diplomats, state officials, and the crème of the business community, but the language became influential during the second half of the nineteenth century, and even dominant among some parts of the empire's urban population (Eldem, 2013a). This change is visible in the adverts of *Manzume-i Efkâr*. Although the language of the newspaper is Turkish with Armenian script, the frequency of French language pervading the content of the adverts is noteworthy. Most of the advertised products, whether French-made or not, often featured a French title first and then their Armeno-Turkish transliterations. For instance, *L'elixir Barberon* which was a syrup for chest infection, *Le Rob Boyveau-Laffecteur* an antiviral drug cleaning the blood (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1875e), *Fontaine De Jouvence De Mazet*, a hair dye product (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1877b), *Veritable Huile de Foie de Morue du D'de Jongh*, a medicine made of cod liver oil (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1877b) were all among those numerous advertisements provided with their French titles. The frequency and diversity of those mixed-language advertisements in *Manzume-i Efkâr* suggests that the globalising aim of the nineteenth century Ottoman cosmopolitanism was not Ottoman language but French, to unite the diverse inhabitants of the Empire. Thus, the primary aim of the European enterprises advertising in an Armeno-Turkish newspaper blended with French was to reach this newly emerging bourgeoisie in the languages and scripts that they were all familiar with, to expand their market share within the Near East. The prevalence of French indicates the intended audience was a limited segment of the urban populace who had mastered French as a second/third language.

One of the outcomes of the shift taking place in the cultural, class, urban and demographic structure of Istanbul was the diversification in the consumption trends of Istanbul residents. Beginning with the 1870s, Istanbul witnessed the emergence of a populace which no longer lived only in the inner courtyard of their home but also tried different types of entertainment by 'leading an extroverted life' (Aktar, 1998, p. 28). However, those who led such an extroverted life in this period were not only the people working for the palace, which formed the upper class of Istanbul. Growing in parallel with the expanding economic activity, this segment was the newly emerged middle class or bourgeois in the modern sense (Aktar, 1998). *Manzume-i Efkâr's* title page indicates the new lifestyle of this class segment through the

advertisements by promoting new service sectors such as European style restaurants, hotels, insurance companies and stores selling luxurious food items. The advertisement for *Hotel des Étrangers* run by M. A. Papadaki and Company hints at the new lifestyle adopted by some residents of Istanbul:

Hotel des Étrangers has very nice and clean private rooms, a good quality restaurant, and a patisserie shop where customers can buy pastries, sweets, Hungarian and French wines, liquors, and spirits. The patisserie shop also provides catering for special events such as weddings and baptism ceremonies. Orders can be collected from the city center or directly delivered to the customer's house, and the payments can be made in any valid currency. (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1873d)

The advertisement specifically notes that the hotel was not only meant for the travellers, but also for the locals who like to dine in public places. The advertisement targets the newly emerging public realm in which people socialise outdoors and spend money on luxurious services and on a diverse list of imported products. Similarly, the advert of *Compagnie Coloniale* targeted consumers for its chocolates stating:

... our chocolates, which do not include any additives, have been produced with elaboration to be beneficial to health. The company's first aim is not producing reasonably priced chocolates, but to serve people by providing the highest quality. (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1873d)

Figure 7 shows the advertisement with both French and Armeno-Turkish text including prices for different price/quality points. It highlights that the chocolate boxes are available for travellers and the prices are quoted in Francs. The advertisement copy suggests that the product targets urban cosmopolitans who are mobile and care about their diet, and who can afford the best quality for their taste. This advertisement is an indication of the emergence of a newly emerged middle class or bourgeois in the modern sense in Istanbul, shaped by the expanding economic activity and diversification in consumption trends. However, it

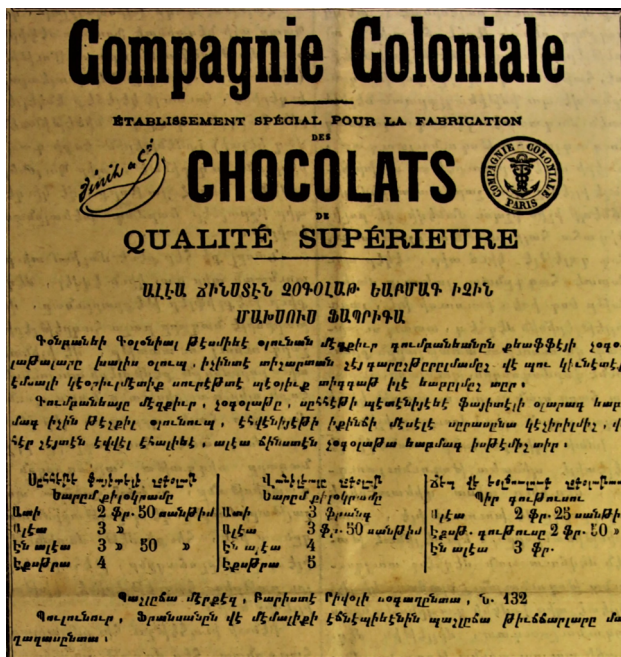


Figure 7. *Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1873d.

is important to note that this cosmopolitan group was limited to a certain segment of the population, those who had the means to afford, access imported products, and be mobile.

Another new service targeting the bourgeoisie cosmopolitan dwellers of the city was insurance. The advertisements of the European insurance companies such as *La Société D'assurance (Manzume-i Efkâr, 1875b)*, *London & Lancashire Fire Insurance Company (Manzume-i Efkâr, 1875g)*, *North British and Mercantile (Manzume-i Efkâr, 1873d)* and *Lloyd Suisse (Manzume-i Efkâr, 1872a)* were often featured on the title page of *Manzume-i Efkâr*. After the Pera fire of 1870, the emerging need to protect goods provided a potential ground for the insurance companies. The activities of the insurance companies that had started during the Tanzimat era initially covered the port cities where ship trade was active. Istanbul, both a port city and having suffered from the 1870 fire, was seen as a good market for the French, German, and English insurance companies to advertise their services. Initially, amidst the capitulations, insurance companies had started their practices without any legal framework to follow and the foreign embassies were reduced to intervening in case of property damage to enable the insurance market to work (see Kahya, 2007). Insurance was declared not compatible with Islamic principles by prominent clerics (Kahya, 2007), and therefore it is reasonable to assume the advertisements primarily targeted the non-Muslim communities. Mostly based in Galata and Pera, these companies advertised that they would insure shops, companies, houses, and furniture against fire risk (*Manzume-i Efkâr, 1876*). As seen below in [Figures 8](#) and [9](#) are *North British and Mercantile Insurance Company* and *Lloyd Suisse* insurance

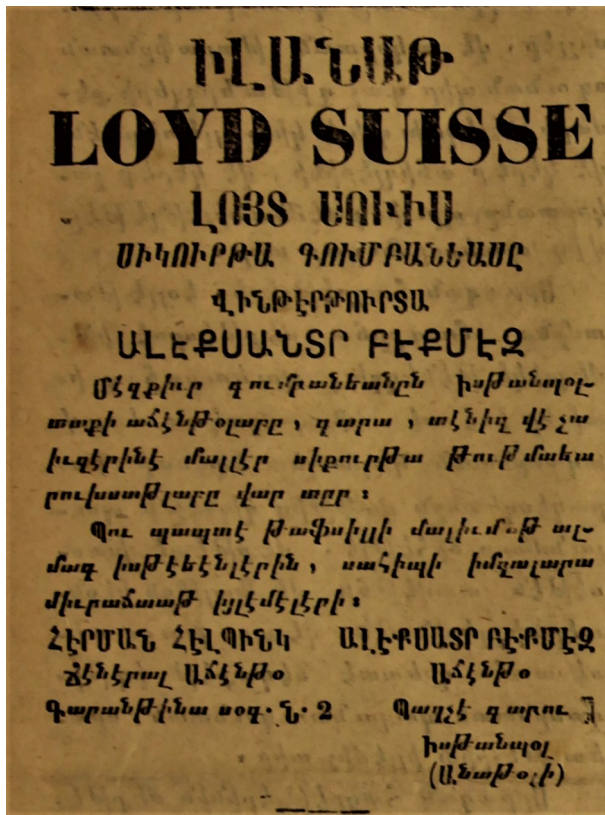


Figure 8. *Manzume-i Efkâr, 1872a.*

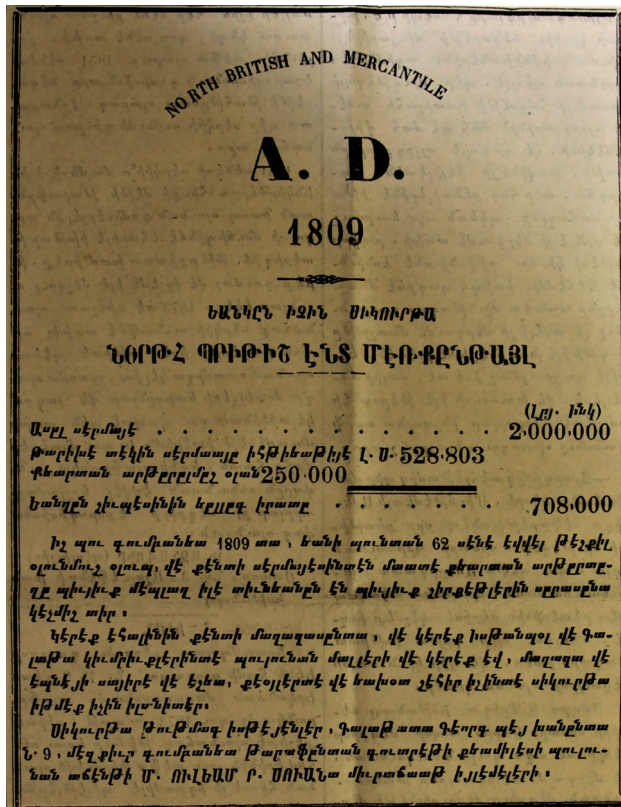


Figure 9. *Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1873d.

advertisements, both advertisement copies mix the Latin alphabet with Armenian alphabet, which itself stands as a testament to the cosmopolitanism that was envisaged by the companies:

Like many others that were advertised in *Manzume-i Efkâr*, all insurance companies and pharmacies selling European goods and services were based in either Galata or Pera. For especially the category of insurance, as it was deemed unsuitable with an Islamic way of life (Kahya, 2007), the majority of Muslim readers would not be potential customers, which limits cosmopolitanism as envisaged by the newspaper advertisements. The same limitation, that not all products and services can and will be used uniformly by the cosmopolitan body of consumers, is also true for the alcoholic beverages market.

The district was home to new enterprises in service of the emerging Istanbul bourgeoisie. Given that many of the expatriate population lived and worked in the combined area of Galata and Pera, accounting for roughly a quarter of the population of the capital city, the proportion of expatriates rose to unprecedented levels, justifying the ‘European’ labels covered in those districts (Eldem, 2013a). Its openness for change made the district a point of attraction for liberal Turks as well, especially the new generation of Ottoman elite, who admired Europe and the Western way of life and who moved to the region or at least regularly visited the area (Özliü, 2019). *Manzume-i Efkâr* adverts clearly reflect this newfound interest and cosmopolitan outlook in consumption all the while seeking to build various segments of loyal consumers. However, according to Köse (2016), the relationship between

Galata/Pera and the old city including the districts such as Eminönü, Bahçekapı, Tahtakale in Istanbul was far more intricate than a simple dichotomy between modern and traditional neighbourhoods. The two areas had numerous connections and interactions, and a diverse mix of residents and businesses. Köse (2016) notes that various Western shops were located in both the European quarter (Galata/Pera districts) and the old city. Despite these, our data reveals that the connection between the two districts became visible only after the Tanzimat era, as advertisements featured in *Manzume-i Efkâr* highlight a clear distinction between the European quarter and the rest of the city. For example, it is very rare to see an advertisement in the newspaper announcing local goods sold outside the Pera or Galata region. One of those rare advertisements featured *The Company of Hapetian and Perdahcian* (a company owned by a local Ottoman Armenian) announced:

...all kinds of grains, which are both cheaper and better quality than the goods of many other merchants, are sold either by okka (Ottoman metric measurement equal to 1.283 gr) or by bags. We invite all Armenians to come and shop from our store to help Armenian trade improve. (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1872b)

The store's address is Eminönü, which was outside the European quarter but in the historical peninsula known as the old city. The company owners were evidently overwhelmed by the competition created by the prevalence of European goods and traders and encouraged their community to contribute to Armenian businesses by highlighting lower prices and community consciousness. Per Dwight (1901), the effects of Western merchants on the commercial competition in the Ottoman Empire got even stronger by the end of the century and the large Western stores posed a threat to local merchants with their novel distribution and marketing strategies along with the way they presented their goods in domestic retail trade.

While the European products in the advertisements were mostly offered with European metric units, such as pint, litre, metre or kilo, the advert of the Armenian stores used Ottoman metric units indicating the district's difference from the West-oriented Pera. Similarly, another advertisement with no company name, but an address, announced:

... at the entrance of Mahmud Pasha, Kaşıkçılar Han number 10 and 11, all kinds of broadcloth, castor, frieze and cashmere for making trousers are sold with cubits. The goods we sell are first class quality, made in the best factories in Paris but much cheaper than other merchants selling similar items. (*Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1873e)

The advertisement informs the reader that while the products are imported from Paris, the shop is in the Eminönü district and that their prices are much more affordable than the equivalent shops in Pera or Galata. The location of the shop denoted a different target segment than those who shopped in the Western districts.

Considering this diverse city with a distinct segment deliberately wishing to belong to the broader world of Western culture, it is difficult to avoid using the term 'cosmopolitanism'. As per Eldem's (2013a) description of Levantine cosmopolitanism, which does not limit the notion to Levantine society but argues cosmopolitanism was destined to remain extremely marginal among the Empire's and region's populace. Seeing that it is hard to generalise this form of cosmopolitanism to the entire Ottoman empire, we provide a more nuanced term within the Ottoman context and describe it as 'limited and inorganic' cosmopolitanism. It was limited as it was restricted not only to the select major urban areas of the empire, but also to certain segments/classes of the populace.

Instead of establishing an authentic culture embraced by a wide populace, this limited cosmopolitanism was also inorganic because it adopted a Western language (French), European business practices and imported western social and cultural codes in a pragmatic manner without adapting them to the local particularities which existed in the majority of the country. Thus, rather than a philosophical ideology, Ottoman cosmopolitanism was a regional social praxis (Eldem, 2013a) which is reflected through the market making practices of the Tanzimat era. As argued by Eldem (2013a, p. 222), this type of cosmopolitanism occurs as a by-product of Westernisation, lacks a new authentic common culture, and is characterised by 'London-inspired business praxis'. We contend that such cosmopolitanism is inorganic because of the specific practices of the business world such as standardised use of marketing communications and brand legitimisation tactics without any adaptations to the local context: it speaks to an inorganically induced set of consumers who are selected and consolidated not because of a common culture but because of a common interest in these businesses' products and services.

Conclusion

First, our study contributes to the literature on market-making tactics in the late nineteenth century in general and in the non-West in particular. Within business history studies, market-making practices have received little attention in the non-West during this period. As such, our study fills this gap. Second, our study builds on the previous studies of business history in the Ottoman Empire (Karababa, 2012; Karababa & Ger, 2011; Soydemir & Erçek, 2023; Yavuz, 2011), in the non-West (Köse, 2016, 2019; Loveridge, 2021; Min, 2013; Sreekumar, 2018; Thomas, 2016) and in the late nineteenth century (Godley, 2003; Mollanger, 2018; Norris, 1990; Ramon-Muñoz, 2020). Our study also complements Soydemir and Erçek (2023) in that they provide the transformation of institutional logics during the era, and we provide the market-making practices, which are both related to the integration of the Ottoman economy and businesses into the capitalist system of its era. Our study contributes to the scant knowledge we have about the role of advertisements and advertising in market-making, especially during the nineteenth century. As advertisers imbue goods and services with symbolic associations and value as envisioned by the manufacturers and/or corporations (Jhally, 2014), our study grounds them as agents in the market-making arena and charts their tactics. We therefore contribute to the studies on market-making by focusing on marketing, as suggested by Arajuo (2007) and pioneering the study of advertising techniques as market-making tactics. While doing so we draw on relations and power dynamics between different actors (per Venkatesh & Peñaloza, 2015) in the Empire such as political, economic, and legal.

Additionally, our study complements studies on market-making in the early 1900s. Basci (2005) studied *Women's World*, a magazine published between 1913 and 1921 targeting middle- and upper-class Muslim women, and its advertisements. Our study complements her study in the sense that we provide the analysis of brands, products, and services marketed to both Muslim and non-Muslim women and the market making mechanisms used by companies in the preceding decades in the Levant. On the other hand, Godley (2003) had charted the relative importance of foreign entrants in the British retailing industry between 1850 and 1962. We now provide the Ottoman counterpart to this picture and illustrate the market-making tactics of the foreign entrants into Ottoman retailing in the late 1800s. We

show that the advertisements placed in *Manzume-i Efkar* are standardised versions of Western advertisements with very little local adaptation (such as language/script used), that dealer and agent networks and/or authorised retailers were forged to aid in market-making, and that brands and products were legitimated using mostly the same techniques as in the West (e.g. Royal family endorsements, highlighting brand legacy, etc.). It is interesting to note that since the products were imported from the West, the celebrity endorsers or institutions who provided credibility and endorsement were also of Western origin (i.e. the European monarchs, the Vienna expo). The consumption habits of local royals and nobility are not the reference points in the advertisements.

Second, our study complements previous studies in versions of cosmopolitanism (Eldem, 2013a, 2013b; Freitag, 2014) and links the literatures of business history to cosmopolitanism. We illustrate that to a degree, the Tanzimat era Ottoman cosmopolitanism was shaped by business practices which ingrained marketing and consumption codes, and further highlighted the spatial divisions within the city such as Pera vs. Eminönü instead of promoting further mingling among the metropole's populace. Available brands were circulated to a specific and limited segment, strengthening the ties of this community with the emerging international consumer segment. As the literature suggests, while there is some interaction between Galata/Pera and the rest of the city, this did not directly translate into a direct social interaction between the two. In particular, we term this cosmopolitanism 'limited and inorganic' because it is confined to a limited set of consumers and neighbourhoods, and it originates from not a common authentic culture and intercultural encounters but from a keen interest in the products, services, and lifestyle choices made available by Western businesses. In doing this, the study also contributes to Eldem's (2013a) by expanding it to offer a more comprehensive analysis by drawing on numerous advertisements.

The limitation of our study is that we have focused on a newspaper that caters to a particular segment of the Ottoman population – educated and upper middle-class, and there is an over-representation of these consumers' needs reflected in the advertisements. Consequently, future research could focus on Ottoman Turkish and other Armenian newspaper *ilanats* to investigate whether they targeted Muslim and non-Muslim working-class populations to unearth the market-making strategies they might have employed. This will provide a partial complementary picture to the one we provide here. Secondly, future research could focus on market-making practices and competition from the perspective of the local businesses that are outside of the Western quarter of the capital. Finally, we invite scholars to interrogate the market-making capacities of advertisements in both Western and non-Western contexts.

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Notes on contributors

Kubra Uygur, a lecturer in Human Resource Management at Brunel University London, UK, researches ethnic minorities, business history, historical marketing, and organisational behaviour. She critically examines the impact of media and communication on organisational behaviours and consumer culture, with a focus on historical and cultural contexts.

Cagri Yalkin is Associate Professor of Marketing at Middle East Technical University, Northern Cyprus Campus. Her research focuses on audience reception, nation-branding, and post-colonialism, underpinned by a critical consideration of brands and digital platforms.

Selcuk Uygur, Senior Lecturer in Business Ethics at Brunel Business School, specializes in work ethic, social responsibility, and diversity management. An active HRM-OB group member, he's also been an Academic Member of the CIPD since 2018.

ORCID

Kubra Uygur  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-1000-3913>

Cagri Yalkin  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-1114-5454>

Selcuk Uygur  <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-4484-9164>

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