

# Facing the West: Greece in the Great Exhibition of 1851

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This paper explores the prehistory of industrial design in Greece, through original research on the Greek participation in the exhibition which took place in London in 1851, and is known as “The Great Exhibition” or as “The Exhibition of 1851.” Although the participation of the young Greek state was very modest, at the same time it was a remarkable event which triggered numerous reactions, both positive and negative. This paper outlines the condition of the Greek state in 1851, presents facts about the Greek participation in the Great Exhibition, and discusses reactions by Greeks as well as relevant opinions expressed by foreigners. This research is situated in the context of an emerging local design historiography, which bears close links to economic and social history. Since this is research in progress, this text is meant to be an introduction to the subject.<sup>1</sup>

To begin with, it must be stressed that, in 1851, the modern Greek state was only two decades old, and it was undergoing a phase of organizational and political development. Various internal factors constituted serious obstacles in the growth of the production and financial sectors.<sup>2</sup> The production base remained archaic and the development rate was negligible. The country was still in a pre-industrial, pre-banking, and even pre-property state.<sup>3</sup> The country was devastated after more than a decade of independence war, it was very sparsely populated (seventeen inhabitants per square kilometer in 1839), the natural resources were underused, and urbanization was in an embryonic state. The majority of the population lived in villages, where exchange based on money was still unknown. The local economy was based on agrarian and self-sufficient ways of living. Before the “take-off” of the Greek industry in the late 1860s, there is no point in talking about industrialization, or even “early industrialization.”<sup>4</sup> The first bank, the National Bank of Greece, was founded in 1841, and remained the only institution of this kind for more than two decades.<sup>5</sup> The journalist and writer Stefanos Xenos, who attended the Great Exhibition as a correspondent for Greek newspapers, points out the difficulties of presenting the exhibition to the Greek audience, of describing and comparing objects and situations unseen by the majority of the local population: “[We Greeks have] “neither the things, nor the names, nor the shapes.”<sup>6</sup>

The British newspaper *Morning Chronicle* refers to certain historical conditions in an attempt to provide explanations for the underdevelopment of Greek industry in mid-nineteenth century.

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- 1 An earlier version of this paper was presented in “Mind the Map,” 3rd International Conference on Design History and Design Studies, held in Istanbul, Turkey, in July 2002.
  - 2 Konstantinos Papathanassopoulos, “The Merchant Marine: From Mast to Steam” in Dimitris G. Tsaousis, ed., *Aspects of the Greek Society in the 19th Century*, (Athens: Hestia, 1983), 74–75. [in Greek]
  - 3 Aliko Vaxevanoglou, *The Social Reception of Innovation: The Example of Electrification in Inter-war Greece* (Athens: Neohellenic Research Institute/ National Hellenic Research Foundation, 1996), 71. [in Greek, with French summary] Also: Vassilis Panayotopoulos, *Modernisation and Industrial Revolution in the Balkans in the 19th Century*, (Athens: Themelio, 1980), 233. [in Greek].
  - 4 Christina Agriantoni, *The Beginnings of Industrialization in Greece during the 19th Century* (Athens: Educational and Cultural Foundation of the Commercial Bank of Greece, 1986), 15. [in Greek]. See also: Thomas W. Gallant, *Modern Greece* (London: Arnold, 2001), 33–40.
  - 5 Agriantoni, 158–160. See also: Christos Hadziiosif, *The Elderly Moon: Industry in the Greek Economy, 1830–1940* (Athens: Themelio, 1993), 201–212. [in Greek].
  - 6 Zefyros Kafkalides, *Stefanos Xenos—Scenes from the Drama of Hellenism in the East and the West (1821–1894)* (Athens: Kastaniotis, 1988), 128. [in Greek] See also note 42 below.

The main issues highlighted are the financial system of the Ottoman Empire, the absence of infrastructure, the lack of capital and raw materials, and the complete lack of legal guarantees for the safety of individuals and property during the four centuries of Turkish occupation.<sup>7</sup> To these long-term factors, one also should add the political situation in Greece in the two decades preceding the Great Exhibition. Despite her independence, Greece remained weak and insecure on a political level. In many ways, the war for liberation from a foreign yoke had resulted merely in a change of masters. The country was ruled by King Otto of Bavaria, who had been imposed by the great powers of the time: England, France, and Russia. Greek politics were dominated by the respective parties, the so-called English, French, and Russian parties.<sup>8</sup> The autocratic governance by Otto led to significant tensions, and finally to the uprising of 1843, which ended the age of absolutism and marked the beginning of Otto's constitutional monarchy (which lasted until his final deportation in 1862).<sup>9</sup> Despite the constitutional reform, the country's dependence on foreign powers remained strong. In 1850, the British fleet enforced a three-month blockade of Greek ports and threatened to bombard Athens in retaliation for the attack by an Athens mob on a Jewish merchant who was a British subject. These actions paralyzed all economic activity, and generated widespread anti-British feelings.<sup>10</sup>

Generally speaking, the Greek participation in the Great Exhibition should be viewed in the light of the prevailing ideology of the times regarding the role of the national state.

The Greek War of Independence was the first major successful war of independence by a subject population against an imperial power since the American revolution of 1776. It was the first successful nationalist revolution, and it became a model for later nationalist struggle elsewhere. The Greek war for liberation also must be seen in the context of Europe during the heyday of the conservative counter-revolution that dominated the great power politics after the defeat of Napoleon.<sup>11</sup> After independence was achieved, the Greek state remained a not yet fully formed apparatus, which was looking for ways to consolidate itself and obtain recognition from its European protectors.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, the institution of the state, together with other institutions "imported" from the West, had to operate in Greece within a totally different system of collective representations and worldviews resulting from the country's historical trajectory. Such imported institutions become idealized, perfect exemplars which have to be imitated and approached, an attitude which leads to a strong cultural and ideological dependence from the original models, i.e., from the West.<sup>13</sup>

The Great Exhibition was the culmination of similar events which already had been organized on a national level in France since the end of the eighteenth century, and in various European countries in the first half of the nineteenth century. In concentrat-

7 Georgios Anastassopoulos, *A History of Greek Industry 1840–1940, Vol. I (1840–1884)* (Athens: Greek Publication Company, 1947), 108–9. [In Greek].

8 Gallant, *Modern Greece*, 31–33.

9 *Ibid.*, 33–44.

10 *Ibid.*, 42–43.

11 *Ibid.*, 9.

12 Rodanthi Tzanelli, "Haunted by the 'Enemy' Within: Brigandage, Vlachian/Albanian Greekness, Turkish "Contamination" and Narratives of Greek Nationhood in the Dilessi/Marathon Affair (1870)," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 20:1 (May 2002): 47–74.

13 Constantine Tsoukalas, "State and Society in 19th Century Greece" in Tsaousis, 40–41.

ing on the progression from raw materials to manufactured goods, through technical processes and the application of design values, the exhibitions reflected the economic geography of industrial development, of specialization, and of international markets. Furthermore, the exhibitions provided insights into domestic developments in art and design, and in the expression of national character as well as in the articulation of private and governmental agencies in planning and funding. They were at the same time global and local, reducing complex sets of economic, scientific, and cultural interactions to one vast display.<sup>14</sup> The Crystal Palace was designed and constructed specifically for the needs of the exhibition in Hyde Park, in “the great European heart called London.”<sup>15</sup> Reports by the Greek press at the time refer to the “crystal store,”<sup>16</sup> the “glass palace,”<sup>17</sup> the “large and infinite shelter of Hyde Park,”<sup>18</sup> and the “great building, in one part of which free Greece can be found.”<sup>19</sup> The exhibition, which has become a touchstone for the nineteenth century, was inaugurated on the first of May 1851, and remained open until the 31st of October of that same year. During this period, it was visited by six million people.<sup>20</sup>

In the vast space defined by the glass and iron shell of the Crystal Palace, practically everything was presented, including products from a total of 17,000 exhibitors. Generally, exhibits were divided into four sections (Raw Materials, Machinery, Manufactures, and Fine Arts), each one of which was further divided into classes.<sup>21</sup> The exhibition was organized in an extremely systematic fashion, and the official catalogue was a three-volume publication with no precedent in history.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, a complex prize-giving system was established, with committees consisting of judges from all over the world, appointed by the respective governments. The multi-volume catalogues with the verdict of the juries and the comments by the commissioners complement what has been considered as “the best documented event of the nineteenth century”<sup>23</sup> and anticipate the times when information and its management will dominate society. Thanks to the participation of the industrially advanced countries, the Great Exhibition became the most important and largest event of its kind that had been organized, in a scale that surpassed by far everything that happened before it. Of the nations invited to take part, thirty-four accepted, including Greece.<sup>24</sup> A great percentage of the exhibits consisted of raw materials and craft products. The Greek products also belonged in these two groups. Such exhibits were, in one sense, off the mark as they didn’t contribute to the discourse of the relationship between art and industry.<sup>25</sup>

The participation of Greece in the Great Exhibition, however, was indicative of the efforts to organize the country according to European standards and to open up the Greek economy to the international market. Although the Greek presence was rather poor compared to the industrial innovations presented in Crystal Palace by the advanced countries, it provided the opportunity for direct

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- 14 Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas, The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibition, and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 3–26.
- 15 *Pandora* 2: 43 (1/1/1852): 1031. [in Greek].
- 16 *Ionian Bee (Ioniki Melissa)* No. 16 (11/5/1851): 187. [in Greek].
- 17 *Ionian Bee (Ioniki Melissa)*, No. 18 (21/6/1851): 214. [in Greek].
- 18 *Pandora* 2: 30 (15/6/1851): 725 [in Greek].
- 19 Anastassopoulos, *A History of Greek Industry 1840–1940, Vol. 1 (1840–1884)* 117.
- 20 Louise Purbrick, ed., *The Great Exhibition of 1851—New Interdisciplinary Essays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 1–25.
- 21 *Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851. (Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue, by Authority of the Royal Commission in Three Volumes)* (London: 1852).
- 22 *Great Exhibition, etc.*, 82.
- 23 Francis D. Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution* (London: Evelyn, Adams and Mackay, 1968), 165.
- 24 Greenhalgh, 12.
- 25 Renato De Fusco, *History of Design* (Athens: Nova Publications, 1989), 53 [in Greek].



(figure 1). It was situated close to the Crystal Fountain and next to the Koh-I-Noor diamond, both great attractions.<sup>29</sup> The total floor space originally allotted to Greece was 186 square meters, but only ninety-three square meters were usable after deducting the space needed for passages.

As one might expect, the Greek presence in the exhibition was modest, consisting of only raw materials and some craft products. Despite the focus of the exhibition on industrialization, some of the Greek exhibits attracted attention, were praised for their quality, and received a number of prizes.<sup>30</sup>

The Greek exhibits were mainly raw materials: various mineral products (including several types of marble), honey, tobacco, figs, black currant, and sponges, as well as processed leather skins, silk embroideries, woodcarvings, and marble bas-reliefs. The thirty-one exhibits came from all over Greece, which, at the time occupied about half the area that it occupies today. The distribution of the official Greek exhibitors was as follows: Athens: ten (including the Greek Government, the monastery of Pendeli, and the monastery of Hymettus); Euboea island: four; Central Greece: two; Peloponnese: ten; Cyclades Islands: five; Hydra Island: one; and Smyrna (Izmir, Turkey, outside the boundaries of the Greek state, but with a thriving Greek community): one. Among them, it is possible to identify several of the pioneers of the Greek proto-industrialization that was going to take place in the following decades.<sup>31</sup>

Products by several Greek producers and merchants also were included in the official Turkish section. These were representing the Greek communities of Istanbul, Thessaloniki (Salonica), Rhodes, Crete, Cyprus, and other places still belonging to the Ottoman Empire in 1851.<sup>32</sup> The Ionian Islands (west of mainland Greece) at the time were under the protection of the British Empire, and exhibited in the "Colonies and Dependencies" section, together with the other Mediterranean colonies, Malta and Gibraltar. The Ionian Islands presented silver and golden jewelry, silk scarves, embroidered aprons, objects made of olive wood, and some raw materials. Some of these exhibits impressed the public and the jurors, who commented that "the specimens of embroidery are extremely rich and beautiful."<sup>33</sup> "The most remarkable products (from the Ionian Islands) are the splendid aprons which the peasant-girls of that country wear. These aprons are the ordinary work and everyday wear of the peasant-girls of Corfu."<sup>34</sup> Greece in a sense was present in some other pavilions as well, through the influence of classicism on products such as Wedgwood porcelain, but also through idealized representations of antiquity such as *The Greek Slave*, a sculpture by the American Hiram Power (figure 2).<sup>35</sup> These objects of course were irrelevant to the realities of the newly-founded Greek state.

Regarding the official Greek participation, honorable mentions were awarded to specimens of steatite (also known as soap stone or French chalk of commerce), honey from two different

26 Antonia Mertysi, *The Artistic Education of the Youth in Greece (1863–1945)* (Athens: Neohellenic Research Institute/National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2000), 103. [in Greek].

27 See also: Peter B. MacKeith and Kerstin Smeds, *The Finland Pavilions—Finland at the Universal Expositions 1900–1992* (Tampere: Kustannus City Oy, 1992), 9–10.

28 Vissarion Stavrakas, ed., "The Hellenism in England," *Kathimerini* (special section, 9/2/1997) [in Greek].

29 *First report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851* (London: Clowes & Sons, 1852). See also Jane Shadel Spillman, *Glass from World's Fairs, 1851–1904* (NY: The Corning Museum of Glass, 1986), 8–9.

30 *Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851, Reports by the Juries on the Subjects in the Thirty Classes into which the Exhibition Was Divided*, (London: Printed for the Royal Commission, William Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street and Charing Cross, 1852), xxxv–cxix.

31 Agriantoni, *The Beginnings of Industrialization in Greece during the 19th Century* especially the first and second parts.

32 *Great Exhibition*, 1385–1399.

33 *Ibid.*, 947.

34 *Ibid.*

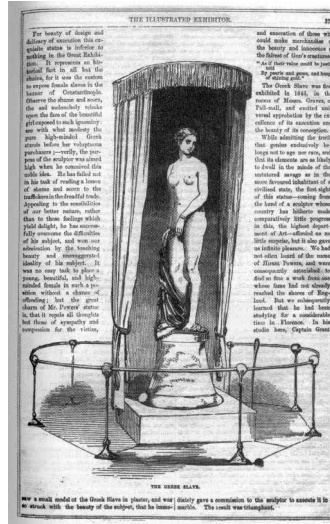
35 Purbrick, *The Great Exhibition of 1851—New Interdisciplinary Essays*, 89 and 188.

Figure 2 (left)

“The Greek Slave,” by American sculptor Hiram Power. From *The Illustrated Exhibitor*, Vol. 1 (London: 1851).

Figure 3 (right)

Traditional, embroidered male costume. From the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851. (Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue, by Authority of the Royal Commission in Three Volumes) (London: 1852).



36 Stefanos Xenos, *The Great Exhibition* (London: Wertheimer & Co., 1852), 166 [in Greek]. See also: *Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations*, Vol. 2, “Greek Products—In the Great Exhibition of London,” *Pandora* Vol. B, Issue 44, (15/1/1852): 1062 [in Greek]; and correspondence by Stefanos Xenon quoted in: Anastassopoulos, *A History of Greek Industry 1840-1940, Vol. 1 (1840-1884)*, 117.

37 *Pandora*, 2: 44 (15/1/1852): 1062.

38 *Ibid.*

39 *Manuscript No KG861*, Gennadius Library, Athens, 42 [in Greek].

40 *Pandora* (15/1/1852): 1062.

41 *Great Exhibition*, 1407.

42 It has to be stressed, however, that the English-language differentiation between “artist” and “designer” could not be properly conveyed in the Greek language, since the concept of “design” was nonexistent. In a Greek text, Agathangelos was mentioned as “one of the most experienced and skillful men in the art of engraving, appointed as professor in the School of Arts” (*Manuscript No. KG861*, 39). A few years later, he was described as “teacher of woodcarving in the Polytechnic” (*Pandora*, 8: 169, (1/4/1857): 19 [in Greek]. Unfortunately, Greek design terminology remains ambiguous till today, thus adding to widespread ignorance regarding the design domain, and contributing to its low status. For a discussion of these issues, see: Artemis Yagou, “What Is Design? The Issue of Greek Terminology in the Area of Industrial Design,” *3rd Conference of the Hellenic Society for Terminology: “Greek Language and Terminology”* (Conference Proceedings) (Athens: 2001), 129–137 [in Greek and English].

regions, sponges, and embroidered costumes for men (figure 3).<sup>36</sup> The costumes actually were the only Greek exhibits that could be regarded as mass-produced objects.<sup>37</sup> The gold-embroidered, traditional male costume from Athens impressed the jurors, and it was considered as representing the Greek spirit and individuality.<sup>38</sup> It was also acknowledged that the quality of this work was not irrelevant with the training received by its creators at the School of Arts in Athens (which later became the National Technical University of Athens).<sup>39</sup> Also, the Reverent Agathangelos, professor in the School of Arts, was honored with a golden medal by Queen Victoria for his delicate woodcarvings (figure 4).<sup>40</sup> By the way, Agathangelos is mentioned in the Official Catalogue as “Designer and Artist.”<sup>41</sup> This must be the first usage of the term “designer” in the Greek context, as well as the first case of differentiation between “artist” and “designer.”<sup>42</sup>

But what were the impressions generated by the Greek participation? On the one hand, there was a series of optimistic responses in the Greek press. The Athenian journal *Pandora* comments: “Although small, although poor, we can, if supported, improve industry.”<sup>43</sup> On the occasion of the prizes awarded *Pandora* remarks: “Is it then possible for small Greece to boast that she hasn’t appeared as a small and insignificant satellite on the huge stage in which giants and titans have astonished the world?”<sup>44</sup> The correspondent Xenos notes: “The Greek press has praised us poetically [...] because indeed we have a future, and a great one.”<sup>45</sup> But most of the comments about the Greek presence were not so positive. Xenos, himself, expresses his disillusionment by the Greek participation by saying: “Greece could only demonstrate these plain, very plain things [...] in these industrial Olympic Games.” He then criticizes the Greek press and the government for not sufficiently supporting the event.<sup>46</sup>

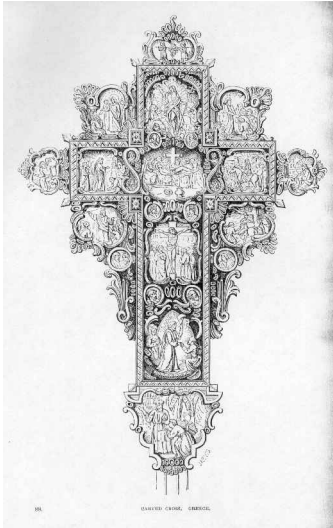


Figure 4  
 Cross, carved in wood. From the *Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851*. (*Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue, by Authority of the Royal Commission in Three Volumes*) (London: 1852)

The French writer Edmond About later reports:  
 [...] I brought back to memory what Greece had sent to the exhibition of London. I recalled the disappointment I had experienced while entering the zone which had been assigned to Greek products, when I saw honey in a jar, Corinthian currants, a bit of oil and a bit of wine in bottles, some cotton, some madder-root, a handful of figs, a few acorns, a marble cube, and a showcase with some Greek dresses.<sup>47</sup>

Referring to a similar exhibition that was going to take place in Paris in 1855, he comments: “The Greek industry remains at the same point, and we will all see again in Paris the painful sight that I saw in London. [...] All the industrial products consumed in the Greek kingdom come from abroad. In Greece, they do not know how to make one of the knives sold in Paris for five pennies!”<sup>48</sup> Finally, About makes an ironic comment about the self-centered mentality of the locals: “In the opinion of Greeks, all the events in Europe have Greece as their core and purpose. If England organized an exhibition, she did so in order to promote the products of Greece.”<sup>49</sup>

Charles Strong, Professor of Greek in Oxford, poet, and admirer of the Greek culture, exclaims: “Poor Greece.... You have come with simple clothes in this brilliant wedding, although you are the mother of this infinite world!”<sup>50</sup> In a similar mood, the English newspaper *Morning Chronicle* reports: “Greece participates in the exhibition only to remind us of her presence, because it is impossible to assume that the natural and manufactured products of the country consist only of the few specimens of marbles, textiles, and dry fruit presented. [...] Perhaps, continues the British journalist, the Greek industry was afraid to show her smallness, as the country has just been released from the chains of slavery and the difficulties of a turbulent society. However, there were many serious reasons to excuse Greece in the eyes of everyone. It seems that Greece chose not to present herself properly, out of extreme modesty. This event is very sad.”<sup>51</sup>

The situation of the liberated Greek state in 1851 also is described by the *Morning Chronicle* as follows: “Today, Greece is a commercial and exceptionally naval nation, she doesn’t work for any foreign ruler, and she is not forced to produce and consume products of a foreign industry. She exports significant quantities of cereals, dry fruit, olive oil, silk, cotton, leather, sponges. Greece could utilize her income from export in order to improve greatly her agriculture and industry, or obtain the necessary machinery until she could manage to produce them herself. Unfortunately, the Greek exhibits do not provide a full picture of the development of Greek industry; the rare Greek textiles do not differ at all from the textiles sent by Turkey. The

43 *Pandora* (15/1/1852): 1062.

44 *Ibid.*

45 Correspondence by Stefanos Xenos for the magazine *Amalthia* of Izmir, quoted in Mertyri, 103.

46 Kafkalides, *Stefanos Xenos—Scenes from the Drama of Hellenism in the East and the West (1821–1894)*, 134–135.

47 Edmond About, *The Greece of Otto (Contemporary Greece—1854)*, (Athens: Tolidi Bros Publications, undated; first published in French, Paris 1854), 122 [in Greek].

48 *Ibid.*

49 *Ibid.*, 64–65.

50 Xenos, *The Great Exhibition*, 162.

51 Anastassopoulos, *A History of Greek Industry 1840–1940, Vol. I (1840–1884)*, 108–109.

brilliant Greek dress is exhibited in isolation and there are no others to compare.”<sup>52</sup>

The official catalogue of the exhibition includes derogatory remarks regarding the participation of this “once-renowned country.” It stresses that the Greek products are limited almost exclusively in the first three classes; i.e., in raw materials, whereas the contribution to intermediate products is negligible. It is then implied that the British and other foreigners might be interested in exploiting the Greek natural resources. Furthermore, a jar of Hymettian honey evokes “classical associations,” and the ornamental marbles exhibited are reminiscent of “those monuments of skill which have formed the admiration of every time and people.”<sup>53</sup> Reference to the ancient past inevitably is unfavorable for nineteenth century Greece. Lyon Playfair, who devised the Exhibition classification system, refers also to the “gigantic position” of Great Britain among nations and asks: “Greece was higher than we are, and where is she now?”<sup>54</sup> However, the conclusion of the Official Catalogue chapter dedicated to Greece is rather optimistic and states, in a patronizing mood: “Greece, replying to the courteous invitation addressed to her by England, whom she considers a protectress and beneficent power, presents herself at the industrial meeting of all nations, conscious of her own demerits, but confident that her exceptional circumstances will justify her efforts, and obtain for her industry a benevolent reception.” The passage ends with two mottoes by Theocritus and Hesiod, emphasizing courage, hope for the future, and the importance of a spirit of noble emulation among nations.<sup>55</sup>

Given the standards of the time, the Greek public was quite well informed about the Great Exhibition, because local newspapers published several reports about it. For example, relative dispatches were published in the Athenian newspapers *Athena* and *Aeon*, in the Athenian magazine *Pandora*, in the newspapers *Amalthia* and *Ionian Bee* of Izmir, and in the newspapers *Aeolos* and *Elios* of Hermoupolis (Island of Syros), among others.<sup>56</sup> In 1856, the British Government offered the Official Catalogues of the Exhibition to the School of Arts in Athens. From these volumes, the students as well the instructors of this school had the chance to get to know the new achievements of technology and the various industrial innovations of the time, as well as the traditional exhibits and various products which the most advanced countries had exhibited.<sup>57</sup> Images of products from the exhibition catalogue were systematically used in the following years as subjects for wood engraving exercises in the School of Arts.<sup>58</sup> The Greek correspondent Stefanos Xenos published his impressions of the exhibition in a volume which included 300 illustrations, and was widely distributed to the artists and schools of Greece and of Minor Asia (i.e., the western Turkish coast, the home of large and thriving Greek communities at the time).<sup>59</sup> His book also was used as a prize for students of the School of Arts in 1866.<sup>60</sup> Other publications related to the Great Exhibition also were donated to the School

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52 Ibid., 109–110

53 *Great Exhibition*, 1400.

54 John Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace, and the Exhibition of the World's Industry in 1851* (London, 1852), 196.

55 *Great Exhibition*, 1407.

56 See, for example, *Aeolos*, “Newspaper of the Cyclades” published in Hermoupolis (Syros Island), issues 349 (14/4/1851); and 351 (28/4/1851), 353 (12/5/1851), 355 (26/5/1851), 357 (9/6/1851), 369–370 (8/9/1851).

57 Mertyri, *The Artistic Education of the Youth in Greece (1863–1945)*, 104.

58 *Pandora* 6:126 (1855): 137 [in Greek].

59 Kafkalides, *Stefanos Xenos—Scenes from the Drama of Hellenism in the East and the West (1821–1894)*, 138.

60 Mertyri, *The Artistic Education of the Youth in Greece (1863–1945)*, 200.



of Arts by wealthy Greeks living abroad.<sup>61</sup> The influence of the first international exhibitions on Greece also is evident from the establishment of the national exhibition entitled Olympia, which was meant to promote the local products of industry, agriculture, and stock-breeding. The Olympia exhibition was inaugurated in 1859 in Athens, and although it was intended to be an annual event, eventually it was held only four times throughout the nineteenth century (in 1859, 1870, 1875, and 1888).<sup>62</sup>

Admittedly, the participation of the young Greek state in the Great Exhibition was a remarkable event, given the archaic conditions and the negligible development rate of the country during that period. Future research, based on the Greek press of the 1850s and 1860s and on the General State Archives, would further contribute to assess the impact that the Great Exhibition has had on early representations of design and industry in Greece, as well as on subsequent policies of the Greek government in relation to industrial production. These are the two areas where the Great Exhibition seems to have had the most lasting influence. On the one hand, collective representations were shaped through extensive press reports, as well as through the courses in the School of Arts, which at the time was the only institution for technical and artistic education in the country. On the other hand, the influence on state policies materialized mainly through the Olympia exhibition, which constituted a major forum for the Greek productive sector in the second half of the nineteenth century. In any case, despite its limitations, the Greek participation in the Great Exhibition highlighted the European dimension of the young state and nourished the powerful but controversial ideal of westernization.

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61 *Pandora* (1855): 142.

62 Nikolaos G Lekkas, Entry "Greece." Chapter: "Fairs, Exhibitions, Markets" in: *Great Hellenic Encyclopedia*, Vpl. 10, (Athens: Pursos, 1934), 161. See also: Agriantoni, 102.