OTTOMAN-QAJAR RELATIONS THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHY:

MOZAFFAR AL-DIN SHAH'S İSTANBUL VISIT (1900)

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OTTOMAN-QAJAR RELATIONS THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHY: MOZAFFAR AL-DIN SHAH'S İSTANBUL VISIT (1900)

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Thesis Abstract

Başak Kilerci; ‘‘Ottoman-Qajar Relations through Photography: Mozaffar al-Din Shah’s İstanbul Visit’’

This study discusses the use of photography as part of a strategy of representation in Qajar Iran and the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century within the framework of Ottoman-Qajar rivalry and cooperation. The main purpose of this thesis is to compensate for a lack of analysis of Ottoman-Qajar relations and the history of photography in these polities from a comparative perspective and to explore the uses of photographs as a historical source. Elaborating on photograph albums in the İstanbul University Library Rare Collection, the Golestan Palace Library Photography Division, the Taksim Atatürk Library Rare Collection, and the Gigord Collection in the Getty Museum, my study first discusses the different uses of photography, such as its ability to provide information and its role in the practice of gift exchange, in Qajar Iran and the Ottoman Empire comparatively. It then examines Mozaffar al-Din Shah’s visit to İstanbul in 1900 and its literary and photographic representations. After examining Ottoman-Qajar relations in the second half of the nineteenth century, which constitutes the political context of the shah’s visit, this thesis details the visit and the shah’s days in İstanbul through literary and visual sources. Finally, it discusses how this visit was represented through the Ottoman and Qajar sources, based on the power relationship between the two states.

Tez Özeti

Başak Kilerci; ‘‘Fotoğrafçılık Marifetiyle Osmanlı-Kacar İlişkileri: Muzafferiddin Şah’ın İstanbul Gezisi (1900)’’

Bu çalışma, fotoğrafın ondokuzuncu yüzyıl Osmanlı Devleti ve Kacar İranı'nda bir temsil stratejisi olarak Osmanlı-Kacar rekabeti ve işbirliği bağlamındaki kullanımını ele almaktadır. Bu tezin esas amacı, Osmanlı-Kacar ilişkileri ve karşılaştırmalı fotoğraf tarihi alanındaki boşluğu doldurmak ve fotoğrafın bir tarihi kaynak olarak kullanımını incelemektir. Çalışmam, İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, Gülistan Sarayı Kütüphanesi Fotoğraf Bölümü, Taksim Atatürk Kitaplığı Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi ve Getty Müzesi Gigord Koleksiyonu'ndaki fotoğraflar üzerinden, öncelikle Osmanlı devleti ve Kacar İranı'nda fotoğrafın bilgi sağlama ve hediyeleşme pratiği gibi farklı kullanımlarını karşılaştırmalı olarak tartışmaktadır. Daha sonraysa, Muzafferiddin Şah'ın İstanbul gezisinin (1900) yazılı ve görsel temsilini incelemektedir. Bu tez, şahın gezisinin arka planını oluşturan ondokuzuncu yüzyıl ikinci yarısı Osmanlı-Kacar ilişkilerini inceledikten sonra, şahın İstanbul günlerini yazılı ve görsel kaynaklar üzerinden detaylandırmaktadır. Çalışma, son olarak, bu gezinin Osmanlı ve Kacar kaynaklarında nasıl temsil edildiğini iki ülke arasındaki güç ilişkileri temelinde tartışmaktadır.

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Completion of this thesis became possible with the support of many people. First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to my advisor Ahmet Ersoy who supported my desire to study nineteenth century Ottoman-Qajar visual culture, in every possible way. I thank him not only for his seminal comments, crucial questions and critical outlook, but also being an accessible advisor. He was there every time I needed; read, re-read and suggested. I also thank Ali Behdad for his lectures on Qajar photography and spending his office hours with me discussing on my project. His deep insights and comments were very helpful to shape this thesis. I am grateful to Yavuz Selim Karakışla not only for his comments at the final stage of this process, but also for his constant support during my academic journey. His advices were invaluable; he always encouraged and supported me whenever I needed. I owe gratitude to Lale Uluç who arose my interest on Persian visual culture and did a tutorial with me on Qajar art and culture. She spent hours with me discussing on my ideas, papers and future plans. I also owe thanks to Oya Pancaroğlu for her advices and support. She excited my interest on cultural history of Iran; I am very impressed by her critical outlook and her way of discussing the issues.

Since İstanbul University Library Rare Department, (İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi) where Abdülhamid albums were kept, was closed for two years during the writing process, this thesis would not be possible without the help of Orhan M. Çolak from IRCICA. He let me look at the digital copies of the Abdülhamid albums in IRCICA and get the album and photograph numbers. I also thank Yasemin Akçay, the director of Istanbul University Library Rare Collection, who provided me with the photographs although the library was closed. I also owe gratitude to Mary Roberts who gave me the photographs from Getty Museum. I also thank Ms. Hassaidan, the director of Golestan Palace Library Photography Division and Akram Alibabaei from Golestan staff, who helped me during my research in Golestan Palace in Tehran. Akram also provided me with many other literary materials –to which I am grateful. I also thank Soheila Husseinpour, the director of *Muze-i Mahsusa* in Golestan Palace, for her help. I also owe thanks to Taksim Atatürk Library Rare Department staff for their helps.

I thank Iranian embassy in İstanbul for accepting me to the summer school they organized in Tehran in summer 2010. I also thank Mustafa Çiçekler who guided and helped me in this process. I also thank Pedram Khosronejad who organized a workshop on Photography and Cinematography in Qajar Era Iran, in University of St Andrews (August 2011) and invited me as a speaker. It was a great experience to meet the people who are experts in their field. In addition, I thank Boğaziçi University Faculty of Arts and Science, and History department, and also Faruk Birtek for the grants they provided in this process.

I thank Reza Khalily who helped me to improve my Persian language skills and also assisted me while reading the Persian material. I also thank Ekin Mahmuzlu who translated the French material, and James Kiger, for his editorial contributions. I also thank some dear friends for their contributions not particularly to this thesis, but during my academic journey by sharing ideas, commenting on papers and also discussing on the issues: Asım Tüccar, Ayşe Seren Akyoldaş, Cengiz Ferhat Altay, Nilay Özlü, Orçun Can Okan and Sefure Özokur.

I must confess that my academic interest in history and on Iranian culture is rooted in my childhood, in the historical stories my parents told, the books they gave me and the objects that they decorated our home. I owe deepest gratitude to my mother Mine, father Bülent and sister İrem for their love and support. During this process, my mother listened every section of my thesis, overwhelmed by the Qajars and the Ottomans, and my father was a perfect sponsor and companion. My family accompanied me willingly many times I travelled for my research. Actually, I am grateful to this thesis, which led me have great fun and good memories with my family during these trips.

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A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

I used Turkish orthography when I quoted from Turkish or mentioned about the Ottomans and Ottoman sources; Persian orthography when I quoted from Persian or talked about the Iranians and Iranian sources. For example, I preferred ‘’*khan*’’ when it refers to an Iranian statesman; ‘‘*han*’’ when it refers to the Ottoman lodging. I also used proper names as they appeared in the original language; e.g. *İstanbul*, not *Istanbul*.

The following system has been adopted for Ottoman Turkish:
ا â
و û
ش ş
چ ç
ی î or îyy
ج c

For Persian:
ا â
و û or o
‘ a
, o or e
خ kh
ه a (silent h, e.g. *Shâhnâma*)
ش sh
چ ch
ق q
ج j

The Arabic definite article appears as ‘‘al’’ (e.g. Mozaffar al-Din).
Translations are mine, unless stated otherwise.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The İstanbul University Library Rare Collection (*İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi)* includes photograph albums known as the "Abdülhamid (or Hamidian) Albums." This collection is consisting of 962 albums and 38,599 photographs of various countries, places, buildings, people, and organizations.[1] These albums were made on the orders of Sultan Abdülhamid II or presented to him as gifts. The idea of writing this thesis came out after studying these albums at the IRCICA (Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture) in Yıldız Palace in the year 2011. While researching this collection, I came across four albums including photographs of Iran and four albums featuring photographs of Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit to İstanbul. These albums were the inspiration for writing this thesis, which examines the rise and use of photography in Qajar Iran and the Ottoman Empire from a comparative perspective and Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit to İstanbul through literary sources and photographs.

Last year, I found a book titled *Arşiv Belgelerinde Osmanlı-İran İlişkileri* (Ottoman-Iranian Relations through Archival Documents) published by the Ottoman State Archives (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri*).[2] The book focuses on Qajar Iran and presents 136 documents related to Ottoman-Qajar relations. It is very meaningful that the title promises to focus on Ottoman-Iranian relations, but the book presents documents only from the Qajar era. The editors did not choose to present documents

[1] *Sultan Abdülhamid Arşivi İstanbul Fotoğrafları*, (İstanbul: IRCICA&İBB, 2007), p. 45.

[2] *Arşiv Belgelerinde Osmanlı-İran İlişkileri*, (İstanbul: TC Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2010).

on the Safavids, which would have highlighted the rivalry between the two states, or Pehlevi Iran, which would deal with the former royal family and could cause conflicts with the Islamic Republic of Iran. In the introduction to the book, it is suggested that the Ottoman and Qajar states had good will toward each other and tried to solve what conflicts they had from within this friendship. In addition, the first archival document in the book suggests that since many people knew Turkish in Tehran, the Ottoman Embassy there did not need an interpreter and sent its interpreters back to İstanbul.[3] Starting the narrative with this document is very significant. Before moving to other documents, the reader first gets the impression that the two states shared the same cultural environment and were connected to each other through cultural bonds, including language.

Although Ottoman-Iranian conflicts first showed itself in 16th century with the Ottoman-Safavid wars in the time of Selim I, Suleyman I and Selim II and continue in seventeenth and also eighteenth century, especially in the reign of Kerim Khan Zand[4], there is a popular belief that the Qajar era is the period in which the Ottoman and Iranian states established positive relations, which also explains why the book focuses on Qajar Iran. Taking into consideration the assumption that there has been no conflict on the Ottoman-Iranian border since the treaty of *Kasr-ı Şirin* (1639) -- a myth that shapes the understanding of Ottoman-Iranian relations within the Turkish education system -- this belief becomes clearer. One of the motivations

[3] *Arşiv Belgelerinde Osmanlı-İran İlişkileri,* p.32-33. BOA.HAT, 671/32861.

[4] In the second half of 18th century, there were border conflicts between the Ottoman Empire and Iran in the reign of Kerim Khan Zand. There are also problems on Bagdad and Shiite holy places within the Ottoman lands, which resulted in a war. For a survey on Ottoman-Iranian conflicts from sixteenth century to twentieth century, see Abdurrahman Ateş, *Osmanlı-İran İlişkileri* (Ottoman-Iran Relations), (İstanbul: Altınpost Yayınları, 2012).

for this thesis is to evaluate this belief from different perspectives; in other words, to analyze Ottoman-Qajar conflict and cooperation.

Scholars tend to focus on contact between Europe and the Ottoman Empire or Iran when dealing with the social, political, economic, and cultural changes undergone by these two states; in other words, recent studies analyzing the modernization process in Iran and the Ottoman Empire have focused on these states' relations with the great powers. Consequently, the relationship between Iran and the Ottoman Empire is generally ignored. There are very few works focusing on relations between these two states, most of which are cited in this thesis. Sabri Ateş's PhD thesis, *Empires at the Margin,* is a very detailed study on Ottoman-Qajar border conflicts.[5] Mehmet Saray's book *Türk-İran İlişkileri* (Ottoman-Iranian Relations)[6] is another study examining the political relations between these two states. Mohammed Reza Nasiri's work *Nasıreddin Şah Zamanında Osmanlı-İran Münasebetleri (1848-1896)* (Ottoman-Iranian relations in the reign of Nasser al-Din Shah)[7] is a very comprehensive study that covers many documents from the Turkish and Iranian archives, including official documents such as telegrams and written contracts together with newspapers, the diaries of the shah, and the memoirs of the Ottoman and Qajar officials. Nejat Göyünç's article "Muzaferüddin Şah ve II. Abdülhamid Devrinde Türk-İran Dostluk Tezahürleri" (Reflections of Turkish-Iranian Friendship

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[5] Sabri Ateş, *Empires at the Margins: "Towards a History of the Ottoman-Iranian Borderland and the Borderland Peoples,"*(unpublished doctoral thesis, Newyork University, MEIS History, 2006).

[6] Mehmet Saray, *Türk İran İlişkileri*, (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1999).

[7] Mohammed Reza Nasiri, *Nasıreddin Şah Zamanında Osmanlı-İran Münasebetleri* (1848-1896), Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1991. (It was the authors's doctoral thesis submitted to İstanbul University History Department in 1977).

in the Reigns of Mozaffar al-Din Shah and Abdülhamid II)[8] is probably the first academic work in Turkish focusing on Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit to İstanbul. It contributed to my chapter on this visit by presenting documents about the special delegation sent by Sultan Abdülhamid II to Tehran to present a medal to the shah and invite him to İstanbul. Fatmagül Demirel's chapter on this visit in her book *Son Ziyaretler, Son Ziyafetler*[9] is the only other work examining the shah's İstanbul visit. Her chapter does not include every detail, but presents a fourteen-page survey of the shah's days in İstanbul.

Moving on to the subject of photography, there has been a rising interest in the photography of the Middle East in recent years. Many conferences and exhibitions have been held and many books published on this subject. For instance, the first IQSA (International Qajar Studies Association) conference was on Qajar photography and selected articles from the proceedings were published in a special volume.[10] In addition, two early studies on Ottoman and Qajar photography were published in the same year, 1989: Carney E.S. Gavin, *Imperial Self-Portrait: The Ottoman Empire as Revealed in the sultan Abdul-Hamid II's Photographic Albums*[11] and Donna Stein's "Three Photographic Traditions in Nineteenth-Century Iran".[12] I

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[8] Nejat Göyünç, "Muzaferüddin Şah ve II. Abdülhamid Devrinde Türk-İran Dostluk Tezahürleri" in *İran Şehinşahlığı'nın 2500. Kuruluş Dönemine Armağan*, (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1971).

[9] Fatmagül Demirel, *Son Ziyaretler, Son Ziyafetler*, (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, Kasım 2007).

[10] http://www.qajarstudies.org/IQSAPastconferences.html

[11] Carney E.S. Gavin, *Imperial Self-Portrait: The Ottoman Empire as Revealed in the sultan Abdul-Hamid II's Photographic Albums* (Cambridge: 1989).

[12] Donna Stein, "Three Photographic Traditions in Nineteenth-Century Iran," *Muqarnas* Vol. 6 (1989): 112-130.

must also give credit to Yahya Zoka's volume on Iranian photography[13] and Bahaattin Öztuncay's[14] and Engin Özendes's (Çizgen)[15] volumes on Ottoman photography, as well as the book including selected articles on famous Qajar photographer Antoin Sevruguin edited by Frederik Bohrer,[16] as pioneering works on photography in the Ottoman Empire and Qajar Iran. Also, Ali Behdad's article "The Power-ful Art of Qajar Photography"[17] and Iraj Afshar's "Some Remarks on the Early History of Photography in Iran"[18] are two of the earliest works on Qajar photography. More recent works, such as Corien Vuurman's *Nineteenth Century Persia in the Photographs of Albert Hotz,*[19] the re-publication of *The Montabone Album,*[20] and the volume prepared by Muhammed Hasan Semsar at the Golestan

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[13] Yahya Zoka, *The History of Photography and Pioneer Photographers in Iran*, (Tehran: 1388). (First publication was in 1977)

[14] Bahaattin Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople: Pioneers, studios and Artists from 19th century İstanbul,* (İstanbul:Aygaz, 2003); Bahattin Öztuncay, *Hatıra-i uhuvvet: portre fotoğrafların cazibesi, 1846-1950*, (İstanbul:Aygaz, 2005); Bahattin Öztuncay, *Vassilaki Kargopoulo : Hazret-i Padişahın'nın Serfotoğrafı,* (İstanbul: BOS, 2000).

[15] Engin Özendes, *From Sabâh & Joaillier to Foto Sabâh: Orientalism in Photography*. İstanbul:YKY, 1999; Engin Özendes, *Abdullah Frerés, Osmanlı Sarayının fotoğrafıları*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2006).

[16] *Sevruguin and the Iranian Image: photographs of Iran, 1870-1930*, ed. Frederick N. Bohrer, Imprint Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution (Seattle : University of Washington Press, 1999).

[17] Ali Behdad "The Power-ful Art of Qajar Photography", in *Iranian Studies*, Layla Diba ed., no: 34, (2001).

[18] Iraj Afshar, 'Some Remarks on the Early History of Photography in Iran' in *Qajar Iran; political, social and cultural change, 1800-1925*, E.Bosworth, C. Hillenbrand eds., (Mazda, Edinburgh: Publication, 1983).

[19] Vuurman, Corien. *Nineteenth Century Persia in the Photographs of Albert Hotz,* (Rotterdam and Gronsveld: International Qajar Studies Association and Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn&Co's Uitgeversmaatschappij, 2011).

[20] Mohammad Rıza Tahmasbpour. "Italians and Photography in Persia" in *The Montabone Album*, ed. L.A. Ferydoun Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn, Manoutchehr M. Eskandari-Qajar, Mieke Jansen, Anna Vanzan en Corien Vuurman, (Rotterdam, Gronsveld, Santa Barbara and Tehran: IQSA& Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn&Co's UITGEVERSMAATSCHAPPIJ, 2004).

Palace Library, *A Portfolio of Miniature Paintings and Calligraphy*[21] are also noteworthy works on Qajar photography. Nurhan Atasoy also published a selection from the Abdülhamid albums: *Yadigar-ı İstanbul*.[22] In recent years, as a result of interest in the Hamidian albums, many books have been published: *Sultan II. Abdülhamid Arşivi İstanbul Fotoğrafları,*[23] *Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in Arşivinden Dünya,*[24] *Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in Aile Albümü,*[25] and *Sultan II. Abdülhamid Arşivi'nden Dünya Liderleri Albümü.*[26]

However, there still has not been a comparative analysis of the photography of Qajar Iran and that of the Ottoman Empire, nor have Ottoman-Qajar relations been analyzed from a photographic perspective. The main motivation behind the writing of this thesis is to fill this gap. This thesis will contribute to the existing literature not only by detailing Ottoman-Qajar relations in the second half of the nineteenth century through its focus on Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit to İstanbul, but also by examining the relations between the two states through photography. There are many works on the photography of Qajar Iran and the Ottoman Empire, but they examine these photographic histories in isolation from each other. My aim is to use photographs as historical sources and combine them with literary sources while

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[21] Muhammed Hasan Semsar, *Gulestan Palace Library, A Portfolio of Miniature Paintings and Calligraphy*, (Tehran: Zarrin&Simin Books, 2000).

[22] Nurhan Atasoy, *Yıldız Sarayı Fotoğraf Albümlerinden Yadigar-ı İstanbul*, (İstanbul : Akkök Yayınları, 2007).

[23] *Sultan Abdülhamid Arşivi İstanbul Fotoğrafları*, (İstanbul:IRCICA&İBB, 2007).

[24] *Sultan II. Abdülhamid Arşivi'nden Dünya*, ed. Hakan Yılmaz, (İstanbul: İBB Kültür A.Ş, 2008).

[25] *Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in Aile Albümü*, ed. Hakan Yılmaz, (İstanbul:İBB Kültür A.Ş, 2008).

[26] *Sultan II. Abdülhamid Arşivinden Dünya Liderleri*, ed Hakan Yılmaz, (İstanbul: İBB Kültür A.Ş, 2011).

analyzing a historical issue or event. I will discuss the rise and use of photography in the modernization and image-making processes of nineteenth century Qajar Iran and the Ottoman Empire. I will also examine Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit to İstanbul with a discussion of its representation through literary sources and photographs and contextualize the photographs within the framework of Ottoman-Qajar relations.

After the introduction, the second chapter of this thesis will focus on the rise and use of photography in Qajar Iran and the Ottoman Empire. After offering a comparative look at the political and cultural environment in these polities, especially their visual cultures, I will discuss the use of photography in the two states thematically and comparatively. I will examine the historical and modern dimensions that shaped the Ottoman and Qajar political and cultural environment and analyze how history and modernity were used to legitimize and propagate dynastic power and authority through artistic forms including architecture, painting, and photography. I will also discuss the different uses of photography, such as its roles as a source of information and part of the practice of gift exchange, through thematic and stylistic questions. This chapter is based on an engagement with secondary sources, archival documents, and photographs.

The third chapter of this thesis will analyze Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit to İstanbul in 1900. I will first examine Ottoman-Qajar relations in the second half of the nineteenth century, which constitute the political context of the shah's visit. Then I will detail the visit and the shah's days in İstanbul through literary and visual sources. Finally, I will discuss the literary and photographic representations of this visit based on the power relationship between the two states. This analysis will include the conflicts between these states and their desire to remain in an alliance.

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the extent that the literary and visual narratives can be brough together while analyzing the conflicts and the alliance.

The research for this thesis took a great amount of effort. Since the İstanbul University Library Rare Collection was closed for approximately two years during my research process, I 'discovered' four albums of Iran and four of Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit to İstanbul in the IRCICA in Yıldız Palace with the help of Orhan M. Çolak. After several months, I was finally able to get the copies of the photographs from the İstanbul University Library Rare Collection. Although the library was under construction and closed for a long time, the director of the library, Yasemin Akçay, provided me with digital copies of the photographs. I also visited Iran and worked in the Golestan Palace Library. My first visit was in 2010 and it was the first time that I had the pleasure of seeing the enormous collection of photographs in the Golestan Palace, most of which were from Nasser al-Din Shah's reign. However, my second visit in 2012 was more fruitful, and I came across an Ottoman album including photographs of Mozaffar al-Din Shah's time in İstanbul, luckily. Then Ali Behdad and Mary Roberts introduced me to the photographs of Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit to İstanbul in the Gigord Collection in the Getty Museum and Mary Roberts provided me with digital copies of all these materials. There are fifteen photographs of this visit in four different albums.

I also conducted research in the Taksim Atatürk Library, where I found two albums by famous Iranian photographer Antoin Sevruguin and many other Ottoman albums. The Taksim Atatürk Library, the Beyazıt Library Hakkı Tarık Us Collection and the Tehran Majlis Library offered me access to Ottoman and Iranian

newspapers.[27] During this research I learned that Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit was reported in the Ottoman newspapers *İkdâm, Sabâh, Ma'lûmât, Tercüman-ı Ahvâl,* and *The Oriental Advertiser,* and also the Persian newspapers *Sorayyâ* and *Al-Kamal.* I was expecting that, in addition to narrating the shah's visit, these newspapers would also reflect their own point of views and include different ways of looking at the shah's visits. But this did not turn out to be the case. For instance, *Sorayyâ* was published in Cairo and seen as an 'opponent' of the Qajar regime, but it reflects the Qajar state's views and bears no real difference with *Al-Kamal* that was published in Tehran. Similarly, Ottoman newspapers' reporting on the shah's visit was almost the same. There were no different interpretations of the shah himself, Iran, or Iranians and the news regarding the visit paralleled the state's point of view.

Mozaffar al-Din Shah's travel diary, which I found in the digital collection of the library of the University of Toronto, was an essential source for my study.[28] The shah recorded many details, which enabled me to compare his account with those presented by the other sources and fill in the blanks. In addition, I also did research in the Ottoman State archives and supported my narrative with official documents on photography and the shah's visit. At the end of the writing process, the İstanbul University Library Rare Collection was finally opened to researchers and I was able to get a closer look at all the photographs in each album I already mentioned.

This thesis is the outcome of my own academic journey from my undergraduate years in the Turkish language and literature department at Boğaziçi University, where I was amazed by the charm of the Persian world after attending many courses on Divan poetry and the Persian language to the history department,

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[27] This use of 'Iranian,' or 'Persian,' newspaper does not have any nationalist implications. It refers only to the languages in which the newspapers were published.

[28] Mozaffar al-Din Shah, *Safarnama-ye Mobarek-e Shahinsahi*, (Tehran: 1903).

where my interest had led me. I attended courses on miniature painting in the Turco-Persian world given by Lale Uluç, with whom I also did a tutorial on the cultural history of Qajar Iran, together with other seminar courses on medieval Iran instructed by Oya Pancaroğlu, on the Hamidian era by Yavuz Selim Karakışla, and on nineteenth century cultural history by Ahmet Ersoy. These courses not only improved my knowledge of the topic but also broaden my way of looking to it. Finally, thanks to my advisor Ahmet Ersoy, and Ali Behdad and Christopher Pinney, we had very fruitful seminar on the history of Ottoman-Qajar-Indian photography in spring 2012 while I was working on this thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

THE USE OF PHOTOGRAPHY IN QAJAR IRAN AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IMAGE

This chapter discusses the ways in which representations of both the past and modernity were used in the creation of a nineteenth century image of the Ottoman Empire and Qajar Iran, with a focus on the use of photography. We can describe this nineteenth century image of the Ottoman Empire and Qajar Iran as a combination of the 'traditional' and the Western; the historical and the modern.[29] In the first part of this chapter I will discuss the historical and modern aspects of this image and examine how cultural forms such as painting, carving, and literature functioned to represent this image. My focus will be on the political and cultural environment of the respective states and how they 're-created' the past in order to legitimize or re-legitimize their power and authority. I will examine the 'revival' of past forms and methods in painting, literary works and architecture and discuss to what extent and in which terms they functioned as reflections of the nineteenth century image of the two states.

The second part of this chapter will examine how photography functioned in representing the historical and modern nineteenth century image of these polities. I will discuss the rise and use of photography in the Qajar and Ottoman realms. I will also examine the motives behind the rapid rise of photography and rulers' support for this form of representation in their respective states. Moving from the gift albums sent by the Qajar and Ottoman states to each other, I will discuss the different uses of

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[29] 'Representing the past' is itself a modern creation. However, my aim is only to emphasize that the past and modern references are very influential in shaping the nineteenth century contemporary image.

photography from a comparative perspective: creating connections with the past, representing history and modernity, image making, self-representation and self-orientalism. These discussions will be based on thematic and stylistic questions.

Re-creating the Past, Propagating Dynastic Power

The Qajars were a Turkish-speaking qizilbash tribe settled in northeastern Iran, near Merv and Horasan, and paid allegiance to the Safavids from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.[30] After the death of Karim Khan Zand, who held power after the Safavids and Afsharids; Aga Mohammed Khan (r.1785-97), the founder of the Qajar dynasty, began his quest for power.[31] He mobilized the frontier Turkomans and other tribes into his army and made Tehran his capital. Then Isfahan and Shiraz were captured from the Zands.[32] At the end of the eighteenth century the Qajars established stable rule in Iran.[33]

As noted by Fasa'i, the famous Qajar historian, Aga Muhammad Khan claimed in a letter to the governor of Georgia that "Shah Isma'il Safavi ruled over the province of Georgia. When in the days of the deceased king we were engaged in conquering the provinces of Persia, we did not proceed to this region. As most of the provinces of Persia have come into our possession now, you must, according to

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[30]Abbas Amanat, "Qajar Iran, A Historical Overview" in *Royal Persian Paintings*, ed. Layla Diba, (Newyork: Tauris&Brooklyn Museum of Art, 1998), 14-29, p. 15.

[31]Abbas Amanat, "Overview", p. 15.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid.

ancient law, consider Georgia part of the empire."[34] Moreover, he added that Aga Muhammad Khan's campaign to Armenia and Georgia was an attempt to follow in the footsteps of the Safavids.[35] Not only Aga Mohammed Khan's letter, but also Fasai's own words reflect the Qajar attempt to establish continuity with a noble past in order to legitimize the power and authority of the Qajar dynasty. Abbas Amanat claims that "by the middle of the nineteenth century four dimensions of royal authority underscored Iran's historical experiences." He identifies these as the nomadic, the Islamic, the Pre-Islamic and the Western.[36] We can take one step further and say that these four dimensions largely shaped the Qajar political agenda in the nineteenth century.

Firstly, the Nomadic concept shows itself in the titles that the Qajar rulers adopted. Aga Muhammed Khan adopted the title *khan* and *shah*. By contrast, his son, Fath Ali Shah (r.1798-1834), the second ruler of the Qajar Dynasty, adopted not only the ancient Persian title of *Shâhanshâh* but also the Turco-Mongol title of *khâqân* (the *khan* of *khans*).[37] His grandson Nasser al-Din Shah (r.1848-1896) also used the titles "*al-sultân al-a'zam wa al-khâqân al-afkham*" (the greatest sultan and the greatest khakan) and "*al-sultân b. al-sultân b. al-sultân b. wa al-khâqân b. al-khâqân b. al-khâqân shâhanshâh Dhu'l Qarnayn*," that is, using both Persian and Turkic titles and also an Islamic one.[38] As Soucek points out, these titles stressed the

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[34]Fasai, *Farsnama-ye Nasiri* cited in Firoozeh Kashani Sabet,"Diminishing Domains", in *Iranian Studies*, ed Layla Diba, no: 34, (2001), p. 209.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Abbas Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe*, (London&NewYork: Tauris, 2008), p. 7.

[37]Ibid., p.10.

[38]Priscilla Soucek, "Coinage of the Qajars: A System of Transition", in *Iranian Studies* ed. Layla Diba, no: 34, (2001), p. 68.

importance of his ancestry while also invoking a title of Qur'anic origin: Dhu'l Qarnayn, or Alexander the Great.[39]

Secondly, the Islamic dimension can be interpreted as a way of forming a connection with the Safavids. This is especially true of the early days of the Qajars, when they aimed to represent themselves as the dynastic and cultural inheritors of the Safavids. Fath Ali Khan, the ancestor of the Qajars, served as the commander in chief of the last of the Safavid shahs, Tahmasb II (r. 1722-32), and Nadir Shah (r. 1736-47), the founder of the Afsharid dynasty.[40] This relationship enabled the Qajars to legitimize themselves as the dynastic inheritors of the Safavids. In addition to dynastic continuity, the Qajars also stressed the Shiite identity of the Safavids. This emphasis on Shiite identity can be seen through the passion play commemorating Hussein's martyrdom, the *ta'ziya*, which became popular in the last years of the Safavids but reached its fullest form in the Qajar era. A major tradition of painting grew out of the *ta'ziya* and special structures were built for *ta'ziya* performances.[41] In Qajar Iran, especially in the reign of Nasser al-Din Shah, *ta'ziya* performances and paintings were supported by the court and a huge building, called *Takya Dawlat,* was built for *ta'ziya* performances within the Golestan Palace Complex.[42]

Furthermore, Nasser al-Din Shah was very interested in the stories of the *One Thousand and One Nights* and he ordered a translation of this text in his years in Tebriz before he acceded to the throne. Immediately after he took the Qajar throne,

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[39]Soucek, 'Qajar Coinage', p. 68.

[40]Amanat "Overview", p. 15.

[41]Samuel Peterson, "Ta'ziyeh and Related Arts" in *Ta'ziyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran* ed. Peter Chelkowski, (NewYork: NewYork University Press, 1979), p. 64-87.

[42]Ibid.

he ordered a large illustration project for the *Nights*[43] to be directed by Sani al-Mulk under the supervision of Prince Dust Ali Khan Mu'ayyer al-Mamalik.[44] This major translation and illustration project can be considered as a part of an attempt to connect with the golden age of Islam. Since it is not clear whether or not there were any other Persian translations of the *Nights* before the nineteenth century, we can only guess that Nasser al-Din Shah's enthusiasm derived from the popularity of Galland's edition in Europe. Amanat has discovered that a famous illustration from the *Nights* depicts Nasser al-Din Shah in place of Harun Rashid and his vizier Amir Kabir in place of Harun Rasid's vizier Barmaki. This can be seen as an example of the Qajar attempt to increase their dynasty's authority by referring to the Abbasid period, which was considered to be the 'golden age' of Islam.[45] This may be one of the motivations for his quick decision to commission the lithograph and illustration of *the Nights*. With this project, the Qajars were trying to Persianize the stories through illustrations and, in doing so, they created a connection not only with the Abbasid period and the 'golden age of Islam,' but also with the ancient past of Iran.

Although the Qajars tried to portray themselves as the dynastic and cultural inheritors of the Safavids, their goal was to surpass the Safavids, reach into the ancient past --the third dimension that shaped the Qajar social and political agenda-- and bring all the elements of their near and distant past together. We can see this effort in the Qajar royal home, Golestan Palace. The *divankhana* and *takht-e marmar* (the marble throne), which were built in the reigns of Aga Mohammed Khan and

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[43]I will use 'Nights' instead of 'The Stories of One Thousand and One Nights' throughout this chapter.

[44]Muhammed Hasan Semsar, *Golestan Palace Library, A Portfolio of Miniature Paintings and Calligraphy*, (Tehran: Zarrin&Simin Books, 2000), p. 223.

[45]Amanat, "Overview", pp. 14-29.

Fath Ali Shah, bear the features of pre-Islamic Achemenid and Sasanid architecture as well as the palaces of Safavid Esfahan and Zand Shiraz.[46] The columns of the open reception hall were brought from Zand Palace in Shiraz on the order of Aga Muhammed Khan.[47] In addition, the *takht-e marmar* (marble throne), the throne on which the Qajar ruler sat during coronation ceremonies, is supported by columns surrounded by protective magical figures from Iranian folklore.[48] Layla Diba maintains that the *takht-e marmar* is modeled on the legendary throne of *Solomon.* For her*,* the Sasanian Palace of Ctesiphon, which was decorated with images of the victories of the Sasanian ruler Khusraw Parviz and featured a great throne of the ruler placed in the back, may also have provided the model for the marble throne hall.[49] Similarly, the *Kâyânîd* Crown, a creation of Aga Muhammad Khan's time, which has been considered as a symbol of the royal authority of the Qajars, reflects the same goal. It is a symbolic example that brings both the ancient and the Safavid past together, since the word *Kâyânî* is from the *Shâhnâma* of Firdawsi and the crown's shape features Safavid influences.[50]

Furthermore, the Qajars tried to create a dynastic and cultural lineage from the Achemenids and Sasanians to their own time. In the fictitious account of Itimad'al-Saltana Aga Mohammed Khan is depicted with Safavid heroes such as Ismail Safavid, together with the heroes of ancient Iran such as Khusrew Anushirvan,

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[46]Jennifer Scarce, "Golestan Palace" in *Iranian Studies* ed. Layla Diba, no: 34, (2001), pp.110-111.

[47]Abbas Amanat, "Overview", p. 18.

[48] Scarce, pp. 110-111.

[49]Layla Diba, 'Images of Power, Power of Images', in *Royal Persian Paintings*, ed. Layla Diba, (Newyork: Tauris&Brooklyn Museum of Art, 1998), 30-49, p. 38.

[50]See Amanat, "Royal Authority", in *Iranian Studies* ed. Layla Diba, 34, (USA: The Society for Iranian Studies, 2001), 17-30, p. 22.

both of whom were known as '*keshwar-sitân'* (country conquerors).[51] In addition, Aga Muhammad Khan used the title 'Iskandar-i Iran,' which recalled the ancient past of Iran and equated him with Iskandar as a conqueror.[52] Thus, after the Golestan Treaty with Russia (1813), which resulted in territorial losses in southern Iran, "the tendency to mask weakness with ceremonial pomp" -- to use Soucek's words -- showed itself in Fath Ali Shah's coinage.[53] He continued to use the title 'sultan al sultan' and Fasai also indicates that two new coins were issued: The silver coins were inscribed with 'Fath Ali Shah *Khosraw Sahib-Qiran*' and the gold ones with 'Fath Ali Shah Khusrew-i *Keshvar-Sitan*.'[54] The reference to Khusrew equates the shah with the rulers of Iran's pre-Islamic past, while the title 'sahib-qiran' evokes Messianic ideas and the memory of Timur, together with the Mughal Emperor Akbar, who had used it in his title.[55]

In addition to the titles that we see on his coinage, Fath Ali Shah was eager to legitimize his authority and equate himself with ancient rulers through rock reliefs, as the pre-Islamic rulers had done. Layla Diba indicates that these rock reliefs were added to similar rock carvings and reliefs from Iran's Achemenid and Sasanian past.[56] For instance, Fath Ali Shah added his reliefs to the ancient ones in *Tâq-e Bostân.*[57]

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[51]Firoozeh Kashani Sabet, "Fragile Frontiers: The Diminishing Domains", 209.

[52]Kashani Sabet, p. 209.

[53]Soucek, p. 67.

[54]Ibid.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Diba, ''Power'', p. 32.

[57]Ibid.

Furthermore, Fath Ali Shah asked the court poet Fath Ali Khan Saba to compose the *Shâhânshâhnâma* (Book of the King of Kings),[58] an epic intended to equate the Qajar rulers with the heroes of Firdawsi's *Shâhnâma.* This work was a famous example of the *bâzgasht* (return) movement in literature, a literary revival of the past that saw many poets begin to use ancient literary forms and characteristics.[59] This movement appeared as a reaction to *Sebk-i Hindî*, a literary movement that gave priority to the stylistic forms, rather than the meaning itself. However, this *bâzgasht* movement cannot be entirely explained as a reaction to *Sebk-i Hindî*. It was largely a part of the effort to find ancient roots for Qajar Iran, and legitimize the dynasty's power and authority. In addition, the *Murâqqâ'* (album)[60] --in which Fath Ali Shah sets himself together with heroes from the *Shâhnâma* and past conquering rulers of Iran, such as Shah Abbas I (1587-1629); Shah Abbas II (1642-66); Ismail I (1501-24), the founder of the Safavid dynasty; Nadir Shah, the founder of the Afsharid dynasty (1736-47); Karim Khan Zand, the founder of the Zand dynasty (1750-79) and Jamshid and Kay Kawus from the *Shâhnâma* -- was part of this effort to create a dynastic lineage of rulers extending from the ancient past to the Qajar period. This was not only a revival of the past, but also a form of rivalry with the past.

With regard to the Ottoman Empire, we can say that in the nineteenth century -- particularly in the late Tanzimat period (1861-1876) -- there was a growing interest in medieval Islamic and Turkic history and a tendency to glorify earlier eras. For instance, Ziya Paşa, an intellectual of the Tanzimat period, wrote *Endülüs Tarihi*

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[58]Diba mentions that four copies of his manuscript of the *shâhânshâhnâma* were sent by Fath Ali Shah to the rulers of England, Russia, and Australia. See Diba&Ekhtiar, 1998, p. 171.

[59]Banu Nusret Tercübekar, *İran Edebiyatında Şiir, Kacarlar Dönemi*, (İstanbul:İnsan Yayınları, 1995), p. 36.

[60]For the manuscript, see Diba&Ekhtiar, 1998, p. 176.

(The History of Andalusia), while Abdülhak Hamid, a famous Ottoman poet and writer, wrote many historical plays about Andalusia, such as *Tarık* and *Tezer*.[61] Namık Kemal wrote a novel entitled *Celaleddin Harzemşah* relating the life-story of a medieval Turkic king who fought against the non-Muslim Mongols.[62] While works about Andalusia referred to the 'western' Islamic past, works dealing with the medieval Turkic world highlighted the 'eastern-Turkic' Islamic past. In addition, Şerif Mardin indicates that, parallel with the Western translations, there was an attempt to go back to translate and print the most popular classics of Ottoman and earlier Islamic culture, and as a result, a real flowering of translations from the Arabic and the Persian took place.[63] For instance, the *Muqaddima* of Ibn Khaldun, the medieval Arab philosopher and historian, was re-published in 1858 and 1861. As Mardin points out, another example of this process is seen through the Sultan Mahmud II's order to re-publish fifteenth century philosopher Ali Kuşçu's syntax book. Mardin mentions that the sultan did not, as we would expect, order the writing of a new textbook suited to his educational goals, but gave instructions that the commentary on the treatise on syntax of the fifteenth century Transoxanian savant Ali Kuşçu be printed."[64] As a result, all these literary activities functioned as an instrument of the 'revival' of the past in the Tanzimat period.[65]

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[61]İnci Enginün, *Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan Tiyatroları- 5 (Tarık, İbn Musa, Tezer, Nazife, Abdullahü's-Sagir)*, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları: 2002).

[62]See Namık Kemal, *Celaleddin Harzemşah*, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.

[63]Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, (US: Syracuse University Press, 2000), p. 203.

[64]Şerif Mardin, p.203.

[65]For a discussion of this yearning for the past in Abdülaziz's era , see Ahmet Ersoy, *On the Sources of Ottoman Renassiance: Architectural Revival and its Discourse during the Abdülaziz Era*. 222-319. Unpublished doctoral thesis submitted to Harvard University department of history of art and architecture.

This 'revival' also took place in architectural texts such as *Usûl-i Mimarî-yi Osmânî,* which was written by a group of Ottoman intellectuals, artists and architects and published by the Ottoman government in 1873 on the occasion of the Vienna Exposition. Ahmet Ersoy notes that, according to this text, Ottoman architecture was shaped "under the first leaders of the dynasty and culminates with the efflorescence of the classical style in the sixteenth century," which was "followed by gradual decline in the eighteenth century, eventually leading to a total breakdown of the autonomous Ottoman style."[66] The text defines the last phase of the development of the Ottoman style as "the beginning of a new cycle, marked by the propitious 'revival' of the Ottoman style under the auspices of Sultan Abdülaziz."[67] With this definition, the text characterizes the nineteenth century contemporary architectural style as a 'revival' of the past.

Selim Deringil uses the word "obsession" to define the Ottoman interest in the early days of the dynasty that flourished in the Hamidian era.[68] The tombs of the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, Osman Bey, his son Orhan Bey and his father, *Ertuğrul* Gazi, who is known as the ancestor and legendary founder of the dynasty, were repaired, rebuilt and re-invented in the Hamidian era. Moreover, to underline the significance of *Ertuğrul's* mosque, other buildings that surrounded it were destroyed. Every year a ceremony known as *ihtifâl* was held in his mausoleum.[69] In this ceremony, soldiers from the *Ertuğrul* regiment marched in the area singing "We

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[66]Ibid., p. 228.

[67]Ibid.

[68]Selim Deringil, *İktidarın Sembolleri ve İdeoloji* (The Well Protected Domains), (İstanbul: YKY, 2002), p. 42.

[69]Ibid., p. 41.

are the soldiers of Ertuğrul, we are ready to die for Sultan Abdülhamid."[70] With these words past and present are brought together, supporting Abdülhamid's authority with that of Ertuğrul Bey. Furthermore, elements of the architectural style of the Ulu Camii, an important mosque built in Bursa in the early days of the Ottoman dynasty, were used in the royal mosque in Abdülhamid's Yıldız Palace Complex. For example, every effort was made to replicate the minbar of the Ulu Camii in the Yıldız Camii.[71]

In addition this 'search for roots' has precedents in the 'roots' themselves. Deringil indicates that Abdülhamid's "obsession" with 'Ottoman roots' can be seen as similar to Mehmet I's efforts at legitimizing his dynastic authority.[72] Mehmet I had to struggle to hold onto power in the interregnum period that followed the Ottomans' defeat by Timur in Anatolia in 1402. As part of these efforts, he ordered the construction of a mosque in Söğüt, the first seat of the Ottomans. He was trying to draw connections to the birth of the Ottomans. Abdülhamid II attempted a similar task.

Sultan Abdülhamid II tried to legitimize his authority and power not only through the distant past and the early days of the Ottoman Empire, but also by glorifying the more recent past. Fausto Zonaro's (1854-1929) reproduction of Bellini's (1429-1507) famous portrait of Mehmed II can be interpreted as one example of these efforts in the visual arts.[73] Reproducing the portrait of Mehmed II,

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[70]Deringil, *İktidarın Sembolleri,* p. 42.

[71]Ibid., p. 40.

[72]Ibid., p.42.

[73]This painting is now in the Topkapı Palace Museum. Günsel Renda, *Propagating the Imperial Image: Tasvir-i Hümâyûn. Osmanlı padişah portreleri bir 19. yüzyıl albümü* : İnan ve Suna Kıraç

who conquered İstanbul and is generally considered to be one of the greatest sultans, illustrated a glorious and celebrated history. A reproduction of Mahmud II's (r.1785-1839) portrait by Schlesinger, in which the sultan was dressed in Western style, was made by the French painter Bertaux (1843-1928).[74] Although Mahmud II was dressed in Western clothes in the original portrait, he is seen with traditional clothes in Bertaux's portrait. Mahmud II had made many social and military reforms and is generally considered a modern/Western sultan. Since Sultan Abdülhamid II was a modern monarch who formulated new education, health, and industrial systems while at the same time emphasizing traditional values, this reinterpretation of Mahmud II's portrait fits well with the character of the Hamidian era. Furthermore, Renda claims that Abdülhamid II wanted to exhibit the portraits of earlier sultans in the Yıldız Palace, although it is not certain what became of this plan.[75] However, in the "İstanbul" part of his travel diary, Mozaffar al-Din Shah mentions an underground gallery leading from the *Şâle Köşkü* to the Yıldız theatre building in which there were many portraits of older members of the Ottoman family and paintings of war scenes hung on the walls.[76] This gallery could be the one that Renda mentioned.

This glorification of the past can also be seen in the portraits of former Ottoman sultans placed on the porcelain plates produced by the *Yıldız Çini Fabrika-i Hümâyûn* (Imperial Yıldız Ceramic Factory), which was founded in the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II. The Ottoman sultans were depicted along with monumental

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koleksiyonu (A 19th century album of Ottoman sultans' portraits : İnan and Suna Kıraç collection), (Turkey: İ. Kıraç&S. Kıraç, 1992), p. 462.

[74]Ibid., p. 461.

[75]Ibid., p.462.

[76]Mozaffar al-Din Shah, *Safarnama-ye Mobarek-e Shahinshahi*, (Tehran:1903), p. 225.

buildings that were built under their patronage.[77] On the first plate, we see a portrait of Sultan Abdülmecid and Dolmabahçe Palace, on the second one Sultan Selim III and the Selimiye Barracks and on the third one Sultan Mahmud II and the Nusretiye Mosque. While these depictions underlined the power of the sultans and their buildings, they also emphasized the power of Abdülhamid II, who commissioned their production. In other words, they glorify the past in order to underline the power of Abdülhamid's regime. It can be assumed that, by sponsoring the production of these plates in a factory within his court, Yıldız Palace, Sultan Abdülhamid re-legitimized his dynastic power through his predecessors Abdülmecid, Mahmud II and Selim III, who were seen as modernizing figures. From this point of view, with the products of a new, Western and modern factory, Abdülhamid II was creating continuity with earlier Ottoman sultans in terms of their modernization efforts.

The Ottoman method of legitimizing authority was different from that of the Qajars. The Ottomans were interested in the early Ottoman era, aiming to highlight their dynastic power, while the Qajars attempted to create a dynastic lineage from ancient Iran through the Safavids. Abdülhamid II, like other Ottoman sultans, used his ancestors' power and authority to re-legitimize his own. While the "obsession" with the Ottomans' roots can be identified as a way of going into the past in order to be purified, the obsession with the golden age was an effort to re-gain a splendor that had been lost by propagating a celebrated history. From this perspective, the Ottoman interest in history can be considered as a result of a 'break' with the past. The past was represented as nostalgia for a history that had already passed. However, the Qajar search for roots was neither purification nor nostalgia. It was related to the legitimization of authority. The Qajar dynasty's return to the ancient and Safavid

[77]Garo Kürkman, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ermeni Ressamlar 1600-1923*, (İstanbul: Matüsalem, 2004), p. 178.

past was an effort to present itself as the last part of this dynastic and cultural lineage. In other words, the Ottomans were searching for dynastic continuity, while the Qajars were seeking dynastic legitimization.

In addition to historical concerns, a Western-modern dimension also shaped the Ottoman and Qajar political and social agenda in the nineteenth century. This dimension was constituted by active relations with Europe and modernization activities in the education, military and health fields and many other areas. Both states were engaged in modernization activities in order to be a part of the modern world. In the Ottoman Empire, modernizing efforts included the construction of railway, telegraph services, and the creation of new hospitals, such as the *Hamidiyye Etfâl* (1899), together with new schools such as the *Sanayi-i Nefise* (1883) and school for girls. Although Nasser al-Din Shah was reluctant about the school for girls unlike Sultan Abdülhamid II, he also ordered construction of railway and telegraph infrastructure.[78] Discussing the modernization activities undertaken by these two states is beyond the scope of this chapter, but my aim is to give a general idea about this process and introduce photography as a new, modern tool that performed a function long assigned to painting in terms of representing the past and modernity. In his article "The Powerful Art of Qajar Photography," Ali Behdad states that "photography displaced painting in creating 'an image of dynastic power' since the time of Nasser al-Din Shah."[79] He describes the self-portrait photographs that Nasser al-Din Shah took by himself with the assistance of Ghulam Huseyn Khan and gave to

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[78]Amanat, *Pivot*, p. 428.

[79]Ali Behdad "The Powerful Art of Qajar Photography", in *Iranian Studies* ed. Layla Diba, 34, (USA: The Society for Iranian Studies, 2001), p. 149.

rijâl and local chieftains as "tokens of his dynastic power."[80] Proceeding from this argument, we can say that photography 'displaced'[81] painting not only in creating 'an image of dynastic power' but also in creating a new, traditional/historical and modern/Western nineteenth century image in both Qajar Iran and the Ottoman Empire.

Photography in Qajar Iran and the Ottoman Empire: Documenting, Informing, Controlling, Image-making

Photography began with Louis Daguerre, who first invented silver-coated copper plate prints in 1839. This new medium was 'discovered' and used by Ottomans and Iranians soon after its invention. The invention of the daguerreotype was first announced in the Ottoman Empire in the *Takvîm-i Vekâyi* newspaper on 28 October 1839.[82] Two Italian brothers, Carlo and Giovanni Naya, were the pioneers who established the first daguerreotype studios in 1845 in İstanbul.[83] These studios were founded in the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839-1861), who sponsored pioneers of photography, as did his successor, Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861-1876). By the beginning of 1850, other photography studious, such as those of Kargoupolos' were established and daguerreotype became widespread in İstanbul.[84]

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[80]Ibid.

[81]"Displacement" does not implicate a shift that painting was totaly left. It only emphasizes the power of the new medium, photography.

[82]Bahattin Öztuncay, *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları*, (İstanbul, Aygaz: 2003), p. 36.

[83]Bahattin Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople: Pioneers, studios and Artists from 19th century,* (İstanbul: Aygaz, İstanbul, 2003), p. 41.

[84]Ibid., pp. 21-22.

In the early days of photography, there were many photographers in İstanbul, both passing through as travelers and residing in the city. Ferrier, Robertson, the Abdullah Freres, Kargopoulos, and Sebah&Joaillier were some of the famous photographers who photographed monuments, panoramic views, royal figures and ordinary people in those early days of photography (the 1860s and 1870s) in İstanbul.[85] With the support of Grand Vizier Keçecizade Fuad Paşa, the Abdullah Freres prepared a series of portraits of the members of the sultan's cabinet and they subsequently became court photographers in 1863, in the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz.[86]

Although photography was introduced to the Ottoman Empire before Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign, it had its golden age under his rule and patronage. There were *fotoğrafhane*s established in the *Mekteb-i Harbiyye*, the *Mühendishane-i Berr-i Hümâyûn,* the *Erkan-ı Harbiyye-i Umumiyye* (General Staff)*, and the Matba'a-i Bahriyye* (Naval Printing Office) by the end of the 1890s.[87] Since the sultan had a personal interest in photography, a *fotoğrafhane* was constructed within the Yıldız Palace Complex on his orders.[88] He gathered photographers under his patronage and sponsored them either with salary or prestige. Since they craved both material benefits and fame, one of the ultimate achievements for a photographer was to become a "court photographer" and be honored with the medals by the sultan. It was hard to earn that kind of fame and popularity, but it was easy to lose it. For instance,

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[85]Ibid., p. 67.

[86]Ibid., p.185.

[87]Banu Kaygusuz, *Poetics and Politics of Photography: The Representation of Japan in the Photography Collection of Abdülhamid II*, (unpublished MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2009), p. 81.

[88]Ibid., p. 81.

the Abdullah Freres lost the prestige they had earned during the first years of the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II when they photographed Russian generals and ambassadors during the Russo-Ottoman War. Their place was later claimed by the photographer Kargaopaulos. Similar prestige would be earned by Sebah & Joaillier even later.[89]

As in the Ottoman Empire, travelers and other Western photographers were the pioneers of photography in Iran. Jules Richard (1816-1891), a master of the daguerreotype was one of first photographers in Iran. He went to Iran in 1844 and was appointed to the faculty of the *Dâr al-Fonûn* (school of science) in 1851.[90] Photography became widespread in the reign of Nasser al-Din Shah, who had a personal interest in the medium. Nasser al-Din Shah was an enthusiastic photographer and encouraged his courtiers to take up the art. The shah took many photographs of the Golestan Palace, his courtiers, his women, and himself.[91] He converted a building within the Golestan Palace into his *akshana*, as his counterpart Sultan Abdülhamid II had done, and a department in the *Dâr al-Fonûn* was devoted to photography. Many photography studios were founded in the reign of Nasser al-Din Shah; photographers such as Abdullah Qajar (1849-1850) and Antoine Sevruguin (1870-1930) built great reputations.

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[89] Engin Özendes, *From Sabâh & Joaillier to Foto Sabâh: Orientalism in Photography*, (İstanbul : YKY, 1999), p. 83.

[90] Vuurman and Matens, p.20.

[91] Golestan Palace Archives album no 894/447 include photographs taken by Nasser al-Din Shah himself.

What were the reasons behind the rapid rise of photography in these polities? What was the motivation for these rulers' patronage? The most important factor behind the rapid rise of photography was the rulers' hunger for information. Since photography was an effective way of gaining information, many albums of landscapes, buildings, and portraits were created from various regions within their lands and brought to the Ottoman and Qajar rulers.

Since Sultan Abdülhamid II seldom went out of his Yıldız Palace Complex, likely because of his fear of being assassinated, such photographs and albums played a crucial role in informing the sultan about his country. The albums taken under the orders of Sultan Abdülhamid II were kept in the Yıldız Palace and sent to the İstanbul University Library in the Republican period. A quick look at these albums allows us to see that photography served as a means of documentation and a source of information in the Hamidian regime. There are many photographs of modern buildings, modern schools, hospitals, military units, museums, historical sites, and royal visits taken on the orders of the sultan. For instance, in 1889 the Ottoman state commissioned a photographic survey of schools, hospitals, prisons, governmental buildings military barracks, mosques, and antiquities. The program was implemented in Kastamonu, Bursa, Edirne, Trabzon, Samsun, Rize, Gümüşhane, and Ankara.[92] Furthermore, one document indicates that photographs of soldiers and a military building built in Mecca were presented to the sultan.[93] In addition, there are other documents reporting that photographs of clock towers built in Yanya and artesian

[92]Kaygusuz, p. 75.

[93]BOA. D. 1255/77072, 1014/1303h/5 cited in *Sultan Abdülhamid Arşivi İstanbul Fotoğrafları*, (İstanbul:IRCICA&İBB, 2007), p. 38.

well established in Selanik were presented to the sultan.[94] Photographs of the Baghdad Railway were taken and sent to Yıldız Palace.[95] Photographs of tombs found in excavations directed by Osman Hamdi Bey were also sent to the palace.[96]

Iranian rulers --especially Nasser al-Din Shah-- had the same desire to be informed about their country. Images of different cities, Golestan Palace, military barracks and units, railway construction, royal visits, technological developments, ceremonies, and ancient sites were sent to Nasser al-Din Shah, and are now in the Golestan Palace. One example of the shah himself ordering photographs to be taken is his request that Jules Richard take pictures of Persepolis.[97] These photographs of Richard must have been made on the orders of the shah, or, at least, with his knowledge.

The Practice of Gift Exchange

Photographs were not only used as a source of information, but also as a part of the practice of gift exchange, which was part of the Ottoman and Qajar states' project of self-representation. Photography was linked with modernity, but it was also used to represent historical heritage and underline cultural and political power. Albums including portraits and shots of new buildings, factories, schools, and hospitals -- that is, signs of "modernity"-- together with ancient and historical sites were sent to various rulers and royal family members by the Ottoman Empire and Qajar Iran. In one document Prince Bismarck expresses his appreciation for photographs Sultan

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[94] BOA.SHM. 421/1; BOA.SHM. 307/25 cited in Ibid., p. 38.

[95] Ibid., p. 33; Kaygusuz p. 77.

[96] Album no: 91533, *Abdülhamid Arşivi İstanbul Fotoğrafları*, p. 38.

[97] Vuurman and Matens, p. 20.

Abdülhamid II had sent to him.[98] In another document, the German King and Queen thank Şehzade Burhaneddin and Naile Sultan for photographs that they had sent.[99] Certain photographic albums, known as "Hamidian Albums," were sent as gifts to the Library of Congress in 1893 and the British Museum in 1894.[100] These albums include photographs of hospitals, new schools, modern military units, and modern and historical buildings and highlight the orderly, modern character of the Ottoman Empire. Such gifts not only displayed the modern and Western Ottoman Empire, but also emphasized its historical heritage by presenting photographs of historical places, palaces, mosques, etc.

Famous Ottoman photographers Viçen Abdullah and Bahriyeli Ali Sami made photographs of German Wilhelm II's 1889 visit to İstanbul and prepared albums to be presented to the Kaiser.[101] Like his father Wilhelm II, Prince Adalbert visited the sultan on 23 October 1901 and Ali Sami made photographs of his visit. Ali Sami presented an album including these photographs to the sultan and sent a copy to the Kaiser.[102] Furthermore, Austrian Crown Prince Rudolf visited the sultan in April 1884. Vasilaki Kargopulo prepared an album including shots of his arrival in İstanbul, his journey to Yıldız Palace, and his reception in the Austrian Embassy

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[98]BOA Y.PRK.EŞA 7/5.

[99]BOA Y.PRK.EŞA 10/87.

[100]See *Imperial self-portrait: The Ottoman Empire as revealed in the sultan Abdul-Hamid II's photographic albums, presented as gifts to the Library of Congress (1893) and the British Museum (1894): a pictorial selection with catalogue, concordance, indices, and brief essays*, eds by Carney E.S. Gavin and the Harvard Semitic Museum, (Harvard University, 1989, Office of the University Publisher).

[101]Öztuncay, *Dersaadet*, p. 225; 338.

[102]Ibid., p. 340.

in Beyoğlu.[103] Sultan Abdülhamid II presented this album, together with three other albums by Kargopulo, at a dinner given the Prince in Yıldız Palace.[104] The first album included photographs of the sultan's high officials, the second, photographs of costumes and certain jobs, and the third, shots of İstanbul and the Bosphorus.[105] Öztuncay indicates that the sultan also gave Vukovic, the Prince of Montenegro, an album including photographs of İstanbul at a dinner celebrating his arrival in the Yıldız Palace in 7th August 1885.[106] Öztuncay also claims that an album including photographs of panoramas and historical sites in İstanbul was given to the king of Sweden and Norway, who visited the sultan in 1885.[107]

Based on the information provided by Öztuncay, we can see that, in addition to presenting his royal guests with albums of photographs taken during their time in İstanbul, Sultan Abdülhamid II created a tradition of presenting such visitors with a Kargopuolo album including images of İstanbul. During my research in the Golestan Palace Archives, I came across such an album by Kargopulo including some selections of historical and touristic sites in İstanbul together with panoramas and everyday scenes.[108] This album consists of 35 photographs, each on a separate page. It begins with a shot of Kasımpaşa and then Sultanahmet. The album includes photographs of mosques such as Ayasofya, Süleymaniye, Bayezid, Sultanahmed, Nûr-i Osmaniye, Vâlide Sultan and Yeni Camii; historical sites such as

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[103]Ibid., p. 248.

[104]Ibid., p.248.

[105]Ibid., p.248

[106]Ibid., p. 248.

[107]Ibid., pp. 248-250

[108]Golestan Palace Archives, album no: 491.

Dolmabahçe palace, Yeniçeri Köşkü, the gate of Topkapı Palace, Dikilitaş, and Tersane-i Âmire; and shots from Fenerbahçe, Bahçekapı, Kağıthane, Galata, and Kız Kulesi (Maiden's Tower), together with panoramic views of the city. Given the fact that the sultan had given such Kargapoulo albums to his royal visitors, it is possible that this Kargopuolo album was given to the shah on the occasion of his visit to İstanbul. However, there is no information found in the sources to prove that this album was given to Mozaffar al-Din Shah when he visited İstanbul.

On the other hand, the Ottoman newspaper *İkdâm* reports that an album including photographs of his İstanbul days was given to Mozaffar al-Din Shah.[109] In the Golestan Palace archives, I came across an album including his days in İstanbul, which must be the one mentioned in *İkdâm*.[110] The photographs of the shah's time in İstanbul functioned as a way of informing the sultan about the shah's every action. However, presenting an album of these photographs as a gift to the Iranian ruler was also part of the Ottoman state's project of self-representation, since it included not only photographs from the trip, but also other photos of Ottoman factories such as *Yıldız Çini Fabrika-i Hümâyûn*, museums, and scenes from historical sites such as Palestine, the mosques of Bursa, and Beykoz Köşkü in İstanbul. In other words, in addition to serving as a reminder of the shah's days in İstanbul, this album represents both the historical and modern faces of the Ottoman Empire.[111]

The Iranian monarchs, especially Nasser al-Din Shah and Mozaffer al-Din Shah, also sent albums abroad as gifts. A document from the Ottoman state archives

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[109]"Albüm Takdîmi", *İkdâm*, 3 October 1900, p.1.

[110]Golestan Palace Archives, album no: 389.

[111]This album will be examined in the last chapter of this thesis.

indicates that two such albums were sent to the Ottoman Empire, although we do not know exactly where they are now.[112] However, there are four albums including photographs of Iran in Abdülhamid Collection in İstanbul University Library, two of which could be the ones indicated in the document.[113] One of those albums includes photographs of Tehran, Golestan Palace and the mount Damavand.[114] This album has a thick cover adorned with a *tuğrâ*. The second album includes sixteen photographs of the school in Tehran, *Mekteb-i Nizâmiyye*, construction of the school building, photographs of students, some shots of many other buildings and palaces. One could easily say that this album represented Iran as a modern country by showing the construction of a new, modern school and buildings in Tehran. The third album[115] includes photographs by the famous Italian photographer Luigi Montabone, who went to Iran in 1862 and prepared photographs not only of the country but also the royal court and presented them to both the Italian and Iranian states.[116] Montabone was assigned to a delegation consisting of 16 people that went to Iran to sign a treaty on economic and political issues.[117] As Mohammed Reza Tahmaspour indicates, Montabone's trip took place at a time in which Nasser al-

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[112]BOA Y, AZJ. 30/52.

[113]İstanbul University Library Rare Collection, album no: 91253, 91269, 91493, 91356.

[114]Album no: 91253.

[115]Album no: 91493

[116]Mohammed Reza Tahmasbpour, "Italians and Photography in Persian 1853-1862" in *The Montabone Album*, ed. L.A. Ferydoun Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn, Manoutchehr M. Eskandari-Qajar, Mieke Jansen, Anna Vanzan en Corien Vuurman, (Rotterdam,Gronsveld, Santa Barbara and Tehran: IQSA& Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn&Co's UITGEVERSMAATSCHAPPIJ, 2004), p. 35.

[117]Anna Vanzan, "The 1862 Italian Mission to Persia" in *The Montabone Album*, ed. L.A. Ferydoun Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn, Manoutchehr M. Eskandari-Qajar, Mieke Jansen, Anna Vanzan en Corien Vuurman, (Rotterdam,Gronsveld, Santa Barbara and Tehran: IQSA& Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn&Co's UITGEVERSMAATSCHAPPIJ, 2004), p.17.

Din Shah had developed a strong interest in photography. Therefore, Montabone documented the entire journey and also the shah's court, including the shah himself.[118] Corien Vuurman indicates that the Montabone album was first found in Italy, then in Golestan Palace. It was later discovered in the archives of The Hague.[119] The album found in Italy includes 60 photographs, the Hague album 52, and the album in Golestan Palace 60 photographs, the same as the one in Italy.[120] Interestingly, the album that I came across in the Abdülhamid archives includes 60 photographs and is an exact copy of this Italian one. It begins with four portraits of Nasser al-Din Shah, as is seen in the re-publication of the Montabone album found in Italy.[121] There are some images of Yerevan and Tiflis, as well as Tehran and Golestan Palace. There are also some images of Iranian soldiers, high officials, and historical sites and two photographs of Mirza Mozaffar al-Din as a child. In the first photograph he is seen alone, whereas in the other one he is posed together with some officials. Another album in the İstanbul University Library Rare Collection includes 28 photographs of Iran, mostly taken by Sevruguin.[122] It includes the famous portrait of Nasser al-Din Shah sitting on the Peacock Throne and another photograph in which the shah is in front of a table full of food, surrounded by many

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[118]Tahmasbpour, pp. 35-37.

[119]Corien Vuurman, "Luigi Montabone and Western Photography in Persia" in *The Montabone Album*, ed. L.A. Ferydoun Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn, Manoutchehr M. Eskandari-Qajar, Mieke Jansen, Anna Vanzan en Corien Vuurman, (Rotterdam, Gronsveld, Santa Barbara and Tehran: IQSA& Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn&Co's UITGEVERSMAATSCHAPPIJ, 2004), p.23.

[120] Ibid; also see Tahmasbpour, p. 37.

[121] *The Montebone Album*, ed. L.A. Ferydoun Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn, Manoutchehr M. Eskandari-Qajar, Mieke Jansen, Anna Vanzan en Corien Vuurman, (Rotterdam,Gronsveld, Santa Barbara and Tehran: IQSA& Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn&Co's UITGEVERSMAATSCHAPPIJ, 2004).

[122] Album no: 91356.

other people and posing for the camera, probably in a tent. There are also some images of Golestan Palace and historical sites of Iran, together with dancing and female carpet weavers.

Furthermore, there are two albums in the Taksim Atatürk Library, one of which includes the same 28 photographs in the last-mentioned album in the Abdülhamid Collection and many other photographs taken by Sevruguin. [123] One album consists of portraits and photographs of people from particular trades, mostly by Sevruguin; the other was a selection of landscapes, buildings, people from various trades, and costumes. On the back cover of the albums is written "A. Tarnawski, Relieur de S.M.I. le Sultan." This indicates that the covers were made by the royal bookbinder Tarnawski, whose name is seen on many covers of Hamidian albums in the İstanbul University Library Rare Collection. Based on this, we may consider these albums to have been royal gifts presented to the sultan. However, they include some erotic photographs of women, which raises doubts (Figure 1). Since Sultan Abdülhamid II was a religious person and there was strict censorship on many sexual issues in addition to political, economic, and social issues in his reign, I am reluctant to conclude these albums were royal gifts sent by the Iranian ruler to the Ottoman Sultan. Furthermore, the order of the photographs in the albums supports this doubt. These albums include two photographs of Mozaffar al-Din Shah at a young age, which suggests that Nasser al- Din Shah was the ruler when the images were taken (Figure 2). However, Nasser al-Din Shah is not the main figure in the album as would be expected in a royal album sent to another ruler. There is no portrait of Nasser al-Din Shah, only the image in which he posed in front of a table full of food while surrounded by other people, which is

[123] Taksim Atatürk Library Rare Collection, album no: 63-64.

also seen in the album in Abdülhamid collection (Figure 3). All of this raises two possibilities: Photographs, including two portraits of himself, were selected and sent by Mirza Mozaffar al-Din to an Ottoman prince or official; or the photographs by Sevruguin were sent by Nasser al-Din Shah and later selected by Ottoman officials who presented the appropriate ones to the sultan and gave the others to a high official or bureaucrat. Whether these albums were royal gifts or not, they reveal that Qajar photographs were circulating within the Ottoman Empire and composed or bound by the royal bookbinder.

Representing Modernity and Control

It was not a coincidence that photography education was established in the schools of the *Dâr al-Fonûn* in Iran; photography was understood as a new science, a new science that would capture reality. Under a Qajar photograph in which some men are standing in front of a wall and talking to each other while others are gambling, it is written that "these people were photographed in their natural posture" (*hâlat-e tabî'iyye*).[124] By using the word "*hâlat-e tabî'iyye,*" the photographer, or whoever wrote this, intended to declare that he had captured the "real." Furthermore, an article in the Persian newspaper *Nasiri* claims that after following the invention of the camera a new tool that take photographs of dreams was created.[125] It was described as capable of making photographs of what people had in their minds. In addition to "capturing the real," this machine would take pictures of the "imaginary." This reflects the high expectations of photography as a new, modern technology.

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[124] Semsar, p. 461,

[125] *Nasırî*, 20 September 1896, no: 20, p.7.

Photography was an effective method of manifesting modernity through images of modern buildings, new educational, health, and military services, police organizations, factories, and railways. Looking at the albums that were sent to the Library of Congress in 1893, we can observe an emphasis on Ottoman modernization in photographs of factories, such as the *Yıldız Çini Fabrika-i Hümâyûn* (Yıldız Imperial Factory of Ceramics)[126], together with military, health, and educational services, including military schools and school for girls and *Mekteb-i Sultânî* (the Sultan's School).[127] These photographs highlight the order and modernity, thus, present the Ottoman state as organized, orderly, and modern.

In addition, modernity was also represented through portraiture. Firstly, since photography was regarded as a modern and Western instrument in the nineteenth century Middle East, the camera that photographers were posing for was itself a sign of modernity and photographers sometimes posed together with the camera.[128] The appearance of modernity was also provided by ostensibly Western objects such as chairs, tables, and clocks. There are many photographs of the rulers, members of royal family and also ordinary people posing with these objects. A portrait of Anis al-Dawla, one of Nasser al-Din Shah's women, posing with a piano is a very significant photograph in terms of representing modernity.[129] Nasser al-Din Shah, as the ruler and the photographer, draws a connection with modernity by photographing

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[126] Some of these photographs of the *Yıldız Çini Fabrika-i Hümâyûn* were sent to Iran in the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II, and are now in the Golestan Palace archives. Golestan Palace Archives, album no: 389, 39.

[127] See Carney E.S Gavin, and the Harvard Semitic Museum ed, Imperial Self-portrait: the Ottoman Empire as revealed in the sultan Abdülhamid II'S photography albums, presented as gifts to the Library of Congress (1893) and the British Museum (1894), (Cambridge: Harvard University Publisher, 1989).

[128] Semsar, p. 473.

[129] Ibid., p. 160.

his woman with a piano that is a Western and modern object.

In addition, both in the Ottoman Empire and Qajar Iran criminals who had been brought to police stations or held in prison were photographed for the record.[130] Photography was also used in the investigation of the attempted bomb attack on Sultan Abdülhamid II and photographs of the people responsible for the act were published.[131] Gendarmerie Minister Kamil Paşa was assigned the duty of founding a photography workshop within the ministry building and court photographer Vasilakis Kargapoulos placed in charge of the workshop.[132] Similarly, in Qajar Iran many photographs were taken of prisoners.[133] Those photographs were possibly taken for official records in order to identify the prisoners and guards, but also functioned to inform the shah as part of the state's control mechanism. Although they were official records, they also represented the justice, order, control, and power of both states. They became tools for representing these polities as modern states that were able maintain control over criminals in modern prisons. By photographing modernity, both states were presenting themselves as a part of the modern and Western world.

An album dated 1881 consists of 90 photographs of high officials in the Yıldız Palace during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II.[134] Every page includes four portraits and the series begin with the title "*Yaverân-ı Hazret-i Padişahî Kulları*" (*Aid de-camp subjects* of his Majesty) (Figure 4) and two subtitles: "*Yaverân Kulları*

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[130]BOA DH.MKT 2023/71; BOA BEO, 101, 7549; cited in Öztuncay, *Dersaadet*, p. 29.

[131]BOA Y.E.E 1082. Also see Öztuncay, *Dersaadet*, p. 29.

[132]Bahattin Öztuncay, *Vassilaki Kargopoulo: Hazret-i Padişahın Serfotoğrafı*, (İstanbul : BOS, 2000), p. 72.

[133]For example, a photograph of a prisoner is in the Golestan Palace Archives, no: 347/32.

[134]Taksim Atatürk Library Rare Collection, Album no: 0063.

(aid de-camp subjects) (Figure 5) and "*Çavuşân Kulları*"(sergeant subjects) (Figure 6). The album has a thick, red cover featuring the sultan's *tuğrâ* (Figure 7). In the photographs, all *yaverân* and *çavuşân* are standing in front of similar backdrops and generally looking directly into the camera with the same looks and poses. This ordered characteristic of the album makes the subjects recognizable while also representing an echo of the orderly Hamidian state. This album reflects very well the attempt at creating the image of a modern state in its presentation of Western-dressed officers depicted in an orderly manner.

Since modernity is a eurocentric term, when it comes to representation of it, 'oriental' understanding of orientalism comes to mind. In other words, in the process of becoming modern, the Ottomans and Qajars used the same forms and methods of representing the orient that the modern world used -- that is, orientalist cliches. In her article, Woodward addresses two ways of photographing modernity in terms of orientalist imagery through photographs by Bonfils and Sebah. In Sebah's photograph, the subjects are well dressed and standing in front of well-maintained shops in an orderly fashion. In Bonfil's photograph, on the other hand, carpet merchants are posed in an oriental atmosphere as typical oriental carpet merchants.[135] Woodward regards Bonfil's "carpet merchants" photo as "unable to trancend popular European notions of the orient, while Sebah's Grand Bazaar photo represents "local Ottoman society with visual signs of new modern order".[136] In this light, when we look at photographs Iran's tobacco corporation from the Golestan Palace archives[137], we can easily observe that the photographs emphasize the modern face of nineteenth

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[135]Michelle Woodward, "Between Orientalist Cliches and Images of Modernization: Photographic Practice in Late Ottoman Era," *History of Photography*, Vol. 27, no. 4, (2003): 363-374, p. 366.

[136]Woodward, p. 364.

[137]Golestan Palace archives, album no: 291/149

century Iran as an industrialized country (Figure 8). On the other hand, like the Bonfil images Woodward mentions, these photographs are full of orientalist cliches. Iranian workers are seen together with Western people in an oriental atmosphere together with tobacco and waterpipes on an oriental carpet.[138] All the subjects are posing while sitting or standing on the carpet and looking directly into the camera. If we ignore the poster with "Meshed tobacco" written on it, we can see this image as a frozen and timeless representation of the orient. On the other hand, as is the case in the Grand Bazaar photographs by Sebah, the two photographs of the *kârkhâna-ye feshangsâzî* (weapons factory) in which workers are standing in a row under Qajar flags and looking at the camera portray these factories as the modern face of Iran (Figure 9). [139]

Portraiture

The invention of photography opened up access to portraiture in terms of accessibility and reproducibility. Since cameras became more accessible and photography studios increased in number, having photographs taken of oneself became a regular activity. Among the photographs taken in the Ottoman Empire, the highlights are the portraits of the sultan, princes, men, women and children from the dynastic family, *paşa*s, and ambassadors from various countries as well as foreign generals and their wives and children. There are also portraits of Mawlawi sheikhs, Christian and Jewish religious leaders, and the photographers themselves along with their families. In addition, photographs were also taken of different occupations, costumes, and ethnic traditions. On the other hand, in Qajar Iran we

[138]Golestan Palace archives no: 291/149.

[139] Golestan Palace archives no: 288/5, 288/7.

see photographs of the shah, his family, high officials, *ulemâ* (religious scholars), people from various professions, eroticized women, and members of the royal harem who were personally photographed by Nasser al-Din Shah himself.

Royal Portraiture: Creating Connections with the Past

Since photography became a regular practice, many photographs of the rulers and dynastic families were made in the Ottoman Empire and Qajar Iran. We could easily say that royal photographic portraiture followed the painting tradition in terms of creating continuity with the past and propagating dynastic power. In Qajar Iran, traditional themes and concepts were used in the royal practice of portraiture to create continuity with the past. For example, emphasis on the ancient and traditional elements of Iran can be observed in some photographs taken by Nasser al-Din Shah. The shah is seen as an authoritative and powerful figure in many of these portrait photographs. He is sometimes seated on a chair, wearing medals and an aigrette, and holding a sword. One portrait photograph in which he is seen in front of the *Peacock Throne* not only shows "his monarchial power and his dynastic affiliation with Nadir Shah Afshar"[140], but also recalls traditional royal painted portraits such as the *Murâqqâ* and *Shâhânshâhnâma,* which have already been mentioned. That is, it represents monarchial power by showing the ruler on the royal throne, which is considered a sign of royal power and authority.

Secondly, traditional hunting imagery is also seen in photograph form. In some photographs, Nasser al-Din Shah is portrayed as a victorious huntsman sitting behind an animal. These hunting scenes recall ancient rock reliefs from Iran's

[140]Behdad, "Qajar Photography", p. 149.

Achemenid (550-331 B.C) and Sasanian (A.D. 221-642) past and also the additions to them made by Qajar ruler Fath Ali Shah.[141] The additions made by Fath Ali Shah to the ancient reliefs in *Tâq-e Bostân* are the most famous of these. Moreover, there are eight more reliefs; seven from Fath Ali Shah's reign and one from that of Nasser al-Din Shah.[142] Large rock reliefs on the banks of the Savashi river north of the village of Jalisjand in the district of Firuzkuh depict a hunting scene with Fath Ali Shah in the center surrounded by twenty one of his sons and courtiers.[143] Moreover, in the reliefs in Rayy, the ruler is represented as a lion hunter. Hunting photographs of Nasser al-Din Shah are likely intended to draw connections with ancient Iran and recall such rock reliefs. Nasser al-Din Shah continued this hunting imagery tradition using the newly born method of photography. As such, we can conclude that photography has contributed to the use of an ancient vocabulary and that it displaced painting and carving in the portrayal of hunting scenes.

While Nasser al-Din Shah used photography and his portraits in order to show his authority and create a dynastic image, Sultan Abdülhamid II used the non-existence of his portraits for the same purpose. Although Sultan Abdülhamid II supported the activity of making portraits of earlier Ottoman sultans, he was reluctant to pose for his own portrait, as was already discussed in the first part of this chapter. Abdullah *Frères*, who had already made photographic copies of older Ottoman sultans' painted portraits,[144] were punished for photographing the sultan. The Abdullah *Frères* were punished once for taking the sultan's photograph and

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[141]Diba, p. 32.

[142] J.P Luft, "The Qajar Rock Reliefs", in in Iranian Studies, no: 34, (2001), p. 32-49, p.32.

[143]Ibid., p.32.

[144]Edhem Eldem, *İftihar ve İmtiyaz, Osmanlı Nişan ve Madalyaları Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, Eylül 2004), p. 29.

copying his portrait photograph without his permission.[145] While the sultan wanted to use the images of the older sultans in order to create connections with a powerful past, he did not want his own image to be seen. In Abdülhamid's reign, anyone could write a letter providing information directly to the sultan. These letters were known by the French word *jurnal*. However, these letters did not provide any kind of information, but were a form of spying. In other words, people wrote about what others were doing and received money from the court in return. The ear of the sultan was everywhere via his spies and informants. He did not need to be visible. He had the power of invisibility and putting his image on display could only damage this kind of power. However, this does not mean that the sultan was never photographed. He only emphasized his reluctance to pose for photographs.

Pride and Privilege[146]

The album "*Yaverân-ı Hazret-i Padişahî Kulları",* which was mentioned earlier in this chapter, must have been prepared on the order of the sultan, or at least with his permission. As a visual record, we can consider the album a result of the sultan's desire to stay informed about his subjects from within his palace. However, its significance goes beyond this. This album attributes a privilege to those who were photographed. Firstly, it was a privilege to be selected for an album made for the sultan. Secondly, the artistic set-up of the photographs emphasizes the privilege of the subject being photographed. Officials posed in a studio in front of a backdrop, dressed in uniforms, and carrying their medals were significant signs of privilege.

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[145]BOA. Y.PRK.BŞK. 4/33.

[146] This is the title of Edhem Eldem's book *Pride and Privilege* (İftihar ve İmtiyaz).

While "*yaverân*" (*aid de-camps*) were holding their swords, "*çavuşân*" (sergeants) carried their guns.

The artistic set-up that is achieved through accessories such as medals, badges, headgear, and swords, and other features such as the person's look and posture, are noticeable in many portrait photographs. The person who was posing for the camera was positioned according to his or her social status. Medals and badges were one of the most significant accessories reflecting the person's social status and privilege. Sultan Abdülhamid II, Nasser al-Din Shah, and Mozaffar al-Din Shah honored many *paşa*s, bureaucrats and foreign officials with numerous badges. In Abdülhamid's reign, because so many badges were granted, the practice became material for caricaturists and satirists and was heavily criticized.[147] One caricature in which Said Paşa is shown as unable to bear the weight of his medals and collapsing is a good example of these reactions.[148] Jakob Landou argues that the great number of badges granted during Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign caused a decline in their value.[149] According to Selim Deringil, Landou is wrong in his argument. Deringil suggests that the badges were used as a symbol of "involvement in the system" and the point was to inspire good faith in the minds of their recipients.[150] On the other hand, Edhem Eldem suggests that both these arguments are plausible since they reflect the characteristic of Abdülhamid's reign. Since modernism and conservatism do not exclude each other, the valuing and criticizing of medals reflects this

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[147]Eldem, p.335.

[148]Ibid.

[149]Cited in Eldem, p. 333.

[150]Cited in Eldem, p. 333.

characteristic of Abdülhamid's reign.[151] Using Deringil's concept of a "symbol of involvement," we can consider these portraits as manifestations of being involved in the system.

Photography had a rapid rise for some practical reasons and replaced painting in creating a dynastic image, as we have seen, but it is also very interesting that photography -- especially portrait photography -- came into a fashion in both states. With the developments in studio photography, portrait photographs became widespread. Walking into a studio and having one's photograph taken was something only a person of significant economic power could do. Thus, many *paşa*s, bureaucrats, and merchants, along with their wives and children, became regular visitors of these studios. Two portraits of Ottoman *Serhafiyye* (chief surveillant) Ahmed Celaleddin Paşa, taken twenty years apart, document the number of medals and badges he had received over the years.[152] Medals are the focus of the second image, while the first presents an image of an Ottoman paşa in modern dress holding his sword (Figure 10). We can also observe this kind of change in two photographs of Gazi Osman Paşa.[153] While one of his early portraits shows him as an Ottoman Pasha with two medals standing and holding his sword, the second portrait, which was taken twenty years later, displays his excessive number of medals (Figure 11). The more the number of medals and badges increases, the more the portraits focus on them, probably as a result of a conscious decision by the *paşa* or photographer. In addition, this desire to be photographed with an increasing number of medals can be interpreted as part of a competition for

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[151]Ibid., p. 333.

[152]Ibid pp. 340-341.

[153]Ibid., pp. 338-339.

the "privilege." Given that these portraits were taken in specific well-known studios by well-known photographers, it is very likely that these *paşa*s were well aware of each other's portraits. Their eagerness to be photographed with a constantly increasing numbers of medals and badges can be interpreted as an expression of this rivalry. Portraits of people together with their accessories, especially medals, represented their social class, power, pride, and privilege, in addition to the power of the rulers, the shah and the sultan, who gave them this privilege.

Moreover, as Eldem states, Sultan Abdülhamid II decided to create a medal for women on the European model. Since women did not have much chance to get *Osmanî* and *Mecidî* medals in that privileged men's world, a special medal --the *Şefkat*-- was created for them.[154] For example, a *Şefkat* medal was given to Fatma Aliye, a famous Ottoman intellectual, for her contributions in collecting money for the poor.[155] In addition, a medal known as the *Afetâb* was designed for the women of the royal family and foreign queens and princess in 1873 in Qajar Iran, shortly before the Ottoman invention of the *Şefkat.*[156] These portraits of privileged women who were given medals by the sultan express not only the privilege of the women who carry it, but also the power and mercy of the sultan who created a special medal for them.

In addition to these, in Qajar Iran there are many photographs of *ulema* (scholars of religion). This is probably related with the relationship between the shah and the *ulamâ* and also the *ulamâ*'s attitude towards the visual arts. Although Nasser al-Din Shah was not as loved by the *ulamâ* as his ancestor Fath Ali Shah,

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[154]Ibid., p. 260.

[155]Taksim Atatürk Library Rare Collection, FA_EVR_000021-026.

[156]Eldem, p. 260.

who was regarded as a *nâ'eb khâss* (special deputy) of the *sâheb al-zamân* (lord of the age: the hidden imam)[157], he had a balanced relationship with the *ulamâ*. In addition, the *ulamâ* supported the visual arts in Qajar Iran. Expanding on Diba's argument that in religious law " images were deemed acceptable when they utilized the vocabulary of ancient Iran or were located in court context"[158] we can add that the *ulema* supported Nasser al-Din Shah's efforts to use the visual arts due to its relationship with Shiism, as in the case of *ta'ziya*. In other words, the *ulamâ* supported the visual arts if they presented continuity with the ancient and Islamic past. Taking the *ulamâ'*s support for the visual arts into consideration, it is not strange that they did not oppose photography and that they even posed for the camera.[159]

On the other hand, we do not come across many photographs of the *ulema* in the Ottoman Empire, although there are portraits of *Mevlevi Şeyh*s and Christian and Jewish religious figures. In the Ottoman Empire, the *ulema* didn't oppose the visual arts, including photography, but we nevertheless cannot say that they supported artistic activities. Therefore the absence of photographs of the *ulema* for public display must be related to the uneasy relationship between the sultan and the *ulema*. Abdülhamid II was a reformist Sultan who formulated modern systems while utilizing the ideals of Islamism. He was personally a religious person but his Islamism was limited to symbols, titles, and charities. The sultan never let the *ulema* become powerful, probably in order to avoid the rejection of his modernist

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[157] Gavin Hambly, R.G. ''Iran during the Reigns of Fath Ali Shah and Muhammad Shah'', in Avery, Peter; Hambly, Gavin; Melville, Charles ed. 1968–91. *Cambridge History of Iran,* Vol 7. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 164.

[158] Diba, p. 44.

[159] There is a photograph of *ulamâ* in the Golestan Palace archives no: 1415/11.

reforms, especially those in the educational system such as the establishment of schools for girls.

However, the above-mentioned matters do not explain whether or not the *ulema* had photographs taken for private use. There is a photograph of *Şeyhü'l-İslâm* Cemaleddin Efendi,[160] but we do not have any idea when or under what circumstances the photograph was taken or how it was used. It can be assumed that the *ulema* were reluctant to be photographed because of the debatable permissibility of human imagery in Islam. On the other hand, since the *ulema* did not take action against the visual arts, including photography, this cannot be the sole explanation.

Photographing the "Others" and Self-orientalism

In her essay "The Imaginary Orient," Linda Nochlin criticizes Rosenthal regarding his claims on the occasion of the 1982 exhibition and catalogue for *Orientalism: The Near East in French Painting, 1800-1880*.[161] Claiming that "the flowering of Orientalist painting … was closely associated with the apogee of European colonialist expansion in the nineteenth century," Rosenthal notes, "French Orientalist painting will be discussed in terms of its aesthetic quality and historical interest, and no attempt will be made at a re-evaluation of its political uses."[162] However, Nochlin suggests that orientalist paintings are not only differentiated by their aesthetic quality and historical interest and that they can also be examined within the context of Edward Said's seminal book *Orientalism* and its emphasis on

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[160]Demirel, p. 101.

[161]Linda Nochlin, "The Orientalist Imagery" in *The Politics of Vision, Essays on Nineteenth Century Art and Society*, (NewYork: Harper&Row Publishers, 1989), p. 34.

[162]Ibid., pp. 33-34.

orientalism's creation of a distinction between the occident and the orient and the Western method of establishing authority over the East.

Nochlin mentions that "Gerome's painting seems to have relied on photographs for some of his architectural details" and critics usually compare his work to photography.[163] She adds that "photography itself is hardly immune to the blandishments of Orientalism, and even a neutral view of architecture can be ideologized."[164] Timothy Mitchell's claim that the problem for the photographer or writer visiting the Middle East was not just to make an accurate picture of the East, but to set up the East as a picture also addresses this ideologization.[165] In other words, for him the problem was to create a distance between oneself and the world --similar to the distinction created between the occident and the orient-- and thus represent the East as something picture-like, as an object on display.[166] This object on display must be exotic, primitive, and backward and highlight the otherness of the orient. By photographing the otherness of the people, landscapes, modern or historical sites and buildings, and occupational types of the orient, the orientalist's fantasies, or at least a representation them, are displayed. In many photographs, eastern people are depicted with oriental or fetish objects, representing disorder and backwardness.

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[163]Ibid., p. 39.

[164]Ibid., p. 39.

[165] Timothy Mitchell, ''Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order'' In *The Art of A Critical Anthology*, ed. Donald Preziosi, (Oxford and London: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 469.

[166]Ibid., p. 469.

Taking James Robertson's photographs of a porter and a boatman[167] and a photograph of a Persian soldier[168] taken by the Italian photographer Montabone, we can say that they both represent the occupational types of the imaginary orient (Figure 12). They are all posing in their traditional costumes, looking directly into the camera. They are not representing the daily life of Ottomans or Iranians, but the timeless orient. Although modernization activities were taking place in the Qajar military system in that period, the photographer chose to represent Persian soldier with old clothes as primitive and exotic objects. The emphasis of the photograph of the Persian soldier is on disorder.

Every photograph is staged to a level, but staging the orient through photography goes beyond this. Smoking a water pipe, playing musical instruments, *falaka* (bastinado), and card and chess playing were popular elements of the atmosphere of the imaginary orient. Taking a *falaka* photograph from the Golestan Archives[169] into consideration, it is obvious that the scene is being staged (Figure 13). The man was who is being punished is not laying on the floor but on an oriental carpet. One man standing with others is carrying a stick for the beating. Everyone is doing their job seriously and not looking into the camera. In another photograph[170], same people are sitting on the same carpet and playing cards (Figure 14). And, of course, there is a water pipe on the carpet. Based on the floor, the trees, and the door in the background, we recognize that they are staging this second

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[167]Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople*, pp. 109-110.

[168]*The Montebone Album*, p. 84.

[169]Golestan Palace Archives, album no: 427/5.

[170]Golestan Palace Archives, album no: 427/4.

scene in the same place. In a third photograph[171], two men that we have seen in other two photographs are having a bath in a pool (Figure 15). Given that the same people were featured in three photographs, which include a staged performance, it is very striking that "these people are in their natural posture"[172] was written on the photograph. Photographers tried to stage and capture a kind of reality through these performances.

On the other hand, there are many photographs of porters, dervishes, and women not represented in this kind of orientalist manner. Woodward claims that "Sebah developed a mode of representation that combined a detailed view of local Ottoman society with visual signs of a new order."[173] She uses the term "community portrait style" to describe the way people were photographed in these images. They were looking into the camera but not posing as if engaged in typical activities. Discussing Sebah's photographs of the Grand Bazaar, Woodward emphasizes that the subjects are not depicted as being engaged in timeless oriental activities such as brewing coffee or playing music instrument, but as a part of modern Eastern society.[174] Recalling that Vuurman and Matens identified Sebah's dervish photograph as being more orientalist than that of Sevruguin[175], it may be problematic to make a general statement about Sebah's method. However, Woodward's point that people of certain trades were not always depicted through orientalist imagery is an important one.

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[171]Golestan Palace Archives, album no: 427/2.

[172]*''hâlat-e tabî'iyye''*

[173]Woodward, p. 365.

[174]Woodward, p. 365.

[175] Vuurman and Matens, "Sevruguin".

Another inevitable aspect of the imaginary orient is the *haram*. There is a long tradition of the fantasy *haram* in the West, partly derived from the stories and illustrations of the *Arabian Nights.* Orientalist painters were very interested in painting harem scenes from the sixteenth century onwards. Photographs of women, including those in the *haram* and prostitutes, who were depicted as objects of exotic and erotic desire bear the features of this *haram* fantasy in both polities. Women were generally photographed together with particular objects such as pipes, pomegranates, and musical instruments, as in the case of Sevruguin's photograph of a women lying on the floor (Figure 16).[176]

In the Ottoman Empire, it is impossible to find photographs of the royal *harem,* including the sultan's women and servants (*cariye, kalfa* etc.)*,* with the exception of some photographs of royal family members taken by certain photographers*.* In Qajar Iran, on the other hand, Nasser al-Din Shah himself took photographs of the royal *haram*. In album no. 362/759 of the Golestan Palace Archives, there are many photos of the shah's women posing bare-breasted and half naked. In addition, since there are some damaged photographs of naked women found in the Golestan Archives,[177] we know that women were sometimes posed naked. Insofar as these women are depicted as objects of erotic desire, one can suggest that the images follow the orientalist tradition. Although there are many photographs following the orientalist tradition and bear the features of *haram* fantasy derived from the *Arabian Nights*, these Qajar *haram* women are not depicted through classic orientalist clichés and posing naked did not be necessarily

[176]Taksim Library Rare Collection, album no: 63

[177] Album no: 269/616, photograph no: 21, 2.

represent an application of orientalist forms. Since these photographs were produced solely for private use, they were created for pleasure.

While the West was using an orientalist discourse through which it perpetuated its domination and superiority over the East and also re-imagined the East as its other, the East was trying to find ways to cope with this hegemony. The Ottomans used a "borrowed colonialism" --to use Deringil's term– toward its Arab subjects.[178] In other words, in order to avoid being colonized by the West, the Ottomans pretended to act as colonizers. To what extent did the Ottomans and Iranians use orientalist clichés and methods to define their others? To answer this, we can look at the efforts of both states to collect photographs of native types. The tendency to represent traditional or native types found a place for itself in the photographs of people wearing costumes, as is the case in the *Elbise-i Osmâniyye Album*.[179] Osman Hamdi Bey and Victor Marie de Launay prepared this project on the occasion of the Vienna Exposition in 1873.[180] However, the famous photographer Sebah took the photographs. Ahmet Ersoy points out that "the techniques of order and analysis borrowed from the field of ethnography and the sheer power of encyclopedic classification, further reinforced by the objective distance created by the camera, rendered the album a scholarly study that claimed to portray a facet of Ottoman life in accurate and 'objective' form for a world audience."[181] On the other hand, Ersoy also adds that the compositional scheme of these images follows the

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[178]Selim Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery': The Late Ottoman Empire and the Post-Colonial Debate," in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, v. 45, 3 (April, 2003), 311-342, p. 312.

[179]For a detailed analysis, see "A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism: The Elbïse-ï ʿOsmanïyye Album", *Muqarnas*, Vol. 20 (2003), pp. 187-207.

[180]Ibid., p.190.

[181] Ibid., p. 193.

established European convention for representing "Eastern types."[182] In other words, these photographs represent people as frozen types representing regions and ethnicities. To summarize, although the album includes techniques and methods borrowed from ethnography in order to give it a sense of "objectivity" and avoid creating a fantasy, Ottomans used the very same compositions and clichés of representing "eastern types."

Photographing *âsâr-ı âtika* (antiquities), historical sites and *Ta'ziya*

Photography provided new methods for documenting historical heritage. Photographs presented states with visual documents while also highlighting continuity with the past, thereby constituting the historicized element of the nineteenth century image. Firstly, visual records of historical sites were ordered by the rulers in both Qajar Iran and the Ottoman Empire. The rulers' desire to be informed about every corner of their lands was related to their states' control mechanisms. Photographs documented historical heritage and were used as an effective way of recording and informing. For instance, Osman Hamdi Bey was eager to get the photographs of archeological excavations and sent them to the Imperial Museum.[183] The newspaper *Sabâh* reports that photographs of tombs in Sayda that had been found in an excavation directed by Osman Hamdi Bey were

[182]Ibid., p. 193.

[183]See Wendy Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, (California&London:University of California Press, 2003), p. 131.

presented to the sultan.[184] Wendy Shaw asserts that photography and archeology both provided new modes of documentation and transferring information.[185]

Similarly Nasser al-Din Shah was eager to acquire photographs of antiquities within his lands. Many photographs of Persepolis, Naqsh-e Rustem, and the mosques and ruins of Esfahan, Tabriz, and Shiraz were taken by photographers such as Luigi Pesce, Albert Hotz,[186] and Antoin Sevruguin. Pesce noted in one of his albums that he took photos of the ancient ruins of Persepolis, Pasargad, and Naqsh-e Rustem on a trip from Tehran to Shiraz.[187] Pesce introduced himself as the first person who had taken photographs of these places and dedicated his work to Nasser al-Din Shah, adding that he would not mind receiving a *neshan* from the shah.[188] Although he claimed that he achieved his task with a great deal of effort and at his own expense,[189] his dedication to the shah allows us to infer that the shah had some interest in and -- probably -- offered some support for the photographic effort. Pesce took many photographs of Isfahan, Tabriz, *Tâq-e Bostân,* and Persepolis, as well as places within the 'cultural borders,' such as Karbala and *Tâq-e Kisrâ*.

Aside from their documentary function, these photographs of historical sites obviously created continuity with the past and were part of the Ottoman and Qajar

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[184] Cited in IRCICA, p. 38, *Sabâh*, 12 November 1309.

[185]Cited in Kaygusuz, p. 78, Wendy Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, p. 131.

[186]See Corien Vuurman, *Nineteenth Century Persia in the Photographs of Albert Hotz*, (Rotterdam and Gronsveld: International Qajar Studies Association and Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn&Co's Uitgeversmaatschappij, 2011).

[187]Mohammad Rıza Tahmasbpour. "Italians and Photography in Persia" in *The Montabone Album*, pp. 31-32.

[188]Ibid.

[189]Ibid.

states' projects of self-representation. Photographs of historical sites were displayed in international expositions in order to present the authentic images of the historical face of the Ottoman Empire. The Gülmez *Frères* were commissioned to photograph the famous scenic spots, historical monuments, and mosques of İstanbul to be exhibited in the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago.[190] In the case of Hamidian photographic albums that were sent to the US, which are now in the Library of Congress, images of the Ottoman and Byzantine past attract the most attention.[191] Photographs of the Green Mosque and the mausoleums of the legendary founder of the dynasty, Ertuğrul, and the early sultans Osman and Mehmet I underline the dynastic continuity of the Ottomans; while the Byzantine Palace and the city walls of İstanbul demonstrate that the Ottomans were also inheritors of the Byzantine heritage. In the Iranian case, photographs of ancient ruins emphasized the glorious past of Iran through which the Qajar rulers were trying to legitimize their power, while photographs of tombs of Shiite leaders such as Imam Reza and images of the Safavid past connect the Qajars to the Safavid past. Either represented as a 'frozen' part of history, as in the Ottoman photographs of the Green Mosque[192] (Figure 17) or the Byzantion Tekfur Palace[193] (Figure 18) and Pesce's photograph of Persepolis[194] ; or as 'living monuments'[195] as in the

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[190]Banu Kaygusuz, p. 82; IRCICA, p. 40.

[191]It is possible to see the images through Library of Congress' Web Site http://www.loc.gov/search/?q=ottoman%20albums&fa=digitized:true

[192]Library of Congress, Abdülhamid Gift Albums, Album no: 9532

[193]Library of Congress, Abdülhamid Gift Albums, Album no: 9528.

[194]*The Montabone Album*, p. 30.

[195]The term 'living monuments' is borrowed from Ali Behdad's lecture in course "Distant Exposures: Photography Beyond the West" in Boğaziçi University in spring 2012.

photographs of Mihrimah Sultan Camii in Üsküdar[196] (Figure 19), all played a role in creating a historical image of both states.

There were also many photographs of *ta'ziya*, the passion play for the commemoration of the martyrdom of Hussein, the grandson of the Prophet Mohammed, in Iran. After Shiite Islam became the state religion, the commemoration of Hussein's martyrdom became patriotic as well as religious art. The *rawza-khânî* show was one of the earliest forms of commemorating Hussein's martyrdom. It was usually performed on the streets, under a tent, in caravanserais, or in buildings. *Parda-dârî* is a form in which a visual element is added to *rawza-khânî*. It was a one-man show where *parda-dâr* tells the story of Karbala with using gestures, rhythm, and imitations in front of a painting depicting the tragedy of Karbala.[197] In the eighteenth century, in the early years of Qajar rule, the *parda-dârî* tradition developed into the form of *ta'ziya.* Qajar search for dynastic legitimization played a great role in developing the *ta'ziya,* in order to creat connection with the Safavid past and manifest Shiite identity. Although it is dated to later years of the Safavids, reached its fullest development under the Qajar dynasty, especially in the reign of Nasser al-Din Shah. In the Nasiri period, a huge building --the *Takya Dawlat*-- was built for *ta'ziya* performances within the Golestan Palace Complex. Many photographs of *ta'ziya* performances were sent to the shah. These included photographs taken in places across Iran together with those taken in the court inside the *Takya Dawlat*. *Ta'ziya* photographs contributed to the processes of documenting and informing, but they also functioned as a follow-up to the

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[196] Library of Congress, Abdülhamid Gift Albums, Album no: 9523.

[197] For discussion, see Dabashi, Hamid "Ta'ziyeh as a Theatre of Protest", p. 179 in Eternal Performance, ed. Chelkowski, Peter, (India: Seagull Books, 2010).

traditional visual elements of *ta'ziya*, such as *pardadâri* and *ta'ziya* paintings. These photographs of *ta'ziya* performances, or actors dressed in authentic clothes, created continuity with the Safavids by highlighting Shiite identity and with the Islamic golden age by representing the *Karbala* tragedy.

Thirdly, photographs were not only a part of these states' control mechanisms, but were also connected to Western interest in the Middle East. Jülide Aker mentions that many images of the nineteenth century Middle East made additional references, metaphoric or allusive, that emphasized the content of the representation or added another, complementary layer of meaning.[198] She takes a photograph by Bonfils of a local boy sleeping on a column's capital in Palmyra as an example that holds potential for several readings. She claims that it is possible to see "an implicit metaphor for the decline of the civilization that erected it, while the sleeping boy would have figured as a reflection on the state of the current inhabitants of the Middle East."[199] For her, the image would have aided colonialist projects by providing a visual justification for the Western sense of superiority and hence entitlement to the land and resources of the region.[200] The photograph can be viewed as a part of an effort to create a historical image by presenting a historical site within the Ottoman lands, but in an orientalist manner with a colonial agenda.

In terms of Aker's claims, to what extent we can link the effort to photograph such ancient sites with Western colonial desire? Sevruguin provided many photographs of historical sites of the Achemenid period of Iran to the Berlin

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[198] Jülide Aker, "Sight-seeing: Photography of the Middle-East and its Audiences", in *Harvard University Art Museums Gallery Series* 30 (8 December 2000-22 April 2001), 2-13, p.11.

[199] Aker, p. 11.

[200] Ibid., p. 11.

Museum under commission by German archeologists and orientalists.[201] It is quite obvious that this effort is linked with Western colonial and orientalist interest in the Middle East, but can we explicitly state to what extent this control mechanism turned into a tool of colonization in the hands of Westerners? Similarly, Christopher Pinney situates the photographs of landscapes and historical sites in India in the context of the British colonization project.[202] Although Iran was not actually colonized, we know the end of the story in Egypt, Algeria, and Syria, which were later colonized by the British and French. This leads us to consider these efforts at photographing the ancient sites of the Middle East as part of the colonization projects of Western powers.

Conclusion

This chapter tried to explore the use of photography in nineteenth century Iran and the Ottoman Empire with a comparative approach. After giving historical background and discussing the Qajar and Ottoman ways of utilizing the past, I detailed the rise of photography in these polities and discussed the reasons behind this rapid rise: rulers' desire for information and the use of photography in the practice of gift exchange. Additionally, I examined how photography was used to propagate authority and create continuity with the past in order to support dynastic power, while elaborating on the representation of modernity and the influence of modern concepts on the artistic traditions of these two geographical and cultural

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[201] Ali Behdad, "Sevruguin: Orientalist or Orienteur?" in *Sevruguin and the Iranian Image : photographs of Iran, 1870-1930*, ed. Frederick N. Bohrer, (Washington, D.C. : Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution ; Seattle : University of Washington Press, 1999), p. 89.

[202] See Christopher Pinney, *The Coming of Photography in India*, (London: The British Library, 2008).

'neighbors'. The framework in which all these discussions took place was the nineteenth century dichotomy of the historical and the traditional and the modern and the Western. However, this does not mean that there is a clear-cut distinction between the sides of these dichotomies, which led me to prefer thematic discussions rather than examining these concepts separately.

While undertaking discussions on methodology and making thematic comparisons, I also tried to touch upon the relations between the two states even though it wasn't the main focus of this chapter. This chapter discussed the relations between the two states only in terms of the use of photography, especially its role in gift exchange.

FIGURES IN CHAPTER TWO

Figure 1



Taksim Library Rare Collection, album no: 63.

Figure 2



Taksim Library Rare Collection, album no: 63-64.

Figure 3



Taksim Library Rare Collection, album no: 63.

Figure 4



Taksim Library Rare Collection, album no: 0063.

Figure 5



Taksim Library Rare Collection, album no: 0063.

Figure 6



Taksim Library Rare Collection, album no: 0063.

Figure 7



Taksim Library Rare Collection, album no: 0063.

Figure 8



Golestan Palace Archives, album no: 291/149.

Figure 9



Golestan Palace Archives, album no: 288/5.



Golestan Palace Archives, album no: 288/7.

Figure 10



Ahmed Celaleddin Paşa
Edhem Eldem, *Pride and Privielege,* p.340-341.

Figure 11



Gazi Osman Paşa
Edhem Eldem, *Pride and Privielege*, p.338-339.

Figure 12



Persian soldier
The Montabone Album, p.84.

Figure 13



Golestan Palace Archives, album no: 427/5

Figure 14



Golestan Palace Archives, album no: 427/4

Figure 15



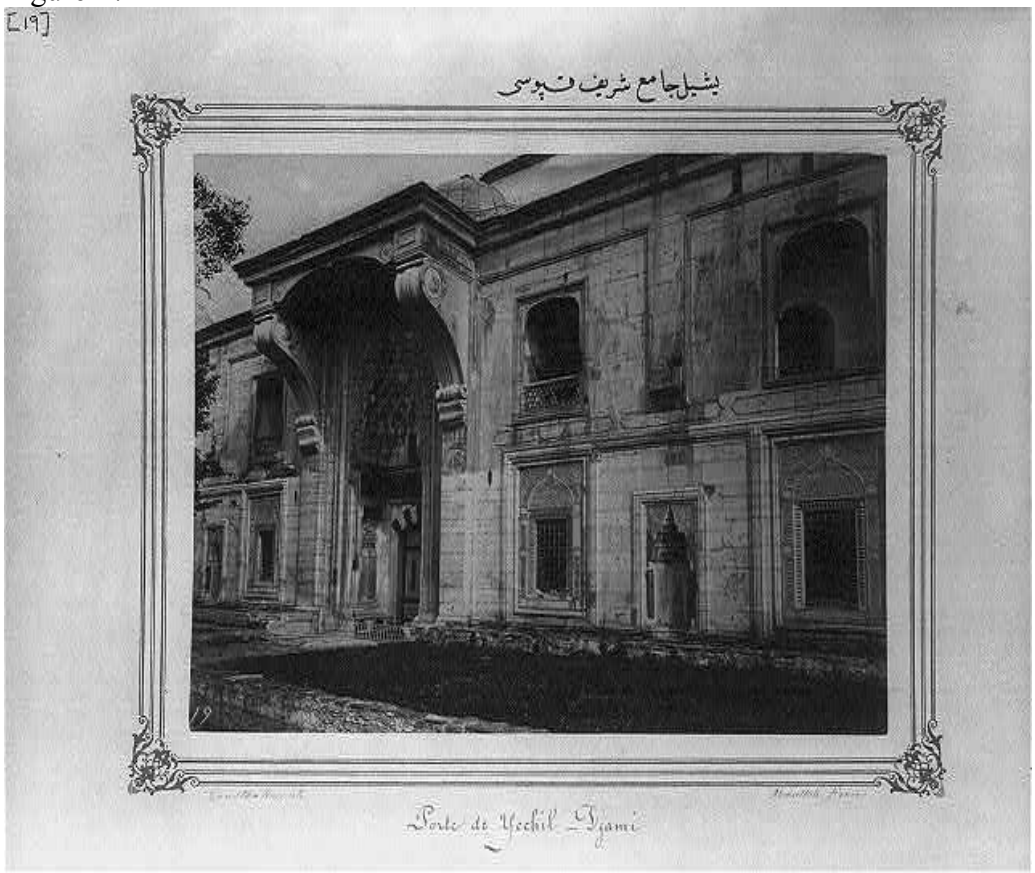
Golestan Palace Archives, album no: 427/2

Figure 16



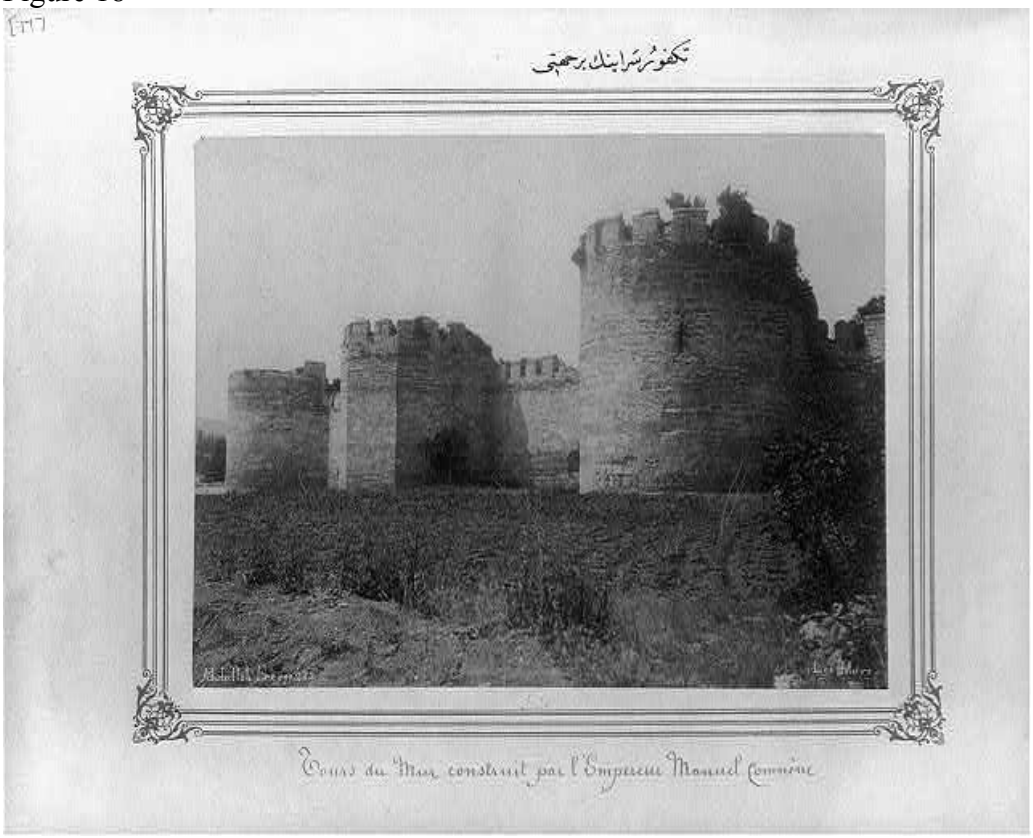
Taksim Library Rare Collection, album no: 63

Figure 17



Library of Congress, Abdülhamid Gift Albums, album no: 9532

Figure 18



Library of Congress, Abdülhamid Gift Albums, album no: 9528

Figure 19



Library of Congress, Abdülhamid Gift Albums, album no: 9523

CHAPTER THREE

MOZAFFAR AL-DIN SHAH'S TRIP TO İSTANBUL

Years ago, I saw the movie *Kamal al-Mulk* (1982), directed by Ali Khatami, which recounts the life of famous Qajar court painter Kemal al-Mulk. In the film there is scene in which the vizier is reading letters of condolence to Mozaffar al-Din Shah after the death of his father, Nasser al-Din Shah and the shah is sending his thanks to the rulers who sent the letters. When the shah hears the name of Sultan Abdülhamid II, he shouts, "*Beraderem*!" (my brother). I always recall this scene whenever I read or write about Ottoman-Qajar relations. Although the movie is a work of historical fiction, I cannot stop myself from asking historical questions about it. Is this scene entirely a construction of the director? Does it reflect the political and social environment of the period in which it was shot, or it is a representation of Qajar-Ottoman friendship? In other words, is the shah saying '*beraderem*' to the sultan --a sign of affection he does not show to other rulers-- in order to underline the positive relations between the Ottomans and the Qajars, or is it because the movie is shot in a political environment in which an alliance between Iran and Turkey prevails?

When I first visited Iran and the Golestan Palace, which used to be Qajars' royal home, I saw an inscription that read, "This building is built [to house] the copious gifts sent by the Ottoman ruler Sultan Abdülhamid Pasha." (Figure 1) Recalling the Ottoman-Iranian rivalry dating back to the early Safavid era, I asked myself whether this inscription was an echo of the past rivalry between the two states. Was the word 'pasha' written on purpose, or it was just a mistake? If it was written on purpose, was it a modern creation, or was this the title the Qajars used for the sultan? Was it intended to minimize the sultan's authority and power by using the

title 'pasha'? I do not have the answers to those questions, but they struck me as a helpful starting point for thinking about Ottoman-Qajar relations and mutual perceptions between the two states.

Keeping these questions in mind and focusing on the Qajar period, this chapter will examine Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit to İstanbul in 1900 within the context of Ottoman-Qajar relations at the time. After discussing Ottoman-Qajar relations in the second half of the nineteenth century and explaining the historical background of the visit, this chapter will detail the shah's days in the Ottoman capital. I will examine literary and visual representations of the visit through archival documents, newspapers, memoirs, the shah's travelogue and photographs, and discuss these representations of the visit by focusing on the Ottoman-Qajar alliance and the rivalry between these states.

Ottoman-Qajar Relations in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

When Nasser al-Din Shah acceded to the throne (1848) after the death of his father, Muhammed Shah, there existed a number of conflicts between Iran and the Ottoman Empire. Firstly, there was a border problem regarding the city of Kotur. The Ottomans claimed that Kotur was a part of the province of Van, while Iran insisted that it stay within the Iranian borders. On the orders of the two rulers, Nasser al-Din Shah and Sultan Abdülmecid, and the intervention of England and Russia, a commission was established to solve these border conflicts.[203] However, this problem was not solved until the Ottoman-Russo war in 1877-78. In the treaties of Ayestefanos and Berlin, signed after the war, Kars, Batum, Ardahan, Eleşkird and

[203]Mohammed Reza Nasiri, *Nasıreddin Şah Zamanında Osmanlı-İran Münasebetleri* (1848-1896), (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1991), pp. 11-46.

Bayezid (today known as Doğubeyazıt), which were formerly Ottoman lands, were left to Russia. However, England insisted on not leaving Eleşkird and Bayezid to the Russians.[204] "In appreciation of Iran's not-so-tacit support during the war," according Sabri Ateş, Russia had initially made the return of Kotur part of the Ayestafanos treaty.[205] Russia refused to allow the Ottoman Empire to keep Bayazid and Eleşkirt unless it gave Kotur to Iran.[206] Kotur and eighteen villages were left to Iran. This was the end of the Kotur story for the Ottomans and the Iranians, although border conflicts remained until 1913, when the İstanbul Treaty was signed by the Ottoman Empire and Iran.[207]

Secondly, there were problems regarding the legal status of Iranians living within the Ottoman Empire. Ahmed Vefik Paşa, the Ottoman ambassador to Iran, offered an agreement on the legal situation of the Iranians residing in Iraq and visits from Iran to Iraq. However, the two states did not agree on the former.[208] The question of whether Iranian subjects must be treated according to Ottoman laws or as subjects of a foreign country remained contentious. The Ottomans insisted on the former, while Iranians argued for the latter.[209] The legal situation of the Iranians residing within the Ottoman Empire was also discussed on the occasion of Nasser al-Din Shah's visit to İstanbul. On 17 June 1863, Reşid Paşa, the Ottoman minister for

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[204]Ibid., pp. 47-49.

[205]Sabri Ateş, *Empires at the Margins: "Towards a History of the Ottoman-Iranian Borderland and the Borderland Peoples,"* (unpublished phd dissertation, Newyork University, MEIS History, 2006), p. 303. See the section regarding the Kotur problem, pp. 297-308.

[206]Nasiri, pp. 47-48.

[207]Ibid., p. 49.

[208]Ibid., pp. 96-100.

[209]Ibid., pp. 98-99.

foreign affairs, sent a telegram to the Ottoman ambassador to London, claiming that there had been a problem of incompatibility between the Ottoman courts, which took decisions and Iranian courts that carried them out.[210] Therefore, the Ottoman State made a new civil law and conveyed it to all courts within the empire. He added that Iranians residing in İstanbul objected to the situation, and Nasser al-Din Shah, who was scheduled to come to İstanbul, cancelled his visit because of the law and the protests against it.[211]

As we learn from the telegrams sent between the Ottoman ambassador to London and Reşid Paşa, an Iranian commission that included the Iranian grand vizier and the Iranian ambassador to London defined the problem between the two states as follows: Iranians who were living within the Ottoman Empire must have some rights arising from capitulations, just as the people of the great powers.[212] They also held that it was not acceptable that the Ottoman Empire take a unilateral decision in this regard, as they had already signed a bilateral treaty with Iran on the issue. [213] Hussein Khan, the Iranian grand vizier, explains that the shah had intended to come to İstanbul, but that he would have been humiliated in front of his people if he visited while the legal situation of the Iranians remained unresolved.[214] Hussein Khan states that the shah could come to İstanbul in order to solve these problems and make an agreement. He adds that he had a plan in mind to solve the problem.[215] In reply,

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[210]BOA.HR.SFR (4), 239/11, LİT A, No: 35201/99.

[211]BOA.HR.SFR (4), 239/11, LİT A, No: 35201/99.

[212]BOA.HR.SFR (4), 239/11, Lit D, No 5179/133.

[213]BOA.HR.SFR (4), 239/11, Lit D, No 5179/133.

[214]BOA.HR.SFR (4), 239/11, Lit H, No 3786/140.

[215]BOA.HR.SFR (4), 239/11, Lit H, No 3786/140.

Reşid Paşa claims that the Ottoman State would solve the legal issue by no longer treating Iranians in the empire as 'indigenies' -- a term referring to 'indigenous people.'[216] After these discussions Nasser al-Din Shah came to İstanbul on 18 August 1873. The newspaper *La Turquie* indicates that Sultan Abdülaziz and the shah, together with Reşid Paşa, Mirza Mohsin Khan, the Iranian ambassador to İstanbul, and Malkom Khan signed an agreement on the issue on the ship on which the shah was leaving the city.[217] Newspaper *La Turqiue* also reports that a confidential meeting on the law issue was held while Nasser al-Din Shah was in İstanbul.[218] The newspaper mentions that the two grand viziers discussed the problems between the two states.[219]

Another issue that Nasser al-Din Shah and Sultan Abdülaziz discussed in İstanbul regarded Abbas Mirza, Nasser al Din Shah's brother. After Nasser al-Din Shah acceded to the throne, he wanted to keep his brother far from Tehran. Abbas Mirza was not able to cope with the pressure put on him and took refuge in the English Embassy in Iran. The ambassador talked with the shah and convinced him to allow Abbas Mirza to stay in Iraq-e Arab.[220] The Ottoman State also accepted Abbas Mirza's stay in Baghdad.[221] The Ottoman State possibly tried to make use of the prince's refuge in the empire against the Iranian State. In 1852 Abbas Mirza came to

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[216]BOA.HR.SFR (4), 239/11, Copie No 35338/119. Telegram no 140.

[217]*La Turquie*, 23 August 1873, p.1-2. However, this written agreement is not mentioned in Nasiri's book and I did not come across the manuscript during my research in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives.

[218]*La Turquie*, 23 August 1873, p.1-2.

[219]*La Turquie*, 23 August 1873, p.1-2.

[220]Nasiri, p. 123.

[221]Ibid., p. 124.

İstanbul and stayed in Ali Paşa's house. He met with many Ottoman ministers and was also accepted by Sultan Abdülaziz himself.[222] However, the Ottoman State and Fuad Paşa himself did not want Abbas Mirza to stay in İstanbul, but in Baghdad. As a result, Abbas Mirza went back to Baghdad. However, during his visit to İstanbul, Nasser al-Din Shah asked Sultan Abdülaziz to send Abbas Mirza out of Baghdad to places such as Aleppo and Diyarbakır, which were far from the Iranian border.[223] As a result, Rauf Paşa, the Ottoman governor of Baghdad, asked Abbas Mirza to leave Baghdad, but he refused and insisted on staying there.[224] Nasiri indicates that during the Crimean War between the Ottoman Empire and Russia, the Ottoman State asked Iran not to ally with the Russians. Iran replied that this would only be possible if they sent Abbas Mirza out of the Ottoman territories.[225] As a result, Abbas Mirza left the Ottoman lands where he had lived for twenty-seven years and went back to Iran and became the governor of Zenjan.[226] The Ottoman State's involvement in the shah's political struggle with his brother can be considered as part of the rivalry between the Ottoman Empire and Iran. The Ottoman State tried to make use of this political rivalry of the two ruler-brothers against Iran.

Thirdly, there was a struggle between Iran and the Ottoman Empire for hegemony in Iraq. There were many Shii mujtahids and mollas who were actively

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[222]Ibid., p. 125.

[223]Ibid., p. 128; BOA.İH.16384.

[224]Ibid., p. 129.

[225]Ibid., p. 130.

[226]Ibid., p. 131.

involved in Iranian politics and who resided in or had been educated in Iraq.[227] In addition, many Iranians were moving to Iraq and settled in Shii holy places. In order to prevent the rising population of Iranians in Iraq, the Ottoman State made it difficult for Iranian subjects to get permission to repair their houses and estates and thereby forced them to leave Iraq.[228] However, in the end, the Ottoman State explicitly declared that Iranians had to sell their properties and leave Iraq.[229] In addition, every year, between 30,000-100,000 Iranian subjects journeyed to the Atabat, the Shiite holy sites in Iraq: Karbela, Najaf, Kazimayn and Samarra. These visits generally resulted in turmoil; many people died and many others were injured.[230] Thus, many people attempted to bury their families in Iraq. Iran objected to the Ottoman state's refusal to allow Iranians to be buried in Iraq in exchange for money.[231] The rise of Iranian dominance in Iraq remained a problem for the Ottoman state. As Edhem Eldem argues, it is possible to see an echo of the rising Iranian population and dominance in Iraq from a letter that Osman Hamdi Bey, who was in charge of foreign relations in Baghdad between the years of 1869 and 1872, wrote to his father:

> When Hussein Khan, the Iranian ambassador to İstanbul, came to Baghdad, all Iranians and Ottomans who converted to Shiism and became Iranian subjects stood on the streets. People were shouting, women were ululating,

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[227]Gökhan Çetinsaya, *The Ottoman Administration in Iraq*, (London and NewYork:Routledge, 2006), pp. 99-100.

[228]Nasiri, pp. 92, 100-104.

[229]Ibid., pp. 92-93.

[230]Ibid., pp. 96-100.

[231]Ibid., pp. 96-100.

> water carriers were watering the ground in front of Hussein Khan and sheep were sacrificed.[232]

As we see in these remarks, the problem was not simply the rising population of Iranians, but also the fact that Sunni Ottomans were converting to Shiism. As a consequence of the rising Iranian population in Iraq, the Ottoman state banned Iranians from marrying Ottoman subjects; however, if they did marry, the children were to be treated as Ottoman subjects.[233] To summarize, the Ottoman state tried to cope with this rising dominance of Iranians in Iraq by prohibiting Iranians from marrying Ottoman women and from buying or repairing their houses, by limiting the number of Iranians buried in Iraq, and by taking control over Iranian visits to Shii holy places within the Ottoman territories.

Some of these problems were solved when Nasser al-Din Shah visited Baghdad in 1869. Before the shah left Iraq and returned to Tehran, he signed a treaty with Midhat Paşa, the governor of Baghdad. Midhat Paşa indicates in his memoir that this treaty dealt with three issues: funerals of Iranians in Iraq, economic issues between Iraq and Iran, and tribes living on the Ottoman-Iranian border. On the first issue, the two agreed that people should be buried where they died, but that they could be moved to Iraq three years after their death if they died elsewhere.[234] Secondly, they made an agreement on the worth of the Iranian currency, the *qıran*. The *qıran* was generally equivalent to Ottoman 3 *kuruş*, but it was not standardized and could sometimes be worth up to 5 *kuruş*. The states finally agreed that its value

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[232]Edhem Eldem, *Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü*, (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2010), p.77.

[233]Nasiri, pp. 104-118.

[234]Ali Haydar Midhat, *Mithat Paşa'nın Hatıraları: Hayatım İbret Olsun*, hazırlayan: Osman Selim Kocahanoğlu, (İstanbul:Temel Yayınları, Ekim 1997), p. 118.

would not exceed 3 *kuruş* and 10 *para*.[235] They also made an agreement regarding their border problems. They agreed that if a member of the Hemavend tribe -- which consisted of Ottoman subjects -- journeyed into Iran, Iranian officers would send him back to the Ottomans. In return, Iran would not allow Sencabi tribes to attack Ottoman territory.[236]

After the assassination of Nasser al-Din Shah in 1896, his eldest son, Mozaffar al-Din Mirza, acceded to the throne on 8 June 1896. The shah had been killed by Reza Kirmani, known as a follower of Cemaleddin Afgani/Esedabadi, who was considered a reformist promoting the idea of 'Islamic unity.' Afgani was a politically active figure, who had travelled to Egypt, Russia, Iran, England, France and the Ottoman Empire. Although Afgani was invited to Tehran by Nasser al-Din Shah,[237] the shah came to consider him as a threat some time later, possibly because of his reformist ideas and influence on Iranians. As a result, Afgani went to Basra and then to London, where he met Iran's ambassador to London, Mirza Malkom Khan, who was a reformist and later became an opponent of the shah. With the support of Malkom Khan, Afgani published many articles against the shah and propagated the idea of 'Islamic unity.' Malkom Khan and Afgani were also involved in the tobacco protest of 1891.[238]

Afgani first came İstanbul in 1869 in the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz and stayed for approximately two years.[239] Keddie indicates that since he gave a speech

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[235]Ibid.

[236]Nasiri, p. 156; also see Ali Haydar Mithat, pp. 120-121.

[237]Nikki Keddie, *Cemaleddin Efgani*, (İstanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1997) p. 283-284.

[238]Ibid., p. 364.

[239]Ibid., p. 77-98.

at the opening ceremony of *Dârü'l-fünûn* (school of science), it seems that Afgani was a popular figure when he came to the city.[240] Then, in 1871, he left İstanbul and went to Cairo. In 1892 Sultan Abdülhamid II invited him to İstanbul, and Afgani spent his last five years (1892-97) there until he died, which means that he was staying in the Ottoman capital when Nasser al-Din Shah was killed. The sultan was most likely impressed by Afgani's ideas about establishing Islamic unity, although he was not actually involved in such a project. The sultan, who placed a strong emphasis on his position as caliph, probably decided to make use of Afgani's pan-Islamist ideas. In addition, by protecting such an oppositional figure the sultan could intimidate the shah and Iran. Since Afgani met with the other Iranian opponents of the shah, who were connected to the newspaper *Akhtar (1864-1896)*, the sultan seems to have decided to make use of the fact that İstanbul was a centre for the opponents of the shah and supporters of an Iranian constitution.

Thus, it is not surprising that Afgani's closeness to the sultan in İstanbul was not appreciated by Iran. After the murder of Nasser al-Din Shah in 1896, Afgani's presence in İstanbul became a problem for the Ottoman state. Iran strongly believed that Afgani was involved in the murder and wanted him brought back to Iran. For instance, the Iranian newspaper *Nâserî* reports that Afgani would not be protected by the sultan since he had met with the murderer of the shah short before the murder.[241] Additionally, many documents from the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives indicate that the two states held negotiations on the Afgani issue.[242] The sultan never handed

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[240]Ibid., p.79.

[241]Newspaper *Nasırî*, 21 Muharrem 1314 (3 July 1896), no: 12, p. 133.

[242]BOA.YA.HUS 358/26 (1314); 363/108 (1314) İran Şahı tarafından Şeyh Cemaleddin Efendi işinin tesviyesi hakkında dermeyan olunan teklife ne suretle mukabele olunduğu.

Afgani over to Iran, however. Afgani died in 1897 in İstanbul, just one year after the shah's assassination.

Another problem between the two states pertained to the conflicts between the Kurds and Armenians on the Ottoman-Iranian border.[243] At that time struggles between Turks, Kurds and Armenians were taking place in eastern Anatolia. For a long time Kurdish overlords had acted as protectors of the Armenians in return for an 'unofficial tax.' However, as a result of the centralizing reforms of the Tanzimat, this relationship changed.[244] The breaking of the lords' power left a vacuum, which gave way to the Hamidiyye Light Cavalry recruited by the sultan and his entourage.[245] According to Deringil, "the sultan's policy was to kill two birds with one stone -- to cow the Armenian population and to secure the loyalty of the Kurds." Armenians suffered from 'double taxation' (to the state and the Kurds) and the depredations of the Kurdish tribes.[246]

In the 1890s, Armenian revolutionaries who were members of the Hınçak Committe came to Sason in Bitlis province and settled there.[247] They encouraged the Armenians of the region not to pay the Kurds' 'unofficial taxes'.[248] The Armenians came together in Sason and rebelled in 1894. The sultan charged the general of the

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[243]BOA YPRK.NMH 1/8

[244]Selim Deringil, " "The Armenian Question Is Finally Closed": Mass Conversions of Armenians in Anatolia during the Hamidian Massacres of 1895–1897", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*; 51(2) (2009), pp. 344–371, see pp. 348-349.

[245]Ibid., p. 349.

[246]Ibid., p. 348.

[247]See François Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, (İstanbul: Homer Yayınevi, 2006), pp. 324-358.

[248]Ibid.,, p. 330.

Fourth Army, Zeki Paşa, to suppress the uprising.[249] Zeki Paşa went to the region together with the Kurdish militia and was successful. However, sporadic clashes continued to be reported in the region. After the sultan declared that the reforms for the eastern Anatolia had been accepted, anti-Armenian protests erupted in the region. Turks and Kurds were against the reforms, which gave some rights to the Armenians. As a result of these conflicts, many Armenians, Turks, and Kurds died.[250] In 1895 and 1896 other uprisings took place in Zeytun and Van. The rebellions were repressed, and as a result of these tragic events, many Armenians left Anatolia for Russia, America, and Europe.[251]

Iran took a strong interest in the Armenian conflicts within the Ottoman Empire, which can be seen through the coverage in Iranian newspapers. For instance, the newspaper *Nâserî* reports that Kamil Paşa had become grand vizier and that he would likely ask the sultan to pardon the Armenians for their rebellion. The newspaper indicated that there had been sporadic clashes in İstanbul in which 700 Armenians were killed.[252] The newspaper also reports that approximately 350 people died in Armenian-Ottoman clashes in Bitlis[253] and that 26,000 Armenians had rebelled in Zeytun.[254] In addition, the newspaper also reports that while Muslims were praying in the mosque, Armenians attacked them by using guns, whereas Muslims defended themselves with sticks and stones. As a result, 173 Muslims and

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[249]Ibid., p. 332.

[250]François Georgeon mentions that American missionaries detailed how many people died: 37,000 Armenians, 1,800 muslims. Ibid., p. 338.

[251]Ibid., p. 354.

[252]*Nasırî*, 11 Cemazilevvel 1313 (30 October 1895), no: 23, p. 181.

[253]*Nasırî*, 29 November 1895, no: 26, p. 217.

[254]*Nasırî*, 29 November 1895, no: 26, p. 216.

179 Armenians died.[255] *Nâserî* treats the Armenians as the 'injured party' but it also suggests that they were wrong in attacking the Turks.[256] In those days of conflict, rebellion, and clashes, the Ottoman state was suspicious about Iran's actions. The Ottoman state believed that the Armenians were being supported by Iran. For instance, one document indicates that there were published poems circulating in Bitlis written for Nasser al-Din Shah in the Armenian language, together with the Iranian emblem.[257] In addition, the Ottoman state also believed that there had been attacks against Kurds from the Iranian side of the border. In a letter that Sultan Abdülhamid II sent to Nasser al-Din Shah, the sultan, emphasizing the alliance between the two states, asks Iran to prevent such attacks and warns them about the mistreatment of Kurds on the border by Iranian officers.[258]

Although there were conflicts between the two states, they both hoped to establish positive relations and create an alliance. Both Nasser al-Din Shah and Mozaffar al-Din Shah and Ottoman Sultans Abdülaziz and Abdülhamid II sent medals and gifts to each other as gestures of goodwill. They also sent letters to celebrating each other's birthdays and expressing their desire to retain their close relationship.[259] One of these 'goodwill gestures' was a special delegation sent by Sultan Abdülhamid to Tehran to present the *imtiyaz nişanı* (medal of privilege) to Mozaffar al-Din Shah in 1898. However, the focus of the meeting in which the medal was presented to the shah was once again the Armenian issue.

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[255]*Nasırî*, 29 November 1895, no:26, p. 217-218.

[256]*Nâserî* 1314, 1 Cemazüssani 1313 (19 November 1895), no:25, p.205.

[257]BOA. DH.ŞFR. 152/89.

[258]BOA. YEE 36/23 İran Şahı Nasreddin'e name-i Hümâyûn müsveddesi.

[259]BOA. YPRK. NMH. 2/15 dated 15 Şaban 1298. İran Şahı ile Padişahın birbirlerinin doğumgünlerini kutlamaları.

The Special Delegation in Tehran

The delegation was sent to Iran on 2 March 1898.[260] It consisted of Şemseddin Bey, the Ottoman ambassador to Tehran, Mehmed Rebii Paşa, the special representative of the sultan, and Colonel Selim Mazhar Bey.[261] The delegation visited the Iranian grand vizier and foreign minister on 28 March 1898 and went to the Qajar royal home, the Golestan Palace, to present the medal of privilege to Mozaffar al-Din Shah on 30 March 1898.

Although the shah usually met foreign representatives in the *Talar-e Brillian* (hall of brilliance), this time he met the Ottoman representatives in a hall decorated with *Hereke* carpets that had been sent to his father, Nasser al-Din Shah, by Sultan Abdülhamid II.[262] This room was in the *Kâkh-e Abyaz* (white palace), which is today the Anthropology Museum of the Golestan Palace. (Figure 2) This building was built for the gifts sent by Sultan Abdülhamid II to Nasser al-Din Shah and it is believed that Nasser al-Din Shah himself made the plan of the building in order to exhibit these copious gifts.[263] Although these gifts were sufficient to fill a special building, today we only have information about some of them, including a large *Hereke* carpet (figure 3), two large golden mirrors (figure 4), and two statues of women (figure 5)

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[260]Göyünç, p.140

[261]Ibid.; *İkdâm,* 19 Şubat 1313.

[262]Göyünç, p. 142, BOA YE 20/411, 49, 63.

[263]See http://www.Golestanpalace.ir/En_Site/collections/E-abyaz.htm

that used to be exhibited in a special room named the "Abdülhamid Room" [264] in *Kâkh-e Abyaz* (figure 6).[265]

Mozaffar al-Din Shah talked for a while with Ambassador Şemseddin Bey and Mehmed Rebii Paşa in a small room next to the Abdülhamid Hall for a while. Then Colonel Selim Mazhar Bey presented the medal to the shah. They subsequently went to the hall where their meeting was held. As Mehmed Rebii Paşa reported, the shah spoke in Turkish and said, "I will try to enhance the collaboration between the two governments of Islam and I hope that the two states of Islam will work together on every issue."[266]

The special delegation met with the foreign minister of Iran on 31 March 1898[267], and with Mozaffar al-Din Shah on 3 April 1898[268]. As we learn from the conversation between the Mehmed Rebii Paşa and the foreign minister, the Ottoman state believed that the Armenian 'mobs' were gathering in the Iranian lands and planning to attack the Ottomans, and also that there was a funding commission for poor Armenians under the control of Mirza Mohsen Khan, the foreign minister who

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[264]Today, paintings and objects representing the Karbala event are exhibited in this room. There is no description that tells the Hamidian story, but outside the building a large signboard explains, "This building was built for the gifts sent by Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid Pasha II." However, this signboard was no longer visible by 2012. The carpet and mirrors are in the *Talar-e Salam* (reception hall) and two statues are in the *Muze-ye Mahsûsa* (the special museum).

[265]I didn't come across any document including a list of those gifts. Two statues are displayed in the Golestan Palace with a sign reading, "These statues were sent by the Ottoman ruler Sultan Abdülhamid." The carpet and the mirrors were introduced by Soheila Husseinpour, the director of the *Muze-ye Mahsûsa* of Golestan Palace.

[266]Nejat Göyünç, 155. *"benim en ziyade ihtimam ve gayret edeceğım cihet iki hükümet-i İslamiyye arasında itilafin pek ileri götürülmesi olacaktir. İnşallah u teâlâ, iki devlet-i İslamiyye her noktada müttehiden hareket etmeye muvaffak oluruz." "Nişan-ı Ali'nin suret-i tevdiile icra edilen merasime dair layihadır, Başvekalet Arşivi, Yıldız Evrakı, kısım 20, evrak 411, zarf 49, kutu 63."*

[267]Ibid., p. 162, *"Suret-i Hususiyede Muhsin Han ile vuku bulan mülakata dair layihadır', Başvekalet Arşivi, Yıldız Evrakı, kısım 20, evrak 411, zarf 49, kutu 63."*

[268]Ibid., p. 158, *"Suret-i Hususiyede Şah hazretleriyle vuku bulan mülakata dair layihadır', Başvekalet Arşivi, Yıldız Evrakı, kısım 20, evrak 411, zarf 49, kutu 63."*

had previously been the Iranian ambassador to İstanbul. [269] The focus of the meeting with the shah was once again the Armenian militias that were passing through the Iranian border to attack Ottoman Muslims. The shah believed that Armenians' violent acts were the result of Kurdish attacks on Armenian villages, and Armenians were not generally gathering within the Iranian lands, but in Russia with the support of the Russians.[270] He advised the sultan to bring these Kurds under control and that he would, in turn, control the Kurdish groups on the Iranian side.[271] On the contrary, we learn from Mehmed Rebii Paşa's words that the Ottoman state believed that it was not the Kurds but foreign Christian governments' encouragement and support that resulted in the Armenian mobs' violent attacks.[272] Finally, Mehmed Rebii Paşa invited the shah to İstanbul on behalf of Sultan Abdülhamid II and mentioned that the problems between the two states, especially on the Armenian question, could be solved if the shah and the sultan were to meet. The shah sent his respects to the sultan and said he would come to İstanbul to visit him the next year.[273]

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[269]Ibid., p. 163, *Başvekalet Arşivi, Yıldız Evrakı, kısım 20, evrak 411, zarf 49, kutu 63."* However, Mirza Mohsen Khan denied that he was supporting the Armenians and claimed that he had always worked to support collaboration between the Ottoman Empire and Iran.

[270]Ibid., p. 160.

[271]Ibid., p. 159, *"Vukuatların ekserisi Kürtler'in Ermeni Köylerini yağma etmesinden ileri geliyor. Zat-ı Hazret-i Padişahı, hudud-u Osmaniyye dahilinde bulunan Kürtler'i zapt eylediği halde, biz de bizim tarafta olan Kürtler'in zaptını temin ederiz."*

[272]Ibid., p. 160.

[273]Ibid., p. 160, *"Zat-ı Hazret-i Padişahîye ihtirâmatımı arz ediniz ve arzu-yu hümâyûnun icrasına hükümet-i İraniyyece çalışılacağını ve inşallah-i teâlâ sene-i âtiyyede Dersaadet'e gelerek ziyaret-i padişahî ile mübahi olacağımı iş'ar ve ifade eyleyiniz."*

Mozaffar al-Din Shah Comes to İstanbul

After the Reuters and tobacco concessions, which were agreed upon in the last years of Nasser al-Din Shah's reign, Iran faced many economic problems. In that chaotic period, Mozaffar al-Din Shah was able to make three European tours in 1900, 1902, and 1905 only by taking out loans. The first loan was taken from Russia and all the money was spent in the first European tour. Iran had to make another negotiation, and secured another loan in 1902, which would be spent for the second European tour.[274] The shah was experiencing health problems and he made the last European tour in search of treatment for his kidney problems.[275] These tours and loans would later be subject to criticism in the constitutional period.[276]

On his first visit to Europe, Mozaffar al-Din Shah went to France, attended the Universal Exposition in Paris, and then moved on to Belgium, Brussels, Vienna, Sofia, and then İstanbul. He then went to Belgrade and finally to St. Petersburg before returning to Tehran.[277] This trip, together with those made by his father, were very important in Iranian history in terms of their influence on the country's modernization process. Both shahs intended to adopt the new technologies that they came across in the Europe for use in Iran. This first trip by Mozaffar al-Din Shah was also a turning point in the history of Iranian cinema, since the shah ordered the *akkâsbashi* (head of the court photographers), Mirza Ibrahim Khan Sani al-Saltaneh,

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[274]*The Oxford Handbook for Iranian History*, ed. Touraj Daryee, (NewYork: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 334.

[275]Ibid.

[276]Ibid.

[277]See the shah's travel diary: Mozaffar al-Din Shah, *Safarnama-ye Mobarek-e Shahinshahi*, (Tehran:1903); *The Oriental Advertiser,* 8 October 1900, p.1; *İkdâm* 30 September 1900, p. 3.

to buy cameras and film his tour.[278] There is a film showing the shah throwing flowers to women at the Universal Exposition in Paris, and another showing the shah walking together with his retinue.[279] When the *akkâsbashi* returned to Tehran and presented the footage, it was the first time cinema was brought to Iran.

Before the shah went to Serbia and Russia on his way to Tehran, he came to İstanbul and stayed in the Ottoman capital for five days. In this section, I will focus on Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit to the Ottoman Empire and his days in İstanbul. I will try to present a narrative of this visit by using Ottoman and Iranian newspapers, archival documents and accounts from the Ottoman state Archives, together with memoirs and secondary sources. In addition to the literary narrative, I aim to discuss the visual narrative by using photographs of the visit. I will examine the extent to which these two narratives can be brought together in terms of representing both alliance and rivalry between the Ottoman and Iranian states. I will examine the literary and visual representations of the shah's visit with thematic and stylistic questions in mind. By asking such questions, I aim to learn about the power struggle between the sultan and the shah through both literary and visual sources.

The shah and his retinue arrived in the Ottoman lands on 29 September 1900 and came to İstanbul the next day. The Ottoman newspapers *İkdâm, Sabâh, Ma'lûmât, Tercüman-ı Ahvâl* and *the Oriental Advertiser* devoted pages to the news about the shah and Iran while the shah was in İstanbul. Iranian newspapers such as *Sorayyâ* and *Al-Kamâl* also showed interest in the visit but likely due to their limited

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[278]Hamid Naficy, *A Social History of Iranian Cinema*, (USA: Duke University Press, 2011), pp. 44-46.

[279]Ibid., p. 45.

access to the news, they sometimes used articles from Ottoman newspapers.[280] In addition, Mozaffar al-Din Shah wrote many details of his visit in his travel diary.[281] Both Ottoman and Persian newspapers, together with the shah's travel diary and other accounts, present a literary narrative of the shah's visit day by day.

While the shah was in İstanbul, a group of photographers, Hazım, Behçet, Refet, Zekai and Sami Beys were officially charged to take photographs of the shah.[282] Sultan Abdülhamid II, who seldom went out of his palace, was to be informed about the shah's every action through these photographs, in other words; these photographs would serve as part of the Hamidian state's jurnal mechanism. These photographs are part of the collection known as "Yıldız Albums" or "Abdülhamid albums," which are now in the İstanbul University Library's Rare Collection. There are four albums, including the photographs of the shah's visit, each containing approximately 60 images. However, the four albums are almost the same.[283]

Furthermore, there are 14 photographs of the shah's visit in three different albums in the Pierre de Gigord collection in the Getty Museum in Los Angeles.[284] Nine of the photographs of the shah's visit in these albums are the same as

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[280]For instance, the Persian-language newspaper Sorayyâ had used some paragraphs taken from Ottoman newspaper *Ma'lûmât*.

[281] Mozaffar al-Din Shah, *Safarname-ye Mobarek-e Shahinsahi*, (Tehran: 1903). The 'İstanbul' section is translated into Turkish by Semaha Eser in her unpublished master thesis submitted to İstanbul University Department of Persian Language and Literature in 2005. She has translated every detail with the exception of the last day of the shah's visit. She translated only one paragraph of the shah's last day in İstanbul although it is longer than two pages in the original manuscript.

[282]There is a document in the album 90509 indicating the names of the photographers who were charged.

[283]Abdülhamid Collection: (İstanbul University Rare Collection album no: 90508, 90509, 90510.)

[284]Gigord Collection: (Box 38, 47, 132).

photographs at the İstanbul University Library. Most likely, the five unique images used to be in the sultan's collection but were later disappeared. We do not have any significant information about how these albums appeared at the Getty Museum, but since each album consists of selection of many different Ottoman photographs, they must be gift albums sent by Sultan Abdülhamid II.

The newspaper *İkdâm* reported that photographers Refet, Zekai, and Sami Bey presented an album to the shah including photographs of his visit, depicting the shah in Makriköy port and going to the imperial yacht *İzzeddîn*.[285] This album must be the one including photographs of Mozaffar al-Din Shah's days in İstanbul located at the Golestan Palace in Tehran.[286] (Figure 7) There are fifteen photographs, the same as those in the İstanbul University Library, depicting the shah in İstanbul. However, this album did not include only photographs from the shah's trip, but also many other photos of Ottoman factories, such as *Yıldız Çini Fabrika-i Hümâyûn*, two vases made in the factory, the sultan's library, museums, and scenes from historical places such as Palestine, the mosques of Bursa, and the *Beykoz Köşkü* in İstanbul. In other words, in addition to being a memento of the shah's days in İstanbul, this album represents both the historical and modern faces of the Ottoman Empire. It can be considered as the Ottoman state's self-representation project through the practice of gift exchange that was discussed in the first chapter. Assuming that the photographs of the shah's days in İstanbul served as a part of the sultan's *jurnal* mechanism, we can say that by sending these photographs within the albums abroad (both to Iran and US) as gifts, the sultan turns his control mechanism into image-making and self-representation strategy. By presenting this album to the Qajar Shah,

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[285] *İkdâm*, 3 October 1900, p.1; 5 October 1900, p 2.

[286] Golestan Palace Photograph Archives, album no: 389.

the Ottoman Sultan intended to achieve four goals at the same time: representing his country as a Western-modern state that has many modern buildings and factories; portraying it as an eastern-traditional country through its historical sites; and showing the friendship of the two states by presenting photographs of the shah and his retinue together with Ottoman officials while visiting many sites in İstanbul. At the same time, the sultan presented himself as a ruler who was able to control and document everything within his lands.

In addition to the literary narrative, these photographs of the shah's trip from three different collections present us with a visual narrative that begins with the shah boarding the *saltanat kayığı* to go to the imperial yacht *İzzeddîn* in Makriköy (Bakırköy) and ends with the shah and his retinue boarding the train in Makriköy to go to Sofia. Although the photographic albums sent abroad are full of frozen images representing the modern and historical faces of the Ottoman Empire, these photographs are more like 'travel' photographs. However, they are different from the travel photographs usually taken by Western photographers, in terms of offering a narrative and displaying an action. I will present the literary and visual narratives of the shah's visit and discuss the extent to which and in which ways they correspond to each other.

30 September 1900: The First Day

> Our Bulgarian *mihmandâr* [guide] left, then two Ottoman *mihmandârs* came. The name of the Ottoman frontier village was Harmanlı. There were soldiers and a band outside. People wearing the red fez were also waiting at the station. I saw some women wearing black *chadur*. Since half of their faces were covered I realized that they were Muslims. There were few European and Armenian women standing on the roofs.[287]

[287]Mozaffar al-Din Shah, pp. 215-216.

These sentences are from Mozaffar al-Din Shah's travel diary, narrating his arrival in the Ottoman lands. The shah arrived in the Ottoman Empire on 29 September 1900 and, as we learn from the Ottoman newspaper *the Oriental Advertiser*, the next day in the evening, around sunset, the shah arrived at the Edirne railway station by a special train. Full military honors were performed by the garrison and a military band played a Persian anthem.[288] The shah claims that although there was a long way between the station and the city, the road was full of people.

When the train stopped at the station, an orderly regiment of soldiers and a *topçu alayı* (artillery battalion) saluted the shah. After *merasim-i hoş amedi* (official welcoming ceremony), the shah's *mihmandâr* Turhan Paşa welcomed the shah and presented a telegram from the sultan.[289] The shah claims in his diary that "the sultan was congratulating us upon our arrival and expressing his desire to meet us and we sent the answer intended."[290] He adds that they left the train and passed in front of a *merasim bölüğü* (ceremonial regiment).[291] After leaving his carriage, the shah passed into the luxuriously decorated salon, where servants served him *şerbet*.[292] Then they went into a *han* across the station and the soldiers waiting at the station marched in

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[288]*The Oriental Advertiser*, 1 October 1900, p. 1.

[289]Imperial General Staff Marshall Şakir Paşa, Arif Paşa, High Commander of the Imperial Armed Guard Rüşdü Paşa, Ahmed Canib Paşa, Commander of the Quartermaster Corps Kemal Paşa, Hüseyin Paşa, the Treasurer, Commander of the main army Cevad Paşa, Cavalry Lieutenant General Akil Paşa, the mufti and provincial officers were present at the ceremony. *İkdâm*, 17 Eylül 1316, "Edirne'ye İstikbali".

[290]Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p. 216.

[291]Ibid., p. 216.

[292]*The Oriental Advertiser*, 1 October 1900, p.1. A journalist from İkdâm who was present at the station later wrote about the shah's arrival and noted that when the shah was waiting at the station an Ottoman officer served him watermelon. The shah was glad to see it and said: "These were also found in our country. We were deprived of these things in Europe. Thank God, it is predestined that we are eating these fruits. Are there any in İstanbul? I especially like grapes." Then melon and grapes were served to the shah together with watermelon. *İkdâm*, 20 Eylül 1316, p. 1.

front of them "in an orderly and glorious form" which led the shah to think that the Ottoman army was very similar to that of the Germans.[293] Finally, the shah and his retinue returned to the train and waited a few hours for the wagon exchange, and the train moved while they were resting in their beds.[294] They waited ten minutes at the *Çatalca* railway station, where Ottoman officers, including *Çatalca mutasarrıfı* (the governor of Çatalca) Cevad Bey, and soldiers were present. The shah waved from the wagon and talked with Cevad Bey for a while before the train moved.[295] The next station was *Makriköy,* where the shah would get into the Ottoman Imperial yacht *İzzeddîn,* which had been allocated for his use during the visit.

In Makriköy, Minister for Foreign Affairs Halil Rıfat Paşa, who was in full, brilliant uniform wearing the insignia of *imtiyâz* (privilege), welcomed the shah in the name of the sultan.[296] The carriages approached and the Iranian sovereign entered one of them, alongside Turhan Paşa and Halil Rıfat Paşa.[297] From there the shah went to the Makriköy port, where a *Saltanat Kayığı* (royal boat) was present to take the shah to the *İzzeddîn.* A photograph included in both Yıldız albums, the Gigord Collection and the album presented to the shah depicts the shah boarding the royal boat.[298] (Figure 8) In the photograph we see *Makriköy* port and the back of the Ottoman officers. The shah had probably just sat down in the royal boat since we see an officer who appears to be helping the shah board the boat.

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[293]Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p. 215.

[294]Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p. 215-216.

[295]*İkdâm*, 1 October 1900, p. 1.

[296]*The Oriental Advertiser*, 1 October 1900.

[297]*The Oriental Advertiser*, 1 October 1900.

[298]Gigord Collection box 38, Golestan Palace Archives album no: 389/3, İstanbul University Rare Collection album no:508/57.

After the shah boarded, the royal boat sailed to the *İzzeddîn*. Iranian merchants and students from the *Dabestân-e Irânîyân* (Iranian primary school) who had rented a *Şirket-i Hayriye Vapuru* no 39 (Bosphorus Ferry) came from the coast of Makriköy to welcome the shah. *İkdâm* reported that the ship was decorated with ornaments and the students read poems and sang songs.[299] Newspapers also reported that other Iranians came with the ships *Olga* and *İstanbul* to attend the welcoming ceremony.[300] There is one photograph in the Gigord Collection depicting the two ships approaching to Makriköy (Figure 9).[301] The streets of Makriköy were full of people and the sea was full of boats and steam-launches.[302] When the shah boarded into the *İzzeddîn* and came close to the coast of Makriköy, celebratory salvos were fired and the reception ceremony was held at sea.[303] While the shah was on his way to Ortaköy, Iranians living in İstanbul sailed after him in small ships named *Kamer* and *Tevfikiyye* and reading poems and sang songs.[304] The shah claims that the Iranians of İstanbul who were following him were shouting "*Pâdeshâh-e Irân ve Shâhanshâh-e vatan-e mâ salâmet bâshed!*" (long live the shah of Iran and

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[299] *İkdâm*, 1 October 1900, p. 2. *Gerek Şah hazretlerinin filikada bulundukları ve gerek İzzeddîn vapur-u hümâyûnuna rakiben ve İstanbul'a müteveccihen hareketleri esnasında zat-ı şehâmetpenâhilerini takib eden tebaa-yı sadıka-ı İraniyân neşideler kıraatine devam ettikleri gibi...."*

[300] *İkdâm*, 1 October 1900, p.2.

[301] Gigord Collection box 38.

[302] *İkdâm*, 1 October 1900, p.3 *Makriköy civarina gitmiş olan ahali o kadar çok bulunuyordu ki sokaklar hınca hınç denilecek bir derecede dolmuştu. Kayık sandal ve istimbotlar, tenze vapurları satıh-ı deryayı kaplamıştı.*

[303] *İkdâm*, 1 October 1900, p.2.

[304] *İkdâm*, 1 October 1900, p. 2. *Şah-ı müşarün-ileyh hazretlerinin rakib oldukları sagine-i hümâyûn saat altı kararlarında Makriköyü pişgahından hareket etmiş ve onu müteakkib rehber, Kamer ve Tevfikkiyye istimbotları yukarıda isimleri sabık eden ve tebaa-yı Iraniyyeye hamil olan sefâin sâire birer birer hareket ile sefine-i hümâyûn mezkûri takib etmişlerdir.*

shâhanshâh of our homeland!).[305] While they were sailing around the shah's ship, the shah was waved with his hands and with handkerchiefs.[306] There were also bands on every ship playing the *Hamidî* anthem together with the anthem of the shah.[307]

İkdâm reported that when it was twenty-five minutes to seven, the ship *İzzeddîn* sailed off the coast of Sarayburnu and entered Dersaadet. A salvo was fired from Karagül *Sefine-i Hümâyûnu* in Salıpazarı, and when the ship arrived in Ortaköy many other salvos were fired from Kain Nakkaş (Nakkaştepe) on the Anatolian side. [308]The shah's reception became a crisis because the shah had indicated in a telegram sent to the Ottoman state that he wanted the sultan to be present at the port of Ortaköy.[309] However, in the end, only Şehzade Tevfik and Abdülkadir Efendi were present at Ortaköy to receive the shah, not the sultan. Şehzade Tevfik Efendi and Said Paşa came to the *İzzeddîn* on the steam-launch *Beylerbeyi* in Ortaköy. Said Paşa delivered a message from the sultan to the shah. Then the shah and the *şehzade* talked for a while on the deck.[310] While the shah, his retinue, the *şehzade* and the *paşa* boarded the *Beylerbeyi,* which was flying the shah's flag, the *Mızıka-i Hümâyûn* (imperial band) played the *Hamidî* anthem and the shah's anthem.[311] There is one photograph in the Gigord Collection depicting the shah and his retinue on the

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[305] Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p.218.

[306]Ibid.,

[307]"…*Hamidî ve İran marşı terennümsaz olmuş*…." *İkdâm*, 1 October 1900, p.2, 1 Ekim 1900 miladi, p. 2.

[308]*İkdâm*, 1 October 1900, p.2; Y.MTV. 207/11 *İstanbul'a gelecek İran Şahı'nın Ortaköy'e vürudunda Nakkaş tabyasından top endahtıyla ifa-yı merasim icrası*.

[309] See Fatmagül Demirel, *Son Ziyaretler, Son Ziyafetler*, (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, Kasım 2007), p. 91. BOA, Y.PRK.TŞF, 5/98.

[310]*İkdâm*, 1 October 1900, p.2.

[311]*İkdâm*, 1 October 1900, p.2

Beylerbeyi approaching the Ortaköy port (Figure 10).[312] In the photograph there are many steam-launches full of people and many small ships surrounding that of the shah. Two other photographs from the Gigord Collection also show that Iranian subjects greeted the shah at the port in many steam-launches and small ships (Figure 11).[313] It is possible to see the Ottoman and Iranian flags on the boats. These two photographs seem to be part of the same scene. While the first depicts the scene looking from Ortaköy Mosque to the port, the other photograph shows the port from the other direction.

Şehzade Abdulkadir Efendi and Grand Vizier Halil Rıfat Paşa were waiting at the port of Ortaköy, which was decorated with carpets and rugs made by the *Hereke Fabrika-i Hümâyûn* (Imperial Hereke factory).[314] In the photographs depicting the shah's arrival at Ortaköy mentioned above, it is possible to see a crowd on the port that is likely part of the reception ceremony, but it is impossible to identify them. There is only one photograph depicting the shah leaving his boat at the port in Abdülhamid Collection (Figure 12). A large group received the shah at the port.[315] The shah, Abdulkadir Efendi, Tevfik Efendi, and Iranian Ambassador Ala al-Molk Mirza Mahmod Khan boarded a carriage to go to Yıldız Palace accompanied by eighteen other carriages. On the way to Yıldız, soldiers saluted them on the

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[312] Gigord Collection Box 38

[313] Gigord Collection Box 38.

[314] *Sabâh*, 1 October 1900, p.1 *"Şah hazretleri Hereke Fabrika-i Hümâyûnu enfes mamulatından olan gayet kıymetdâr haliçeler tefrişiyle nezyin idilmiş olan bu iskele üzerinde…."*

[315] *İkdâm*, 1 October 1900, p.2 *İkdâm* reports that this group includes Şehremini Rıdvan paşa, Beşiktaş Police Chief Müşir (commander) Hacı Hasan Paşa, Zabtiye nazırı Şefik, fourth department municipality chief Mustafa Beyefendi ve distinct chief Timur, major Abid ve Mustafa, senior adjutant Nazım, Mahmud Ali, Yüzbaşı Halide ve lieutenant Talat and Mithat Bey and sergeants of Imperial escort Kerim, Fuad, and Mustafa Efendi.

streets.[316] The Iranian newspaper *Sorayyâ* reported that the shah's carriage had four horses similar to the *Rahs*, the horses of the legendary Iranian hero Rostem mentioned in the *Shâhnâma* of Ferdowsi.[317] By mentioning this, the *Sorayyâ* presents a parallel to Iran's ancient and legendary history and compares the shah with past rulers, which is a common tendency in Qajar literary and political works.[318] Then, the shah and his retinue arrived at the garden of Yıldız Palace, where they met Sultan Abdülhamid II. The shah and the sultan went into the *Acem Köşkü,* which was specially built for the shah's visit.[319] The sultan and the shah held a short meeting at the *köşk*. The Iranian newspaper *Sorayyâ* reports this meeting between the sultan and the shah as the reunion of the lover and the beloved (*chon âsheq-e mehrabân, chon moshtâq-e cânân*).[320] The sultan introduced Grand Vizier Halil Rıfat Paşa, Minister for Foreign Affairs Tevfik Paşa, state Council head Said Paşa, Commandant in Chief Rıza Paşa, Minister of Navy Hasan Paşa, and Imperial Arsenal Commander Zeki Paşa to the shah.[321] After a short conversation, the sultan and the shah got into a carriage and went to the *Şâle Köşkü,* which was allocated to the shah during his days in İstanbul. The sultan left and half an hour later the shah went to the *Mabeyn-i Hümâyûn,* where they dined together with other Ottoman and Iranian officials.[322] The shah and the sultan sat next to each other at the head of the table. Two grand

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[316]*İkdâm*, 1 October 1900, p.2.

[317]*Sorayyâ*, 17 October 1900, no 40, p. 7.

[318] The Qajar revival of the past has already been discussed in the second chapter of this thesis.

[319]Ayşe Sultan, *Babam Abdülhamid*, Güven Yayınları, p. 50.

[320]*Sorayyâ*, 17 October 1900, no 40, p. 6.

[321]*İkdâm*, 1 October 1900, p. 2.

[322]*İkdâm*, 1 October 1900, p. 2.

viziers sat on one side of the table. There were few chairs left between them and the sultan and the shah; no one sat on the other side of the table. Şehzade Ahmet Efendi, Burhaneddin Efendi, Selim Efendi, Tevfik Efendi, Abdulkadir Efendi, viziers and other officials sat at a separate table.[323] The shah mentioned in his diary that he informed the sultan about his trip. He adds that there was an orchestra playing 'Ottoman' and 'Arabic' music at the dinner. After the dinner, the shah and the sultan, together with the *şehzade*s and viziers, went to the balcony and watched the city, which was illuminated.[324] They also watched a firework display. Then the shah went back to the *Şâle Köşkü* to rest.[325]

1 October 1900: The Second Day

On his second day in İstanbul the shah was to visit the Iranian Embassy in Cağaloğlu. He first went to Beşiktaş and then Tophâne, where he boarded the ship to go to Sirkeci. The port of Sirkeci was decorated with carpets and carriages, which were waiting for the shah and his retinue.[326] The shah arrived at the port and took a carriage to the Iranian Embassy. The streets near the *Düyun-u Umumiyye* were full of bands, policemen and gendarmerie, while the streets leading to the embassy were full of people, including Iranian subjects who lived in İstanbul.[327] Students from the *Dabestân-e İraniyan* (Iranian Primary School) stood along the path to the door

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[323]Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p. 223-224; *İkdâm*, 3 October 1900, p.1.

[324]Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p.224.

[325]Ibid.,

[326]*İkdâm*, 2 October 1900, p. 1.

[327]*İkdâm*, 2 October 1900, p. 1.

through which the shah would enter. They were holding the Iranian flag.[328] The shah arrived at the embassy at half past five. *İkdâm* indicates that when he arrived at the embassy, students of the *Dabestân-e İraniyan* were singing the song "*manzume-i duaiyye,*" which was composed by Hacı Mirza Mehdi Efendi.[329] When the shah arrived at the embassy, Iranian ambassador Ala al-molk, Mirza Mahmod Khan, Mirza İsmail Khan, head interpreter Ohannes Khan, head clerk Mostafa Khan, interpreter Mahmud İbrahim Bey, Haci Mecid Khan, Cevad Bey, Mahmud Ali Bey, Haci Mirza Mahmod Khan, Hüseyin Bey, Ali Bey, Katip Ebulkasım and other employees of the embassy were awaiting him at the entrance.[330] There is a photograph in the İstanbul University Library collection depicting the scene with the embassy staff standing on the stairs (Figure 13).[331] However, this photograph was probably taken later, since the shah is seen behind the window when the photograph is examined carefully. The entire staffs of the embassy and the *muteberan-ı tüccar-ı İran* (important merchants of Iran) were present and a band played Iranian national songs in the garden.[332] The shah had lunch on the second floor and went downstairs to meet Ottoman officials and foreign ambassadors in İstanbul who had come to visit him.[333] The shah mentions that Russian Ambassador Mösyö Zinabef, who had

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[328]*İkdâm*, 2 October 1900, p. 1.

[329]*İkdâm*, 2 October 1900, p. 1.

[330]*İkdâm*, 2 October 1900, p.1.

[331]Abdülhamid Collection, album no 508/16.

[332]İkdâm, 2 October 1900, p. 1.

[333]Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p.223.

worked in Tehran eighteen years before, was present in the embassy. The shah also adds that he had a longer conversation with the German ambassador.[334]

The shah went to the balcony when the time was ten to seven. When he was seen on the balcony, the band played both the *Hamidî* march and Iranian anthem. The shah asked a person who had a small camera to take a photograph of the scene in front of the embassy.[335] It is still unknown whether there was a photographer with the shah in İstanbul or not. During my research, I have not come across any photograph of the shah's days in İstanbul taken by an Iranian photographer. In addition, literary sources do not mention any Iranian photographer. As indicated in Hamid Naficy's book, the court photographer Mirza İbrahim Khan *Akkâsbashi* Sani al-Saltaneh, who took many photographs of the shah's European visit in addition to filming it, accompanied the shah during his first European trip.[336] However, he returned to Tehran when the shah was in Belgium, which was before the shah came to İstanbul.[337] In conclusion, we know that the *akkâsbashi* was not with the shah in İstanbul, but we still do not have any information to determine if there was another photographer with him. In other words, we do not know if the man who took a photograph of the view from the embassy was a photographer accompanying the shah, whether he took any other photographs, or, finally, what happened to these photographs.

As we learn from the Ottoman newspaper *İkdâm*, before he left the embassy and went back to Yıldız Palace, the shah went to the garden of the embassy and

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[334] Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p.224.

[335] *İkdâm*, 2 October 1900, p.1.

[336] Hamid Naficy, *A Social History of Iranian Cinema*, pp. 44-46.

[337] Ibid.

posed for the camera alone, and also together with his retinue and embassy staff. These photographs were taken by famous the Ottoman photographer Febus (Phoebus) Efendi and the painter Manas Efendi.[338] One of those photographs must be the one published by the Ottoman newspaper *Sabâh* on 4 October 1900 (Figure 14). In this photograph, the shah is sitting on a chair on the carpet, together with his retinue and the embassy staff. This photograph is not found in the İstanbul University Library Rare Collection or the Getty Museum's Gigord Collection. Furthermore it does not appear in the album that is now in the Golestan Palace archives. The next day, these photographs were presented to the shah. The shah gave some of them to the ambassador to display in the embassy.[339] In addition, a painting depicting the *Huseyniyye* Mosque in Egypt by Ottoman painter *Kolağası* Bedri was presented to the shah.[340] We also learn from *İkdâm* that Febus Efendi presented some photographs of the inside and outside view of the embassy and presented them to the shah in a red velvet box as a gift.[341] The shah then went back to the Yıldız Palace and received

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[338] *İkdâm*, 2 October 1900, *"Seferâthânede-----Fotograf: Muzafferiddin Şah hazretleri avdet-i şehâmet penâhilerinden evvel seferâthâne bahçesine inmişlerdir. Şah hazretleri burada yere farş edilen kiranbaha bir halıçe üzerine mevzi mezyîn koltuğa oturdukları ve arkalarında maiyyet-i Şahîleri ve mihmandârları ve maiyyet me'mur-u yârân hazret-i şehrîyarî ile erkân-ı seferatdan bazısı ayakta sağ ve sol taraflarında durdukları halde fotografî Febus ve ressam Manas Efendiler taraflarından bir resim alınmıştır. Müta'akiben şah hazretleri ayrıca yalnız olarak bir fotoğrafları daha aldırmışlardır. Şah hazretleri aldırdıkları bu fotoğrafdan bir kıtasını seferâthâneye ihdâ edeceklerini sefire ihtar buyurmuşlardır."*

[339] *İkdâm*, 3 October 1900, p.1 *"Resm takdîmi: Şah hazretlerinin seferâthânede aldırdıkları fotoğraflardan dün huzur-u şahîlerine takdîm edilmiştir. Müşarün-ileyh hazretleri bunlardan bir kıtasını seferâthâne salonunda vazih mevki ihtirâm edilmek üzere hatt-ı destileriyle tevsih buyurarak sefir hazretlerine eylemişlerdir."* I asked the Iranian embassy in İstanbul about these photographs. They do not have any information about them.

[340] *İkdâm*, 3 October 1900, p.1 *"Tablo takdîmi: Yârân-i hazret-i şehrîyarîden ressam kol agası bedri beyefendi Mısır'da Hüseyniyye cami'-i şerîfin manazır-ı aluyye dahiliyyesini teressim ettigi yağlı boya gayet müsennâ bir tabloyu Şah hazretlerine ihdâ ve takdîm eylemişlerdir."*

[341] *İkdâm*, 2 October 1900, *Fotoğrafçı Febus Efendi dahi nisf-i payitaht-ı saltanat-ı seniyyenin mevâki-i meşhûre ve münâzır lütfesini nisf-i seferâthânenin dahilî ve haricî manzaralarını muhteva olmak üzere kırmızı kadife kablı bir albümü Şah-ı müşarün-ileyh hazretlerine takdîm etmiştir.* I couldn't find any photographs taken inside the embassy -- except the one in the newspaper *Sabâh*.

Ottoman officials and foreign ambassadors in the *Şâle Köşkü*.[342] A detailed list of the people he met with was published in *İkdâm*.[343] The shah claims in his diary that he was tired in the evening and declined the sultan's invitation for dinner.[344]

As a reply to the visits of the Ottoman officials and foreign ambassadors, the shah sent his viziers to the bureaucrats and ambassadors he had received in the *Şâle Köşkü*. Grand Vizier Ali Asgar went to the Ottoman *Şeyh'ül-İslâm*'s house in Ortaköy and left the shah's card. The Iranian grand vizier, accompanied by his mihmandâr, Ahmed Ali Paşa, and first dragoman at the Persian Embassy, Ohannes Khan, paid a visit on Tuesday to Russian Ambassador Mr. Zinoview in the name of the shah.[345] In addition, Ahmed Ali Paşa went to *Vâlide Hanı* in the name of the shah and stayed in Haci Mahmod İbrahim Khan's place for some time.[346] In addition, Ali Asgar Khan, Ahmed Ali Paşa, and Miralay Tevfik Bey paid a visit to the Tevfik Paşa's house in Taksim and left the shah's card.[347] Ali Asgar Khan also went to the seaside on the Bosphorus where the foreign ambassadors were staying together with his *mihmandâr,* Şükrü Bey, and left the shah's card.[348]

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[342]*İkdâm*, 2 October 1900, p. 1.

[343]*İkdâm*, 2 October 1900, p 2.

[344]Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p. 224.

[345]*The Oriental Advertiser*, 4 October 1900.

[346]*İkdâm*, 2 October 1900, p. 2.

[347]*İkdâm*, 20 Eylül 1316, p.2.

[348]*İkdâm*, 20 Eylül 1316, p.2.

2 October 1900: The Third Day

On the third day of his visit, the shah writes in his travel diary that after the morning prayer he accepted some jewelers in order to buy rings and other jewelry as gifts.[349] Then *Şeyh'ül-islâm* Cemaleddin Efendi visited him and they talked for a while. After the lunch, the shah accepted the sultan's invitation to visit the museum and library in Yıldız Palace. The shah claims that the sultan himself provided information about the artifacts in the museum.[350] Then they went to the library. Mozaffar al-Din Shah claims that he was excited to see the sultan's 20,000 books. He writes that there was a *murakkâ*[351] of Mir İmad,[352] which the shah opened to find his fortune. "*Elâhî tâ jehân râ âb o rang ast, Falak râ sayr o gashtî râ derang ast, Modâmash bakht o dawlat yâr gardân, Ze nakhl-e omr bar-khordâr gardân*". He says that he interpreted this *murakkâ* positively.[353] The sultan gave the *Quran* of the calligrapher Şehri Yedikuleli Seyyid Abdullah Efendi to the shah as a gift.[354] After that, the sultan and the shah went to the sultan's palace, (probably *Küçük Mabeyn or Büyük Mabeyn)*, where they talked for a while. Then the sultan's six-year-old son and nine-year-old daughter came into the room. The shah gave his official *nişan* to the sultan's son, and

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[349]Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p. 224.

[350]Ibid.

[351]It is an art of the book that the seperate pages, which the caligrapher has written the script on, are collected and organized. Here it is used to refer the kind of the Mir İmad's book.

[352]Mir İmad al-Hassani. A Persian calligrapher famous for his *nastaliq* script who worked in the Safavid court in the reign of Shah Abbas I.

[353]Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p. 225.

[354]*İkdâm*, 20 Eylül 1316, p. 1; Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p. 225.

the Order of *Âfetâb*[355] to his daughter. The *şehzade* played piano for a while. The shah mentioned that he was very happy to see the sultan's children since he could not see his own children, and kissed them.[356] Then the sultan and the shah went to the *Yıldız Çini Fabrika-i Hümâyûn* (Yıldız Imperial Ceramic Factory*),* the *Hadika-i Hümâyûn* and the *Istabl-ı Âmire,* where the special horses of the sultan were kept. The shah indicates that Iranian Ambassador Ala al-Molk had sent three students to work at the Yıldız Imperial Ceramic Factory.

In the evening, after dinner, the shah was invited to watch a play with the sultan in the theatre within Yıldız Palace. The shah walked through the gallery underground together with his retinue and met the sultan. The shah mentioned that there were many portraits of Ottoman sultans and war scenes, which were signs of the glorious Ottoman family. He adds that the sultan talked about them in detail. Then they arrived at the theatre and went upstairs where they watched short plays sitting together in a special room.[357] Ayşe Sultan, the daughter of Sultan Abdülhamid II, indicates that in addition to the Western plays presented in the theatre, *orta oyunu* was performed for the shah.[358] It is very interesting that although the newspaper *İkdâm, The Oriental Advertiser,* and *Sabâh* related every detail of the shah's visit, they do not mention that the shah and the sultan watched a play together.

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[355]'Hamayel-e Afetâb', Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p. 225.

[356]Ibid.

[357]Ibid.

[358]Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Abdülhamid*, p. 52.

3 October 1900: The Fourth Day

On Wednesday the shah went to the Ayasofya (Hagia Sophia) passing through Tophâne and Sirkeci and then came back to Dolmabahçe passing through Sirkeci, Eminönü, and Karaköy. The shah took the four-horse royal carriage, together with Grand Vizier Emin al-saltana Ali Asgar Khan, *mihmandâr* Turhan Paşa, Hekim al-molk and Mirza Mahmod Khan, while other viziers and officers such as Ahmed Ali Paşa, Şükrü Paşa, Miralay (colonel) Tevfik, and Kaymakam (district governor) Rıza Bey got into the carriage with two horses from the sultan's *Istabl-ı Amire*.[359] While the shah went to Tophâne, people were present on the streets, soldiers saluted him and police provided security. The shah was received by the grand master of artillery and the artillery corps in *Tophâne*.[360] The shah got out of his carriage at the Tophâne port and boarded the ship *Beylerbeyi* while his retinue and *mihmandârs* boarded the *Muserret* and *Nurs*. A photograph from the album in the İstanbul University Library Rare Collection shows the carriages of the shah and his retinue together with the *mızraklı süvâri alayı* (lancers) passing through Tophâne Square where the shah boarded the ship for Eminönü.[361] (Figure 15) Another photograph depicts the shah getting out of his carriage at the Tophâne port. [362] (Figure 16)

Two photographs at the İstanbul University Library depict the shah's ship approaching the Eminönü port (Figure 17).[363] In one photograph it is possible to see

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[359]*İkdâm,* 4 October 1900, p.1.

[360]*İkdâm*, 4 October 1900, p.1.

[361]İstanbul University Library Rare Collection, album no: 508/43-44.

[362]İstanbul University Library Rare Collection, album no: 508/19.

[363]İstanbul University Library Rare Collection, album no: 508/45-46.

the other ships at the port and Yeni Vâlide Sultan Mosque together with the Süleymaniye Mosque on the hill.[364] The shah and his retinue then went to Ayasofya by carriage. Mozaffar al-Din Shah went into the garden of Ayasofya where photographs were taken of him and his retinue by Miralay (colonel) Zekai, Refet Bey, and Binbaşı (commander) Sami Bey. A photograph was taken at the entrance of the garden of the mosque when the shah came in (Figure 18).[365] Then the shah went inside the mosque and walked to the *mihrâb* while looking at the large *kubbe* (dome). Throughout this visit Turhan Paşa and Ahmed Ali Paşa provided the shah with information about the mosque.[366] A photograph shows Turhan Paşa talking with the shah in front of the Ayasofya Mosque, probably providing information (Figure 19).[367] Furthermore, the newspaper *İkdâm* mentions two more photographs, one taken before the shah went into the mosque in which he was posing with his retinue, and the other taken after that.[368] A photograph only found at the Gigord Collection must be the one mentioned in *İkdâm* (Figure 20).[369] In this photograph, Mozaffar al-Din Shah poses together with his retinue behind, him including Ambassador Ala al-

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[364]İstanbul University Library Rare Collection, album no: 508/46.

[365] İstanbul University Library Rare Collection, album no: 508/20.

[366]3 October 1900; *İkdâm*, p.1. *"Ayasofya'da: Muzafferiddin Şah camekanlı kapıdan cami'-i şerîf derûnuna girip büyük kubbenin altından mihrâb önüne kadar gitmişler ve orada tevakkûfla kubbenin sağ ve sol cihetlerini kâmil-i dikkatle temaşa buyurmuşlardır."*

[367] İstanbul University Library Rare Collection, album no 508/21, Golestan Palace Archives album no: 389/11.

[368] 3 October 1900, *İkdâm*, p.1. *"Fotograf Ahzı: Cami'-i Şerîfin derûnuna girilmezden mukaddim Şah hazretleri mukathanenin biraz ilerisinde tevkif buyurup, önde kendileri ve arkada ma'iyyet-i şâhîleri erkânıyla mihmândârları ve ma'iyyet-i Şahî'ye me'mur zevât-ı saire olduğu ve cami'-i şerîfin medhâlindeki kapıya mütevecce bulunduğu halde fotoğrafları ahz olunmuştur. Bu fotoğraflar yârân-ı hazret-i şehrîyarîden miralay izzetlû Zekai ve Refet ve binbaşı Sami beyler tarafından alınmıştır. Cami'-i şerîften çıkıldığı sırada evvelki mevki'de refakât-ı şahîlerinde bulunan zevât ile birlikte ikinci defa olarak resimleri ahz olunmuştur. İkinci resim şah hazretleriyle zevât-i müşarün-ileyhin cadde cihetine mutevecce oldukları halde alınmıştır."*

[369] Gigord Collection, box 132.

molk, Iranian Grand Vizier Ali Asgar Khan, *mihmandâr* Turhan Paşa and Şeker Ahmed Paşa.

Before returning to the Yıldız Palace, the shah went to the Dolmabahçe Palace passing through Divanyolu, the tomb of Sultan Mahmud II, Bab-ı Ali (the Sublime Porte), Eminönü, Bahçekapısı, the bridge, Galata, and Tophâne, arriving at Dolmabahçe at five minutes past six.[370] There is a photograph showing the shah and his retinue leaving Dolmabahçe in carriages (Figure 21).[371]

The shah returned to the *Şâle Köşkü* and had his lunch at about seven o'clock. An orchestra directed by Hilmi Bey played music in the *köşkü*.[372] The shah liked the music very much and asked for the sheet music.[373] The shah claims in his diary that after lunch he slept for a while and when he awoke up he saw the fabrics that the sultan had sent him as a gift. Then the shah sent a dagger with the *kabza* (handle) decorated with *yakut* (ruby), a relic from the imperial treasury, together with a *tesbîh* (prayer beads) made of pearl, to the sultan.[374]

Sultan Abdülhamid II invited the shah to dinner since the shah was going to leave the city next day. When the sultan came into the dinner hall the orchestra began to play the *Hamidî* anthem, whereas they played the Iranian anthem when the shah arrived. The shah writes that it was the same hall in which they had dinner two days

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[370]*İkdâm*, 4 October 1900, p.1.

[371] İstanbul University Library Rare Collection, album no: 508/48.

[372]*İkdâm*, 4 October 1900, p.1.

[373]*İkdâm*, 4 October 1900, p.1.

[374]Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p. 227.

before.[375] After the dinner, the shah and the sultan went to a big hall together with the Iranian grand vizier. As the shah indicates, the sultan's sons and nephews also attended the meeting. The shah claimed that they talked for a long time and also watched the illuminations outside and a firework display.[376]

4 October 1900: The Last Day

The shah writes that on the last morning they sat at the entrance of the sultan's garden and Nedim al-Saltana read newspapers to the shah. The shah also indicates that he asked the *saray nazırı* to write the diary, which shows that the shah's diary was already written in İstanbul. Then Emin Bey presented gifts to the shah from the sultan.[377] Then the sultan went to the *Şâle Köşkü* where the shah was staying.[378] Before going to the *Acem Köşkü*, the sultan stayed there for a while. Then the shah and the sultan went out and got into a carriage to go to the *Acem Köşkü* while soldiers saluted and the imperial band played the *Hamidî* anthem. Master of Protocol İbrahim Bey was in another carriage in front of the shah and the sultan, and other

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[375] *İkdâm* reports that Iranian Grand Vizier Emin al-Sultan, Mirza Ali Asgar Khan, Vizier Hekim-al Molk Mirza Mahmod Khan, Minister for Finance Nasir al-Molk Mirza Ebu al-Kasım Khan, military officer Mahmod Bakr Khan, Moshk al-dawla Khan, Serdâr-ı mokarram Khan, Emir Bahadir Cenk, Emin Hazret Khan, and İsmail Khan attended the dinner as part of the shah's retinue. From the Ottoman side, the Grand Vizier Halil Rıfat Paşa, state Council Chair Said Paşa, Minister for foreign Affairs Tevfik Paşa, the shah's guide and state Council member Turhan Paşa, Şakir Paşa, Ambassador to Tehran Şemseddin Bey, Koşuf Efendi and officers of protocol were present at the dinner. Furthermore, foreign ambassadors together with their head interpreters were also present: Italian Ambassador, German Ambassador Iranian Ambassador Ala al-molk, Mirza Mahmod Khan, Russian Ambassador, Ambassador of Montenegro, Ambassador of Serbia, Belgian Ambassador together with charge d'affaires (acting ambassador) of Greece, America, Dutch, Austria, France, England and Romania. *İkdâm*, 4 October 1900, p. 1; Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p. 227.

[376] Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p. 227.

[377] *İkdâm*, 5 October 1900, p.1.

[378] *İkdâm*, 5 October 1900, p.1.

viziers and officers followed after them. Soldiers stood along the road and saluted on the way to *Acem Köşkü*. The shah offered his thanks for the sultan's kindness and hospitality and bid him farewell.[379] The Iranian newspaper *Sorayyâ* writes of this farewell meeting that "the two *padeshâh* of the world of Islam, two suns and two moons of one sky, after presenting their brotherhood and their unity and solidarity, began to kiss and hug each other like *âsheq* (lover) and *ma'shûq* (beloved)."[380]

Then the shah got into the *Saltanat* carriage together with Şehzade Tevfik Efendi, Şehzade Abdulkadir Efendi, Iranian Ambassador Ala al-molk and Mirza Mahmod Khan. The shah went to Ortaköy and boarded the *Beylerbeyi* to sail to the *İzzeddîn*. As the steam-launch reached the imperial yacht, the Persian flag was hoisted while the band on board performed the Persian anthem. The shah talked for a while with Tevfik Efendi and Said Paşa in the yacht and sent his thanks to the sultan.[381] After the *şehzade* and Said Paşa left the ship, it began proceeding to the upper Bosphorus, but the shah canceled this trip and ordered the boat to go directly to Makriköy. While the *İzzeddîn* passed the dispatch boats of the European powers and the Ottoman guard ships, the battery at Nakkaş (Nakkaştepe) or Kuzguncuk fired a royal salute and the same was repeated at Tophâne from the Karakol and the shah saluted by waving his hands.[382] The shah was given information about the Marmara Sea and the islands together with the blueprints of the *İzzeddîn*.[383]

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[379]*İkdâm*, 5 October 1900, p.1.

[380]*Sorayyâ*, 27 October 1900, no: 41, p. 7.

[381]*İkdâm*, 5 October 1900, p.1.

[382]*The Oriental Advertiser*, 5 October 1900, p.1.

[383]*İkdâm*, 5 October 1900, p.1.

There are some photographs of the ship İzzeddîn going through the Bosphorus but, likely due to technical issues we only see the *İzzeddîn* while the Beylerbeyi is approaching it. (Figure 22)[384] There is also a photograph depicting the police ships sailing together with the shah's ship in order to provide security (Figure 23).[385] In addition, the shah posed for the camera alone and together with his retinue in the imperial yacht. He has two photographs alone: one is taken while he is standing on the deck[386] (Figure 24) and the other is taken while he is sitting on a chair and posing with a water-pipe (Figure 25).[387] He also posed to the camera together with his retinue. In one photograph the shah is sitting on a chair, surrounded by Iranian and Ottoman officers (Figure 26).[388] They were all in full uniforms and wearing medals and badges. Another photograph depicts the shah together with Iranian and Ottoman officers standing on the deck in the same place that he posed alone (Figure 27).[389]

At half past four oclock, the imperial yacht arrived at Makriköy. The shah and his suite remained on board until the arrival of the train.[390] The shah boarded the *yedi çifte saltanat kayığı* (royal boat) and went to the Makriköy port. We see a photograph shot while the shah was getting out of the *İzzeddîn* and entering the royal

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[384]İstanbul University Library Rare Collection, album no: 508/51-52-53-54.

[385]İstanbul University Library Rare Collection, album no:508/58.

[386] İstanbul University Library Rare Collection, album no:508/28.

[387]Gigord Collection, Getty Museum, Box 47.

[388]İstanbul University Library Rare Collection, album no:508/5.

[389]İstanbul University Library Rare Collection, album no:508/29.

[390]*The Oriental Advertiser*, 5 October 1900, p.1.

boat near Makriköy (Figure 28).[391] There are two photographs showing the royal boat sailing to the Makriköy port (Figure 29).[392] Another photograph depicts the royal boat in Makriköy Port where he went to the station by carriage together with Tevfik Paşa and Mirza Mahmod Khan (Figure 30).[393] At the entrance of the station, the shah was received by Cevad Bey, the mutasarrıf of Çatalca, with the local authorities and several *aides-de camp*. The shah asked Tevfik Paşa to transmit to the sultan his thanks for the great reception given to him. At the point of departure, the students of the *Dabestân-e Irânîyân* held Ottoman and Persian flags and sang the Persian national anthem. The train moved out of the station at a quarter past five o'clock.[394] There are two photographs depicting the shah and his retinue's train at Makriköy station in the İstanbul University Rare Collection (Figure 31).[395] We can easily see the shah looking out of the train and posing for the camera.

The train arrived at Edirne's Mustafa Paşa Railway Station at ten o'clock and was met with a military reception.[396] Şakir Paşa, Turhan Paşa, Şükrü Paşa, Tevfik Bey, and Rıza Bey accompanied the shah as far as Edirne.[397] At Edirne, the shah's trains stopped for few minutes.[398] Ahmed Ali Paşa and Galib Bey accompanied the

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[391]İstanbul University Library Rare Collection, album no:508/57.

[392]İstanbul University Library Rare Collection, album no:508/61-62.

[393]*İkdâm*, 5 Octombre 1900, p.1.

[394]*The Oriental Advertiser*, 5 October 1900, p.1.

[395]İstanbul University Library Rare Collection, album no: 508/30-31.

[396]*Sabâh*, 6 October 1900, p. 1.

[397]*The Oriental Advertiser*, 5 October 1900, p.1.

[398]*The Oriental Advertiser*, 6 October 1900, p.1.

shah as far as Belgrade.[399] Mozaffar al-Din Shah left the Ottoman Empire and went to Russia passing through Belgrade. Russia was his last destination before returning to Tehran. Ottoman newspapers continued to provide reports about the shah and his journey.

In the first part of this chapter, I detailed the shah's time in İstanbul day by day and tried to bring the literary and visual narrative together. The photographs fit very well with the literary narrative, thus re-presenting the same story visually. The coherence of the literary and visual narratives opens up new possibilities for reading the sources. For instance, literary accounts bring a possibility of contextualizing the photographs and analyzing them historically. This presents us with a better chance to analyze the representations of the visit itself, the shah, Iran, the Qajar dynasty, and the Iranians of İstanbul, as well as the sultan and Yıldız Palace through the sources. The issue of representation will be discussed in next part of this chapter.

Representing the 'Unequal' Power Relationship: The shah is Visible, The sultan is Invisible

When Mozaffar al-Din Shah was in İstanbul, many Ottoman newspapers published articles focusing on the history of the Qajar dynasty and Ottoman-Qajar relations. I use the word 'Qajar' on purpose, since there is no word in the sources about the Iranian dynasties prior to the Qajars. Although the Qajars aimed to attach themselves to a noble past and present their dynasty as the cultural inheritor of the Safavids and ancient Iran, Ottoman newspapers were reluctant to refer to the older dynasties. The Ottoman newspapers preferred to start the narrative in the Qajar era and use the term

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[399] *The Oriental Advertiser*, 7 October 1900, p.1.

'Iran,' rather than the European use of '*Fars*' (Pers) or the term previously used by the Ottomans, '*Acem*.' This is likely related to the aim of creating an Ottoman-Iranian alliance and omitting the previous rivalry between the Ottomans and Safavids.

One of the articles focusing on Ottoman-Qajar relations was titled "*Devlet-i Aliyye-i Kacariyye"* and published in *Sabâh.*[400] This article gives a detailed history of Qajar rulers and the political history of their reigns. Another article, *"Saltanat-ı Seniyye-i Osmaniyye ve Devlet-i Aliyye-i İraniyye"*, presents information about Ottoman-Qajar relations from the reign of Muhammad Shah to that of Mozaffar al-Din Shah.[401] The article reports that the two states had close relations from the reign of Muhammad Shah, although they did not use to have *sefârât-ı dâimî* (permenant embassy), which was later established both in İstanbul and in Tehran during the reign of Fath Ali Shah. It also gives a list of the Iranian ambassadors in İstanbul, together with the Ottomans in Tehran including, Ahmet Vefik Efendi, a famous Ottoman intellectual who used to be the ambassador to Tehran. The article mentions Ahmet Vefik Efendi's journey to Tehran and the reception ceremony given to him. Then it moves to the Iranian students in İstanbul and mentions that Nasser al-Din Shah sent some Iranian students to the Ottoman schools such as *Harbiyye-i Şâhâne, Mühendishâne-i Berrî Hümâyûn and Mekteb-i Sultâniyye* for their education. It also reports that two sons of former Ottoman Ambassador Abdullah Khan also attended *Mekteb-i Harbiyye-i Şâhâne.* In addition to examining the political relations between Qajar Iran and the Ottoman Empire, the articles also highlighted the fact that the Ottomans and Iranians had a close relationship not only in terms of being the two

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[400] *Sabâh*, 30 September 1900, p.1.

[401] *İkdâm*, 30 September 1900, p.1.

important powers in the Islamic world, but also in terms of history and literature.[402] For instance, an article written by famous Scottish Turkologist Gibb discussed the Persian impact on Turkish literature.[403]

The Ottoman newspapers *İkdâm* and *Sabâh* published two articles titled *"Muzafferiddin Şah Hazretlerinin Tercüme-i Halleri*."[404] These articles told the life story of the shah from his childhood in Tehran and his days in Tabriz to his accession the throne and his visit to İstanbul. The articles represented the shah as wearing modest clothing with the exception of a famous diamond valued at 20 million francs.[405] It is also indicated that the shah loved to be modest and generous. For instance, it is noted that he had the diamonds in his palace sold and the funds used for his people.[406] The shah was described as a generous and modern ruler who opened up a new military school in his country.[407] In the articles published in *İkdâm* titled *"Tahran Şehri"* and *"Devlet-i Aliyye-i Kacar,"* Iran is described as a "government of Islam" similar to the Ottoman Empire.[408] The article "Tahran Şehri" provides detailed information about the lands, weather, agriculture, industry,

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[402]*Sabâh,* 30 September 1900, p1; *İkdâm*, 30 September, p.1.

[403]*İkdâm*, 2 October 1900, p.2. This article must be from the first volume of Gibb's six- volume work, History of Ottoman Poetry, which was published in 1900. Halide Edib Adıvar later translated this work, which was originally in English, into Turkish in 1940. Halide Edib claims in her introduction that this work was translated into Turkish by Fuad Raif, already before her but that it had not been published. The article published in İkdâm could be from that unpublished translation. See Mine Mengi, "Yüzyıllık Bir Batı Kaynağı: Gibb'in Osmanlı Şiir Tarihi", in Journal of Turkish Studies, 1999. http://turkoloji.cu.edu.tr/ESKI%20TURK%20%20EDEBIYATI/8.php#_ftn9

[404]*İkdâm*, 30 September 1900, p.1, *Sabâh*, 30 September 1900, p. 2.

[405]This diamond must be the famous *Deryâ-yı Nûr*, which is now in the 'The Treasury of National Jewels' Museum in Tehran. See Amanat, 'The Royal Authority of Qajars'.

[406]*İkdâm*, 30 September 1900 p.1 *"Serpuş-u Şahî'de (nurlu derya) tesmîm olunan meşhûr bir pırlanta vardır ki kıymeti yirmi milyon frank tahmin kılınmaktadır. Bununla beraber şah hazretleri sadeliği daha ziyade sevip, saray-ı şahîlerinde mensucât-ı dahiliyyenin sarfını emr etmişlerdir."*

[407]*Sabâh*, 30 September 1900, p. 2.

[408]*İkdâm*, 30 September 1900, p. 1-2.

commerce, and political system of Iran.[409] The capital, Tehran, was portrayed as a new, modern city with a population of 200,000.[410] It was mentioned that from the middle of the city to its southern gate a six-kilometer trolley line and a rail line were constructed in the reign of Mozaffar al-Din Shah.[411] The article also mentions the beautiful bazaars, *caravanserais and hammams of* Mozaffar al-Din Shah's Tehran, together with its modern squares and barracks, the *Dâr al-Fonûn* (academy of science) and the printing house near the *Dâr al-Funûn*. It was underlined that the city was 'modernized' in the Qajar period, particularly in the reign of Mozaffar al-Din Shah. It wrote that "the glorious ruler Mozaffar al-Din Shah had organized and re-constructed the streets of Tehran."[412] This was in spite of the known fact that the first construction in new Tehran had taken place primarily in the reigns of Fath Ali Shah and Nasser al-Din Shah.[413] But, as a special guest of the sultan, Ottoman newspapers highlighted Mozaffar al-Din Shah as an important figure in the city's modernization process.

Similar to the Ottoman ones, Iranian newspapers also highlight the Ottoman-Qajar friendship. *Sorayyâ* describes these two states as "two suns and two moons of one sky."[414] *Sorayyâ* mentions that this meeting of the two rulers would contribute to the relations between the two societies and strengthen their political and spiritual

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[409]*İkdâm*, 30 September 1900, p. 2.

[410]*İkdâm*, 30 September 1900, p. 2.

[411]*İkdâm*, 30 September 1900, p.2.

[412]*İkdâm*, 30 September 1900 p.1.

[413]See Jennifer Scarce, 'Gulestan Palace' in *Iranian Studies* ed. Layla Diba, 34, (USA: The Society for Iranian Studies, 2001).

[414]'*Do afetab-e yek asuman." Sorayyâ*, 27 October 1900, no: 41, p.7; 17 October 1900, no: 40, p. 6.

bonds.[415] It is also reported that the Ottoman people were very happy to see the shah in İstanbul and that the sultan showed visible hospitality to the shah.[416] Like *Sorayyâ,* another Iranian newspaper, *Al-Kamâl,* also indicates that this meeting contributed to a strengthening of the spiritual bonds between the two states.[417]

Both Ottoman and Iranian newspapers presented a positive image of the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Iran. However, taking the details and the differences between the Ottoman and Iranian narratives into consideration, together with the photographic representation of the visit, we can speak of an intended 'unequal' power relationship in which Ottoman superiority was underlined. In this section, I aim to discuss this unequal power relationship by focusing on the photographic representation of the shah's visit while also taking the literary documents and accounts into consideration.

Ottoman newspapers described the shah and his country in detail; whereas they alluded to the sultan only while reporting about the reception ceremonies and dinners given for the shah. They also wrote about the sultan's generosity and emphasized that all the activities took place with his permission. It is not possible to find any impressions, opinions, or ideas from the sultan himself, while the shah's impressions were mentioned. In other words, throughout the narrative, we are informed that the shah was there, while we only feel the sultan's presence. We see a written depiction of the sultan only in two personal accounts: Mozaffar al-Din Shah's travel diary[418] and the memoir of Ayşe Sultan, Sultan Abdülhamid's daughter.[419]

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[415]*Sorayyâ*, 27 October 1900, no: 41, p. 11.

[416]*Sorayyâ*, 17 October 1900, no: 40, p. 10.

[417]*Al-Kamâl*, 4 November 1900, no: 21, p. 3.

[418]Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p. 220.

Unlike the newspapers, as a personal account the shah's travel diary presents many details of the sultan and Yıldız Palace. Mozaffar al-Din Shah depicts Sultan Abdülhamid II with these words:

> He has been ruling the Ottoman Empire for 25 years. He is 58 years old, of middle height and slim, his beard is mostly black rather than white. He is light-skinned and has a large forehead, and he is very smart. When you look at the sultan, you realize that he looks tired of working and thinking for his empire and people. Hopefully, he will live long and remain healthy.[420]

The shah not only describes the sultan physically, but also stresses his politeness, respect, and good manners. He mentions that he saw the schools established by the sultan, and expresses his appreciation of the sultan's eagerness to develop his country.[421] In addition, taking the rivalry of the Sunni and Shiite sects, associated with the Ottoman and Iranian states, respectively, into consideration, it is very interesting that the shah writes positively about "the sultan's eagerness to bring the Islamic world together under the same roof" and claims that this gave a positive impression.[422] Given Iran's earlier antipathy toward Afgani's idea of 'Islamic unity' and his efforts to bring the Shii ulema and Iran as a whole under the sultan's authority and its attempt to have Afgani brought back to Iran[423] the shah's expressed appreciation for the sultan's efforts to promote 'Islamic unity' is very interesting. While his father Nasser al-Din Shah was very uncomfortable with 'pan-Islamic' ideas and 'Islamic unity' and tried to establish control over the proponents of these ideas and the reformers who were staying in İstanbul and involved in *Akhtar*,

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[419]Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Abdülhamid*, p. 51.

[420]Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p. 220.

[421]Ibid., p. 223.

[422]Ibid., p. 221.

[423]Keddie, p.389.

including Afgani, Rıza Kirmani, and Ahmed Ruhi,[424] Mozaffar al-Din Shah's remarks on the issue can only be explained by the changing political context. When Mozaffar al-Din Shah came İstanbul in 1900, Afgani was dead and Rıza Kirmani, the follower of Afgani who killed Nasser al-Din Shah, had already been put to death. In addition, the newspaper *Akhtar* had not been published since 1896. Although İstanbul remained a centre for opponents of the regime in Iran, 'the danger of Islamic unity' was not on the agenda as it had been five years before.

We also see a depiction of the sultan in the memoir of Ayşe Sultan, his daughter. She writes that when Mozaffar al-Din Shah arrived at the Yıldız garden she watched him with a telescope.[425] She says that the sultan and the shah were in the same carriage on the way to *Şâle Köşkü* from *Acem Köşkü.* [426] Ayşe Sultan goes on with these sentences:

> It was a serious problem. Since both the shah and the sultan were the rulers of Islam, and the shah was the guest, both of them must be sat on the right. As a solution, my father offered to drive the carriage himself. My father drove the carriage of the two white horses given to him as a gift by the Austria Emperor. So he respected to his guest, and at the same time, sat on the right.[427]

The image of Sultan Abdülhamid II driving the carriage of his guest is entirely contrary to the invisible, authoritative, and powerful presence of the sultan in the Ottoman newspapers, which explains why this anecdote is only found in Ayşe Sultan's memoir and not in any other account.

Like the Ottoman newspapers, the photographs that were taken on the sultan's orders do not depict the sultan. My theory of the photographic representation

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[424]Ibid.

[425]Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Abdülhamid*, p. 51.

[426]Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Abdülhamid*, p. 51.

[427] Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Abdülhamid*, p. 51.

of Mozaffar al-Din Shah's trip to İstanbul is that his visit was photographed within the limits of Sultan Abdülhamid's invisibility. In other words, while every move of the shah was photographed on the order of the sultan, nothing related to the sultan, be it his family or his personal buildings, were photographed. For instance, although there are many photographs of the shah's journey from Makriköy to Ortaköy, we cannot find much photograph taken while the shah was received by Şehzade Tevfik and Abdulkadir Efendi together with Tevfik Paşa and Grand Vizier Halil Rıfat Paşa. *Paşa*s are seen in many other photographs, but there is no photograph of the *şehzade*s. The only photograph showing the shah's arrival to Ortaköy was taken from the behind, and it is not possible to see the shah and also the *şehzade*s.

The shah was only photographed while he was sailing in the imperial Yacht *İzzeddîn* and the ship *Beylerbeyi*, and in the gardens of Ayasofya, Dolmabahçe, the Iranian embassy and *Şâle Köşkü,* not in any other imperial venues belonging to the sultan. For instance, there is no photograph of the *Acem Köşkü*, which was specially built for the shah's visit and was where the sultan received the shah with his retinue.[428] Furthermore, there is no photograph of the dinners given in the *Mabeyn-i Hümâyûn,* where all the ambassadors in İstanbul, as well as bureaucrats and officials, were present. Also, as already mentioned, on the third day of the shah's trip, after meeting Ottoman *Şeyh'ül-İslâm* Cemaleddin Efendi, the shah visited the sultan's library and museum, the *Yıldız Çini Fabrika-i Hümâyûn* and the *Istlab-ı Hümâyûn*. The shah's memoir indicates that during these visits the sultan was present and that he "showed the pieces one by one and gave a copy of the *Quran* to the shah as a

[428]Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Abdülhamid*, p. 51; *İkdâm*, 1 October 1900, p.2.

gift".[429] However, Ottoman newspapers mentioned these visits only briefly, and do not refer to the sultan's presence. As with the literary narrative, the visual narrative does not re-present these visits; there is no photograph of them. Similarly, Ottoman newspapers do not mention that the shah and the sultan watched a play together in the Yıldız theatre. There are no photographs of the shah and the sultan meeting at the underground gallery of the Yıldız Palace before going to the sultan's theatre and watching a play. The photographs never show the sultan, and represent the shah only as he is leaving his allotted quarters, not while he was in any of the imperial venues he visited. The shah was photographed within the sultan's Yıldız Palace only while leaving the *Şâle Köşkü,* the building that was set aside for his use, and entering the carriage[430] (Figure 32). The sultan, who was very interested in photography and used it both as a source of information and in gift exchanges, did not want his family, buildings, or official visits and dinners to be photographed. This was part of preserving his invisibility and representing an unequal power relationship between himself and the shah. Being photographed either on his own or with the shah would have damaged the sultan's power of invisibility.

On the other hand, in the album given to the shah in İstanbul, which is now in the Golestan Palace Archives, there are a photograph of the sultan's library, an outdoor photograph of the *Yıldız Çini Fabrika-i Hümâyûn* (the Imperial factory of Ceramics), and a photograph of two vases made in the *Çini* factory. Furthermore, there are photographs of the shah's room in the *Şâle Köşkü*, both in the album in

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[429]Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p. 225; *İkdâm*, 3 October 1900, p. 1. For instance, *İkdâm* only reports that the shah visited the sultan's library and a murakka was given to him.

[430]Gigord Collection, box 47; Abdülhamid Collection, album no: 90508/34, 35, 36, 37, 38.

Golestan Palace and in Abdülhamid's collection (Figure 33).[431] However, these photographs are different from the others depicting the shah's visit in terms of their 'timeless' and 'frozen' character. While many other photographs of the shah's visit are 'moving' images like "travel photographs" in terms of having a narrative and displaying an action, these spaces were photographed as 'timeless' and 'frozen' monuments or artifacts without any people. Although we know that these 'timeless' photographs were indeed taken on the occasion of the shah's visit, they do not allow us to contextualize them. In order to achieve the invisibility of the sultan, they do not include any signs of space or time.

Mozaffar al-Din Shah was not the only royal guest to visit İstanbul during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II.[432] The Swedish King and Queen came to İstanbul in 1885 as their son became sick during their tour of the Middle East and was brought to İstanbul for treatment.[433] This was not a 'real' official visit, but the king and queen visited the sultan. The king went back to his country a few days later, but the queen stayed with their son in Büyükada three weeks more.[434] The German ruler Kaiser Wilhelm visited the sultan twice, in 1889 and 1898. In addition, Wilhelm's son, Prince Adalbert, came to İstanbul in 1901, and Prince Eitel Friedrich visited the Ottoman capital in 1903.[435] Fatmagül Demirel suggests that Sultan Abdülhamid II did not show extraordinary hospitality to the shah compared to his care for the

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[431]İstanbul University Library Rare Collection, album no: 90552/67-68.

[432] These visits were examined in the previous chapter.

[433]Bahattin Öztuncay, *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları*, (İstanbul: Aygaz A.Ş, 2003), p.248.

[434] Ibid., p. 250.

[435] Ibid., p. 50.

German emperor during his visit.[436] She supports her argument by arguing that the shah's visit was represented by the Ottoman newspapers as 'less spectacular' compared to Wilhelm's visit.[437] My argument is that this is related to the political relations between the Ottoman and German states, and it is not fruitful to compare these two visits in terms of how they were represented. Wilhem's visit took place in an era in which the Ottoman-German alliance had reached its peak as a result of the sultan's attitude toward the foreign policies of England and France. On the other hand, as already explained, Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit did not take place in such a context. Wilhelm claimed that he was "the friend of 300 million Muslims," and after his stay in İstanbul he went to Jerusalem and Damascus on a tour of the Middle East to declare this friendship. In addition, when we look at the newspapers, there is no significant difference between the representations of their visits to the Ottoman capital. The newspaper *İkdâm* devoted all of its pages to Wilhelm's visit on the day of his arrival in İstanbul, as was the case with the shah's visit.[438] The issues that the newspapers discussed were also very similar to those raised during the shah's visit: the friendship between the two societies, the history of their relations, the relationship between the Kaiser and the sultan, the Kaiser's arrival in the city, celebrations, dinners given for the honor of the Kaiser, places that he visited, gifts exchanged, and the photographers who were charged with documenting the visit.[439]

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[436] Demirel, pp. 92-93.

[437] Ibid.

[438] *İkdâm*, 18 October 1898, p.1.

[439] See Ali Gözeller, "Osmanlı Basınında Alman İmparatoru II. Wilhelm'in 1889 ve 1898 Yıllarında Osmanlı Devleti'ne Yaptığı Ziyaretler", *İki Dost Hükümdar Sultan II. Abdülhamid, Kaiser II. Wilhelm*, (İstanbul: Milli Saraylar Daire Başkanlığı, yayınlayan Yunus Aydın, 2009,199-209).

However, we can compare these two visits in terms of the application of the sultan's royal protocol. When we compare them, we can say that both rulers were hosted with special care, but with a significant difference. The sultan was present at the Dolmabahçe quay to receive the German emperor, whereas he received the shah at the Yıldız Palace in the *Acem Köşkü*. In addition, the German emperor was first invited to the *Muâyede Salonu* in Dolmabahçe Palace, but the shah went directly to Yıldız Palace. Although the sultan did not receive the shah at the port, it is obvious that he gave special priority to the shah's visit, since he ordered the *Acem Köşkü,* to be built specifically for meeting the shah. Both the shah and the German emperor stayed in the same place, the *Şâle Köşkü,* within the Yıldız Palace. The dinners given for them also took place at the *Mabeyn-i Hümâyûn*. In addition, the sultan invited both rulers to see a play in the Yıldız theatre. The shah visited the sultan's library, whereas the Kaiser did not. Both rulers visited important sites in İstanbul, but Wilhelm saw many more places since he stayed longer in the empire. The emperor and the empress saw many sites in İstanbul, such as Edirnekapı, Topkapı, the city walls, Taksim, Beyoğlu, Nişantaşı, Çamlıca, and Kadıköy, and many mosques, such as Ayasofya, Sultanahmet, Kâriye, and Fatih, in addition to the Topkapı Palace and the *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*. However Mozaffar al-Din Shah only visited Ayasofya and Dolmabahçe Palace. Both rulers visited their embassies in İstanbul and accepted visitors there.

Going back to the representation of Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit, the Ottoman newspaper *İkdâm* reports that when the sultan received the shah in *Acem Köşkü*, the shah kissed the sultan's hand. However, the shah claims in his diary that

they only shook hands.[440] Taking the authoritarian character of the Hamidian regime into consideration, it is highly likely that this "rumor" was reported with the sultan's knowledge. If we connect this rumor with the fact that the sultan himself received the German emperor, while only *şehzade*s were present in the reception for the shah in Ortaköy port, and the reception ceremony crisis before the shah arrived in İstanbul we can see that there is an intended representation of an 'unequal power relationship' between the sultan and the shah created by the Ottoman state -- probably by the sultan himself. Either the shah's visit was represented as less spectacular by the Ottoman newspapers in comparison to that of the German emperor, or the shah kissed the sultan's hand; in other words, all these things were 'forced' or 'self-imposed' rumors by newspapers and underlined the sultan's superiority over the shah. By creating a scene in which the shah kissed the hand of the sultan, who did not even leave his palace to receive the Iranian ruler, a lesser status is attributed to the shah.

On the other hand, the Persian-language newspaper *Sorayyâ*, which was published in Cairo between the years 1898 and 1900, reports that the sultan was present at the port.[441] In addition, the Iranian newspaper *Al-Kamâl* suggests that it is impossible to compare the sultan's hospitality and respect to the shah with the hospitality that he had showed to European rulers.[442] It is implied that the sultan

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[440] *"Şah hazretleri zât-i şevketsemât hazret-i hilafet senâhiye mâlik olur olmaz dest-i hümâyûn-u cenâb-ı zıllâhiye bûs buyurmuşlar ve nâil oldukları hüsn-ü kabul-ü tâcdâr-ı âzâmiyye karşı minnetdâr ve müteşekkîr bulunduklarını arz etmişlerdir." İkdâm*, 1 October 1900, p. 2; Mozaffar al-Din Shah, p. 221.

[441] *Sorayyâ*, 25 September 1900, no: 39, p. 9.

[442] *"Va dar-haqiqat, âsâr-e mehmânnavâzi-ye hazrat-e zellullâh-e â'zâmi ra darbâre-ye Shah va matbu'-e moazzam-e Irâniyân nemitavân ba-ebrâz-e mokhâlasat va taqdim-e ehterâmât-e hokmdârân-e doval-e Urup dar-mizân-e qiyâs sancid, agar-che sacâyâ-ye mokarram va mazâyâ-ye mobajjal-e hazrat-e khelâfat-panâhi dar-ebrâz-e mehmân-navâzi dar-haqq-e umum-e hokmdârân-e â'zâm ma'lum-ast." Al-Kamâl*, 4 November 1900, no 21, p. 3.

behaved kindly and respectfully to the European rulers, but that he gave priority to the shah.[443] *Al-Kamâl* represented Iran as politically equal to the Ottoman Empire by emphasizing that these two states had an equal power relationship. For instance, it writes that, "the society of Islam will be protected in the shadow of these two crowned rulers".[444]

When Mozaffar al-Din Shah came to İstanbul, there were many Iranian people living in the city. Some of them, including those ones who used to publish the newspaper *Akhtar*, were opponents of the shah. On the other hand, there were many other Iranians living in İstanbul engaged in trade, in addition to the Iranian Embassy's staff members and their families. There was an Iranian school, *Dabestân-e İraniyân,* where children of Iranian people in İstanbul studied. It has already been noted that when the shah visited the Iranian Embassy, students from the Iranian School were present at the reception. *Sorayyâ* reported that the shah gave 1000 toman to the school for the building of a hospital for children.[445] Similarly, Iranian *maslahatgüzârı (charge d'affaires)* Han Melik Sasani indicates in his memoir that there was no hospital for Iranian people in İstanbul when the shah came and that the shah promised that he would send 500 toman every year for the hospital so one of the school's buildings was converted into a hospital.[446] However, Sasani indicates that the shah sent the money only for the following two years.[447]

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[443]*Al-Kamâl*, 4 November 1900, no: 21, p. 3.

[444]*Al-Kamâl*, 4 November 1900, no: 21, p. 3.

[445]*Sorayyâ*, 27 October 1900, no: 41, p. 3.

[446]Han Melik-i Sâsânî, *Payitahtın Son Yıllarında Bir Sefir*, (İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2006), p. 83.

[447]Ibid. Sasani reproaches the shah by saying that "probably the women in Tehran had urgent needs and the shah didn't send the money any more."

Iranians generally lived in the old city, especially around the *Büyük Vâlide Hanı,* where they conducted business. This place was a huge *han* where Iranian people also performed prayers and *ta'ziya*, the passion play for commemorating the martyrdom of Hussein, the grandson of the Prophet Muhammed. The newspaper *Akhtar*, which published articles against Nasser al-Din Shah and the Iranian state, was being published in *Vâlide Hanı* only four years before Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit; however in 1900, during the shah's visit, it was used for the celebration of the shah's arrival. Not only *Vâlide Hanı,* but also the neighborhoods around it were decorated with Iranian flags, carpets, scarves, and rugs when the shah was in İstanbul.[448] The *han* was illuminated with lanterns, candles, and glass lamps and all the shops were open during the nights. Some people served tea and *şerbet* while musicians performed. Similarly, *Yıldız Hanı* in Mahmutpaşa *and Caferiyye Hanı* in Mercanyokuşu were all decorated with carpets and refreshments were served and music was played during the days the shah was in İstanbul.[449]

Ottoman newspapers presented information about the celebrations in the Iranian *seferâthâne* and *Vâlide Hanı* together with the Iranians who hired two ships to welcome the shah in Makriköy and Ortaköy. As already indicated, one photograph at the Gigord Collection depicts these two ships sailing to Makriköy to welcome the shah and two others were taken when the shah arrived at Ortaköy.[450] While the first one is only a shot of two ships sailing in the sea; people and Iranian flags are obvious in the other two photographs. There is also another photograph showing the two

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[448]*İkdâm*, 1 September 1900, p. 3.

[449]*İkdâm,* 1 September 1900, p. 3.

[450]Gigord Collection, box 38.

ships full of Iranian residents.[451] In particular, the photograph depicting the shah's arrival in Ortaköy presents us with many details of the reception. When we look closely, it is possible to see the small boats with Iranian and Ottoman flags which were full of people and sailing near the port. As we learn from the shah's diary, most of these people were Iranians and they shouted, "*Pâdeshâh-e Irân ve Shâhanshâh-e vatan-e mâ salâmat bâshad!*" (long live the shah of Iran and king of the kings of the homeland!) while sailing around his ship.[452] However, these photographs only include shots of the Iranian people who were receiving the shah at sea; they don't focus on any sign of 'Iranianness' with an exception of very limited number of Qajar flags. In other words, those photographs are only part of the narrative of the shah's visit, they neither emphasize the Iranians living in İstanbul, nor represent the shah as a ruler who has subjects in the city he visited. My interpretation is that Mozaffar al-Din Shah was implicitly depicted as a guest in İstanbul, rather than a ruler with subjects in the city. For instance, there is no photograph of *Vâlide Hanı* and its decorations in honor of the shah. Although there are four photographs of Iranians receiving the shah at sea, there is no photograph of Iranians who were present in front of the embassy when the shah went there. Iranians were 'documented' through photographs only attending the reception ceremony organized by the Ottoman state, as people of the Ottoman Empire; not celebrating the Iranian ruler's arrival in places such as the Iranian embassy and *Vâlide Hanı*, where they were treated as Iranian subjects.

Interestingly, when the shah was at the Iranian Embassy, the Ottoman photographers Behçet, Hazım, Zekai, Refet, and Sami, who were employed by the

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[451]Abdülhamid Collection, album no: 90508/007.

[452]Mozaffar al-din Shah, p. 218.

Ottoman state, took three photographs showing the shah's retinue and embassy members, but not the shah. The photograph showing the embassy members staying on the stairs is a striking example showing the shah's attitude towards the photographers.[453] When we zoom in, we see the shah staying behind the window and looking outside. He chose to stay inside the building rather than posing to the photographers employed by the Ottoman state. Additionally, we do not have any photographs of the shah inside the embassy building taken by this group. Possibly, this group left the embassy after taking those photos in the garden. Another Ottoman photographer, Febus Efendi, was present in the embassy and took some photos of the shah.[454] Since the photographs of Febus are not found in any of the three collections, we can assume that he was not being employed by the Ottoman state and that the shah himself probably invited him. Except for the person who had a small camera that the shah asked to take a photograph of the crowd in front of the embassy, Febus Efendi was the only photographer who was present.

Similarly, although newspapers and the shah in his diary reported that there were official ceremonies on the streets where soldiers saluted, people waved and many celebratory rounds were fired while the shah was passing, there are no photographs of such events. There is only one photograph showing the streets leaving the city, probably on the way from Yıldız to Ortaköy. However, this photograph is only a scene from the shah's trip, but not highlight the respect given to him. Besides the photographs showing some soldiers standing in the garden of *Şâle Köşkü*, Tophâne port, and in front of the train in Makriköy, we can assume that the respect and hospitality given to the shah was not 'documented' and 're-presented' by

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[453]Abdülhamid collection, album no: 90508/0016.

[454]*İkdâm*, 2 October 1900, p. 1.

photographs. In other words, the non-existence of the photographs of the ceremonies for the shah can also be considered as part of the attempt to attribute a lesser status to the shah and underline the sultan's superiority. To put it explicitly, the Ottoman photographers who were employed by the Ottoman state didn't represent the shah as a ruler who attended official visits and receptions; they stressed the sultan's superiority over the shah. The shah was represented as only a 'guest' of the powerful sultan who was nowhere but everywhere.

Conclusion

Mozaffar al-Din Shah arrived in Serbia before journeying to Russia and back to Tehran. He went on European tours in 1902 and 1905, but did not visit the Ottoman capital again. The shah was forced to issue a decree for a constitution in 1906, only two years before his counterpart Sultan Abdülhamid put the constitution into effect under the pressure of the Committee of Union and Progress in 1908. Mozaffar al-Din Shah died in 1907, Sultan Abdülhamid died in 1918 after his long exile in Salonica and Beylerbeyi Palace in İstanbul.

In this chapter, I tried to examine the literary and photographic representation of Mozaffar al-Din Shah's trip to İstanbul. My aim was to discuss to what extent and in which ways the literary and photographic narratives can be read in terms of representing the shah's visit, the shah himself, the sultan, Iran, and the Ottoman Empire. In this discussion both Ottoman and Persian sources were examined. The most significant finding has been the unequal power relationship that the sultan attempted to present to display his superiority over the shah. In order to analyze this unequal power relationship, I have discussed the sultan's invisibility versus the

shah's visibility through the representation of the sultan's family, Yıldız Palace, official ceremonies given for the shah, the shah's official visits, and his Iranian subjects in İstanbul.

Elaborating on the shah's trip to İstanbul in the context of Ottoman-Iranian relations, it can be argued that this visit took place in a political environment in which Armenian militias were assumed to be supported by the Iranians, and struggles between Armenians and Kurds were taking place along the Iranian-Ottoman border. It is clear that the two states were eager to achieve positive political relations, but there is remained an irrepressible rivalry between them.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

This thesis has been an attempt to explore not only the political and cultural relations between the Ottoman and Qajar states in the nineteenth century, but also the use of photography in these polities from a comparative perspective. Starting with albums in the İstanbul University Library, the Golestan Palace Library, the Taksim Atatürk Library, and the Gigord Collection at the Getty Museum, my study first discusses the rise and use of photography in Qajar Iran and the Ottoman Empire from a comparative perspective, and then examines Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit to İstanbul through literary sources and photographs. This thesis was written to compensate for a lack of analysis of Ottoman-Qajar relations and the history of photography in these polities from a comparative perspective and the use of photographs as a historical source. Photographs are generally examined separately within a theoretical framework; social and historical context is ignored. In the writing process of this thesis the materials I dealt with led me examine photographs within the political and historical framework. My aim is neither to underestimate photography's artistic aspects, nor to ignore visual theories; but to offer a way of reading that photographs can be used as a historical source as literary documents.

One of the main arguments of this thesis is that the nineteenth century Ottoman and Qajar image can be seen as one that is both traditional and Western; historical and modern. This image was displayed through painting, literary works, architecture, and, finally, photography. Photography served as an effective method of representing the past and modernity in many different ways, and helped project the nineteenth century image of these two states. The second chapter of this thesis deals

with the two main reasons behind the rapid rise of photography in these polities: the rulers' desire to be informed and the practice of gift exchange. While the former is very effective in the state control, the latter had a great role within the states' image-making and self-representation projects. The albums sent by Qajar and Ottoman states to each other provide us a possibility of understanding Ottoman-Qajar relations in terms of their image-making efforts. In addition to these discussions, this chapter also deals with the artistic and stylistic aspects of the photographs together with thematic discussions.

Moving from some of the gift albums given to the Qajar ruler Mozaffar al-din Shah on the occasion of his İstanbul visit (1900), the third chapter of this thesis examines Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit within the context of Ottoman-Qajar relations at the time. Ottoman-Qajar relations in the second half of the nineteenth century were shaped by the border problems between the two polities, the legal status of Iranians within the Ottoman Empire, the power struggle in Iraq, conflicts between Armenians, Kurds, and Turks, and the presence in İstanbul of Cemaleddin Afgani and other opponents of the shah and the Iranian regime. Especially, the conflict between Armenians, Kurds, and Turks in eastern Anatolia seems to be the main reason of the shah's visit to the Ottoman capital. However, political results of this visit are beyond the scope of this thesis; my study only gives a brief history of Ottoman-Qajar relations at the time, as a background of the shah's visit. Main aim of this chapter is to detail the literary and photographic narrative of the shah's visit and examine the extent to which these two narratives could be brought together in terms of representing an intentionally unequal power relationship created by the Ottoman state or by the sultan himself. For instance, both literary and visual material underlines the Sultan's invisibility, which was very effective in highlighting his

power. Although Ottoman newspapers and photographs taken by Ottoman photographers working for the state presented the shah's every move, the sultan, his family, and his buildings were not depicted. There is no photograph or literary depiction of the sultan --except personal accounts such as the memoir of his daughter, Ayşe Sultan-- no photograph of şehzades or interior views of the Yıldız Palace, which belonged to the Sultan himself. By combining the literary material and photographs, this chapter goes beyond the artistic and stylistic aspects of photographs, and elaborates them as historical sources.

Mozaffar al-Din Shah was not the first and the only Qajar ruler who visited the Ottoman lands. His father Nasser al-Din Shah first visited the Ottoman Iraq in 1870 and then İstanbul in 1873 within his first European tour in Sultan Abdülaziz's reign. Nasser al-Din Shah was very much interested in photography and used it for many purposes, as already discussed in this thesis; however, no photograph of his visit to the Ottoman capital appeared in any collection in Turkey and Iran. Although we learn from Nasser al-Din Shah's diary that Abdullah *Frères* took the shah's photographs together with his retinue during his days in Beylerbeyi palace[455], we do not know what happened to those photographs. This must be related with the fact that although photography already became popular in Sultan Abdülaziz reign, there was not an efficient and systematic use of it. This is probably the reason why those photographs did not remain or were not kept in the royal collection. On the other hand, due to the Hamidian systematic use of photography as a means of control and a self-representation tool, photographs of Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit are found in different collections –which are already indicated.

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[455] Nasser al-Din Shah, *The Diary of H.M The shah of Persia during His Tour Through Europe in A.D. 1873*, translated by J.W. Redhouse, (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1874), p. 386.

In addition to that, later, just after World War I, former Qajar Shah Muhammad Ali came İstanbul in December 1918.[456] However, it was not a royal visit, Mohammad Ali Shah took refuge in İstanbul since Odessa, where he had been living for years after his dethronement, was captured by Socialist Russia. A year later, in July 1919 his son Ahmad Shah visited İstanbul and also his father on his way to Europe. This was a royal visit and royal protocol rules were applied to the shah and his retinue. However, we cannot compare the application of royal protocol with the one of Sultan Abdülhamid's time since the Ottoman state and its capital was under the allied occupation and British control. From this point of view, Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit seems to be a unique case in terms of representing the Ottoman state control and its reflections on the Ottoman-Qajar relations. Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit took place already before the revolutions of 1906 (Iran) and 1908 (the Ottoman), and World War One, when rulers were still holding the state authority and power. This fact gives us an opportunity to read Sultan Abdülhamid's authority and control through the royal protocol, press and photographs during the shah's visit.

Remembering the *jurnal* mechanism of the sultan that everyone was his spy and can directly write letters informing what was others doing and even took money for that; photography as a source of information can be examined within this *jurnal* mechanism. Photography played an effective role in providing information about what was happening within the sultan's land. From this point of view, photographs of the shah's visit can be considered as a part of this strategy. Since the sultan was not with the shah all the time during his visits in İstanbul, the sultan's photographers informed him about the shah's every move in the city. These photographs were made for the sultan's own use and took place in his collection within the Yıldız Palace.

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[456] See Han Melik Sasani, *Bir İran Sefiri*.

Some of them were also given to Mozaffar al-Din Shah as a memory of his days in İstanbul and also sent abroad, probably US, within albums –that is the only explanation to why they appear at Getty Museum. So, the sultan, by sending these photographs abroad as gifts, turns his control mechanism into image-making and self-representation strategy. By sending these photographs abroad, the Ottoman state showed Ottoman-Iranian positive relations, and represented itself as a state able to host its royal guests with an implicit reference to state power. The general understanding of Ottoman photographic self-representation strategy is shaped by the albums sent to British Library and US, which are now in Library of Congress. These photographs sent by the Ottoman state are mostly frozen scenes, underlining the modern side of the Empire, or showing the historical heritage. On the other hand, these photographs of the shah's days in İstanbul have a narrative and display an action. They do not highlight the modern schools, hospitals etc. or historical places, but display the Ottoman protocol applied to another ruler of Islam.

Elaborating on Hamidian control, this thesis examined a limited part of Ottoman-Qajar relations. In this period, the Ottoman and Qajar states had a kind of love-hate relationship, a combination of rivalry and cooperation. On the one hand, they insistently tried to maintain positive relations and act as "two suns of one sky" -- to use the term of the Persian-language newspaper *Sorayyâ*. But they were also rivals and threatened each other in various ways. By examining the gift albums exchanged between these states as gestures of goodwill and self-representation, my study showed the desire on the part of these states to maintain positive relations. On the other hand, in discussing Mozaffar al-Din Shah's İstanbul visit, it analyzed the positive relations, conflicts, and power struggle between them, as well as their literary and photographic representations. This study only addresses a limited part of

Ottoman-Qajar nineteenth century rivalry and cooperation; I hope more research will be conducted in the future on this issue. Examining the Ottoman-Qajar political and cultural environment from a comparative perspective and analyzing the political, social, and cultural relations between these states will bring additional insights into the mentalities of the era.

FIGURES IN CHAPTER THREE

Figure 1



Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 2



Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 3



Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 4



Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 5



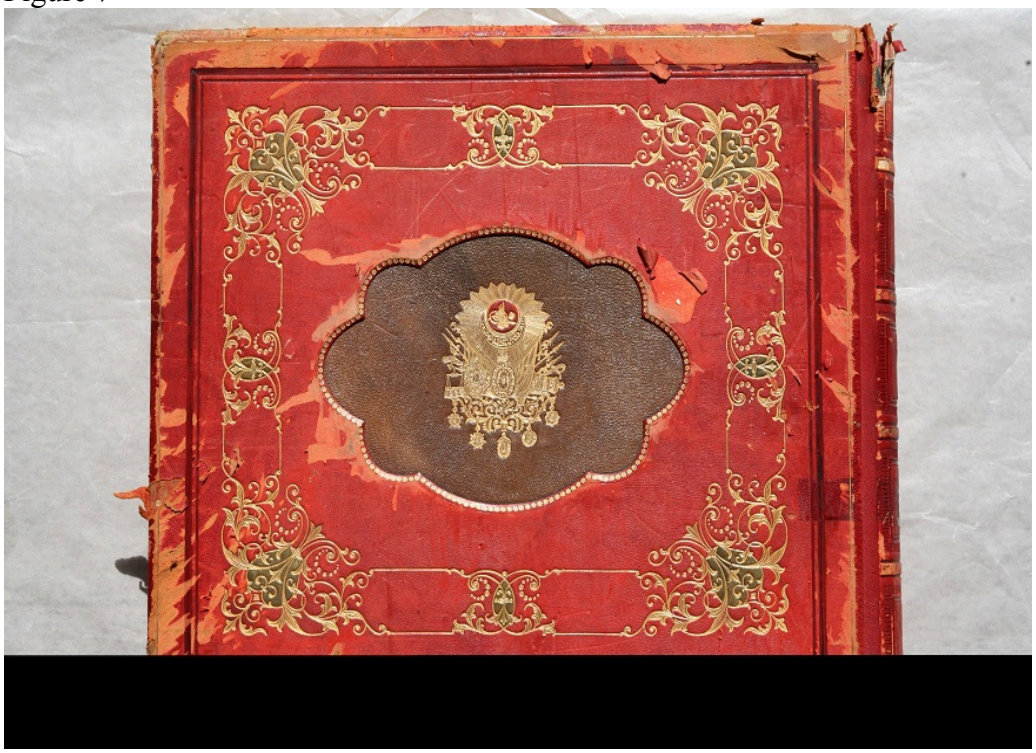
Photograph from Muze-i Mahsusa in Golestan Palace.

Figure 6



Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 7



Golestan Palace Archives, album no: 389

Figure 8



Golestan Palace Archives, album no: 389

Figure 9



Gigord Collection Box 38.

Figure 10



Gigord Collection Box 38.

Figure 11



Gigord Collection Box 38.

Figure 12



Abdülhamid Collection, album no: 90508/24

Figure 13



Abdülhamid Collection, album no: 90508/16.

Figure 14



Newspaper *Sabâh*, 4 October 1900.

Figure 15



Abdülhamid Collection, album no:90508/43-44.

Figure 16



Abdülhamid Collection, album no:90508/19.

Figure 17



Abdülhamid Collection, album no:90508/45.

Figure 18



Abdülhamid Collection, album no:90508/2.

Figure 19



Abdülhamid Collection, album no:90508/21.

Figure 20



Gigord Collection, box 132.

Figure 21



Abdülhamid Collection, album no: 90508/48.

Figure 22



Abdülhamid Collection, album no: 90508/21.

Figure 23



Abdülhamid Collection, album no:90508/58.

Figure 24:



Abdülhamid Collection, album no:90508/28.

Figure 25



Gigord Collection, box 47.

Figure 26



Abdülhamid Collection, album no: 90508/5.

Figure 27



Abdülhamid Collection, album no:90508/29.

Figure 28



Abdülhamid Collection, album no:90508/57.

Figure 29



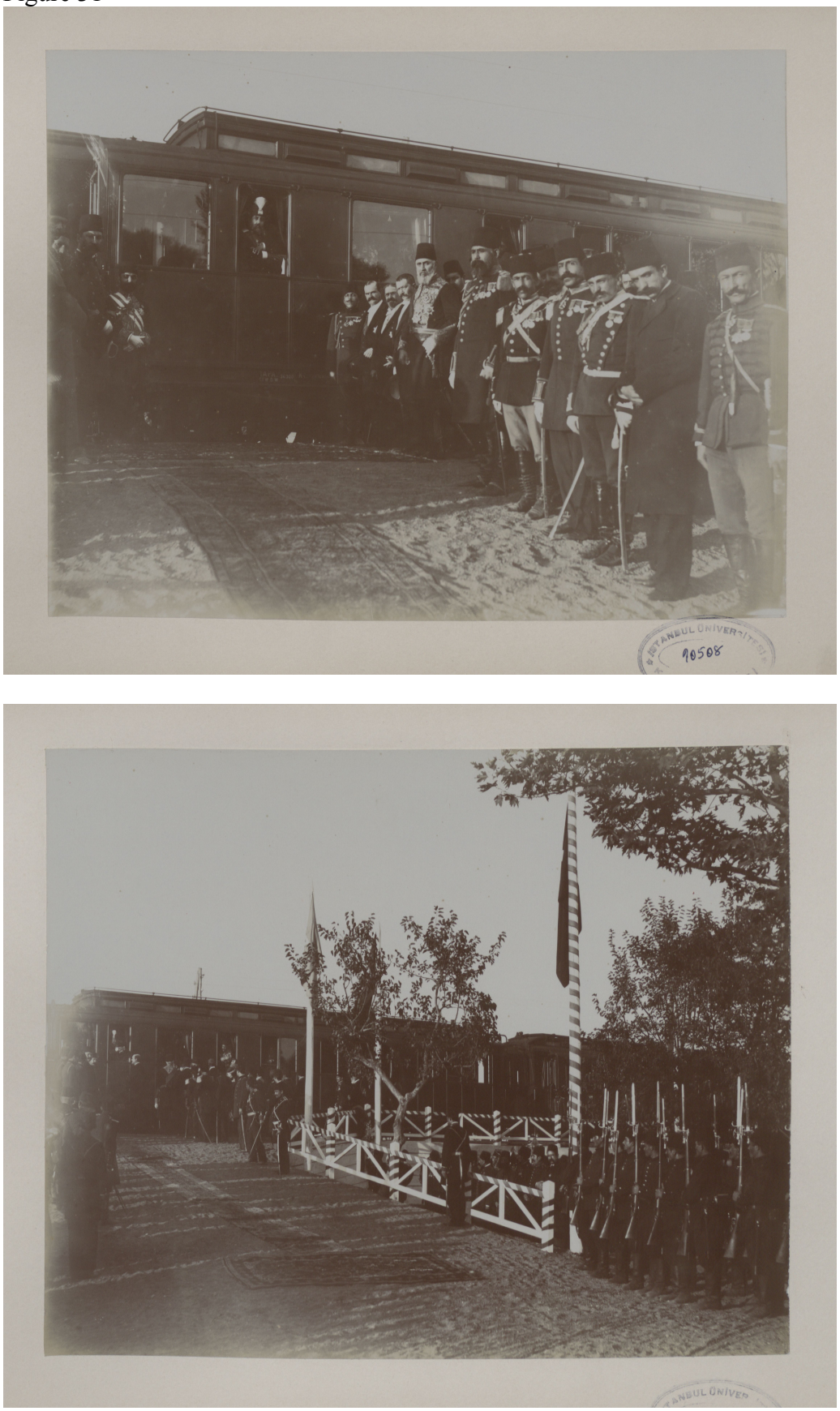
Abdülhamid Collection, album no:90508/61.

Figure 30



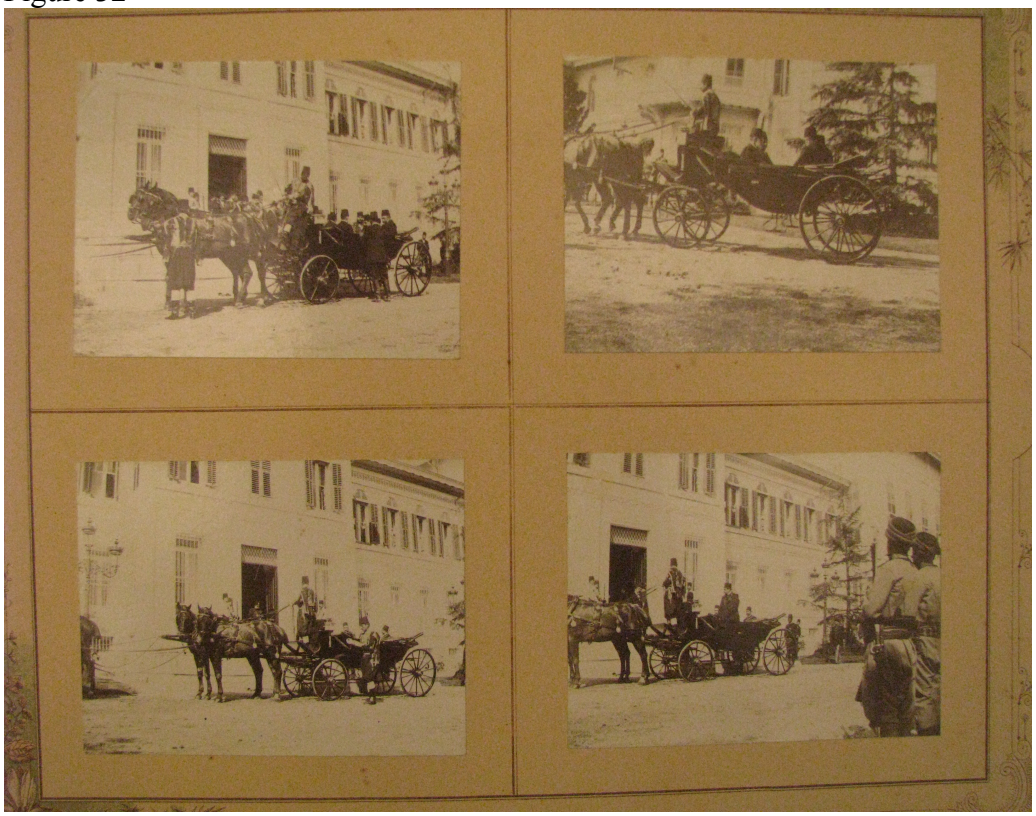
Abdülhamid Collection, album no:90508/64.

Figure 31



Abdülhamid Collection, album no:90508/30-31.

Figure 32



Gigord Collection, box 47.

Figure 33





Abdülhamid Collection, album no: 90552/67-6.

APPENDIX A

ORIGINAL TEXT QUOTED

FOOTNOTE 287: Mozaffar al-Din Shah's Travel Diary, pp. 215-216

همه‌ی آن‌جا همه‌ی آن‌جا از است لی‌خرمن سرحد محل اسم رفتند شده مرخص بلغاری همه‌ی آن‌جا بود هم موزیك عثمانی سرباز رسیدند بحضور این‌جا دیگرشان نفر دو ثمانیه محترم بودند خاضر استاسیون در داشتند قرمز فینه کلاه‌های که عثمانی اهالی از نیز جمعی کالسگه توی سیاه چادر با که دیدم زن چند کرد تغییر بالمره وضع این‌جا واقع در شد معلوم بودند گرفته را خود صورت نصف نداشتند بند رو ولی بودند نشسته جزو بودند بالاخانه‌ها در و کم خیلی اما بود هم ارمنی و فرنگی زن مسلمان زنه‌ای نبودند جمعیت

FOOTNOTE 420: Mozaffar al-Din Shah's Travel Diary, p. 220

همینه‌ای سلطنت است سال پنج و بیست مدت و بزرگ پادشاهی که سلطان اعلیحضرت محاسنی مستند اندام باریك و الاقامه متوسط است گذشته سنشان از سال هشت و پنجاه و روشن سیمای و جبهه است سفید از زیادتر آن سیاه موی که مایل ببلندی یکدرجه تا ایشان ناصیه و حال وجنات از و دارند تدبیر و فکر پر سری و بلند پیشانی و دولت همام تدبیر و امور پیشرفت در که خیال و فکر و کار کثرت از که پیداست و محکم بنیه اصل اما شده شکسته اندموده که عمری اقتضای از زیاد دارند خو ملت میگذرانند بسلامت سال سالهای انشاءالله است استقامت و قوام کمال در شان عنصر

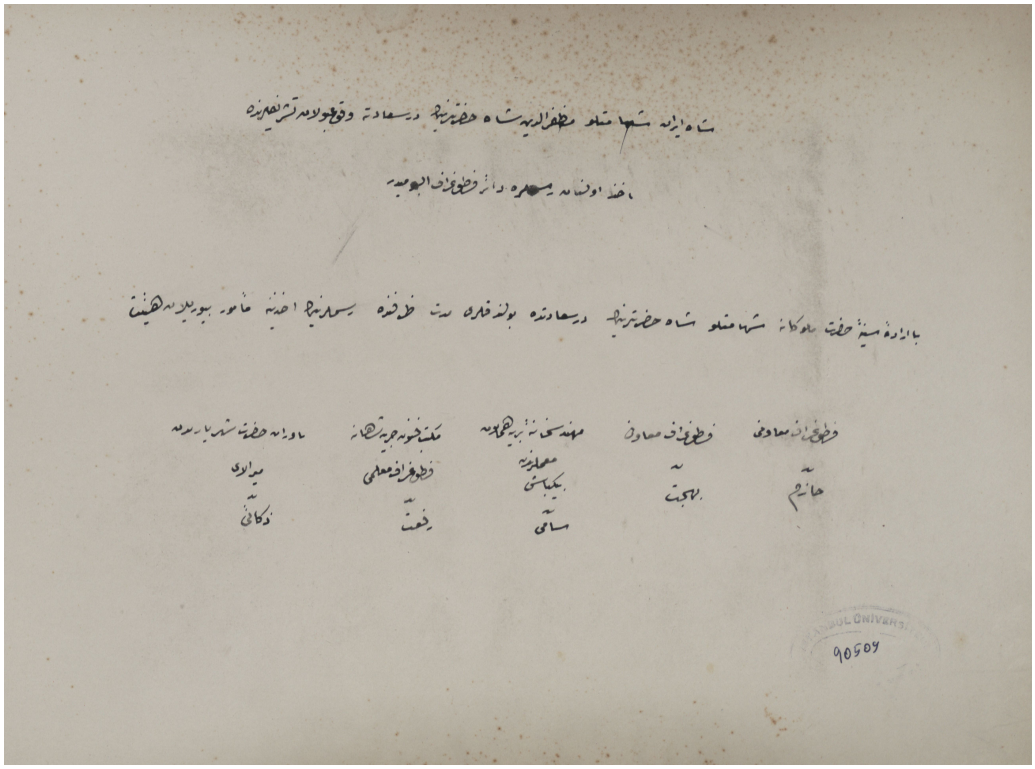
FOOTNOTE 427: Ayşe Sultan's Memoir, p. 51

Fakat mesele pek büyük idi. İkisi de İslam padişahı oldukları, ayrıca şah da misafir bulunduğu için sağ tarafa oturması lazım geliyordu. Babam buna care olarak arabayı kendi kullanmayı düşündü. Babam Avusturya imparatorunun hediyesi olan bir çift beyaz Macar atı koşulmuş saltanat arabasının dizginlerini eline aldı. Hem misafirine riayet etti, hem de sağ tarafta oturdu.

APPENDIX B

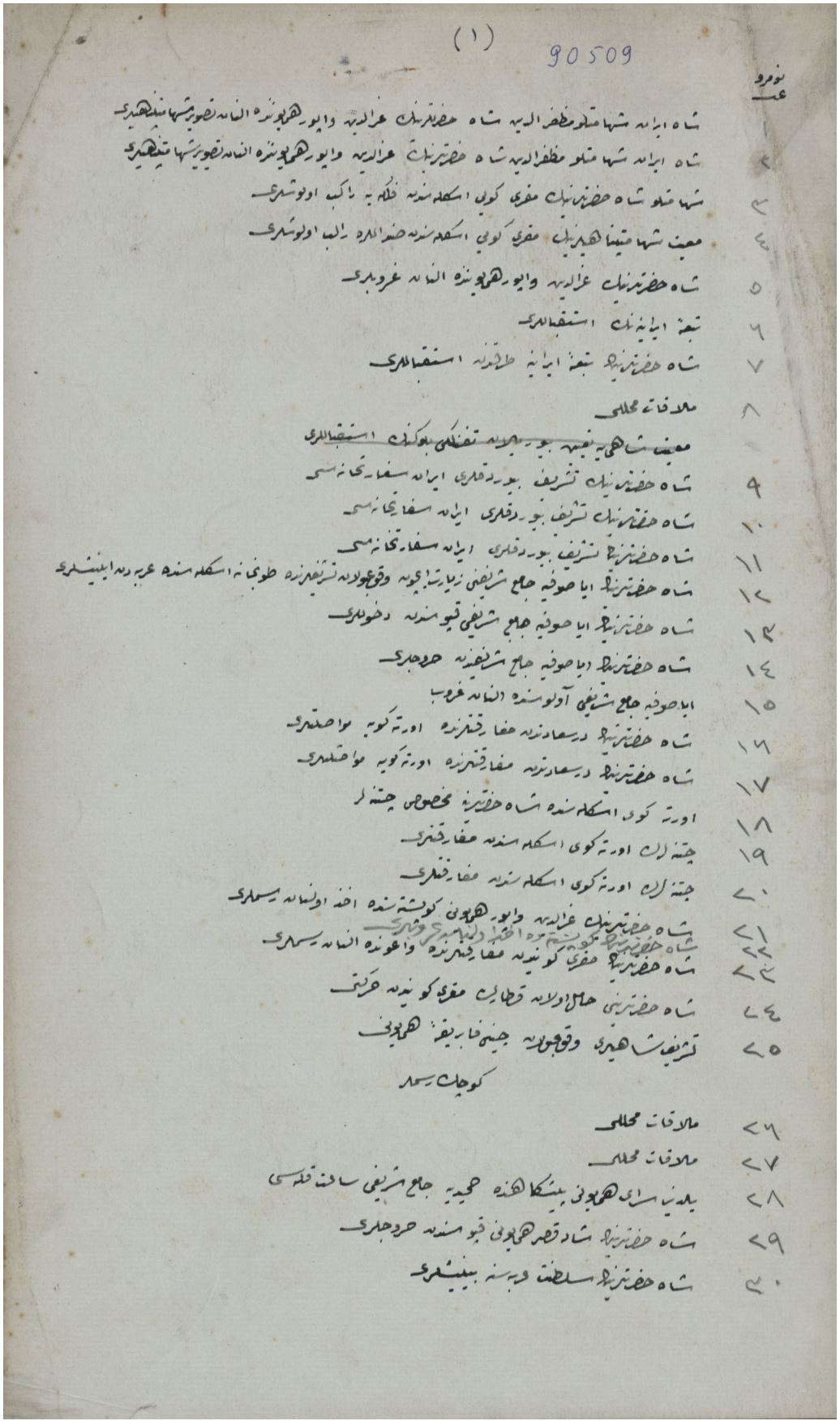
DOCUMENTS FROM THE ALBUMS

A document about the photographers charged by the sultan Abdülhamid II to photograph the Mozaffar al-Din Shah's visit.



İstanbul University Library Rare Collection, album no: 90509.

List of the photographs in the album 90509 in İstanbul University Rare Collection



(١) 90509

نومرو

١ شاه ايرانه شهانشاه مظفرالدينه شاه حضرتلرينك عزالديه وايوب هرقيونده انشاده تصوير شهانشاهيدر
٢ شاه ايرانه شهانشاه مظفرالدينه شاه حضرتلرينك عزالديه وايوب هرقيونده انشاده تصوير شهانشاهيدر
٣ شهانشاه شاه حضرتلرينك مفرق كوى اسكله سنده قلعه يه باكيه اولوشدرى
٤ معيت شهانشاهيدرينك مفرق كوى اسكله سنده صف الدره راسه اولوشدرى
٥ شاه حضرتلرينك عزالديه وايوب هرقيونده انشاده غروبدرى
٦ تعظ ايلچيلرك استقبالدرى
٧ شاه حضرتلرينك تعظ ايلچيلرى طرفندن استقبالدرى
٨ ملاقات محللى
٩ معيت شاهانه ايله بيوك تفنكلى بوكلرك استقبالدرى
١٠ شاه حضرتلرينك تشريف بيورمه قدرى ايراده سفاين تحاسى
١١ شاه حضرتلرينك تشريف بيورمه قدرى ايراده سفاين تحاسى
١٢ شاه حضرتلرينك تشريف بيورمه قدرى ايراده سفاين تحاسى
١٣ شاه حضرتلرينك ايا صوفيه جامع شريفى زيارتلرينه وقوعلرنده تشريفلرنده طوپخانه اسكله سنده عربه دن اينيشدرى
١٤ شاه حضرتلرينك ايا صوفيه جامع شريفى قبو سنده دخولدرى
١٥ شاه حضرتلرينك ايا صوفيه جامع شريفلرنده خروجدرى
١٦ ايا صوفيه جامع شريفى آولوسنده انشاده غروب
١٧ شاه حضرتلرينك درسعادتلرنده مفارقتلرنده اورته كويه مواصلتدرى
١٨ شاه حضرتلرينك درسعادتلرنده مفارقتلرنده اورته كويه مواصلتدرى
١٩ اورته كوى اسكله سنده شاه حضرتلرينه مخصوص چتنلر
٢٠ چتنلرك اورته كوى اسكله سنده مفارقتدرى
٢١ چتنلرك اورته كوى اسكله سنده مفارقتدرى
٢٢ شاه حضرتلرينك عزالديه وايوب هرقيونى كوشك سنده اخذ اولنماله يسلدرى
٢٣ شاه حضرتلرينك مفرق كونده مفارقتلرنده واعونده انشاده يسلدرى
٢٤ شاه حضرتلرينك حامل اولديغى قطارك مفرق كونده حركتى
٢٥ تشريف شاهيدرى وقوعلرنده جنيه فاريقه هرقيونى
كوجك يسلد
٢٦ ملاقات محللى
٢٧ ملاقات محللى
٢٨ بلديه سراى هرقيونى بيتكاهكنده حميديه جامع شريفى ساحه قلسى
٢٩ شاه حضرتلرينك شاه قصر هرقيونى قبو سنده خروجلرى
٣٠ شاه حضرتلرينك سلطنت ويه سنه بينيشدرى

90509

٢١	شاه حضرتلرنك سلطنت عربه سنده بولنه قدر
٢٢	شاه حضرتلرنك سلطنت عربه سنده بولنه قدر
٢٣	معيت شاهانه شاه قصر همايونده مقام قدر
٢٤	معيت شاهانه شاه قصر همايونده مقام قدر
٢٥	شاه حضرتلرنك ايا صوفيه جامع شريفه زيارتلرنده طوپخانه اسكله سنده انتظار
٢٦	شاه قصر همايونه پسكاهنده معيت شاهانه تعيين بويورلدقده تفنكلرنه بلوك
٢٧	طوپخانه سمتنه قدر
٢٨	شاه حضرتلرنك ايا صوفيه جامع شريفه زيارتلرنده طوپخانه اسكله سنده انتظار
٢٩	طوپخانه سمتنه قدر
٣٠	معيت شاهانه تعيين قلنمالرنه مخالف سوارى الديغى طوپخانه ميدانه وصولنده
٣١	شاه حضرتلرنك طوپخانه ميدانه نزول وقوفلرى
٣٢	شاه حضرتلرنك موكبلرينه تعيين بويورلدقده استحصال
٣٣	شاه حضرتلرنك ركب اولدقدى استحصالله طوپخانه اسكله سنده سوارى برونه متوجهاً حركت
٣٤	شاه حضرتلرنك ركب اولدقدى استحصالله طوپخانه اسكله سنده سوارى برونه متوجهاً حركت
٣٥	شاه حضرتلرنك ركب اولدقدى استحصالله طوپخانه اسكله سنده سوارى برونه متوجهاً حركت
٣٦	تشريف شاهى وقوعبولنده طوپلر بكر سالوى همايون
٣٧	معيت شاهانه طوپلر بكر سالوى همايون قيوسنده حركت
٣٨	غلطه وايور همايونه
٣٩	اورتاكوى جامع شريفه
٥٠	شاه حضرتلرنك ركب اولدقدى استحصالله اورتاكوى اسكله سنده غلطه وايور همايونه كلنجه
٥١	شاه حضرتلرنك ركب اولدقدى استحصالله اورتاكوى اسكله سنده غلطه وايور همايونه كلنجه
٥٢	شاه حضرتلرنك ركب اولدقدى استحصالله اورتاكوى اسكله سنده غلطه وايور همايونه كلنجه
٥٣	شاه حضرتلرنك ركب اولدقدى استحصالله اورتاكوى اسكله سنده غلطه وايور همايونه كلنجه
٥٤	شاه حضرتلرنك ركب اولدقدى استحصالله اورتاكوى اسكله سنده غلطه وايور همايونه كلنجه
٥٥	شاه حضرتلرنك مقرر كوپى پسكاهنده غلطه وايور همايونده اينيشلرى
٥٦	~~شاه حضرتلرنك حامل اولدقلرى استحصالله غلطه وايور همايونه نيشانى~~
٥٦	غلطه وايور همايونى مقرر كوپى اسكله سنه باقلدقدن صكره اتباع شاه حضرتلرنه تخصيص بويورلمش خلكه وايوره تعرفه
٥٧	يوسى حضرتلرنك وايوره جوارنده بولنه قدر

APPENDIX C

NEWSPAPERS

Ottoman newspaper *İkdâm* announcing Mozaffar al-Din Shah's arrival on 30 September 1900.



بدنجی سنه نومرو (۲۲۴۷) ۵ جمادی الاخر سنه ۱۳۱۸ — بازار — ۱۷ ایلول رومی ۱۳۱۶ — ۳۰ ایلول افرنجی ۱۹۰۰

صاحب امتیاز و محرر مسئولی احمد حمدی

محل اداره‌سی

استانبولده باب عالی جاده‌سنده دائرهٔ مخصوصه‌در. آبونه وسائره ایچون اداره‌مزك بشقه شعبه‌سی یوقدر اداره‌خانه اصحاب مراجعت هر ساعت آچیقدر. هیئت تحریریه‌دن بری کیجه‌لری دخی حاضردر.

امت اسلامیه و ملت عثمانیه‌نك مادی و معنوی فائده‌سنی موجب اوله‌جق آثار قلمیه‌یه صاحبلرینك امضاسیله دخی صحیفه‌لرمز آچیقدر

Adresse: Journal "IKDAM" Constantinople

اقدام

سنه ۱۳۱۲ سی محرمی غره‌سنده تأسیس ایدلمشدر

شرائط اشتراء

استانبول ایچون آبونه قید اولنماز ولایات وممالك اجنبیه ایچون یوسته اجرتیله برابر سنه‌لکی ۱۸۰ الی آیلغی ۹۵ غروشدر. طشره‌دن قدردن بشقه یوسته یولی ویولیجه دخی قبول اولنور

اجرت اعلانات اصحاب مراجعت ایله آیرجه تعیین ایدیلور. آبونه بدلیله اعلانات اجرتنك بروجه پشین اعطاسی اصول متخذه‌دندر.

Dimanche Le 30 Septembre 1900

نسخه‌سی ۱۰ پاره‌در — هر کون صباحلری نشر اولنور سیاسی علمی ترك غزته‌سیدر — نسخه‌سی ۱۰ پاره‌در

مسافر خاص الخاص حضرت شهریاری

مسافر خاص الخاص حضرت خلافتپناهی

ایران شاهی

« شهامتلو مظفرالدین شاه حضرتلرینك »

درسعادته مواصلتلری

ذات شوکتسمات حضرت خلافتپناهینك مسافر خاص الخاص همایونلری، حکمدارعالی تبار ایران شهامتلو مظفرالدین شاه حضرتلری بوکون درسعادته مواصلت بیوریورلر.

مقر خلافت کبرای اسلامیه، پایتخت سلطنت سنیهٔ عثمانیه اولان بلدهٔ معظمهٔ قسطنطنیه ملتقاسنده بولندیغی اوروپا و آسیانك ایکی حکمدار مفخمه‌سی دست بدست وداد ومخالصت اولدقلری حالده بوکون موعد تلاقی اولمق کبی برشرف عظمی ایله غبطه بخش بلاد وامصار اولیور.

بوملاقات، اجتهاد الهام معتاد همایونلرینك ثمرهٔ کزین سطوت رهبری اولمق اوزره خلافت جلیله وسلطنت سنیه ایچون برمسلك قویم صلح ومسالمت تأسیس بیورمش، ممالك محروسهٔ شاهانه وتبعهٔ صادقهٔ ملوکانه‌لرینك مادی ومعنوی فیوضات وترقیاتی کافل اوله‌جق موفقیات مشکورهٔ خدایسندانه ایله نام نامیٔ شهریاریلری حامیٔ اعظم اسایش عالم عنوان مفخرتیله السنهٔ اقدامه تبجیل وتکریم ایدلکده بولنمش اولان بیرایه بخشای مقام قدسیت التیام خلافت ونباهت ساز تخت معالی بخت سلطنت، امیرالمؤمنین، خلیفهٔ بالحق روی زمین ولی‌نعمت بی منتمز پادشاه عظیم الاقتدار شوکتلو سلطان عبدالحمید خان ثانی افندمز حضرتلری ایله دولت علیهٔ ایرانیه سریر تجدت مصیرینك حکمدار عالی نهادی، ملیونلرجه اخوان دینمزك شاه والا نژادی شهامتلو مظفرالدین شاه حضرتلری آرهسنده فرط جاذبهٔ اسلامیه‌ایله موجود اولان روابط مصافاتك برهان ساطعی اولمق جهتیله عموم عالم اسلامیت نظرنده بادیٔ فخر ومباهات اوله‌جق کبی، امت نجیبهٔ اسلامیه‌نك هر هانکی قومیته منسوب اولور ایسه اولسون آره‌لرنده الی یوم القیام پایدار اوله‌جق اولان مناسبات صمیمهٔ مسالمت پرورانه وروابط قدیمهٔ اسایش کسترانه‌نك اك شمشه‌لی، اك روتقلی برشاهد بلیغی اولمق اعتبارایله محبان صلح وصلاح نزدنده دخی کمال ممنونیت ایله‌تلقی اولنه‌جق شبهه‌سزدر.

شاه مشارالیه حضرتلرینك پای تخت سلطنت سنیه‌یی زیارتله ایکی دولت اسلامیه آرهسنده تیماً چایکیر اولان مصافات وموالات مخادنتکاری‌یی تأیید وتوثیق آرزوسنی بالفعل ابراز بیورملری شاه مشارالیه حضرتلرینك ذات شوکتسمات حضرت شهریاری وملت نجیبهٔ عثمانیه حقنده قلباً پرورده ایتدکلری محبت ومودت خالصه‌یه بردلیل باهردر.

علاقهٔ اسلامیه کبی برابطهٔ قویه ایله یکدیکرینه مربوط اولان ایکی قوم نجیب آرهسنده حقوق همجواری‌کی آیروجه بروسیلهٔ جمیله بولنسه‌یی ایچون بوکون خلافت پناه عالی جاه ولی‌نعمت بیمنتمز پادشاهمز افندمز حضرتلرینك ذات شهامتپناه شاهینك ملاقاتی معاً ایکی قومك مصافاتهٔ مودتکارانه‌سیله بیرور.

عثمانلیلرله ایرانیلرك اوته‌دنبری چایکیر مقام استقرار اولان اختلاط ومودتلری نظرکاه تدقیقه آلنیرسه بوائر بیوق مصافاتك مادی ومعنوی ایکی مؤثرك ذاتهٔ جلیلی اولدیغی انظار مباهاته قارشو بتون قوتیله تجلی سازاولور. ملت نجیبهٔ عثمانیه نه قدر علوی صفات رکزیدهٔ انسانیتپروری ایله مفطور ایسه ایرانیلرده جدیت غیرت وفعالیت معالی پرستانه‌نك پرورتمثال ذی حیاتیندرلر. بناءً علیه حس ومنفعتلری برنقطه‌ده اشتراك ایدن ایکی قوم یکدیکرینی برلسان تبجیل ایله یاد ایدرلر.

شهامتلو شاه حضرتلرینك درسعادتی زیارتلری قلوب ذکیهٔ عثمانیه‌ده تجدد وتأیید حس موالاتی موجب اولدیغی جهتله بوکون مشارالیه حضرتلری عثمانلیلره خاص اولان بر طرز عالیٔ مهمانتوازی ایله استقبال ایدیلیورلر.

شهامتلو مظفرالدین شاه حضرتلری درسعادتی زیارت وذات شوکتسمات حضرت خلافتپناهی‌یه ابراز ودوخالصت ایتمکله بدر جنتمقرلری ناصرالدین شاه حضرتلرینك اثر عالیلرینه اقتفا بیورمش اولدیغی، چونکه مشارالیه ناصرالدین شاه حضرتلری دخی ۱۲۸۹ تاریخنده درسعادتی زیارت وجانب معالی مناقب خلافت سنیه ایله ایران دولت اسلامیه‌سی ارهسنده‌کی مناسبات مصافاتکارانه‌یی تأیید ایتمشلر ایدی.

عهد حکومت شهامتپناهیلرنده ممالك وسیعهٔ ایرانیه‌نك ترقیات وتنسیقاتنه بذل اهتمام ایله مظهر موفقیات اولان شاه مغفور ناصرالدین شاه حضرتلرینك سلطنت سنیهٔ عثمانیه ایله تزیید روابط موالات، تشیید مآثر مخالصت خصوصنده‌کی همت شاهیلری بدر منیر آسمان دولت وغرهٔ غرای اوج سلطنت، حامیٔ بیضهٔ اسلام، حارس شریعت غرای ایدقیام، خلیفهٔ فاروقجاه اتم ولی نعمت بی امتنان پادشاهمز افندمز حضرتلرینك نزد مکارموفد جناب تاجدار اعظمیلرنده مظهر حسن‌تلقی اولدقلری بالمقابله کرك شاه مشارالیه حضرتلری حقلرنده وکرك دولت علیهٔ ایرانیه حقنده دائماً موالات سنیهٔ جناب ملوکانه‌لری بی‌دریغ وارزان بیورلمشدر.

اشته بوکون پایتخت سلطنت سنیه‌یه شرف قدومی زیب سر نامهٔ مباهات ایتدیکمز شهامتلو مظفرالدین شاه حضرتلری دخی پدروالالرندن ذات شهامتپناهیلرینه موروث اولان احساسات مصافات غایات ایله امیرالمؤمنین معالی قرین افندمز حضرتلرینه ملاقی اولمق مقصد علویت مرصدیله درسعادته پاینهادهٔ مواصلت اوله‌جقلردر. پایتخت سلطنت سنیه‌یه کلدکدن ذات همایون شهریاریلرینه ملاقی اولان اعاظم حقلرنده لطفاً ابراز بیوریلان مآثر جلیلهٔ مهمانتوازی وتکریمات فائقهٔ مسافرت‌پروری ذات شهامتپناهیلری کبی برحکمدار اسلام حقنده شان مکارم نشان خلافت عظمی وعلاقهٔ متینهٔ اسلامیه ایله متناسب بر مرتبهٔ فائقه‌ده اجرا بیوریله‌جقدر.

ذات معالی صفات حضرت خلافتپناهینك بتون عالم اسلامیتك روابط صدق ومصافاتی تجدید وتزیید ایدن اجراآت معالی غایات همایونلری بالجمله دولتلرایله مناسبات سیاسیه‌مزی اك شایان تشکر بردرجهٔ عالیهٔ موالات پرورانه‌یه ایصال ایدن موفقیات سنیهٔ جناب ملوکانه‌لری سلسلهٔ مشکوره‌سی میانده جناب خلافت مآب همایونلرینك علوتراکت وسیاست شاهانه‌لری محصولی اولان بوملاقات مصافات نمود، عالم اسلامیت والسانیتك هرکوشه سندن « علیکم عون الله » صدای مسرت انجامی ایصال چرخ کبود ایدلك صورتیله موجب تحمیدات اولمغه سزاواردر.

بتون عثمانلی وایران تبعهٔ صادقه‌سی کندی متبوع مفخملرینك بو وسیلهٔ جمیله ایله دخی دوام عمر واقبال کامرانیلری تمنیات صادقه قلبیه‌سی بر آوردهٔ زبان مصادقت ایدلدیکی (اقدام) غزته‌سی دخی کندی حصهٔ مخالصته اصابت ایدن وظیفهٔ جلیله‌یی ایفایه مسارعتله عمومك حس حرمت ومحبتنه ترجمان اولمقله بیان افتخار ایلر.

سلطنت سنیهٔ عثمانیه

و

دولت علیهٔ ایرانیه

سلطنت سنیهٔ عثمانیه ایله دولت علیهٔ ایرانیه ارهسنده جاری اولان مناسبات، شهامتلو مظفرالدین شاه حضرتلرینك منسوب اولدقلری قاجار خاندانی رونقطرازسریر حکومت ایران اولدقدن صکره اسلامیت کبی طرفینی یکدیکره ربط وتوثیق ایدن بررابطهٔ جلیلهٔ معنویه ایله اکتساب ود ومصافات ایتمش وحقاً که بودودمان شهامت نشان مقام اقدس خلافت وخاندان شوکت عنوان آل عثمان ایله حسن آمیزش وموالاتی اجل مطالب عدد ایلمشدر.

قاجار خاندانك ایلك حکمداری اولان محمد خان حضرتلری که فردوس آشیان سلطان سلیم ثالث حضرتلرینك معاصری ایدی زمانه نك نتیجه‌یه قدر خلافت معظمه وسلطنت سنیهٔ عثمانیه ایله دولت علیهٔ ایرانیه‌نك یکدیکری نزدنده سفارت دائمه‌لری اولیوب مقدمه‌لری هرایکی حکومت لزوم وایجاب کورلدکجه صورت موقته وفوق العاده سفیرلر ارسالی ایله ادامه وتقویهٔ مناسبات ایده کلمش ایدی. مشار الیه محمد شاهك خلق فتحعلی شاهك اوان حکومتنده دولت علیهٔ ایرانیه درسعادتده برسفارت دائمه تأسیس وایران معتبران تجارندن اغا محمدخان نام ذاتی مصلحتکذار صفتیله تعیین ایتمش اولدیغی کبی مشارالیهك ارتحالی متعاقب « شاهزاده میرزا محمدخانك جالس اورنك شاهی اولدیغی مبین سفارت مخصوصه ایله درسعادته کلن خداداد خان نام سفیر ایله وارد اولان نامهٔ شاهی اصولی وجهله تقدیم حضور عالی قلندی، شویله‌که سفیر مومی الیه حقنده حرمت لازمهٔ مهمانتوازینك اجراسی ضمننده حین ورودنده مهماندار تعیین اولنان قپوجی باشی هاشم اغانك قوناغنه مسافر ویرلمش وعادت قدیمه وجهله

شاه ایران

شهامتلو مظفرالدین شاه حضرتلری

باب عالی‌یه جلب ودعوت ایله اعتمادنامه‌سی تقدیم ایلمش وبر قاچ کون صکره بکلربکی ساحلسرا، سنه دخی دعوتله سرعسکر خسرو پاشا وداماد خلیل پاشا وقپودان طاهر وخاصه مشیری فوزی پاشالر ایله رئیس الکتاب عاکف افندی وفارسی مترجمی عرفی افندی ودرسعادتده ایران مدیری اغا محمدخان وموجود اولدقلری حالده سفیر حضور همایونه نامهٔ شاهی‌یی تقدیم ایله مظهر التفات مخصوص پادشاهی اوله رق تمنوناً ومطیباً عودت ایتمشدر. دولتین بیننده پایدار اولان روابط متحدهٔ اسلامیه وضوابط مرعیهٔ مودت صحیحه‌یه متفرع آثار ودادیه‌نك بالمقابله اجراسی ضمننده طرف دولت علیه‌دن دخی بالفعل استانبول قاضیسی وتقویمخانه ناظری اعلم علماء عصردن وقعه نویس اسعد افندی [مشهور کتبخانه صاحبی] مجدداً انطولی پایه‌سیله وبیوك ایلچیلك عنوانی ایله ایران جانبنه عزیمت مأمور اولدی، معیتنه خواجکاندن ولی افندی، سرکاتبی اولدقلری جانب باب عالیدن ترقیق قلندی، که مشارالیه اسعد افندینك ایرانه عزیمتی سلطنت سنیهٔ عثمانیه جانبندن طهرانده سفارت دائمه تأسیسنك مقدمه‌سیدر.

(فی ۵ جمادی الاولی ۱۲۵۱)

اسعد افندینك سفارتندن صکره ۱۲۵۵ رمضاننده صدراسبق ابراهیم صارم پاشا مرحوم بیوك ایلچیلك، ۱۲۶۴ شعبانده سبعه زاده نافع افندی مصلحتکذار، ۱۲۶۵ شعبانده سامی افندی و ۱۲۶۷ده احمد وفیق افندی [مرحوم احمد وفیق پاشا] بیوك ایلچی صفتیله جانب معالی مناقب خلافت عظمادن دولت علیهٔ ایرانیه تزیینه اعزام اولنمشلردر.

احمد وفیق افندی‌یه، بوسفارتنده کوسترلمش اولان حسن رعایت واحترام حقیقهٔ فوق العاده بردرجه‌ده ایدی. مشارالیه حدود خاقانیدن زمین ایرانه مواصلت ایدر ایتمز شاهزادکان ایران اعاظمندن اولوب اولوقت اذربایجان ایالتی والیلکنده بولنمقده اولان حشمة الدوله حمزه میرزا طرفندن تبریك قدومی متضمن تعظیمکارانه برمکتوب الدیغی کبی مهماندارلق خدمتی ایفا ایتمك اوزره مشهور آصف الدوله‌نك حفیدی مقرب الخاقان جعفرقلی خان یوز قدر دائره‌سی خلقیله پاشای مشارالیهی حدودندن استقبال ایتمشدر. دولت علیهٔ عثمانیه سفیر کبیرینه هیچ بر ایلچی‌یه اولنمدق رعایت واحترامك اجراسی شاه حضرتلری طرفندن امر ایدلمش اولدیغندن طهرانه مواصلت ایدنجه‌یه قدر هرقوناق برنده بر واسع اوه واون بش قدر چادر رکز اولنه‌رق بر بلوك سرباز پیاده‌سی ومتحیزان مأموریندن بر مهماندار، بر بلوك خاصهٔ شاهی سواریسی هیئت سفارته رفاقت ایتمش وکذرکاهده‌کی بلاد وقصبانك حکام ومأمورینی اون بشر یکرمیشر ساعتلك مسافه‌دن استقباله چیقوب قصبه‌لره کیرلدکجه کیجه‌لری تنویرات وصنایع والعاب ناریه اجراسی ایله فوق العاده ابراز حرمت ورعایت اولنمشدر. هیئت سفارت تبریزه مواصلتنده ایران خارجیه ناظری ایله سائر کبرای مأمورین طرفندن الی طابور عسکر وبرباندو موزیقه ایله استقبال اولندیغی کبی جانب شاهیدن صورت مخصوصه‌ده محمد حسن خان نامنده برمهماندار کوندرلمشدر.

وفیق افندی معیتیله برابر طهرانه کیردیکی کون سرعسکر ایران علی قلی خان وخارجیه مستشاری عبدالوهاب خان ایله سائر اکابر مأمورین طرفلرندن شاه حضرتلری نامنه اوله‌رق استقبال اولنه‌رق حقنده مراسم مخصوصهٔ رعایتکارانه اجرا واتمام اولندیغی کبی طرف شاهیدن اوکون کندیسنه دوقلمش برآت اهدا اولنمشدر.

حاجی محمد خانك اخلاقی اولان سفرای ایرانیه‌نك مشهوری محمد حسین خاندرکه مشارالیه ایرانه عودتنده صدرالدوله پایه‌سی احراز ایتمش وشاه مغفور ناصرالدین شاه حضرتلرینك درسعادتی زیارتلرنده مشارالیهك معیتنده بولنمش ایدی.

۷۵ تاریخلرندن صکره دولت علیهٔ ایرانیه طرفندن احمدخان اسمنده درسعادته برسفیر تعیین واعزام اولنمش ایسه‌ده بر مدت صکره ایران اکابر رجالندن صدرالدوله مشهور فرخ میرزانك مأموریت مخصوصه ایله پایتخت سلطنت سنیه‌یه ورودینی متعاقب تبدیل اولنه‌رق مومی الیهك یرینه مشهور حسین خان تعیین واعزام اولنمشدر.

محمد حسین خانك خلقی اولان حسن علی خاندن صکره نزد دولت علیه‌ده‌کی سفرای ایرانیه‌دن مرحوم میرزا محسن خان ایله ناظم الدوله دولتلو میرزا اسداه خان وحالا سفیر کبیر علاءالملك دولتلو میرزا محمود خان حضرتلرینك ایکی حکومت آرهسنده‌کی مناسبات جمیلهٔ مخادنتکارانه‌یی تأیید وتوثیق خصوصنده خدمات جمیلهٔ رویتمندانه‌لری سبق ایتمشدر.

حتی ناصرالدین شاه مغفور ایران اذکیاسندن عسکری وملکی بعض طلبه‌نك پایتخت سلطنت سنیه‌ده‌کی مکاتب عالیه‌ده اکمال تحصیل ایتملری ارزوایتمش وشرفواقع اولان مساعدهٔ سنیهٔ جناب خلافتپناهی اوزرینه مومی الیهمدن برقسمی حربیهٔ شاهانه، مهندسخانهٔ بری همایون مکتبلرینه وبرقسمی مکتب سلطانی‌یه قید وقبول اولنمشلر ایدی‌که سفیرکبیر سابق اسداه خان حضرتلرینك ایکی مخدومی دخی مکتب حربیهٔ شاهانه‌ده تحصیل ایدنلر مبانده بولنیور ایدی.

مظفرالدین شاه حضرتلرینك

ترجمهٔ حالری

قاجار خاندان شاهینك بشنجیسی اولان شاه شهامت پناه ایران مظفرالدین شاه حضرتلری ۱۲۶۹ سنه‌سی جمادی الاخرینك اون دردنجی جمعه کونی طهرانده زینت افزای مهد وجود اولمشلردر. شاه مشارالیه حضرتلری پدر مغفورلری ناصرالدین شاهك ایکنجی فرزند مکرملریدر. مظفرالدین شاه حضرتلری طهرانده اون بر یاشلرینه قدر مبادیٔ علوم متداوله‌یی تحصیل ومفطور اولدقلری استعداد فطری حسیله، ایرانده مرعی قواعد وقوانین موجبنجه آذربایجان ایالتك مرکز اداره‌سی اولان (تبریز) والیلکی یدافتدارلرینه تفویض بیورلمشدر. مشارالیه حضرتلری تبریزه ورودلریله همان علوم عالیه تحصیلنه بذل دقت واهتمام ایتمشلر. وپارس (یولی تحقیق) نکتبنده اکمال تحصیل علوم وفنون ایدن مشهور میرزا نظامی تبریزه جلب ایلمشلردر. مشارالیه حضرتلری تبریزده بولندقلری مدتجه بوواسطه ایله آوروپا علوم ومعارفنه کسب اطلاع ومیرزا نظام ایله دیکرایکی معلم مقتدردن فرانسز وروس لسانلرینی ریاضیات، جغرافیا، تاریخ، میخانیك تحصیل واوروپانك بیوتات عمومیه‌سنه کسب وقوف ایتمشلردر.

مظفرالدین شاه حضرتلرینك امرلریله بو ایکی معلم آوروپا آثار فنیه وعلمیه‌سی لسان فارسی اوزره ترجمه ایلدیلر. آذربایجان ولایتنك مهام اموری یدافتدارلرینه تفویض ایدلدیکی تاریخدن اعتباراً ایالت مذکوره‌ده آثار عمران وترقی روناما اولمشدر. مشارالیه حضرتلری مملکتك احتیاجات صحیحه‌سنی حقیله تقدیر ایتدکلرندن زمان اداره‌لرنده بر چوق طرق ومعابر یاپیلدیغی کبی مکاتب عالیه وعمومیه تأسیس وکشاد ایدلمشدر. آذربایجان الیوم ایرانك اك کوزل مملکتلرندن بولنیور.

مشارالیه حضرتلری تبریزده والیٔ عمومی بولنورلر ایکن آذربایجان ایالتنده برقحط ظهور ایتمش ایدی. مشارالیه حضرتلری اوزمان روسیه‌دن کثیرالمقدار حبوبات جلب ایتدیروب فقرایه وقحط زدکانه توزیع ایتدیرمشلردر. بوهمت برکزیده سایه‌سنده آذربایجان اهالیسی شدائد قحط وغلادن اصلا متأثر اولمامشلر ایدی.

آذربایجانده تأسیس ایدیلن (مکتب عسکری) دخی کندی اثر عالیلریدر. بوکتبده عسکرلکه متعلق فنون معلومه‌دن بشقه علوم طبیعیه وفرانسزجه وروسجه دخی تدریس ایدلمکده‌در. مکتبك نامی اسم شاهیلرینه نسبتله «مظفریه»در. اوزمانه قدر ایرانده‌غزته هنوز نشر اولنمامش ایدی مشارالیه حضرتلری بوقصاتی اکمال بیوردق تبریزده ایلك دفعه اوله‌رق برغزته تأسیس ایتدیلرکه بوکون ایران اوراق حوادثنك اك مهمی واك زیاده انتشار ایدنی اودر.

مظفرالدین شاه حضرتلری پدر مغفورلری ناصرالدین شاهك وفاتی اوزرینه ۱۸۹۶ سنه‌سی مایسنك برنجی کونشه مصادف اولان بیك اوچ یوز اون اوچ سنه‌سی ذی القعده‌سنك اون سکزنجی جمعه ایرتسی کونی تبریزده وذی الحجه‌نك یکرمی بشنجی بازار کونی طهرانده قاعد مقام شاهی اولمشلردر. شاه مشارالیه حضرتلری معلملری میرزا نظامی نزد شهامتلرینه جلب ایله نافعه ناظری یاپمشلردر.

مهندس الممالك میرزا نظام خان شاه حضرتلرینك ارکان معیت والالری مبانده بولنمقده‌در.

شاه حضرتلری ایرانده اهالینك تربیه‌سی ایچون برهیئت تشکیل ایتمشلردر که هیئت مذکوره‌نك ابراز ایتدیکی خدمات نافعه‌نك ثمراتی بلاد ایرانیه‌نك پك چوقنده مکاتب عمومیه، مکاتب عالیه، ایتامخانه‌لر فقرا ایچون داراطیرلر، مکتب صنایعلر تأسیسی صورتیله انطباق ایدلمکده‌در.

APPENDIX D

SELECTED PHOTOGRAPHS FROM GOLESTAN PALACE ARCHIVES

Qajar Ulema



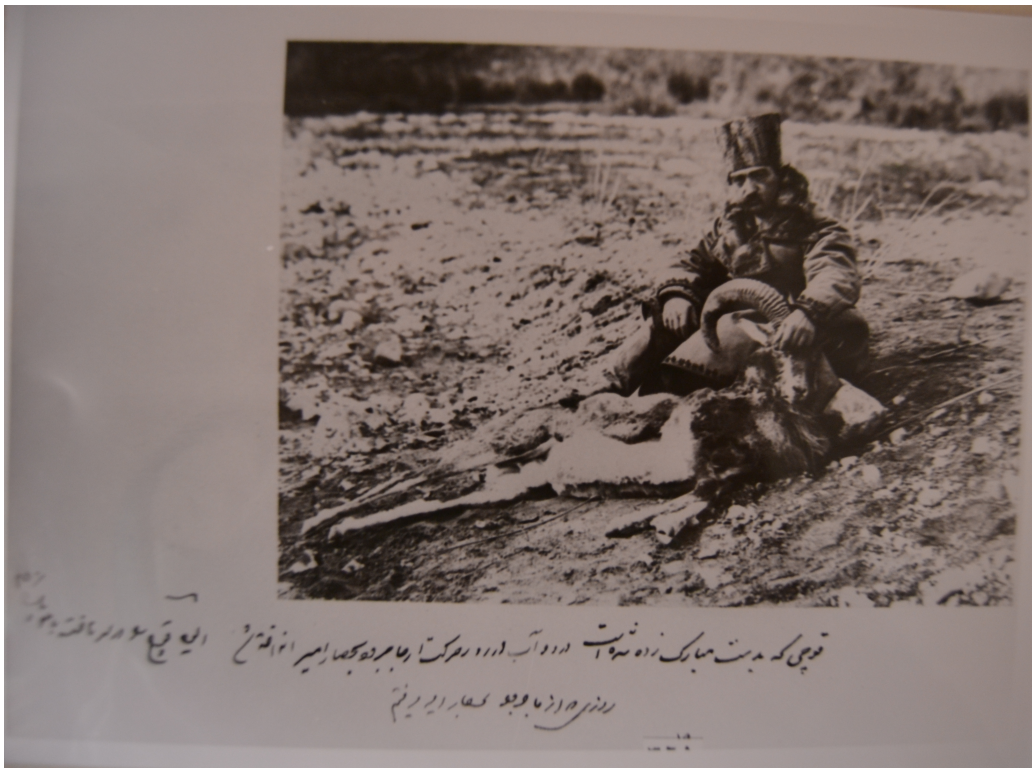
Tâq-ı Kisrâ



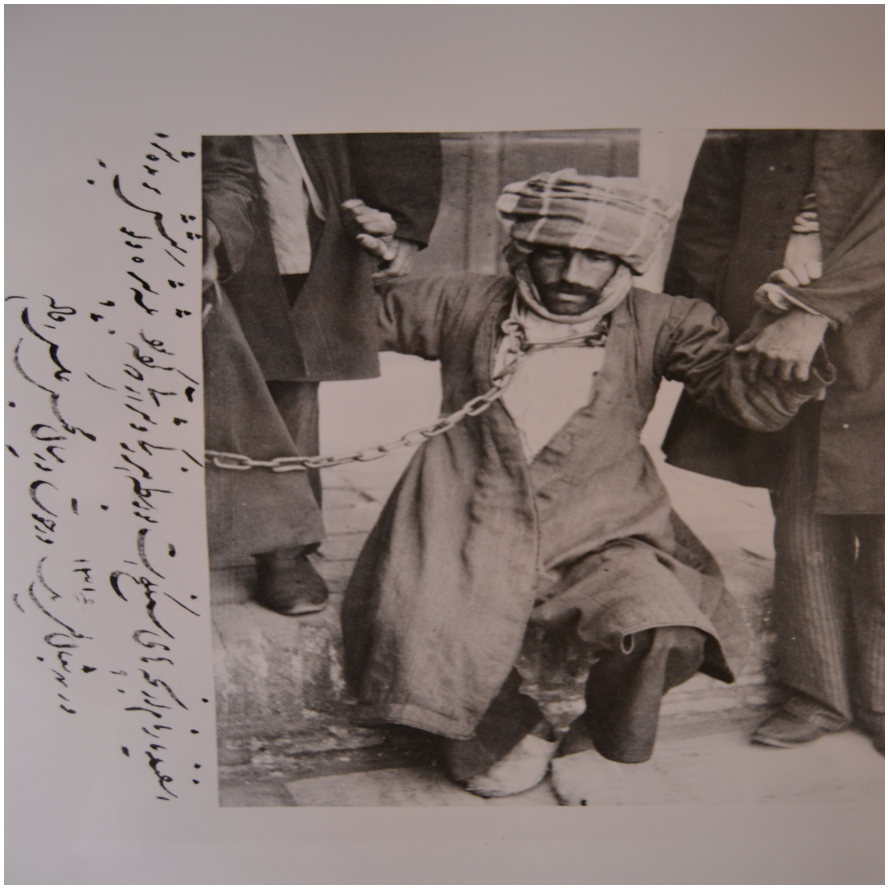
Reza Kirmani, murderer of Nasser al-Din Shah.



Nasser al-Din Shah posing behind an animal



An Iranian prisoner whose ear was cut as a punishment.



Iranian women in a train



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