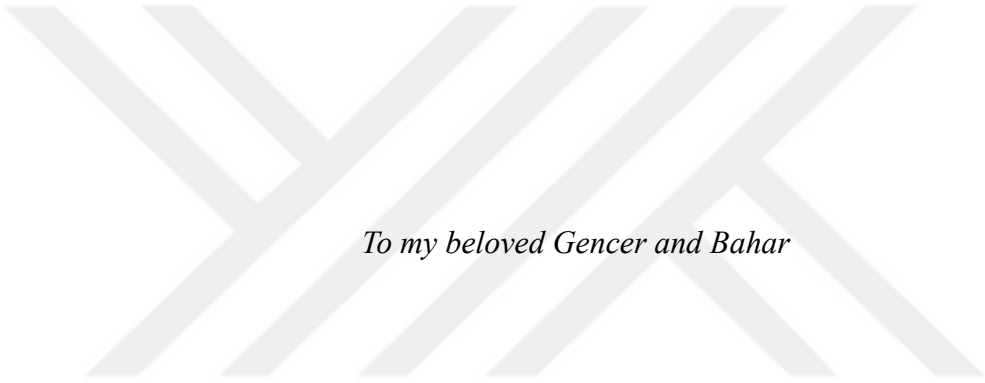


PHOTOGRAPHY AND POLITICS IN IRAN IN THE NASERI
PERIOD (1848-1896)

A Master's Thesis

by
KİMYA OSKAY SÜMBÜL

Department of
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Ankara
June 2018



To my beloved Gencer and Bahar

PHOTOGRAPHY AND POLITICS IN IRAN IN THE NASERI PERIOD (1848-1896)

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

THE DEPARTMENT OF
HISTORY
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
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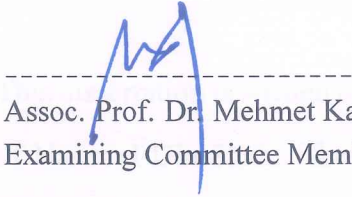
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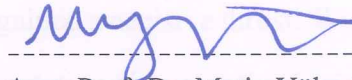
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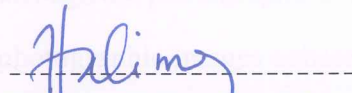
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ABSTRACT

PHOTOGRAPHY AND POLITICS IN IRAN IN THE NASERI PERIOD (1848-1896)

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M.A. , Department of History

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June 2018

This dissertation is written to address the history of photography of Iran during the reign of Naser al-Din Shah. The fundamental characteristic of this period is breaking new ground in social and political realms. During this period, Iran was introduced to the vast usages of photography employed both by the state and society, as well as a politicized society condemning the Shah as the illegitimate ruler. Consequently, nine years after the assassination of the Shah, usage of photography and politicization of society gained a decisive thrust. With the avail of the socio-politic dynamics of the era, this dissertation discusses the *Legitimation Crisis* of the Shah and utilization from photographs as political tools. We initiated this study to investigate the mutual effect between the political realm and the photographs of the era. Therefore, to see how the political realm of a past country, which adverted diversified photographic usages, can be reverberated through the photographs, exercising an interpretive strategy of reading outward from the photographic images coherent with the socio-politic parameters of the era is pursued.

Keywords: Naser al-Din Shah, Legitimation Crisis, History of Photography of Iran.

ÖZET

NASERİ DÖNEMİNDE İRAN’DA FOTOĞRAF VE SİYASET (1848-1896)

Sümbül, Kimya Oskay

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Oktay Özel

Haziran 2018

Bu çalışma, Naser al-Din Şah’ın iktidarı döneminde İran fotoğraf tarihini incelemektedir. Bu dönemde İran, devlet ve toplumun yaygın fotoğraf kullanımına ve eşzamanlı olarak Şah’ın meşruiyetini sorgulayan bir toplum yapısına tanıklık etmiştir. Öyle ki, Şah’a düzenlenen suikastten dokuz sene sonra fotoğrafın kullanımı, toplumun siyasallaşması ile birlikte, doruk noktasına ulaşmıştır. Bu çalışma ile, Şah’ın meşruiyet krizi ve fotoğrafların politik bir araç olarak kullanılması dönemin sosyo-politik koşulları dikkate alınarak incelenmektedir. Başlıca amacımız, dönemin politik alanının fotoğraflarla kurduğu karşılıklı ilişkiyi irdelemektir. Dolayısıyla, fotoğraflar göz önünde bulundurularak dönemin politik alanının okunup okunamayacağı incelenmektedir. Bu doğrultuda, dönemin sosyo-politik etkenleri önemsenerek fotoğrafları okumaya dair yorumlayıcı bir stratejinin izlenmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Naser al-Din Şah, Meşruiyet Krizi, İran Fotoğraf Tarihi.

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I am thankful to my beloved family for their support, love and most importantly their understanding. Last but not most important, I would like to record my sincere and profound gratitude to my husband, Gencer, for his innumerable sacrifices while casting his bread upon the waters, for all the sleepless nights, for believing my success with his whole heart, for being my best friend, editor, sounding board, muse and most significantly for his inestimable love.

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NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION

Throughout this dissertation, the sources in two different languages (Persian, Turkish) are employed. Albeit the orthography of Turkish sources is written in their original format, the Persian orthography did not used in their original form in order to present the study availably readable for those who are not familiar with Arabic alphabet and not to harm the formation of an English study. Thus, in addition to my own translation of Persian primary and secondary sources (unless stated otherwise), a simple convert of Persian orthography in Latin alphabet based on the pronunciation is pursued. The Arabic orthography is written as “al” (e.g. Naser al-Din), whereas the Persian orthography of prepositions is determined with “-” (e.g. Shah-e ‘Akkas).

‘a for	ع
a for	ا
c for	ص or س
ch for	چ
e for	ی or ا
g for	ق or گ or غ
gh for	ق or غ
h for	ح or ه
i for	ی
j for	ژ or ج
kh for	خ
s for	ص or س
sh for	ش
t for	ط or ت
u for	او
w for	و
z for	ظ or ز or ض

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Subject

Photography entered Qajar Iran during the reign of Mohammad Shah (r.1834-1848), however, *the golden age* of the Iranian photography coincides with Naser al-Din Shah's reign (r.1848-1896) which is called *Naseri period* in Persian historiography.¹ Naser al-Din Shah, as the second native amateur photographer, is known for having enthusiasm for taking photographs, being photographed and supporting the market to be developed in Iran. The practice of photography was propagated and institutionalized in Iran from the mid 19th-century. It was firstly institutionalized by the inclusion of it in the curriculum of first modern native college named *Dar al-Funun* (founded in 1851). The further steps of institutionalization process were inaugurations of the royal studios '*Akkaskhane-ye Mobarake Humayuni* and '*Akkaskhane-ye Dar al-Funun* in Tehran, appointment of a new position as '*Akkas Bashi* (court photographer).

However it was firstly developed under the monopoly of the Palace, this situation begun to change from the 1870s onwards. Since the 1870s, various commercial studios had been established in different populous cities of Iran which essentially emancipated photography from the hegemony of the Palace. Therefore, the printed photographs commenced circulating among the society without seeking approbation from the Palace. Concurrently, the social, political, and economic parameters began to

1. As an example: Mahdokht Abol-Fathi, *Tarikh-e Mostanad-e 'Akkasi Dore-ye Naseri* [History of Documentary Photography during Naseri Period] (Tehran: Nashr-e 'Elm, 2015), 30.

attach utmost importance in rising the public consciousness during Naseri period.

This study is written to address the history of photography of Iran during the Naseri period. The motivation beyond this dissertation is to investigate the mutual effect between the politics and the photographs of the era. As much as the primary sources allow, it explores whether posing to photography and approving court photographers were among the Shah's applied policies or not. It also aims to conduct an investigation about whether the society's politicization revealed a dissatisfaction with the center that can be read from photographs or not. Consequently, this study is about the relation between the Shah's employment of various photographs to perform political manoeuvres for his prestige and recognition, and the visual distribution of knowledge in society with the special avail of the commercial studios. It is thought that the best procedure for this investigation is to study the photographs of the Naseri period coherent with the socio-political conditions of the era. To see how the politics of the era, which adverted diverse photographic usages, can be reverberated through the contextualization of the photographs.

However several authors have attempted to define political usages of photography in Iran, there is still no focused study of the political usages of photography in Naseri period (1848-1896). Therefore, this dissertation is an attempt to develop a new approach to the history of photography during the Naseri period by studying the political usages of photographic images. The voluminous studies about the political realm of the Naser al-Din Shah's reign approve the adverse effects of the economic, political and social crises of the era to the central power of the Shah. In the history of photography of Naseri period, the focus has always been on Shah's identity as a photographer. Since 1980s, Naser al-Din Shah has been considered as the photographer Shah with sensitive notions wanting to develop photography in Iran with the artistic concerns. Findings regarding the political usage of photography, have led to questioning the role of photography from the mid 20th century Iran. However, it has not yet been established whether Naseri period was embracing a political usage of

photography or not. On the other side, conducting studies about the political motivation behind the photographic production of the Naseri period is missing. This dissertation, therefore, is a preliminary attempt to investigate the political role of the Naseri era photographs by employing the photographic images of the period. Thus, this analysis can also provide the basis for the current knowledge for the inception of the political usages of photography of 20th century Iran.

Another aim of the study is to new light on the evidences to suggest the hypothesis of a legitimization crisis of the Shah, by employing representation function of Naseri photographs with considering the social, politic and economic dynamics of the era. I argue that the available photographs might suggest a reading of a reverberation of the legitimization crisis of the Shah. Although the legitimization crisis of Habermas requires more in-depth studies and discussion, this study emphasizes the failure of the Shah in maintaining the requisite level of mass loyalty as a parameter in creating the legitimization problem. This assumption of the study is inspired by the Habermas' definition of the legitimization crisis. In fact, the adaptation of images among the Qajar Shahs for their political legitimacy has not yet been traced adequately. Therefore this study seeks some explanation to this issue in the case of Naser al-Din Shah.

For the analysis of the legitimization crisis of an Eastern empire during the period 1876-1909, Selim Deringil studies the subject in a different locality (the Ottoman Empire), by employing the theory of *Legitimation Crisis* or *Legitimation Deficit* of Jürgen Habermas. According to Deringil,

Nor was this legitimacy crisis confined to the relationship of the Ottoman centre with its own society, in the international arena also, the Ottomans found themselves increasingly obliged to assert and reassert their legitimate right to existence as a recognized member of the Concert of Europe.²

2. Selim Deringil, *The Well Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909* (New York: LB.TAURIS Publishers, 1999), 9–10.

The legitimization crisis defined in our study bears a resemblance to the one proposed by Deringil, in a way that we used a variation of Jürgen Habermas' procedure. In fact, I seek for the reflections of the legitimization crisis of Naser al-Din Shah on photographs. Thus, there is a methodological difference between Deringil's study and the one developed here. Moreover, the historical period of this dissertation is more or less corresponds with the era discussed in Deringil's study, where he focuses on the reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909), during which the albums he sent abroad is analyzed as a reading of the Sultan's legitimization policies in international arena. This study, however, attempts to discuss the legitimization policies of the Shah in the internal affairs. Deringil's use of Habermas' theory on a 19th century eastern state which had different parameters from its Europeans counterparts, on the other hand, has been a source of inspiration for the scope of this dissertation.

A particular study mentioning the political usages of photography during the early 20th century Iran, is the collaborative study edited by Ali M. Ansari in 2016.³ Especially, Elahe Helbig's contribution to the book proposes the effects of photography during the Iranian Constitutional Revolution, was helpful for the analysis of this dissertation too. I should also mention Mira Xenia Schwerda's work which deals with the role of photography during the execution of the assassinator of the Shah.⁴ Schwerda maintains that the photographs of the assassinator taken both by the court and commercial photographers were different from each other, pointing to the semantics of the image. These two studies are good examples of the political usages of photographs during the post-Naseri period and they also inspired my inquiry about corresponding of the advent of the political usages of photographs to the Naseri period.

Despite such works cited, no study, as far as I know, has traced the photographs as an

3. Ali M. Ansari, ed., *Iran's Constitutional Revolution of 1906: Narratives of the Enlightenment* (London: Gingko Library, 2016).

4. Mira Xenia Schwerda, "Death on Display. Mirza Reza Kermani, Prison Portraiture and the Depiction of Public Executions in Qajar Iran," *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication* 8 (2015): 172–191, doi:10.1163/18739865-00802003.

applied policy of the Naseri period. However there are other studies about different localities of the second half of the 19th century, the history of photography of Naseri period is still poorly understood the political usages of photographic images. I believe that this dissertation can add to a growing body of literature on our understanding of history of photography of Iran, by studying an unstudied scope.

1.2 Literature

The studies of the history of photography of Iran began in the late 1970s. Since the evolution of the history of photography is in parallel with the accessibility of the past photographs, visual archives gained great importance. There were no proper indexes of the archival photographs until Badri Atabay, the curator of the Golestan Palace,⁵ served greatly by rendering the access to the Qajar photographs easier with his study *Fehrest-e Albumha-ye Ketabkhane-ye Saltanat-i* (Index of Albums in the Imperial Library).⁶ In this study, he indexed the albumen prints held in the archive of the palace and presented most of the photographs with descriptive information. His study was published in Tehran in 1978 and two years later, was translated into English and presented in the *Library of Congress* in Washington in 1981. Once Atabay paved the way for the historical studies, two comprehensive research about the 19th and early 20th-centuries photography and its usages emerged. Both of these studies are outstanding references for the history of photography of Iran. The first one is Iraj Afshar's study titled *Ganjine-ye 'Aksha-ye Iran: Hamrah-e Tarikh-e Vorud-e 'Akkasi be Iran*.⁷ Second one is the collaboration of Yahya Zoka and Hasan M. Semsar's titled

5. The imperial palace of the Qajar dynasty was the Golestan Palace that was the complex serving as the official residence of Naser al-Din Shah. Today it is serving as one of the archives of Iran.

6. Badri Atabâý, *Fehrest-e Albumha-ye Ketabkhane-ye Saltanat-i* [Index of Albums in the Imperial Library] (Tehran: Chapkhane-ye Ziba, 1978).

7. Iraj Afshar, *Ganjine-ye 'Aks-haye Iran: Hamrahe Tarikhche-ye Vorud-e 'Akasi be Iran* [A Treasury of Early Iranian Photography: Together With a Concise History of How Photography Was First Introduced in Iran] (Tehran: Nashr-e Farhang-e Iran, 1371/1992).

Tarikh-e 'Akkasi va 'Akkasan-e Pishgam Dar Iran.⁸ These studies are constructed with encyclopedic and informative style, in which the photographers, the photographic genres and its paraphernalia are introduced, besides demonstrating various examples of Qajar photographs. Both studies follow chronological order and there is almost no narration but only the record of the factual events and photographers' short biographies. Specifically, their significance lay in their great contribution to serve a comprehensive basis for historical researchers of the Iranian photography. On the other side, as R.H. Tawney asserts "time, and the order of occurrences in time, is a clue, but no more; part of the historian's business is to substitute more significant connections for those of chronology."⁹ Therefore, various historical studies began to be published in journals such as *History of Photography* and *Iranian Studies*, with the purpose of narrating the given chronology by Afshar, Zoka and Semsar since the 2000s. Broadly, the dominant subjects studied in the literature are as follows: Questioning the orientalist character of the indigenous lens, similarities and differences between the Qajar paintings and photographs, characteristics of portraits of Qajars, comparative studies between Italian and Iranian photographers and in some cases Iranian photographs' difference with Spanish photographs, Naser al-Din Shah as photographer, and some of the foreign, especially the Italian photographers and the German *Ernst Hölzner* (1836-1911). However, for the most part, the consistent emphasis has been on the Iranian Georgian *Antoin Sevruguin* (1830-1933).

The early studies related with the history of photography of the Naseri period belongs to Donna Stein and Layla Diba. As early as the 1980s, Donna Stein depicts the Naser al-Din Shah's identity as a photographer and the institutions of Qajar photography with a realistic reading of retrospective photographs. Layla Diba, on the other hand, focuses on the power of the images in Qajar dynasty where she included the photographs as

8. Yahya Zoka and Hasan M. Semsar, *Tarikh-e 'Akkasi va 'Akkasan-e Pishgam dar Iran* [History of Photography and Pioneer Photographers in Iran] (Tehran: Entesharat-e 'Elmi Farhangi, 1376/1997).

9. R. H. Tawney, *History and Society* (Abingdon: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), 54, quoted in, John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, 5th ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), 155.

well. By focusing on the similarities and differences between the Qajar painting tradition and photography, Diba has made a great contributions to the field by emphasizing on the role of images in Qajar dynasty which history of photography of Iran derives benefits from. Both Stein and Diba's articles inspired the scholars as much as the earlier encyclopedic studies. With the passage of time, the field aimed to seek the advent, progress and development of photography with the established royal studios and institutions which still remain open for research. With the help of newly accessed photographs and newly achieved documents, the field has commenced enhancing further since the 2000s, this time not with the pursuit of a realistic image reading which is mere description of the frames but rather the literature developed with questioning the evoked reflections from the frames among the past society.

The essential studies related with the Naser al-Din Shah's corpus of photography and his photographer identity have come with the works of Mohammad Reza Tahmasbpour and Mahdokht Abol-Fathi. Both of them further developed the history of photography of Naseri period by arguing the institutionalization and the development of photography of the era. Tahmasbpour traces the corpus of Naser al-Din Shah and his photographer identity by employing the primary portraits and photographs by the court photographers and the Shah himself. Besides, he aims to reveal the royal photography studios' characteristics and the Shah's tendencies towards these studios by employing the personal letters of the Shah to his imperial seraglio and inner circle.¹⁰ Complementarily, Mahdokht Abol-Fathi continues her research with having the same motivation with Tahmasbpour in which she also attempts to read the documentary photographs of the Naseri period.¹¹ The sources these studies provide are great contributions to the domain of the history of photography of the Naseri period, since the primary materials are mostly unused documents.

10. Mohammad Reza Tahmasbpour, *Nasir al-Din, Shah-e 'Akkas: Pīramun-e Tarikh-e 'Akkasi-e Iran* [Nasir al-Din, the Photographer King: About the History of Photography in Iran], 3rd ed. (Tehran: Nashr-e Tarikh-e Iran, 1392/2013).

11. Abol-Fathi, *Tarikh-e Mostanad-e 'Akkasi Dore-ye Naseri*.

Recently, the historians of the photography of Iran commenced studying important episodes related with Persian characteristic inclusive to diverse cultural and social discourses from the late 20th century's research topics. For instance, In her cutting edge paper of 2002, Aphrodite Désirée Navab questions the orientalist and self-orientalist characteristic of photographs by Antoin Sevruguin (ca.1838-1933) with investigating into the historical contextualization of photographs.¹² Fourteen years later, Ali Behdad's analysis about the oriental character of the Naseri photographs further serves the characteristics of the photographs during the Qajar reign as well as presenting the history of the development of photography during the era. In his famous work, Behdad focuses on questioning the self-orientalist character of the indigenous lens. In this regard, he uses photographs for their gestures, clothes, and the scene to compare their style of framing and contextualizing with the European orientalist paintings and photographs.¹³ Behdad reads the photographs with a realistic approach, which means considering them only within the frame without taking the conjecture into account in which photographs were produced and circulated. He, then, represents an international tendency of orientalism and a local reflection towards this international tendency, the self-orientalism, by reading through the photographs only.

The Italian photographers and their portfolio, such as Luigi Pesce (1818-1891) and Montabone (?-1877), on the other hand, have become the subject of interest due to the newly accessed original photographs in national Italian Archives. Maria Francesca Bonetti, together with Alberto Prandi, studies the Italian photographers who stayed in and photographed Qajar Iran by benefiting from Archivio Famiglia Cerruti at Italy.¹⁴ Tahmasbpour also studies the relationship between the Italian photographers and the Shah as well as demonstrating the portraits of Shah taken by the Italian photographers

12. Aphrodite Désirée Navab, "To Be or Not to Be an Orientalist?: The Ambivalent Art of Antoin Sevruguin," *Iranian Studies* 35, nos. 1/3 (2002): 113–144, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4311439>.

13. Ali Behdad, *Camera Orientalis: Reflections on Photography of the Middle East* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).

14. Maria Francesca Bonetti and Alberto Prandi, "Italian Photographers in Iran 1848–64," *History of Photography* 37, no. 1 (2013): 14–31, doi:10.1080/03087298.2012.728026.

by employing their portfolio created during their stay in Iran.¹⁵

The newly accessed photographs and documents developed the episode of royal portraits further. A recent review of the literature on this topic discussed the characteristic of the Naseri portraits by comparing them with the European counterparts. The language of the photographs was argued with defining the compared inclusions and exclusions from the frame and traditional Qajar paintings.¹⁶ His study presents the photographs with considering the cultural discourses of the Naseri period, thus, serves as a good example of the anthropological photographic studies for the field.

The latest tendency of the photography of the Naseri period is the representation of the modern gender notions. In 2017, the study of Staci Gem Scheiwiller, *Liminalities of Gender and Sexuality in Nineteenth-century Iranian Photography: Desirous Bodies*,¹⁷ argues and evaluates the represented genders in indigenous lens based on the modern notions of masculinity and femininity. In this regard, she conducts her research by analyzing the notion of desirability in Qajar photography.

Above are the scopes of the literature in studying the Naseri period photography. To the best of my knowledge, the field of history of photography of Naseri period is still in its infancy and there are many subjects waiting for research. For instance, despite rendered accessibility to the photographs of court and commercial photographers in the *Golestan Palace Archive*, most of them have not been studied yet. Most of the academic productions are articles and this that also demonstrates the fact that there is a urgent need for conducting comprehensive studies.

15. Mohammad Reza Tahmasbpour, "Italyayi-ha dar A'gaz-e 'Akkasi-ye Iran 1269-1278" [Italians and Photography in Persia 1853-1862], *Nashriye-ye Honar-haye Ziba* 20 (Winter 1383/2004): 89–98.

16. Carmen Pérez González, *Local Portraiture: Through the Lens of the 19th-Century Iranian Photographers* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012).

17. Staci Gem Scheiwiller, *Liminalities of Gender and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century Iranian Photography: Desirous Bodies* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017).

A paucity of information regarding one particular date can damage the overall argument in the narration. A key problem with much of the literature in relation to the history of photography of the Naseri period is that they do not agree on the establishment dates of certain key institutions. This problem adversely affects the domain. Most of the dates of the institutionalization of the photography, in addition to the date and the way of the entrance of photography in Iran, appear differently in the literature. The apparent lack of employing primary sources for scholarly debates as well as lack of communication among the historians of photography of Iran, are amongst the chief limitations of the field that hinder the historical research, affecting inquiries, and consequently, preventing seriously the development of the field by hindering cumulative process of knowledge production.

1.3 Theory and Method

This dissertation neither is a study structured on the basis of the indigenous photographers (including the Shah), nor is a study of the history of photography of Iran from aesthetic point of view. In this regard, an utmost care will be taken on the visual representational discourse and social practices of the era by studying from photographs. Particularly considering the notion that Szarkowski asserts, “If photographs could not be read as stories, they could be read as symbols,”¹⁸ this dissertation offers a reading of photographs in order to be able to argue the reflections of photographs on the past. By doing so, the investigation will inquire into the course of socio-political developments of the era by considering the politics, economy, intellectual discourses as well as the increasingly politicized social strata and their social reactions under the conditions of the 19th century, particularly in relative to political and social expansionism and colonialism that were accompanied by the exoticism of the East.

18. John Szarkowski, *The Photographer's Eye*, 4th ed. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2009), 3.

I believe that arguing the socio-political parameters will enable us to better read the photographers' reflection of their own society by their own scope, because the scope of the Naseri photographs depends in part on the applied policies by the centre and partly on the social circumstances. Although the frames are the composition of photographers who decide on the angle, the scene and oftentimes the gesture of the models and the titles of photographs, still the *frame* itself reflects the social rituals and cultural phenomenon, because photographers were also both product and actors thereof. Furthermore, the inclusion and exclusion from the frame together with the candid and / or street photographs of everyday life reveals vital clues to the social practices and notions. Therefore, exercising an interpretive strategy of reading outward from the images themselves will be followed.

The primary visual analysis of describing the photographs should also be intertwined with the evoked reflections from the photographs. The realistic approach that articulate photography as the medium reflecting the *real thing*, discusses photographs as the evidence for the existence of the photographed thing. John Tagg has already noted an inconsistency with this approach by proposing the photographic images as the materials "distributed, circulated and consumed within a given set of social relations; pieces of papers that changed hands, found a use, a meaning and a value, in certain social rituals."¹⁹ In this dissertation, too, the photographs are considered as the images whose meaning can alter the thing within the frame. In my view, an even greater source of concern is the societal meaning of the photographs among the society. Since "photographs inevitably record more than the photographer's intention; certain details and contingencies recorded by the camera and yet unseen in their own time can either buttress or undo the aims of any project that mobilizes photography,"²⁰ my inquiry is to study the reflection of Naseri period's politics by virtue of photographs.

Consequently, by pursuit of "a reading of an image of society as a simple reflection or

19. John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988), 164.

20. Zahid R. Chaudhary, *Afterimage of Empire: Photography in Nineteenth-century India* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 9.

snapshot of society turns out to be misleading.”²¹ A retrospective photographic image reading should be coherent with the past social circumstances to be able to both argue the need and perception of capturing the photographs.

Likewise, from the mid twentieth century onwards, the “full complexity of representation” of the photographs to express narratives for the past has become the research area.²² By the twenty first century, it is acknowledged that photographs “are more than mere illustrations of a historical event. Rather, they mark an important semantic shift both politically and photohistorically.”²³ Therefore, trying to obtain the meaning of the photographs without isolating the images from their socio-politic discourse of production requires the close inspection of the given narrativity of the historical events, which this dissertation has concentrated on.

1.4 Sources

By having these questions in mind, I visited Iran during summer 2017. I garnered photographs of the Naseri periods from the *Golestan Palace Library and Archive* and the *Iran Cinema Museum*. The sources are taken from albumen prints and was selected on the basis of their period, titles, and the models mentioned throughout the study. The photographs by Naser al-Din Shah are the portraits of his inner circle and self-portraits. In addition to these photographs, the images captured by the court photographers as well as commercial studio owners are included in which the documentary, punishments, military, portraits of the Shah, courtiers and the servants of Shah, and street photographs are contained. These photographs are the fundamental primary source materials of this research. I plan to use these as the basis of the narrative with

21. Peter Burke, *Eye witnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 117.

22. Jae Emerling, *Photography: History and Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 14.

23. Schwerda, “Death on Display. Mirza Reza Kermani, Prison Portraiture and the Depiction of Public Executions in Qajar Iran,” 172.

which the broad analysis of the Iranian societal and cultural structures via visual representation is aimed. In particular, the photographs will be employed on conducting research about the bilateral changes between the representation of the absolutist ruler and dynasty's power, and the social upheavals and turmoils of the country.

In addition to these primary sources, digital archives of *Harvard University*, *Smithsonian Archive*, and *The Internet Archive* provide digital sources that I plan to benefit for my inquiry. Especially Antione Sevruguin's photographs in Smithsonian archive and Abbas Vali Khan's album in *Women's Worlds in Qajar Iran* are the albumen prints which I will employ to my study.

On the occasion of the exhibition of *The Eye of the Shah: Qajar Court Photography and the Persian Past* organized by *The Institute for the Study of the Ancient World* during 22th October 2015 and 17th January 2016 at New York University, a study with the same title published with the editing by Jennifer Y. Chi in 2015.²⁴ Although this study includes the photographs from the reign of the successor of Naser al-Din Shah, it also presents various photographs and portraits by court photographers of the Naseri period. The study is also supported by the contextual research of Carmen Perez Gonzalez, Reza Sheikh and Judith A. Lerner. Another exhibition that had fewer photographs was *Antoin Sevruguin and the Persian Image* held at the *Sackler Museum of Harvard University* during 21st November 1999 and 28th May 2000. This exhibition, together with a larger collection of photographs by Sevruguin, is presented online in the *Smithsonian's Sackler Gallery*. Beside this online database of photographs, there is *Women's Worlds in Qajar Iran* which, with the help of *The Harvard University Library* (HUL), presents photograph collections of the Qajar period as well as other primary material sources since 2009. These sources are also the primary photographs of this study.

24. Jennifer Y. Chi, ed., *The Eye of the Shah: Qajar Court Photography and the Persian Past* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015).

In addition to the primary photographs, the primary published sources of Amin ol-Dowlah, Arago's report, William Jerome Harrison, Nazem ol-Eslam Kermani, Jacob Eduard Polak, and John Werge have been studied for better contextualizing the period. Moreover I have searched for the related news of the period from some periodicals and newspapers such as Galignani's Messenger, New York Evening Post for the Country, Rockland Country Journal, and Akhtar.

1.5 Outline

Chapter Two gives a brief overview of the invention of the photography and the Naseri period's historical background. This chapter begins by examining the worldwide development of photography and the photographic genres of the 19th century with each genres' pioneer photographer. The chapter continues with the entrance of photography in Iran after the sued commercialization of the Daguerreotype. Lastly, the background of Naseri period is given focusing on the state and politics, economy and finance, social upheavals, and Intelligentsia of the period (Roshan-fekran) with a brief touch on the modernization of Iran in which the photography gained usages, circulation and meaning.

Chapter Three serves for the comprehensive study for the history of photography of the Naseri period. The adaptation of photography by society and the Palace is provided. In this chapter, the advent of photography in Iran with its institutions, such as royal studios, commercial studios, inclusion of the photography in the curriculum of the first established modern polytechnic collage, and other supports of the Shah are given. Later, the photographers and photographic genres are included as well. Lastly, a discussion about the photographers' role in capturing instants of time on a two dimensional paper and their role in representation of the period are presented.

I propose a new approach in Chapter Four where the case study is presented. In this

chapter, the legitimation crisis of Naser al-Din Shah by considering the historical background provided in Chapter Two is analyzed during the first section. By studying the traditional, Islamic appreciation of legitimacy and the 19th century's nation-states's notions of legitimate ruler, this section also seeks to investigate the legitimation crisis of the Shah. In the second section, the reflections and echoes of the camera's global innovations and usages is employed to better visualize the legitimation problem of the Shah. It is the test of the hypothesis of how relevant the legitimation crisis of the Shah can be read from the photographs during the second part of the Chapter Four.

The conclusion of the study is drawn in the final chapter. A brief recapitulation arguments and the method of the dissertation as well as some remarks on the further studies related with the study are provided.

CHAPTER II

PHOTOGRAPHY AND IRAN: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

2.1 Camera and Photography

Siegfried Kracauer describes the triumph of photographic paraphernalia as “Photography was born under a lucky star in as much as it appeared at a time when the ground was well prepared for it.”¹ To that end, after the first public announcement of photographic camera in 1839, “nearly twenty-four persons claimed to have invented photography.”² Before introducing the commercialization process of photography and its arrival to Iran, let me introduce briefly the historical background of the firstly announced photographic camera.

On the basis of providing an image of reality, it seems fair to suggest that the 19th century’s modern photographic cameras derived great benefit from the *Camera Obscura*, which has been in use since ancient times.³ “A Camera Obscura” defines William James Gravesande that “is any dark place, in which outward objects exposed to Broad-Day-light, are represented upon paper, or any other white body.”⁴ Roland Barthes claims that even if the *Camera Obscura* and the modern photographic cameras have similarities in a technical manner, associating the photography with the concept

1. Siegfried Kracauer, “Photography,” in *Classic Essays on Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (New Haven: Leete’s Island Books, 1980), 247.

2. Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History*, 4th ed. (Boston: Pearson, 2014), 17.

3. Colin Harding, “Camera and Design: General,” in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008).

4. William James Gravesande, “The Use of the Camera Obscura in Designing,” in *Camera Obscura of Ideology*, ed. Sarah Kofman, trans. Will Straw (New York: Cornell University Press, 1973), 75.

of the *Camera Obscura* is incorrect.⁵ Although Barthes constructs this difference from the viewpoint of affections and emotions that a photograph creates with its audience, it would be a mistake to claim that the invention of photography was not derived from or inspired by the concept of the *Camera Obscura*. Because the motivation and purpose of the most of the precursors of photography were to induce a permanent image in this ancient camera. According to Mary Warner Marien, the French artist and cartographer Antoine Hercules Romuald Florence (1804-1897) was the first one using the term *photographie* for his technological process for printing images. However, he failed in producing permanent image. Another frenchman, Joseph Nicéphore Niépce (1765-1833) also aimed to produce permanent images by benefiting from *Camera Obscura*. His studies started in 1816 and continued until his death and were independent from other precursors of photography. As the first achievement, he succeeded in printing images from lithographic stones that was inspired by and benefited from *Camera Obscura*. His second achievement was taking the world's first permanent photograph, *View from the Window at Gras*, which captured from a *Camera Obscura* image in circa 1826. However, his achievements was still not providing the reproducibility and duplication of the captured permanent image. He named his process *Heliography*. In 1839, based on Niépce's studies the photographic process was enhanced and five years after his death the first modern photographic camera was announced thanks to his partnership (signed previously in 1829) with Louis Jacques Mande Daguerre (1787-1851), the designer and the co-owner of the Diorama, an apparatus used for reflecting the realistic images on a theater scene and the audiences.⁶ Nonetheless, the duplication of a photograph could not be achieved with this new modern photographic camera. The commercialization of it, on the other hand, emerged immediately beginning from the 1839. The literature of the history of photography reflects many contributors playing important roles in the enhancement of the photography. Notwithstanding independent efforts, even some of them ended up with

5. Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill / Wang, 1981), 106.

6. Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History*, 9–13.

the same innovations. This is why there were multiple claims of having invented/being inventor. They all served for the requirements of the technology but the winner was the first patentee. After few years of the dawn of various photographic usages, it developed in Qajar Iran, too.

In this part of study, the initial commercialization process of photography is analyzed and, later, the entrance of photography in Iran will be discussed. This part is essential as it serves as the historical background for my study. Inasmuch as presenting the framework of what were the pioneering usages of photography across the globe. The focus is the historical conditions in which the first medium of photography commercialized in the world and which universal uses this medium gained during the 19th-century.

2.1.1 Worldwide Spread of Photography

Among the 72 names of scientists under the first balcony of Eiffel tower, one of them is of Daguerre. In recognition of the contributions of men of science to the development of France, Gustave Eiffel chose those 72 names to be recorded on the Eiffel tower. Obviously, the thing that puts Louis Jacques Mande Daguerre in the list of important names was the photographic medium he developed. He called as the inventor of the first commercialized photographic machine named Daguerreotype, which was the first stone of the marketed photography that has been surviving ever since. The adventure of commercialization that gave Daguerre this reputation started from 1839. “Daguerre wrote a booklet describing the process, *An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Various Processes of the Daguerreotype and the Diorama*, which soon became a best seller; 29 editions and translations appeared before the end of 1839.”⁷ The name of Daguerreotype began to adorn newspapers’ headlines from

7. Helmut Gernsheim et al., “History of Photography,” in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, accessed November 4, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/technology/photography>.

January 1839 as a release of a new technology. Newspapers of countries begun to announce daguerreotype in their own language which after France the first country faced daguerreotype's public announcements was England. This was followed by America. Some of these newspapers published in France were *Le Feuilleton du Siecle*, *Le Feuilleton national*, *Le Gazette de France*⁸ and *Le Figaro*; *Journal Litterature et d'Arts*,⁹ and - as an English-language newspaper published in France - *Galignani's Messenger*.¹⁰ This current was not only limited to France but also spread to other western countries. For instance, in England, the *London Globe* and in US presses such as *New-York Evening Post for the Country*¹¹ followed the trend as well.

As an English geologist and amateur photographer who was the writer of the first geological book with photographic illustrations,¹² William Jerome Harrison (1845-1908) wrote about photography and its history in a book titled *A History of Photography*, published in 1887. According to Harrison, the first man to obtain a permanent photograph was Joseph Nicéphore Niépce, who entered into a partnership with another investigator in 1829 and artist named Louis Jacques Mande Daguerre (1787-1851). This partnership's goal was to discover the way of fixing camera-image. After his death in 1833, this partnership continued its life between Daguerre and son of the Nicéphore Niépce, Isidore Niépce. Nicéphore Niépce died before publishing his invention of Heliograph.¹³ Five years after older Niépce's death, partnership was

8. Gisele Freund, *Fotoğraf ve Toplum* [Photography and Society], trans. Şule Demirkol (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2016), 29.

9. "Journal de littérature et d'arts," *Le Figaro*, September 8, 1839, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb344551004>.

10. *Galignani's Messenger* (Paris) No. 7620 (Morning edition; 20 August 1839): n.p. [fourth page of issue.], Last revision (proofread): April 6, 2010, http://www.daguerreotypearchive.org/texts/N8390015_DAGUERREOTYPE_GALIGNANI_1839-08-20.pdf.

11. *New-York Evening Post for the Country* (New York) 38:3941 (23 September 1839): (second page of non-paginated issue)., Last revision (proofread): June 11, 2009, http://www.daguerreotypearchive.org/texts/N8390013_GLOBE-ACCT_NY-EVEN-POST_1839-09-23.pdf.

12. Michael Hallett and Peter James, "Harrison, William Jerome (1845–1908) English amateur photographer," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008).

13. William Jerome Harrison, *A History of Photography: A Practical Guide And An Introduction to Its Latest Developments* (New York: Sscovill Manufacturing Company, 1887), 15–22, accessed February 24,

developed further and progressed the first modern photographic apparatus. Daguerre achieved the right to be announced as the inventor of it in 1837 and he named the camera *Daguerreotype*. Later, the partnership's target became marketing of the photographic process. After trying a few unsuccessful attempts, they aimed to persuade the scientists to be able to convince potential customers about the Daguerreotype. In this respect, Daguerre presented his photographic developments to the well-known scientists¹⁴ One of those scientists was French astronomer and physicist, Dominique Francois Arago.¹⁵ We understand from the report of Arago written for the Chamber of Deputies and the Academy of Science in 1839 how the adventure developed afterwards: M. Arago wrote a report titled “*Rapport de M. Arago, sur le Daguerreotype, Lu à la séance de la Chambre des Députés le 3 juillet 1839, et à l'Académie des Sciences, séance du 19 août.*”¹⁶ which can be translated as “Report of M. Arago, on the Daguerreotype, read at the sitting of the Chamber of Deputies on July 3 1839, and at the Academy of Science's meeting of August 19th.” According to R. Derek Woods, the report of Arago contains “information on the technique and chemicals used appeared therefore in the newspapers in Paris the following day, reaching London on August 23.”¹⁷ Beside including technical informations about the daguerreotype, it talks about how photography can be useful for France to benefit from it in scientific manner. For instance, it mentions on potential usage of photography in the discovery of heliographs of Egypt, because daguerreotype could serve real-image. This first impression of photography towards gathering information about the Orient is like the placement of first bricks in the usage of

2017, <https://archive.org/details/historyofphotogr1887harr>.

14. Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History*, 14–16.

15. Mark Osterman, “The Technical Evolution of Photography in the 19th Century,” in *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography: Digital Imaging, Theory and Applications, History, and Science*, 4th ed., ed. Michael R. Peres (Boston: Focal Press, 2007).

16. François Arago, *Rapport de M. Arago sur le daguerreotype, lu à la séance de la Chambre des députés, le 3 juillet 1839, et à l'Académie des sciences, séance du 19 août* [Texte imprimé], 1839, report, Bibliothèque nationale de France, accessed December 24, 2017, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb300243833>.

17. R. Derek Wood, “The Arrival of the Daguerreotype in New York,” *The American Photographic Historical Society*, 1995, accessed January 15, 2018, <http://www.midley.co.uk/daguerreotype/newyork.htm>.

photography on collecting knowledge that then served for discovering the things exotic and colonies. Ali Behdad argues the reflection of this first impression as:

Not surprisingly, Orientalist institutions such as the Egyptian Institute were immediately equipped with daguerrotypes to provide European scholars of the Middle East with a more accurate image-repertoire of the Orient. Archeological and religious monuments of the Middle East thus became one of the earliest sites for the practice of photography.¹⁸

Although the report included a scientific use of the photography by mentioning on heliographs of Egypt, in the near future photography would also be used to recognize the eastern and African communities as well. Such a practice of photography towards the Orient gained a long lifespan beginning from the mid-19th century.

As mentioned earlier, from 1839 onwards, Daguerreotype begun to appear on headlines of journals and newspapers. The year 1839 was also noted as the year of the “Publication of working instructions for the daguerreotype by the French Government.”¹⁹ However, it should not be forgotten that 1839 was not only the date of the invention of the Daguerreotype. It was also the year during which photography gained a “commercial applicability”.²⁰ As a Daguerreotypist who lived during the 19th century, John Werge observed that “it was, however, the Year of Publicity, and the progress”²¹ This commercial applicability has caused the photographic machine to open its way to the whole world. On 19th August 1839, first commercialized camera was marketed.²² The advertisement published in *Le Constitutional* on September 1839

18. Ali Behdad, “The Power-Ful Art of Qajar Photography: Orientalism and (Self)-Orientalizing in Nineteenth-Century Iran” [sic.] *Iranian Studies* 34, nos. 1/4 (2001): 143, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4311426>.

19. Michael R. Peres, “Advances in Photographic Technology,” in *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography: Digital Imaging, Theory and Applications, History, and Science*, 4th ed., ed. Michael R. Peres (Boston: Focal Press, 2007).

20. John Werge uses the term to describe the commercialization of photography in his study: John Werge, *The Evolution of Photography: With a Chronological Record of Discoveries, Inventions, Etc., Contributions to Photographic Literature, and Personal Reminiscences Extending over Forty Years* (London: Piper & Carter / J. Werge, 1890), 27, accessed March 2, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/evolutionofphoto00werguoft>.

21. Ibid.

22. Osterman, “The Technical Evolution of Photography in the 19th Century.”

with words of “Daguerreotype cameras of 1839 produced by Giroux in Paris. They weighed 120 pounds each and cost 400 Francs (about 50 dollars)”.²³ This was nothing but just first footsteps of marketing of the photography. Giroux, who was the brother-in-law of Daguerre, was able to re-produce a daguerreotype after Daguerre and Isidore Niepce’s acceptance of French government’s pension to describe the process of production of the Daguerreotype.²⁴ Since 1839, further developments have followed one another that this new global market soon gained new and more qualified cameras during the 19th century. As two important breakpoints of enhancements after the announcement of the Daguerreotype, I can mention *Calotype* (or *Talbotype*) and *Collodion glass-plate negative process*. In 1840, the Calotype invented by William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877) and in 1841 the camera entered the market. This new machine had shortened the exposure duration in comparison with Daguerreotype and the captured photographs via the Calotype could be printed and reproduced. These two new functionalities helped the Calotype to dominate the market of photography. In 1852, however, Frederick Scott Archer (1813-1857) introduced the collodion glass-plate negative process. This process offered a faster duration of capturing photography than the Calotype had offered. Eventually, the new dominator of the market became the Scott Archer’s development until 1880s.²⁵

The spread of photography showed its development also numerically. For instance, in Europe, the number of portrait photographers increased day by day. “In the census of 1841 photography does not appear as a profession. Ten years later, only 51 photographers were recorded; in 1861 there were 2,879.”²⁶ After this pension,

23. Roger L. Carter, “Advancement of Digital Photography and Related Technologies Timetable,” in *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography: Digital Imaging, Theory and Applications, History, and Science*, 4th ed., ed. Michael R. Peres (Boston: Focal Press, 2007).

24. The advertised photograph of Giroux’s daguerreotype can be seen in Mark Osterman, “Introduction to Photographic Equipment, Processes, and Definitions of the 19th Century,” in *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography: Digital Imaging, Theory and Applications, History, and Science*, 4th ed., ed. Michael R. Peres (Boston: Focal Press, 2007), 52.

25. Alan Trachtenberg, “A Brief Historical Sketch of the Invention of the Art by William Henry Fox Talbot,” in *Classic Essays on Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (New Haven: Leete’s Island Books, 1980), 28.

26. Helmut Gernsheim and Alison Gernsheim, *The History of Photography: From the Camera Obscura*

lightweight portable cameras which an American company, Kodak, would produce beginning from 1888²⁷ with a sales campaign having the slogan of “you press the button, we do the rest”²⁸ was nothing but the first footsteps of the popularization of the photography which would target the mass use of it.²⁹ Although the emergence of the portable camera perceived as a brilliant enhancement, Kodak cameras were unsuccessful in providing qualified permanent images because of the *roll-film technology*. Thus, the cameras failed in finding customers from both professional and elite amateur photographers. Later, Kodak changed its marketing strategy because of professional and elites’ apathy and indifference to its cameras, and initiated the diffusion of photographic culture/photography from middle and high class to the laypersons. Previously, producing an image in a darkroom was required to have the knowledge of chemistry. Kodak achieved its success by eliminating the required knowledge for producing an image in a darkroom and by reducing the prices of its portable Brownie cameras to \$1 in 1900. Kodak’s strategy would change radically the market of photography in the next three decade. Thus, in other words, Kodak became the revolutionizing figure of the market of photography because of its achievements in spreading the photography to the mass.³⁰

2.1.2 Early Usages of Photography in Europe and Its Commercialization

One of the first impressions on photography from Arago’s below report was its function of gathering information about the Orient. This is due to the realistic image that a photograph can provide. The photographic images detected as realistic that

to the Beginning of the Modern Era, 2nd ed. (London: Thames / Hudson, 1969), 234.

27. “Milestones | Kodak,” Eastman Kodak Company, accessed October 27, 2017, <https://www.kodak.com/corp/aboutus/heritage/milestones/default.htm>.

28. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Rosetta Books, 2005), 41.

29. For the first advertisements of Kodak in 1888 see: *Emergence of Advertising in America: 1850-1920*, Digital Collections, Duke University Library, <https://repository.duke.edu/dc/ea>.

30. Kamal A. Munir and Nelson Phillips, “The Birth of the ‘Kodak Moment’: Institutional Entrepreneurship and the Adoption of New Technologies,” *Organization Studies* 26, no. 11 (2005): 1665–1687, doi:10.1177/0170840605056395.

makes it to be used “to discover.” In 1839, photography gained a potential usage in this respect. This was the “documentary photography” that began to emerge. In an atmosphere of political and social expansionism / colonialism as well as that of exoticism of the East, this usage, of course, became a focus of interest of the market too. By the 20th century, usages of photography were diversified further.

The exoticism towards East had existed well before the 19th century. However, by the commercialization of Daguerreotype in 1839, the exoticism could then be expanded further thanks to the realistic images taken from “exotic lands”. This can be read as serving of photographic images for calming the excitement of the exotic down.

Documentary photographs served for this goal both for politics and the different strata of a society who displayed a visible curiosity towards the wonders of places. These photographs were the earliest stages of 20th century’s well-known documentary photographer who is known as the father of this type: Walker Evans (1903-1975). His works also hold significance for historical studies. As an example of the early stages of documentary photographs, French writer Maxime du Camp (1822–1894) was one of the pioneers in traveling the Orient with his Calotype camera. He had visited North Africa, Greece, Syria, Turkey, Egypt and Italy with his friend Gustave Flaubert (1821–1880), famous author of the novel “Madame Bovary”, in the years 1849-1850. Before gaining popularity due to travel memoirs which, as Kathryn Brown defines, “an illustrated album for mass distribution”³¹ published in 1851, he had finished his travel. In the same year “Maxime du Camp produced major albums of views from Egypt, Palestine and Syria, which were documented by the calotype process in 1849.”³² From 1985 until 1998 Fouad Elkoury - a Franco-Lebanese photographer - published a series of photograph under the name of ‘Suite Egyptienne, 1985-1998’³³, with which he tried to re-take the photographs taken by Maxime du Camp by “creating

31. Kathryn Brown, “Egyptian Voyages: Gustave Flaubert, Maxime Du Camp, and Fouad Elkoury,” *History of Photography* 38, no. 2 (2014): 161–172, doi:10.1080/03087298.2014.890391.

32. Osterman, “The Technical Evolution of Photography in the 19th Century.”

33. For a detailed review on this topic see <http://www.fouadelkoury.com/works4respon.php?work=2&limit=0>

his own visual ‘fiction’ from the various locations that his nineteenth-century counterparts had visited and described in their works.”³⁴ Elkoury’s work helps us distinguish the difference among perceptions and representations produced at two different centuries on Egypt. Kathryn Brown studied the difference from du Camp’s point of view and asserts “a familiar feature of nineteenth-century descriptions of Egypt by French artists and scientists, a style that reached its height in the multi-volume *Description de l’Egypte* commissioned by Napoleon and first published between 1809 and 1822.” The Photographs of du Camp taken from monuments and landscapes were first examples of the Orientalist photographs of 19th century as well. And, the choice of Egypt was not coincidence: These were the years that coincided with the French invasion of Egypt.

Five years after Maxime du Camp’s publication, the camera gained another function as military photography. It was in 1855 that English photographer Roger Fenton (1819-1869) took 300 photographs of the *Crimean War*.³⁵ The war aroused curiosity among public. Western Newspapers and magazines of the time were raising the curiosity by publishing reports and news about the war. One of them was William Howard Russell (1820-1907) that asserts the alarming experiences of soldiers, such as food shortages and insufficient medical care in the *The Times* of London published in 1854. In such an atmosphere, a publisher firm, *Thomas Agnew&Sons*, commissions Fenton to take the photographs of the war and in return owns the right of reproduction and marketing of the photographs. “He (Fenton) made heroic images,” says Mary Warner Marien, that resulted in praise by critics for their factual quality.³⁶

Three years after the capturing of the military photographs by Roger Fenton, another field of usage emerged. This is called as “commercial photography” in the strict sense

34. Brown, “Egyptian Voyages: Gustave Flaubert, Maxime Du Camp, and Fouad Elkoury.”

35. More details on this topic can be found in John Sidoriak, “Military Photography,” in *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography: Digital Imaging, Theory and Applications, History, and Science*, 4th ed., ed. Michael R. Peres (Boston: Focal Press, 2007).

36. Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History*, 98–101.

of the term that continues to develop and diversify its lifespan beginning from 1853 until today. The pioneers in this realm were:

By 1858 the British photographic team of Padbury and Dickins, specializing in product photography, recorded centerpieces, church furniture, and toast racks on stereographic cards. Photography in this practice was a benefit to the middlemen, traveling salesmen, as they could show their potential customers product images instead of carrying around heavy samples.³⁷

Immediately after the commercialization of photography, Carte de Visite (CdV) appeared. This one eased the circulation of photographic images even more. “In 1854 and in the company of Edouard Delessert, developed the invention of the carte-de-visite, which was eventually patented the same year by Eugene Disderi.”³⁸ Carte de Visite was mostly produced by portraits photographers. Disderi opened a studio in Paris in 1860 and the circulation and access of photography was enlarged further to the levels of middle-class from high class. “What had formerly been reserved for the nobility, gentry and bourgeoisie now became accessible to the lower middle-class, who could afford photographs of themselves in the same elegant and luxurious surroundings.”³⁹

By the 1860s, social-documentary photography came into the scene as a sub category of documentary photography. The difference of this genre from the 1850s was something to do with its focus: the focus of lens was more on people rather than monuments or events. The way the people dressed, ways of lifestyles or affections/effects from an event can be seen through these photographs. “It is for this reason that the social documentary photographer often uses the persuasive power of

37. Margaret Denny, “Advertsing Uses of Photography,” in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008).

38. Denis Canguilhem, “Aguado de las Marimas, Comte Olympe-Clemente-Alexandre-Auguste (1827-1894) And Vicomte Onesipe-Gonsalve (1830-1893),” in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008).

39. Gernsheim and Gernsheim, *The History of Photography: From the Camera Obscura to the Beginning of the Modern Era*, 294.

the medium to influence viewer awareness and understanding and to elicit positive social changes.”⁴⁰ One of the pioneers of this category was Thomas Annan (1829-1887) and his album *The Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow* (1868). “In the late 1860s” reveals the National Library of Scotland that “Annan received a commission from the city authorities of Glasgow to photograph the city centre, which would result in a series of remarkable photographs, later published as ‘The Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow’.”⁴¹

By the 1870s, photography had already become a tool of surveillance by the state. “Starting with their use by the Paris police in the murderous roundup of Communards in June 1871, photographs became a useful tool of modern states in the surveillance and control of their increasingly mobile populations.”⁴² This usage became popular among other states. This type also produces a valuable source material for the study of photography as a subject of political use. A similar trial to the photographs of Communards had already been taken in 1847, and recognized as the ‘premier act of photojournalism’ which is taken as the first photograph carrying news value. In this photograph we can see an arrested man posing with a French policemen. (Figure 1)

The year 1880 was marked as the date of appearance of first photograph in a daily newspaper, *the New York Graphic*.⁴³ Photojournalism, “journalism in which the written word is subordinate to pictorial usage,”⁴⁴ became yet another field for the usage of photography and, ever since, remained as a vivid topic of debate until the

40. Michael R. Peres, Franziska Fry, and J. T. Lopez, “Documentary photography,” in *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography: Digital Imaging, Theory and Applications, History, and Science*, 4th ed., ed. Michael R. Peres (Boston: Focal Press, 2007).

41. “Thomas Annan’s Glasgow,” National Library of Scotland, <http://digital.nls.uk/learning/thomas-annan-glasgow/thomas-annan/>; For a detailed review on this topic see Amanda Maddox and Sara Stevenson, *Thomas Annan: Photographer of Glasgow* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2017).

42. Sontag, *On Photography*, 3.

43. Philip Greenspun, “History of Photography Timeline” (2007). *Instructional Resources*. 71. <https://digitalcommons.bard.edu/sr-instruct/71>.

44. Guenther Cartwright, “Photojournalism,” in *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography: Digital Imaging, Theory and Applications, History, and Science*, 4th ed., ed. Michael R. Peres (Boston: Focal Press, 2007).

present. The *Half-Tone* technology which allowed photographs to be reprinted and reproduced in press, invented in 1880. For some, it was the usage of 20th-century, and therefore, can not possible exist in the 19th-century due to the lack of technological enhancements. But, if we consider providing of the news with pictures as the main motivation of the emergence of photojournalism, then illustrated journals of the 19th century can serve for this category as well. Additionally as Helmut Gernsheim claims “As early as the 1840s photographers tried to record public ceremonies and other events, but success depended on favourable light conditions and the avoidance of moving people. More or less instantaneous photographs could not be taken until the mid-1850s.”⁴⁵ Thus categorization of photojournalism as one of the early usages of the photography can be possible. To Gernsheim, the first photograph carrying news potential was the “daguerreotypes of the Hamburg fire, 1842.”⁴⁶ Additionally, “The Duke of Wellington’s funeral on 18 November 1852 is, as far as is known, the first public ceremony of which a photographic record was attempted.”⁴⁷ Similarly, as an example of photojournalism of 19th-century, the photographer of the Royal family of Italy, created an album in 1859, which categorized him into the pioneers of photojournalism. The name of the album was *Memorandum Pittoresco de Pernambuco*, and the photographer was Theophile Auguste (Augusto) Stahl (1828-1877).⁴⁸

To sum, the first advertisement published in newspapers 1839, the Daguerreotype became ready for sale. As a result of the ensuing commercialization, the camera began its journey outside France, too, and it made its entrance to other countries. While worldwide spread of photography continued, Iran was one of the venues where it also found ‘commercial applicability’. At first, Qajar court and the royal family applauded

45. Gernsheim and Gernsheim, *The History of Photography: From the Camera Obscura to the Beginning of the Modern Era*, 266.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Bobbi London, “Stahl, Théophile Auguste (1828–1877),” in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008).

the photography and its usages. Later, by the effect of changing politics, economic and social conjecture, and with the born of a new middle class and spread of politicization of different strata, the photography found its adaptation and usages free from the court patronage.

2.2 Advent of Photography to Iran (1842?)

Daguerreotype, with its paraphernalia, entered to Qajar Iran sent from both England and Russia, two rival powers in Qajar lands during the 19th century. Carmen Pérez González suggests that the daguerreotype camera entered Iran upon an official request of Mohammad Shah (r. 1834-1848)⁴⁹ whereas Ali Behdad claims both Queen Victoria and Emperor Nicolas I gave cameras as a gift to Mohammad Shah sometimes between 1839 and 1842.⁵⁰ The reference of Ali Behdad is Yahya Zoka; however, Zoka did not mention directly the issue of gift but cites from the diary of Jules Richard's (1816-1891), who became known as Richard Khan. There, Richard Khan says that cameras were sent as a gift from both England and Russia.⁵¹ However, Gonzalez makes a reference to Chahryar Adle, who states "the Russian set, a present of the Czar, arrived earlier."⁵² Whether the way of entrance of photographic cameras is unclear, it is certain that, as Donna Stein also confirms, the first photographic camera entered in Iran during the reign of Mohammad Shah.⁵³ As noted earlier, introduction of Daguerreotype to world markets occurred in 1839, and Mohammad Shah's reign continued until 1848. It is therefore safe to assume that camera entered Iran between the years 1839 and 1848, either as a result of the Shah's request or presented as a gift

49. González, *Local Portraiture: Through the Lens of the 19th-Century Iranian Photographers*, 27.

50. Behdad, "The Power-Ful Art of Qajar Photography: Orientalism and (Self)-Orientalizing in Nineteenth-Century Iran," 144.

51. Yahya Zoka, *Tarikh-e 'Akkasi va 'Akkasan-e Pishgam dar Iran* [History of Photography and Pioneer Photographers in Iran], 3rd ed. (Tehran: Entesharat-e 'Elmi Farhangi, 1388/2009), 3.

52. González, *Local Portraiture: Through the Lens of the 19th-Century Iranian Photographers*, 27.

53. Donna Stein, "The Photographic Source for A Qajar Painting," in *Performing the Iranian State: Visual Culture and Representations of Iranian Identity*, ed. Staci Gem Scheiwiller (London: Anthem Press, 2013), 24.

by the fellow Kings and Queens of the time. Literature on the history of Persian photography generally assumes the date of photographic camera's entrance in Iran in the the year of 1842.⁵⁴

Yahya Zoka believes that the first camera Iran experienced was Daguerreotype and reveals the French photographer Jules Richard's (1816-1891) diary who declares himself as the first photographer. Jules Richard would later take the name Richard Khan and would become the first non-Iranian court photographer in Qajar Iran, in Yahya Zoka's words. According to Richard's diary, the one and the only person in Iran to be able to use a daguerreotype was himself. Thus he was ordered to photograph the crown prince of time.⁵⁵ Chahryar Adle, on the other side, believes the first one to photograph in Iran was a young Russian diplomat named Nikolai Pavlov. Adle identifies Pavlov as the diplomat having the educational background in photography and claims that he was sent to Iran on the mission of introducing the know-how of daguerreotype presented by Russians. In Adle's words Nikolai Pavlov "took the first photograph recorded in Iranian history in presence of Mohammad Shah."⁵⁶

The first one to be photographed in Iran was Mohammad Shah himself, according to Shireen Mahdavi.⁵⁷ On the Other hand, Eleanor G. Sims, Carmen Pérez González and Reza Sheikh agree on the first commission of Jules Richard was to photograph the crown prince of time, Naser al-Din Shah, in December 15, 1844.⁵⁸ Mahdavi's claim can either be a false assumption or the photograph could not be survived because there

54. To exemplify, Mohammad Reza Tahmasbpour and Layla Diba consider the entrance year of photography as 1842.

55. Zoka, *Tarikh-e 'Akkasi va 'Akkasan-e Pishgam dar Iran*, 3–5.

56. González, *Local Portraiture: Through the Lens of the 19th-Century Iranian Photographers*, 27.

57. Shireen Mahdavi, "Risar Khan," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, last updated: September 24, 2010, [http: //www.iranicaonline.org/articles/rishar-khan](http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/rishar-khan).

58. Eleanor G. Sims, Boris I. Marshak, and Ernst J. Grube, *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and Its Sources* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 285, quoted in, Carmen Pérez González and Reza Sheikh, "From the Inner Sanctum: Men Who Were Trusted by the Kings," in *The Eye of the Shah: Qajar Court Photography and the Persian Past*, ed. Jennifer Y. Chi (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015), 134.

is no such a photograph of Mohammad Shah in archives or in use of historical studies. During my visits to Golestan Palace in Tehran (Summer 2017), I have been informed by the department of the pictorial archive that the first person to be captured photograph was, indeed, Naser al-Din Shah when he was the crown prince. This young prince would become the Shah of Iran on 5 September 1848 and would rule the country until his death, 1 May 1896. He would be also announced as father of Iranian photography in historiography who ruled for almost half a century. His reign is called as “Naseri Period”⁵⁹ in Persian historiography. I, too, will be using the same term for the reign of Naser al-Din Shah (r.1848-1896) in my study.

Even in today’s Iran, Naser al-Din Shah, as a popularized Qajar shah, is perceived as the father of Iranian photography due to his personal interest in photography, his support its development, and his vast usages from photographs. Naser al-Din Shah still preserves his reputation among the society; the popular publications about him on magazines and circulation of his pop art posters makes him a well-known face. Furthermore, Naser al-Din’s character as a Shah has become an element of pop culture now in Iran. In academic literature, he, as an amateur photographer, is known for having enthusiasm for taking photographs, modeling for photographs and supporting the market to be developed in Iran. As Mahdokht Abol-Fathi claims “Naseri Period should be recalled as the *golden age* of history of photography of Iran.”⁶⁰

Popular image of his reign is equalized with enjoyment and pleasure - his attitude to women and his several wives, his tendencies towards art and photography, as well as his long-term concessions given to foreigners. However, he was not in full control of a balanced country. He had many difficulties and political distress while trying to embrace the changing dynamics of 19th-century. Such dynamics did not only cover global socioeconomic changes but also included a transmission in societal structure.

59. See the respective books, Abol-Fathi, *Tarikh-e Mostanad-e 'Akkasi Dore-ye Naseri*; Zahra Alizadeh Birjandi, *Hokoumat-e Naseri va Ghofteman-haye No* [Naseri Government and New Dialogs] (Tehran: Nashr-e Hirmand, 2012), for the use of the term.

60. Abol-Fathi, *Tarikh-e Mostanad-e 'Akkasi Dore-ye Naseri*, 30.

Same dynamics would also affect the use of the photography both by the state and by the society. To exemplify, the documentary photographs taken by the order of Naser alDin Shah, from the well known ancient civilizations of Iran's archaeological monuments, belonging to the Achaemenid and the Sassanians, which were set in Persepolis, Pasargadae and Bishapur, introduced the ancient history of Iran and culture to the West.⁶¹ Overall, beside their picturesque aspects such as landscape views and historic monuments, these photographs were the modern way of representing Iran that were managed to demonstrate the sophistication of ancient Iranian civilizations during the rise of nationalism in the Middle East. That is to say, to empower the royal Qajar family both inside and outside of the country, the Qajar court purposed interrelating/ connecting itself with the ancient powerful Iranian empires. In this respect, these documentary photographs were used to represent the Qajars as the owner of a vast and powerful history.

In this section of study, it is important to provide the reader with a historical background to the Naseri period. This is also necessary to better contextualize the photography which also played an important role. Because the diversified usages of photography during the 19th century Iran, also appertains to the political and social domains of the era. The same century was embracing social, political and economic tensions while experiencing a modern progress both by the state and by the societal strata. When the photographic camera entered in Qajar Iran, it found use in an environment that was open to modernity but also had tendency to preserve the tradition. This duality would also affect the use of the photography, thus preventing it from being examined without knowing the Iranian 19th century conjuncture.

61. Chi, *The Eye of the Shah: Qajar Court Photography and the Persian Past*, 129.

2.3 Iran in the Naseri Period (1848-1896)

By the mid 19th century, Iran was confronting economic difficulties, weakened central power, non-regularized bureaucracy, irregular army and its ad hoc basis, poverty, and famine. At the same time, there were new classes gaining power in criticizing and protesting this stable but pessimistic situation. These were merchants, modern educated intelligentsia - who were called in Persian, respectively, Bazari and Monavvar ol-Fekran⁶² -, the Babis, and some of the clergy. Naser al-Din Shah, on the other side, as the ruler of the country was both the subject and object of the both domestic and international changing parameters of the 19th-century which were departed from the traditional nature of monarchical apparatus. The process of protecting his sovereignty showed itself up as simultaneous continuation of the tradition and adaptation of modernity. This dilemmatic situation confers Shah's enthusiasm of ruling like a traditional absolutist Shah free of any modern legal regulations inasmuch as establishing the modern institutions to empower the country, so to speak, to empower his throne. However, the established modern institutions enhanced mentioned strata's understanding of superiority of having modern progress. Thus, accordingly, the so-called modern achievements made the society, in which some groups had already interrelated with the west, more familiar with the modernity and its social character. In other words, a conflictual use of modernity occurred because of the disagreement of the Shah and society on the expectations from the "modern". To prepare the ground for Chapter Four, I will now focus on the conflict in expectations from the modernity.

In a dialectical manner, while the reign of Naser al-Din Shah continued with the surviving traditions, it was at the same time in the midst of the modern era. The traditional monarchic structure was maintaining its last stages of life, at the same time, modernity was initiated. As a result, during the Naseri Period, Iran would embrace

62. In modern Persian language, intelligentsia are called as Roshan-Fekran. During the 19th century, however, they called themselves as Monavvar ol-Fekran which is derived from the combination with the Arabic word of Monavvar. For further information watch Homa Katouzian's video record: Sahhosseini, "Mashrute: Engelab-i ke baraye Ganoon bood - Homa Katouzian," YouTube, accessed October 27, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_R7nbG1C9fg&t=2759s.

neither a total tradition nor a complete modernity and/or modern material basis. This hesitation in achieving modernization reflected its character in the usage of photographs of that period as well. The photographs of women of Harem taken by the Naser al-Din Shah himself, for instance, were each a combination of traditional and modern. They were carrying the traditional character because of the observance of hierarchy among status of women within the composition and limitation in the audience of the pictures.

2.3.1 State and Politics

As mentioned above, Iran was experiencing difficulties in its economy, bureaucracy, military and central monarchic power, and was in trouble with famines and poverty. The social movements and upheavals of the Naseri period were embedded in such an atmosphere.

The failure of Qajar monarchy in protecting its subjects and territory as much as the intervention of Russia and England in politics of Qajars had become clear much before. Especially with the treaties of Gulistan (1813) and Turkmenchay (1828), in which Qajars gradually ceded northern lands titled Transcaucasia to Russia, Russia's sovereignty/political power in Iran had increased, and henceforth the influence of Britain over Iran flared up in fear of Russia. In other words, Britain's competition with Russia manifested itself in Iran in such a way that the southern parts of Iran and Afghanistan wished by Britain to remain as buffer against Russia's potential move towards India. The military siege of Herat in the reign of Naser al-Din Shah, for instance, occurred in 1856 by the Qajar army, which break diplomatic relations with Britain. According to Abbas Amanat, Britain's goal was to establish "a united Afghanistan."⁶³ Therefore the reaction of Britain was surrounding of Bushire in

63. Abbas Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe: Nasir Al-Din Shah Qajar and the Iranian Monarchy, 1831-1896* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 226.

1857.⁶⁴ At the end, in the same year *the treaty of Paris* signed between the two states and Herat remained independent.

A number of modern breakthroughs were signed by Qajars in order to strengthen Iran's political posture as a sovereign state against these two rival Great Powers. Most of these developments had the core motivation of defending Iran both politically and militarily. For instance, most of the European industrial techniques and technologies, such as lithography equipments, were imported to empower the centrality of the state since 1817. According to Maria F. Bonetti and Alberto Prandi,

These objectives of modernisation went hand in hand with the need to make the army more efficient, and a strategy that was destined to train the officers of the modern Iranian army was shaped on the centrality of the military institution.⁶⁵

By the reign of Naser al-Din Shah, there were changes in monarchical apparatus of Qajar dynasty. The armed forces were weak, thus fundamental motivation was military reforms to empower the army and its technologies. To do so, the *Dar ol-Funun* was founded in 1851 which was ‘‘An educational institution within the country dedicated to the rigorous training and instruction of Iranian youth in modern military, scientific, and bureaucratic disciplines would also prepare them for employment in the army and the government bureaucracy.’’⁶⁶ It was the pre-eminent instrument in adapting the modernity, however, it opened the way to drive a wedge between the state and society. Because

In an atmosphere of public discontent, social ferment, and repression, the political aspirations of its students and faculty finally overshadowed the Dar alFunun's military and academic objectives. As it turned out, instead

64. J. Calmard, ‘‘Anglo-Persian War (1856-57),’’ *Encyclopædia Iranica*, last updated: August 5, 2011, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/anglo-persian-war-1856-57>.

65. Bonetti and Prandi, ‘‘Italian Photographers in Iran 1848–64.’’

66. Maryam Ekhtiar, ‘‘Nasir al-Din Shah and the Dar al-Funun: The Evolution of an Institution,’’ *Iranian Studies* 34, nos. 1/4 (2001): 153.

of reinforcing centralized power and strengthening the army as a bulwark of the regime, by the end of its history the Dar al-Funun had produced the opposite effect. It had eroded centralized power, fueled opposition, and shaken the very foundations of the regime it was designed to bolster.⁶⁷

Thus the most well-known achievements of Naseri period instead of improving the central power and army forces as planned, it played an important role in achieving the constitution and parliament against the absolutist regime of the Shah.

Another remarkable achievement of the military installations was *Cossack Brigade* of the Qajar army which was organized in 1879 based on the Cossack units in the Russian army and by the help of Russians.⁶⁸ Previous than the Naser al-Din Shah's reign, with being influenced by the reforms of the Ottoman *Tanzimat* program, a new modern army was formed under the name *Nizam-i Jadid* (New Order)⁶⁹ and formation of police force occurred in 1879 too.⁷⁰ However, the Cossack Brigade was an equipped cavalry unit endured as the most effective and functional regiment of the Persian army until the 1920s, yet "Russian-officered"⁷¹ as David N. Yaghoubian cites. Its effects on antagonism between the Shah and society, and between Russia and Iran, and its role in both constitutional revolution of 1905-1911 and coup d'état of 1921 are main historical residues assumed by this cavalry unit.

67. Ibid., 163.

68. Muriel Atkin, "Cossack Brigade," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, last updated: October 31, 2011, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/cossack-brigade>.

69. Kamran Matin, "The Enlightenment and Historical Difference: The Case of Iran's Constitutional Revolution," in *Iran's Constitutional Revolution of 1906: Narratives of the Enlightenment*, ed. Ali M. Ansari (London: Gingko Library, 2016), 93–94.

70. Mohammad-Reza Djalili and Thierry Kellner, *İranın son İki Yüzyıllık Tarihi* [The Last Two Hundred Years of The History of Iran], trans. Reşat Uzmen (İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2011), 27–28.

71. David N. Yaghoubian, *Ethnicity, Identity, and the Development of Nationalism in Iran* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2014), 53.

2.3.2 Economy and Finance

Economically, the Naseri period experienced troubles in general and even occasionally faced empty treasury. The early reforms of Naser al-Din Shah in cutting the state-pensions of courtiers, elites and clergy was devoid of success.⁷² On the other side, “the Gold coins disappeared from circulation at an alarming rate due to the working of Gresham’s Law.” One of the modern innovation of the epoch belongs to the early 1860s and was the “first centrally orchestrated effort to introduce mechanized minting in Iran.” However, according to Rudi Matthee, the mismanagement in organizing the mechanized minting made coins “valued differently according to their provenance in the country” and an “inflationary pressure manifested itself in a sharp drop in the convertibility of the copper coinage.” As the result, the “silver in Iran tended be to undervalued vis-a-vis the world market.” All of these were main reasons of a severe economic problems such as

The disappearance of silver in 1857 prompted the state to reduce the weight of the silver kran, Iran’s most current coin, to 1/24 mithqal or 4.78125 grams. In the same year an attempt was made to reform the copper currency by standardizing it. Yet, as the old copper coinage was not redeemed, this measure only increased the reigning confusion. The situation was exacerbated when in the early 1860s the country was hit by a severe famine, which, among other things, caused food riots in Tehran.⁷³

Embedded in such a situation, establishment of the national banks and regulating the minting appeared as the urgent necessities. However, Qajar state did not have the enough sources for accomplishing these needs solely by itself. The aforementioned war of Herat remarked occasion to break the diplomatic relationship of Britain and Iran, thus Naser al-Din Shah begun to built diplomatic ties with France and the reformation of minting was ratified with Frenchmen. The first modern bank in Persian territory, however, inaugurated in 1888 by the Britain. This Bank titled as *New*

72. Matin, “The Enlightenment and Historical Difference: The Case of Iran’s Constitutional Revolution,” 93–94.

73. Rudi Matthee, “Changing the Mintmaster: The Introduction of Mechanized Minting in Qajar Iran,” *Itinerario: European Journal of Overseas History* 19, no. 3 (1995): 112.

Oriental Bank and had other branches in populous cities in addition to the capital. In 1890, the bank changed its name, still British originated, as *The Imperial Bank of Persia (Bank-e Shahanshahi-ye Iran)*.⁷⁴ This new bank had the performances of “the issuance of bank notes, control of the money supply, and other standard functions of a central bank” thus the financial market and trade of Iran begun to be effected by and valued in according to the bank, which influenced the relationship of the state and native economic organizations as well.⁷⁵ Because it was not only a financial organization but was also “a semi-political institution. Its shareholders’ meetings were often a podium for declaring British foreign economic policy in Persia, and for interfering with internal Persian politics.”⁷⁶ Russia, on the other hand, also gained a concession in 1890 for foundation of *the Discount and Loan Bank (Bank-e Esteqrazi-ye Rus)*⁷⁷ which in 1921 the Soviet government transferred the bank to Iran. This bank also operated with semi-political character because “the Russian commercial attaché at times acted as the formal manager of the bank. In practice it operated as a branch of the Russian State Bank.”⁷⁸

Trade as one of the major economic and political activity of Qajar Iran was transforming as well. In 1869, a novelty among trade routes changed the Iranian merchants’ trading habits. With the construction of the *Suez Canal*, the doors opened towards the Indian Sea that according to Touraj Atabaki it caused *Trabzon-Tabriz trade route*, one of the important trade routes, to lose importance.⁷⁹ However, Charles Issawi

74. P. Basseer, P. Clawson, and W. Floor, “Banking in Iran,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, last updated: December 15, 1988, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/banking-in-iran>.

75. Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe: Nasir Al-Din Shah Qajar and the Iranian Monarchy, 1831-1896*, 421.

76. Basseer, Clawson, and Floor, “Banking in Iran.”

77. Elena Andreeva, “Russo-Iranian Relations up to the Bolshevik Revolution,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, last updated: January 6, 2014, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/russia-i-relations>.

78. Basseer, Clawson, and Floor, “Banking in Iran.”

79. Touraj Atabaki, *Devlet ve Maduniyet - Türkiye ve İran’da Modernleşme, Toplum ve Devlet* [The State and The Subaltern - Modernization, Society and the State in Turkey and Iran], trans. Serhan Afacan (İstanbul: Bilgi University Yayınları, 2010), 45.

mentions that the Trabzon-Tabriz trade route did not lost its importance.⁸⁰ Issawi declares that

until the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 it was over 10,000 miles away from Western Europe and 1,500-2,000 miles from the main centres of Russian economic activity; and in the era of sea trade, Iran, unlike its Middle Eastern neighbours, lay off the world's great commercial routes.⁸¹

Thus, not only the Suez Canal did not harmed the Trabzon-Tabriz trade route and furthermore, this innovation in sea trade accelerated Iranian society's relationship with the West.

What native merchants and traders faced was a developed and expansionist western capital while Iran was based still on an agrarian economy. "Persia was, moreover, a virgin market for the factory-produced goods of European powers enjoying the fruits of their Industrial and Scientific Revolution."⁸² So Iran became the supplier of raw material in exchange for manufactured products. However, the foreign trade of Iran was growing, such as Iran observed double increment of its foreign trade between 1800 and 1860 and four-times increment between 1860 and 1913.⁸³ But this growth was like a two sided coin. "Until about 1860, Iran's exports and imports seem to have about balanced. After that, imports were considerably higher than exports - often twice as high."⁸⁴ In the same study of Issawi, he defends that foreign merchants had more advantage than Iranian merchants because of the capitulations and commercial treaties. For instance, Iranian had to pay more taxes than foreigners.

80. Charles Issawi, *An Economic History of the Middle East and North Africa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 52.

81. Charles Issawi, "European Economic Penetration: 1872-1921," in *The Cambridge History of Iran, Volume 7: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, ed. G. R. G. Hambly Peter Avery and C. P. Melville (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 590.

82. Donna Stein, "Early photography in Iran," *History of Photography* 7, no. 4 (1983): 257, doi:10.1080/03087298.1983.10442024.

83. Djalili and Kellner, *İranın son İki Yüzyıllık Tarihi* [The Last Two Hundred Years of The History of Iran], 26-27.

84. Charles Issawi, "Iranian Trade, 1800-1914," *Iranian Studies* 16, nos. 3/4 (1983): 231, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4310417>.

A despatch from the British consul in Tabriz shows that whereas a European merchant paid 5 percent on his imports a Persian paid 7 1/2 on textiles and 14 on sugar and, in addition, was subject to rahdarlik or road tax every time his goods passed through an Iranian town.⁸⁵

This was an inequality according to Council of Merchants as they asked from government to abolish this road taxes.⁸⁶

The question of how the changing dynamics of the 19th century affected merchants, both inside and outside of Iran, is another topic. But what I can argue here is that, this group became both influential and was affected from both the political and the economic situation.

For instance, granting of the economic concessions to foreigners, especially to the Britain and Russia, during the reign of Naser al-Din Shah are inevitable signifiers of the antagonism between the Shah and society and are indicators of the conjecture of the era. These concessions “had a disastrous impact on the bazaar, which was already in a dire situation unable to compete with the cheaper Western manufactured goods.”⁸⁷ Not only the concessions to foreigners by the state, but expansionist policies of the western powers, especially the British and Russian trade, took Iranian merchants under their influence as well. Mangol Bayat maintains that, the reason why the merchants of second half of 19th-century moved to the political nationalist position against the state was, despite the existence of mercantilist foreign trade in Iran, there was unequal conditions between foreign and local merchants. This inequality, made Iranian merchants less competitive within the new socioeconomic conjecture. During the last quarter of the century, Bayat declares, the rise of a new mercantile bourgeoisie was because of the European economic penetration of the country. By the support of Naser al-Din Shah, they established a Council of Merchants in Tehran in 1884 which

85. Ibid., 237.

86. Mangol Bayat, *Iran's First Revolution: Shi'ism and the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1909* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 47.

87. Matin, “The Enlightenment and Historical Difference: The Case of Iran's Constitutional Revolution,” 94.

also achieved its local councils in each major city of Iran respectively. The local commercial community of Iran was periodically voting for the representatives of each councils, and representatives were responsible for putting common regulations to follow by all of the community. These councils were openly criticizing officials and provincial governors for the decline of economy and for the plundering of nation's wealth and exposing the society to compelling demands. In exchange of these Qajar officials, they declared the need of knowledgeable experts. These councils' character and their way of dealing with country's economic policies was different then the merchants of the first half of the century. Bayat claims that the council viewed itself as a board of trustees, self-appointed to oversee national economic development on the one hand and to defend national interests against foreign encroachment on the other.⁸⁸

During the reign of Naser al-Din Shah, the financial affairs had commenced going worse than before for the Iranian merchants. Even previously "It was during Muhammad Shah's rule that Iranian merchants would begin petitioning against foreign competition undercutting traditional Iranian manufacturers."⁸⁹ As the result, merchants started to organize and unite in modern ways for a national political economy when approaching the end of the 19th century.⁹⁰ They had attempts of this kind of modernized initiative during the first half the 19th century as well. But during the second half, the merchants had progress in achieving these councils. Charles Issawi argues one of the replies of merchants of mid-19th century to the pessimistic economic and political situation as "merchants of Tabriz attempted to fight back by forming a combination in 1844, and those of Kashan took a similar step in 1845, but both failed." Although they had failure in 1844 and 1845, a nationwide success in 1884 was achieved.

88. Bayat, *Iran's First Revolution: Shi'ism and the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1909*, 44-47.

89. Nikkie Keddie, *Modern Iran Roots and Results of Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 44, quoted in, Patrick Clawson and Michael Rubin, *Eternal Iran: Continuity and Chaos* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 35.

90. For instance, the relationship between community and representatives of them within a council is itself modern. The voting system among the participants was a modern development within a modern institution like Councils.

Councils established in 1884 were successful achievements from merchants' point of view because these councils made reacting as a social strata possible in a legal way. What would happen in Tobacco movement of 1891-1892, for example, was again another combination: the closing of Bazaar and refusing to do a sale. Even today, one of the main reactions of merchants against the state is, still, the closing of Bazaars which hits the economy of the country. I will analyze the Tobacco movement while studying the society and social upheavals of the period.

The emergence of a sense of nationalism among merchants was not only because of professional anxiety. "The merchants and commercial representatives or agents who traveled or resided abroad, especially in Russia and Western Europe, constituted the largest single group of travellers of the period."⁹¹ So the first thing that comes to mind is the possibility that these merchants could also been influenced not only by the modern industry but also by the modern ideologies of Europe as well. Ashghar Mahdavi reveals that "these businessmen, very well-informed about what was happening abroad, were often attracted to reformist ideas, and felt the necessity of making changes in the economic and institutional structure of Iran."⁹² What we know from the literature is that merchants also had close ties with intellectuals and even clergy. They were participants in social upheavals and riots, and they were also the supporters of some private reformist newspapers published abroad, such as the *Akhter*. All in all, merchants begun to experience political nationalist position against the court which harmed the power of Naser al-Din Shah.

91. Asghar Mahdavi, "The Significance of Private Archives for the Study of the Economic and Social History of Iran in the Late Qajar Period," *Iranian Studies* 16, nos. 3-4 (1983): 250, doi:10.1080/00210868308701616.

92. Ibid.

2.3.3 Society and Social Upheavals

Uzi Rabi and Nugzar Ter-Oganov call the Qajar army during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as irregular and identify with “the army’s organization was informal rather than institutionalized, in line with a Weberian state model, and a great deal of emphasis was placed on personal ties between the shah and the tribal leaders.”⁹³ Ali Gheissari cites this as “Tribalism”⁹⁴ in Qajars that was one of the foremost parameters in impoverishment of the state in Naseri period. Some of these tribes were nomadic and the ad hoc forces of them in boundaries of ephemeral tradition and epoch caused troubles for Naser al-Din Shah because they were local powers encouraged by yet strengthening the decentralization of Qajar patronage. While describing the 19th century Iran, Nikkie Keddie mentions how these tribes were semi-autonomous and politically effective, and that these groups had almost internal autonomy to prevent central governments’ influence.⁹⁵ Richard Tapper’s study holds a generous portion of the studies related with the nomadic tribes. For instance, while Tapper studies Shahseven tribe, he contextualizes their disruption of royal orders and laws. He draws attention on how they firstly separated from their winter settlements after Qajars ceded Transcaucasia to Russia. Yet management of borderline had significance for both the Tsar and Shah, Shahseven tribes could not legally pass the new established borders to reach their winter settlements. Thus the separation from the traditional settlement turned out into problematic reactions and results that ensued both by the state and tribe. Accordingly, the Shahsevens became famous for their murders and robberies around the region by 1880s.⁹⁶

93. Uzi Rabi and Nugzar Ter-Oganov, “The Military of Qajar Iran: The Features of an Irregular Army from the Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century,” *Iranian Studies* 45, no. 3 (2012): 334, doi:10.1080/00210862.2011.637776.

94. Ali Gheissari, “Iran’s Dialectic of the Enlightenment: Constitutional Experience, Transregional Connections, and Conflicting Narratives of Modernity,” in *Iran’s Constitutional Revolution of 1906: Narratives of the Enlightenment*, ed. Ali M. Ansari (London: Gingko Library, 2016), 36.

95. Nikkie Keddie, “Iran Under the Later Qajars, 1848-1922: The Qajar Political System,” in *The Cambridge History of Iran, Volume 7: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, ed. G. R. G. Hambly Peter Avery and C. P. Melville (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 174.

96. Richard Tapper, *İranın Sınır Boylarında Göçebeler: Şahsevenlerin Toplumsal ve Politik Tarihi* [Frontier Nomads of Iran], trans. F. Dilek Özdemir (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2004), 310–355.

These semi-autonomous tribes were one of the effective parameters of Iranian society during 19th century that became subjects of many photographs as well. Their importance lies not only in their political autonomy but also in their participation in social upheavals and even in Constitutional Revolution. Based on their influence, most of the foreign, indigenous and official photographers subjected them in their photographs. The tribes' influence caused an ambition for visualizing them, and this had reached such a scale that lots of photographs framing the tribes in their natural habitat survived to the present. Some of these photographs are the ones taken in the studios from models wearing tribal cloths as if they were real members of tribes. Naser al-Din Shah himself wanted to have the visual images of them and tribes were one of the Shah's concerns to be photographed. These photographs serves as the visual reports and documentary photographs of the period that either they were taken by the order of the Shah or were presented as gifts to win the Shah's appreciation. Tribes, on the other hand, seems confident while posing to the photographs. However, this was not the case for posing to official photographers. Especially during the times of the confrontation with state, tribes were reluctant against posing to photographs. For instance, an another tribe named Turkomans held hostage the official photographer, Francis Carlhian, for fourteen months who were sent by the Shah on the mission of photographing Turkomans.⁹⁷ Mohammad Reza Tahmasbpour claims that the arrested photographer was Frenchman Henri de Coulibeouf de Blocqueville who was sent to Merv to photograph the Turkamen in 1860.⁹⁸ Whether both of the photographers arrested in different points of time or there is a confusion in the cited names, Jacob Eduard Polak describes this event in his diary in 1865, that it is translated by the author below:

In the winter of 1860 The Iranian forces occupied the city without any resistance and made it a stronghold. But, as usual, the state did not strengthen the army. It was not too late that the Turkmen managed to stop

97. Bonetti and Prandi, "Italian Photographers in Iran 1848–64," 25.

98. Mohammad Reza Tahmasbpour, "Photography in Iran: A Chronology," trans. Reza Sheikh, *History of Photography* 37, no. 1 (2013): 8, doi:10.1080/03087298.2012.725208.

the occupation by cutting off supplies of food. The city inevitably surrendered and all soldiers were sold as slaves. Among the soldiers there was a photographer who were sent by the state on the mission of taking a memorial to the victory of the army by a photograph. Instead of taking a picture, he was forced to work for months as a laborer and bondman until state was able to release him by paying a large sum to the tribe.⁹⁹

Most probably, the photographer in question that Polak mentions is either Francis Carlhian or Henri Coulibeouf de Blocqueville. In Chapter Four, I will exemplify photographs taken from the tribes, but for now I will continue to historical background of the era.

Loss of Transcaucasia was not only pressured the Shaseven tribes to disrupt state order but also caused other problems as well. The Naseri period witnessed grain shortages that resulted in a nationwide famines. Three of them occurred in 1859-1860, 1871-1872 and 1895-1899. According to Touraj Atabaki, the main reason of shortages was the loss of the main grain stock centre of Iran, Transcaucasia, to Russia and this loss was the main reason of facing famine more often than in previous centuries.¹⁰⁰ For twenty years, between 1870-1890, hoard of grain by local administrators in Tabriz, Isfahan and Horasan¹⁰¹ demonstrates that these famines caused an angry gulf between the state representatives and society. Gavin R. G. Hambly gives the estimated population of cities of Iran, by considering three British officials of 19th century visiting the country. First one, John Macdonald Kinneir, estimated the population from 1800 until 1810 and sometimes 1812. The second is K. E. Abbott, observed the country during the period 1847 and 1866. The third who was also “secretary of the British legation in Tehran”,¹⁰² is R. F. Thomson, produced some data for the year

99. Jacob Eduard Polak, *Safarname-ye Polak: Iran va Iranian* [The Travelogue of Polak: Iran and Iranians], trans. Keykavous Jahandari (Tehran: Kharazmi, 1990), 291.

100. Atabaki, *Devlet ve Maduniyet - Türkiye ve İran'da Modernleşme, Toplum ve Devlet*, 45.

101. Ibid., 46.

102. Issawi, “Iranian Trade, 1800-1914,” 230.

1868.¹⁰³ Hambly prepares a comparative list of the estimations of these visitors.¹⁰⁴

Although this comparison is helpful to observe the fluctuations of the population, I will mostly consider R. F. Thomson's estimations because they demonstrate the population of the cities depending on two years before the famine's start date. The population of the Tabriz, Isfahan and Khorasan in particular experienced grain insufficiency for 20 years. According to Thomson, the population of the city of Tabriz was 110.000, while those of Isfahan and Mashhad were, respectively, 60.000 and 70.000 in 1868. These are high numbers compared to other cities' of Iran.

Accordingly, the situation increased social pressure, however, the letters of complaints written by society's different strata remained unanswered by the state. These famines hit the country, mostly the middle and lower classes that the reaction of them was in the form of riots and migrations.¹⁰⁵

The concessions ratified between the state and foreigners have vital significance in describing the Naseri period. Two of which are agitation of the Reuter concession in 1872-73 and Tobacco revolt of 1891-1892 which accumulated the anger of society towards the absolutist Shah. If we consider these two chronologically and in relation with the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1911 together, there is a correlation between the degree of the reluctance of society to obey the ruler and the measurement of the achievements in decreasing the absolutist ruler's power. In 1872, the concession of Reuter granted to a British businessman for the rights to "farm the customs; set up a state bank; build railroads, telegraph lines, and factories; and exploit virtually all the mineral wealth of Iran."¹⁰⁶ One year after the ratification of the concession,

103. Gavin R. G. Hambly, "The Traditional Iranian City in the Qajar Period," in *The Cambridge History of Iran, Volume 7: From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, ed. G. R. G. Hambly Peter Avery and C. P. Melville (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 547.

104. Ibid., 548.

105. Atabaki, *Devlet ve Maduniyet - Türkiye ve İran'da Modernleşme, Toplum ve Devlet*, 46.

106. Mansoor Moaddell, "Shi'i Political Discourse and Class Mobilization in the Tobacco Movement of 1890-92," in *A Century of Revolution Social Movements in Iran*, ed. John Foran (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 8.

In 1873 a palace revolt staged by the conservative Qajar nobility and its bureaucratic and clerical allies in conjunction with the harem accelerated the repeal of the Reuter Concession and forced the shah, under pressure, to dismiss his reform-minded premier, Mirza Husayn Khan Mushir al-Dawla. Over the course of the following years, however, the shah gradually regained lost ground, dismantling the conservative alliance and reinstating Mushir al-Dawla at the ministerial level, though he never again served as prime minister.¹⁰⁷

After the cancellation of the Reuter agreement, another revolt occurred in Iran, in which clergy played an important role. This riot carries a critical value as it has been the hallmark of the 19th century. Occurred in 1891 and 1892,¹⁰⁸ and was marked as one of the most important events in Iranian political history.¹⁰⁹ It was during the reign of Naser al-Din Shah that clergy politicized in order to “defend the nation and Islam against the tyranny of the state and the encroachment of foreign powers.”¹¹⁰

According to Ahmad Seyf, “During the 1880s some attempts were made to revitalize silk production while more attention was being paid to rice and tobacco culture.”¹¹¹ From this study, where Seyf talks about decline of the value of exported goods during 19th century Iran, the failure in cultivation and exporting tobacco becomes clear. He continues by mentioning the failure on tobacco production revitalization in contrast with other goods such as rice. Ten years after revitalization attempts of tobacco cultivation, when Naser al-Din Shah returned from his travel to Europe, a concession was signed between Major G. F. Talbot and Shah. According to William Polk, “The Imperial Tobacco Corporation agreed to pay the government £15 million (which was approximately the equivalent of \$700 million in today’s money)”¹¹² where

107. Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe: Nasir Al-Din Shah Qajar and the Iranian Monarchy, 1831-1896*, 408.

108. Nikkie Keddie, *Religion and Rebellion in Iran: The Iranian Tobacco Protest of 1891-1892* (New York: Routledge, 2012), For a detailed review on this topic see.

109. Mansoor Moaddel, “The Shi’i Ulama and the State in Iran,” *Theory and Society* 15, no. 4 (1986): 527, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/657210>.

110. Bayat, *Iran’s First Revolution: Shi’ism and the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1909*, 6.

111. Ahmad Seyf, “Silk Production and Trade in Iran in the Nineteenth Century,” *Iranian Studies* 16, nos. 1/2 (1983): 66, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4310403>.

112. William R. Polk, *Understanding Iran: Everything You Need to Know, From Persia to the Islamic*

Abrahamian gives more detail: “For a personal gift of £25,000 to the Shah, an annual rent of £15,000 to the state, and 25 percent of the yearly profits to Iran, Talbot acquired a fifty-year monopoly over the production, distribution, and exportation of tobacco.¹¹³” So as an exchange, Iran gave the Tobacco monopoly to G. F. Talbot which “The concession was kept secret for a time but in late 1890 the Istanbul Persian newspaper *Akhtar* ran a series of articles severely criticizing it.”¹¹⁴ The Tobacco Revolt (1891-1892) occurred because of this concession.

Historians prefer to use different terms of protest, crisis or movement, *Nehzat-e Tanbaku* in Persian, in describing the movement. The influence of the clergy and merchants soon spread to a large mass and movement turned out as one of the massive and popular campaigns. By 1891, a famous fatwa given by Mirza Hasan Khan Shirazi, a Mujtahid (died January 1895), that was condemning the use of tobacco.¹¹⁵ From Tobacco movement, which according to Mansoor Moaddel was an anti-British movement,¹¹⁶ and according to Nikki Keddie was an anti-imperialist and anti-foreign movement,¹¹⁷ it is seen that the reaction of society was anger that by the given fatwa from clergy even turned to be a broader political uprising. By the end of 1892, some clergy propagated by distributing a pamphlet on the walls of public buildings to politicize the mass and to create political conscious about Tobacco revolt.¹¹⁸ At the end, movement resulted with the cancelation of concession by Naser al-Din Shah. This

Republic, From Cyrus to Khamenei (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 84.

113. Eryand Abrahamian, “The Causes of the Constitutional Revolution in Iran,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10, no. 3 (1979): 399, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/162146>.

114. Keddie, *Modern Iran Roots and Results of Revolution*, 61.

115. Noted in: Mahdavi, “The Significance of Private Archives for the Study of the Economic and Social History of Iran in the Late Qajar Period,” 274–275. The Note itself is: Mirza Hasan Khan Shirazi Mujtahid (died January 1895), known in particular for his famous fetva condemning the use of tobacco (1891).

116. Mansoor Moaddel, “Shi’i Political Discourse and Class Mobilization in the Tobacco Movement of 1890-1892,” in *A Century of Revolution: Social Movements in Iran: Social Movements, Protest, and Contention*, ed. John Foran (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 4.

117. Nikkie Keddie, “Iranian Revolutions in Comparative Perspective,” *American Historical Review* 88, no. 3 (1983): 584, doi:10.2307/1864588.

118. Mohammad Ebn Ali Nazem-ol Eslam Kermani, *Tarikh-e Bidari-ye Iranian* [The History of the Awakening of the Iranians], ed. Ali Akbar Sa’idi Sirjani, vol. 1 (Tehran: Bonyad va Farhang-e Iran Publisher, 1979), 46–51.

cancellation not only made Iran to take its first foreign debt, £500,000, from Imperial Bank of Persia,¹¹⁹ but was also an important sign of the diminishing the credibility of Naser al-Din Shah by a large mass.

Participation of different classes of clergy, merchants and intelligentsia and alliance among them in the same uprising is in question of historians. Nikkie Keddie titles this collaboration of different classes as the *religious-radical alliance*.¹²⁰ Janet Afary, on the other hand, construes the main motivation of the alliance of different classes as the expressed dissatisfaction with the Shah and his administration.¹²¹ Overall, the Tobacco movement has led to social changes and has been able to protect its influence in the following years. As Ali Farazmand claims “These mass political movements were only the beginning of the national Constitutional Revolution in 1906 led by a wide range of secular and religious leaders from left to nationalist right.”¹²² Uprising of society combined with the leadership of clergy resulted in a resistance to the monarchy, which the importance of clergy’s resistance will be discussed in Chapter Four.

While the clergy gained political power, the Shia Islam’s religious unity was threatened too. Another conflictual societal issue which also contributed to the diminishing power of the Qajar dynasty was Babi rebellions. The Babi movement “..indirectly threatened the stability of the Qajar monarchy of Iran, which held power as the Shadow of God on earth and depended upon the quiescent Shiite clergy for legitimacy.”¹²³ This movement was categorized as a messianic movement by MacEoin,¹²⁴ which emerged in 1840s as a religio-political movement in rivalry to

119. Keddie, *Modern Iran Roots and Results of Revolution*, 62.

120. Ibid.

121. Janet Afary, “Social Democracy and the Iranian Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11,” in *A Century of Revolution: Social Movements in Iran: Social Movements, Protest, and Contention*, ed. John Foran (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 23–24.

122. Ali Farazmand, “Administrative Reform in Modern Iran: An Historical Analysis,” *International Journal of Public Administration* 22, no. 6 (1999): 924, doi:10.1080/01900699908525410.

123. William McCants, “Babiyya,” in *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, ed. Richard C. Martin (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004).

124. D. M. MacEoin, “Babism,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, last updated: August 19, 2011, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/babism>.

Twelver Shi'ism doctrine of Islam.¹²⁵ The movement did not only threaten the stability of the state but also threatened the religious authority of the Shiite clergy as well. Two critical plots of the 19th century were attempted by the movement. First one was an attempt to assassinate Naser al-Din Shah in 1852. Following this event, a massive press campaign against the Babi movement was launched by the state. The second attack of 1896, however, ended with the death of Naser al-Din Shah during his inspection to Holy shrine of *Shah Abdol-Azim* located in Rey. Additionally, the one sect of the movement named Bahaism expanded to other countries rather than Iran, such as Iraq, Turkey, Ottoman Syria, Egypt, Sudan, the Caucasus, Turkish Central Asia, India, and Burma during 1860s until 1892.¹²⁶

2.3.4 Intelligentsia

It was the 19th-century that Iranian intelligentsia, who Hamid Dabashi describes as the “first-generation inorganic intellectuals” due to their lack of active participation and

iranicaonline.org/articles/babism-index.

125. The Babi movement or Babism, emerged with the leadership of Sayyed □Alī-Moḥammad Shirazi (1819-1850) in 1844. The movement appreciates Shirazi as the Bab. He claimed himself, as the twelfth Imam (Mahdi), who was in occultation that would rule the Muslim societies according to the Twelver Shi'ism by his return. Until the return of Mahdi, however, the religious authority, according to the Shi'a doctrine, was clergy. Thus, the claim of Bab as being the Mahdi, was, actually, threatening the religious authority of the Shiite clergy. This claim makes the Babism a religio-political movement. Shiite clergy responded to the Bab with calling Shirazi and his followers as heretic and they blamed him for denying the Quran and Hadith and the belief. While Babism was weakening the clergy's authority, on the other side, it was diminishing the power of Qajar dynasty which was benefitting a traditional Islamic legitimacy and was ruling the country according to the Islamic laws of Sharia. During the press campaign of the state against the movement, the collaboration of high ranked clergy and the state is seen. Bab executed in 1850 and the movement divided into two segments in 1860s as Bahaism and Anzali Babism. While Bahaism followed a more a religious path of campaign, Anzali Babism pursued a more political path. During the Naseri Period, they established schools and secret societies, which enhanced their expansion. Today there are lots of Babi both in Iran and in Europe. Mangol Bayat asserts that some well known figures of clergy participating in the constitutional revolutions and even in parliament were secretly Babi, who in order not to be discriminated, changed their costume and acted as Shiite clergy. For further information see: Bayat, *Iran's First Revolution: Shi'ism and the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1909*; Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, “Islam in Iran vii. The Concept of Mahdi in Twelver Shi'ism,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, last updated: April 5, 2012, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/islam-in-iran-vii-the-concept-of-mahdi-in-twelver-shiism>; MacEoin, “Babism.”

126. J. Cole, “Bahaism i. The Faith,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, last updated: August 23, 2011, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bahaism-i>.

involvement in some important mass rebellions such as the Tobacco movement,¹²⁷ were affected from the social movements in France with the development of capitalism.¹²⁸ This generation of intellectuals were different from their predecessors. Not only the Europe, but also the Russia and the Ottoman Empire were two states inspiring Iranian intellectuals. So, especially after the Russian invasion of the Transcaucasus, Tbilisi and Baku were the favourite cities of the Iranian intellectuals, and many of them were in contact with the intellectuals of these cities. Istanbul of the Ottoman Empire which was experiencing a similar intellectual development, was also one of the favourite cities of Iranians. Remember that Nizam-i Jadid army of the Qajars were founded based on the Ottoman model. Thus not only the governmental apparatus but also the modern ideologies were interconnected. Therefore, not only the intellectuals, but the merchants, clergy and the immigrants, all in all societies of these countries, were interrelated, too. As this study is not directly related with the Iranian reformists, here I will present three examples without going in detail about their ideas. My aim, at this point, is to show their belief in the power of modern science and their significance in knowledge production processes. To do so, I pick up three well-known intellectuals: Mirza Malkom Khan (1833-1908), Mirza Fathali Akhundzadeh (1812-1878) and Agha Khan Kermani (1854-1896). It should be emphasized that these intellectuals were not totally sharing the same ideas, but each one carried out propagandistic studies on the acquisition of positive science, even though they had different starting points. For instance, Malkom Khan got European education in Paris while, Akhundzadeh had a religious educational background. There are some others like Dehkhoda, Talbof Tabrizi and others who also had important roles in the institutionalization of modern education and science in Iran. Shortly, these were the actors playing important role in the Iranian enlightenment so to speak. This tendency towards the acquisition of modern education and believe in the power of science

127. Hamid Dabashi, *Iran: Ketlenmiş Halk* [Iran, A People Interrupted], trans. Emine Ayhan (İstanbul: Metis Yayıncılık, 2008), 63. The lack of active participation of intelligentsia in upheavals is argued among the pages 1-10, same book.

128. Freund, *Fotoğraf ve Toplum*, 21.

opened the way to the wider distribution of knowledge. Thus interrelation of each provinces of Iran with each other and the communication of the Iranian society with other societies became visible. By the spread of the modern knowledge and science, Iranian cities became more informed about the western civilization, thus a sphere of comparing themselves with westerns societies constructed. The newspapers, translation of books and establishment of telegraph system were some examples which greatly contributed to such an atmosphere. This kind of development within the reign of Naser al-Din Shah accelerated the damage to the power of the Shah. Thus the role of the intelligentsia, with consideration of transferring ideologies and science, should not be underestimated. Although they were in practice inorganic intellectuals, “In both of these cases (the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-11) [...] it was the liberal intellectuals who led the way and the ulama who provided the mass support.”¹²⁹

To exemplify, although Mirza Malkom Khan¹³⁰ was educated in Paris under a strong influence of positivism, also had close relationships with some of the leading members of the Ottoman intelligentsia, so much so that there is debate in the literature that the testament or *Vasiyet-name* known as the work of Fuat Pasha (1814-1869), a reformist ottoman bureaucrat supporting Tanzimat, actually presented by Malkom Khan.¹³¹

Malkom Khan was one of the reformists believing in the power of modern sciences. As a concrete example, he was the first person to introduce electric telegraph to the Qajar palace. At a young age, Naser al-Din Shah was convinced by Malkom Khan in 1858 to establish an electric telegraph line.¹³² As an intellectual giving importance to western technologies and their adaptation by Iran, Malkom Khan actually opened the door for electronic communication of Iran.

129. Majid Tehranian, “Communication and Revolution in Iran: The Passing of a Paradigm,” *Iranian Studies* 13, nos. 1/4 (1980): 10, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4310334>.

130. More information on Malkom Khan can be found in Hamid Algar, *Mirza Malkum Khan: A Biographical Study in Iranian Modernism* (London: University of California Press, 1973).

131. Celal Metin, *Emperyalist Çağda Modernleşme* [Modernization in the Imperialist Age] (Ankara: Phoenix, 2011), 139–140.

132. Soli Shahvar, “Telegraph i. First Telegraph Lines in Persia,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, last updated: July 20, 2009, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/telegraph-i-first-telegraph-lines-in-persia>.

Another Iranian reformist, who was affected from materialism and secularism, was Mirza Fath-Ali Akhundzadeh. He is well known for his modern literary criticism and a modern nationalist. He believed that the purification of language would provide more convenient access to knowledge and he made efforts on this subject too.

Akhundzadeh, on the other hand, attended to *Cemiyet-i İlmiye* (Society of Sciences) located in Istanbul in 1868 to introduce his ideas about a similar language reform.¹³³

Like Malkom Khan and Agha Khan Kermani, Akhundzadeh was also a supporter of modern education. His aim of purification of language is nothing but a way to ease the spread of knowledge for the general public in Iran.

My last example is Agha Khan Kermani who also afforded in communicational enhancement as the editor of the periodical titled *Akhtar* (1876-1896), the first non-official and well-known press of the era published in Istanbul. *Akhtar* was ideologically opposed to the monarchy of Naser al-Din Shah since its inception. As noted earlier, this periodical played an important role in Tobacco movement by revealing the concession. Overall, from Kermani's writings in this magazine, the acceptance of the power of science by him is clearly reflected in his essays. *Akhtar*'s first column of front page starts with his essays that generally deals with national education and wealth and welfare. His death in 1896 was tragic. After the assassination of Naser al-Din Shah, he was arrested and executed on the grounds that he was a Babi and was suspected of being related to this assassination. He, as the editor of a western type magazine, was directly in the centre of the public distribution of information as a journalist.

Beside believing in the necessity of adaptation and benefiting from the products of western science, Iranian intelligentsia showed a great effort for social equality and rule of law as well. Although they had in times debates on theory, however, what they had in common was that they sought a way of competing with western civilization in

133. Metin, *Emperyalist Çağda Modernleşme*, 122.

economy, society and politics. Such a search inevitably involved certain notions/ideologies like rationalism, westernization, modernization, nationalism, parliamentarism and social citizenship rights.

Another critical indicator of the period are secret societies. These are assumed as political organizations which reached their highest size during the Naseri period and are believed in playing a significant role during the Constitutional Revolution of early 20th century. By 1900s, they prefer to call them as *Anjoman* that “translators of Russian works used the term *anjoman* for soviet to emphasize the similarities between the two organizations.”¹³⁴ Intelligentsia’s participation in these societies were in the forms of either founders or leading members. One of these societies was *Faramush-khane*, a ‘semiclandestine society’¹³⁵ which according to Hamid Algar should be assumed as an “pseudo-Masonic institution.” Malkom Khan made a pledge of Naser al-Din Shah to open the *Faramush-khane* after 1858 in which some Qajar princes too were members in addition to members from clergy, intelligentsia and merchants classes. However, by the order of Naser al-Din Shah the *Faramush-khane* was closed in 1861 and even “anyone who so much as uttered the word *faramus-kana* was threatened with condign punishment.”¹³⁶ Obviously, these societies had important effects in diminishing the Naser al-Din Shah’s power and stability as the ruler as well as enhancing the knowledge production practices of the period.

134. Fereydoun Adamiyat, *Fekr-e Demokrasi-ye Ejtema’i dar Nehzat-e Mashrutiyyat-e Iran* (Tehran: Nashr-e Ghoshtare, 1975), 36, quoted in, Mangol Bayat, H. Algar, and W. L. Hanaway, “Anjoman (Organization),” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, last updated: August 5, 2011, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/anjoman-gathering-association-society-general-designation-of-many-private-and-public-associations>.

135. Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe: Nasir Al-Din Shah Qajar and the Iranian Monarchy, 1831-1896*, 360.

136. Hamid Algar, “Freemasonry: ii. In the Qajar Period,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, last updated: January 31, 2012, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/freemasonry-ii-in-the-qajar-period>.

2.3.5 Other Aspects of Iranian Modernization

What is known from primary and secondary sources that the reign of Naser al-Din Shah attempted to adapt western technologies and established some modern institutions. The literature agrees on the Grand Vizier of Naser al-Din Shah between 1848 and 1851, Mirza Muhammad Taki Khan (1807-1851), also known as Amir Kabir, as being the first nationalist person to initiate and implement early attempts at modernization of the state during the reign of Naser al-Din Shah. These developments continued, albeit to some extent, after the death of Amir Kabir in 1851. He founded the first polytechnic college and newspaper, which both opened the way to a significant contribution to the western-style acquisition of information and the spread of modern knowledge. The first polytechnic college, as noted above, was *Dar ol-Funun* established in 1851 in Tehran and the first official newspaper introduced was *Vaghaye-ye Ettefaghiyeh* in the same year.

As for the other developments after the death of Amir Kabir, one may mention the entry of telegraph in 1858 - which was first presented to the Shah by Malkom Khan - establishment of an health council in 1868, establishment of the mail and telegraph ministry in 1877; having public services in Tehran like parquet roads, cleaning of streets and lighting, collection of garbage and arrangement of parks,¹³⁷ etc. These initiatives were pioneering developments and some of them failed as first experimentations. For example, according to Mirza Ali Khan Amin al-Dawlah (1844-1904)

the wrong engineering and calculations were made in the construction of parquet roads in Tehran. So much so that transitions could not be made on the roads. Therefore, the roads destroyed after construction and turned back to their original form. Thus this venture resulted with a high cost to Shah.¹³⁸

137. Djalili and Kellner, *İranın son İki Yüzyıllık Tarihi* [The Last Two Hundred Years of The History of Iran], 27-28.

138. Amin ol-Dowlah, *Khaterat-e Siyasi-ye Amin ol-Dowlah*, ed. Hafez Farman Farmayan (Tehran: Amir Kabir Press, 1970), 15.

Additionally, some of them had been an instrument in witnessing Europeans' business travels in the country. For instance, after the first established electronic telegraph line of Tehran-Karaj in 1859, Tehran-Tabriz line established in 1860¹³⁹ with “frequently interrupted service.”¹⁴⁰ However, this facility, unlike parquet roads, started to spread all over the country by taking help of Europeans. In 1863, a contract between England and Iran signed to establish a telegraph line from London to India,¹⁴¹ which resulted in expansion of telegraph by connecting Iran's provinces to each other and also it connected Iran with other foreign countries. This expansion enhanced communication in upheavals such as Tobacco movement and developed distribution of knowledge production practices of the era. The Persian Telegraph Department welcomed some Europeans to enhance and work there. One instance is Ernst Hoeltzer (1835-1911), an engineer who worked in the department until 1890.¹⁴²

* * *

The reason behind this examination is, as John Tagg also points to,

Items produced by a certain elaborate mode of production and distributed, circulated and consumed within a given set of social relations; pieces of papers that changed hands, found a use, a meaning and a value, in certain social rituals [...] images made meaningful and understood within the very relations of their production and sited within a wider ideological complex which must, in turned, be related to the practical and social problems which sustained and shaped it.¹⁴³

All of these contributed to the gradual diminishing of the power of Naser al-Din Shah. By focusing on some critical milestones, I tried to indicate that the gap between Qajar court and society was engulfed during the long reign of Naser al-Din Shah. Such developments also reveal how Qajar court begun to lose its stability and power.

139. Shahvar, “Telegraph i. First Telegraph Lines in Persia.”

140. Ibid.

141. Stein, “Early photography in Iran,” 257.

142. Ibid., 264–268.

143. Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*, 164.

Interventions of foreign powers, Britain and Russia, in economy and politics of Iran, was harming the reign of the Shah both in international and domestic affairs. Both merchants' increasing politicization and involvement in national politics by favoring the society against the state, and intelligentsia's efforts in acceleration in spread of modern knowledge in Iran, were actually contributed for diminishing of the power of the Shah and the development in the enlightenment of the society. All these parameters also point to the fact that the Shah was experiencing a crisis of legitimacy.



CHAPTER III

DEVELOPMENT OF PHOTOGRAPHY DURING THE NASERI PERIOD

3.1 Institutionalization of Photography

Since the entry of photographic apparatus to Iran, signs of progress in photography have perpetuated to evolve in the monopoly of the palace but then found the chance to be mainstream by the foundation of royal studios and the inclusion in the curriculum of Dar ol-Funun. Since the royal studios were the pioneer inaugurations, most of the studies are fixated on the consequentiality of them in the enhancement of photography in Iran. However, I am more cautious about the inclusion of photography in the curriculum of Dar ol-Funun since it is the first phase of the popularization and integration of photography with the public.

Albeit the inclusion of photography in the curriculum is not the first phase of institutionalization of photography, it is significant because it demonstrates when the professional education in modern means was commenced with the aim of raising native Iranian photographers to serve for the Shah. Additionally, the inclusion to curriculum became as the bulwark of distributing knowledge of photography and increased the familiarity of society with photography, because the inclusion goes parallel with the enhancements for hiring European photographers to the Dar ol-Funun as instructors and trainers. It would not be mistake, therefore, to claim that, the development of photography during the Naseri period succeeded in institutionalization by the inclusion of photography to the firstly established modern college's curriculum. However,

unfortunately, in the literature of the history of photography in Iran, such dates, generally, are not coherent with each other. Even worse, the literature does not address these issues with reference to each other or with reference to the existing evidence.

Tahmasbpour gives the date of the establishment of Dar ol-Funun as 1851 while Gholam Ali Sarmand mentions the date as 1852. The reason for this one-year difference can be due to the construction of the different parts of the complex in different years. “In July 1851 the eastern wing was ready to receive the first instructors and students, though the remainder of the initial complex was not completed until December 1852.”¹ Gholam Ali Sarmand expresses that “1852 is considered to be the beginning of the modern education of Iran, but in an interpretation, the year 1811 should be considered to be the point of activation of this movement,”² because in 1811, for the first time Iran sent students to Europe for educational purposes. Therein, on their return, different institutions in Iran utilized from this first group of students’ education. For instance, “in 1817 the first printings works were created and, just a few years later, the painter Allahverdi imported lithography equipment.”³ The year 1852, on the other side, was the year of institutionalization of modern education in Iran by establishment of a modern polytechnic college. Despite the fact that the Qajar state perpetuated to send Iranians abroad for education and inculcation, the Iranians who are raised indigenously by the establishment of the Dar ol-Funun commenced being formed. For instance, “Seven years after the establishment of the Dar ol-funun” says Garthwaite, still some successful students of the college “were sent to Europe to complete their training.”⁴

1. *Vagaye-ye Ettefagiye*, vol. 98 (5 Rabi’ ol-avval 1269/17 December 1852), , quoted in, John Gurney and Negin Nabavi, “Dar ol-Funun,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, last updated: November 14, 2011, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/dar-al-fonun-lit>.

2. Gholam Ali Sarmand, *Azam-e Mohassal be Kharej az Kashvar dar Dore-ye Qajariyye* [Sending Students Abroad During the Qajar Epoch] (Tehran: Nashr-e Bonyad, 1993), 77.

3. Bonetti and Prandi, “Italian Photographers in Iran 1848–64,” 15.

4. Gene R. Garthwaite, *Iran Tarihi* [History of Iran], trans. Fethi Aytuna (Ankara: İnkılâp Kitabevi, 2012), 183.

In his chronological study, Tahmasbpour proposes the establishment date of Dar ol-Funun and inclusion of photography to the curriculum as 1851.⁵ The labelling of the study, which is not prepared on the monthly basis, transmits the commence of courses in photography concurrent with the establishment of Dar ol-Funun. Thus, accordingly, courses in photography were planned as soon as a modern and western type of education commenced. However, Layla Diba maintains that the inclusion date of photography to the curriculum was the year 1862,⁶ by which the courses in photography appeared 11-years after the inauguration of the Dar ol-Funun. This dispute between Tahmasbpour and Diba, in fact, disrupts the integrity of the history of photography of Iran, because the courses in photography in Dar ol-Funun is consequential. It is consequential because the inclusion date of photography, actually, leads the history of photography of Iran to the fact of when the photography has become the mainstream and when the indigenous photographers have emerged.

The inclusion of photography followed by the foundation of an atelier within the college both for educational and printing motivations. Previously, there was the first established royal photographic atelier in Qajar Iran. However, by taking both the official characteristic of the first studio and the registering of the boys from the national bourgeoisie class to the college into account, the inclusion of photography in the curriculum and the subsequent opening of an educational atelier within the college, have in fact been one of the greatest factors in the popularization and integration of photography with society. Therefore, I will study both ateliers in the coming paragraphs of this chapter.

5. Tahmasbpour, "Photography in Iran: A Chronology," 7.

6. Layla S. Diba, "Qajar Photography and Its Relationship to Iranian Art: A Reassessment," *History of Photography* 37, no. 1 (2013): 91–92, doi:10.1080/03087298.2012.716227.

3.1.1 First Royal Studio: ‘Akkaskhane-ye Mobarak-e Humayuni (1862)

“Nasir al-Din Shah’s contribution to the development of photography culminated in his establishing a photographic institute, ‘Akkas-khanah-i Mubarak-i Humayuni, in one of the buildings of the Gulistan Palace.”⁷ The prominence of this atelier is to be the first of its kind in Iran. ‘*Akkaskhane-ye Mobarak-e Humayuni* which was an official atelier with royal characteristic, established in 1862. Therein, one year before the inauguration of a royal photographic studio, a new governmental vocation designed for a court photographer, which titled ‘*Akkasbashi*, whose main goal was leading the organization of both taking and printing photographs in this studio. The photographs printed in ‘Akkaskhane, has the royal symbol of Qajar dynasty at the back of each photograph. With this symbol, it can be understood whether a photograph was printed in this royal studio or not. In addition, this symbol plays a role in reporting that the photograph was printed with the ‘Akkasbashi’s , and therefore the state’s, approval.

In words of Mohammad Sattari, the advancement of photography as a science was supported and availed by Naser al-Din Shah, who appointed ‘Akkasbashi for the first time in 1863. Layla Diba, on the other hand, suggests the date of appointment of ‘Akkasbashi as 1862, by which Naser al-Din Shah fortified “photography’s integration into the court system of rewards and offices and formalised its importance vis-a’-vis painting.”⁸ Yet, according to Mohammad Sattari the most supportive contribution of the Shah to the enhancement of photography was that he “placed at the disposal of the court photographer one of the royal buildings next to Shams-ol-‘emare building [within the Golestan Palace], that had a door that opened on to the [adjacent] avenue.” Sattari continues that “For six years now, whenever [his highness] is in the capital, the court photographer spends all his time at [this] Royal Atelier to fulfil his mission.”⁹

7. Behdad, “The Power-Ful Art of Qajar Photography: Orientalism and (Self)-Orientalizing in Nineteenth-Century Iran,” 145.

8. Diba, “Qajar Photography and Its Relationship to Iranian Art: A Reassessment,” 89.

9. Mohammad Sattari, “Barresi-ye manabe’-e maktub-e honar-e iran,” *Honarname* 4, no. 13 (2001): 20, quoted in, Mohammad Sattari and Houshang Salamat, “Photography and the Illustrated Journals Sharaf and Sharafat,” *History of Photography* 37, no. 1 (2013): 76, doi:10.1080/03087298.2012.725843.

This royal atelier is no where other then the ‘Akkaskhane-ye Mobarak-e Humayuni which Ali Behdad appreciates it as a photographic institute while Sattari and Mohammad Reza Tahmasbpour calls it as the royal atelier. “The presentation of pictorial reports of trips, entertainment, ceremonies and courtiers would became one of the tasks of the ‘Akkaskhane-ye Mobarake Humayuni, and later would be also the task of the ‘Akkaskhane-ye Dar ol-Funun.”¹⁰

Golestan Palace, which today holds a great Qajar pictorial archive within, was the palace of Qajars near the city center of Tehran. Sattari continues:

As such, the date of establishment of Iran’s first photography studio may be surmised to be 1862. Fourteen years later the second photography studio to enjoy royal patronage, the Dar-ol-Fonun studio, was inaugurated. This studio was within the grounds of the Dar-ol-Fonun polytechnic, which in turn had been established in 1853. The polytechnic had also been granted space from within the royal residential grounds of the Golestan Palace: ‘[his highness entered] through the door of the newly built pharmacy and photography studio in the year of 1876, which had been built by royal decree with utmost taste and prestige next to the palace entry on Shams-ol-‘emare Avenue’.¹¹

This photography atelier within the Dar-ol-Funun was established in 1876 as the second photographic studio. However, Mohammad Reza Tahmasbpour claims that the royal atelier was established 4 years ago, in 1858.¹²

3.1.2 Atelier in the Dar ol-Funun: ‘Akkaskhane-ye Dar ol-Funun (1876?)

While Ekhtiar, Diba and Behdad call the Dar ol-Funun as a university, John Gurney and Negin Nabavi prefers, more appropriately I believe, to call it as Polytechnic college. Indeed, the Dar ol-Funun was the first higher learning institution that had

10. Tahmasbpour, *Nasir al-Din, Shah-e 'Akkas: Piramun-e Tarikh-e 'Akkasi-e Iran*, 152.

11. Sattari, “Barresi-ye manabe’-e maktub-e honar-e iran,” 20, quoted in, Sattari and Salamat, “Photography and the Illustrated Journals Sharaf and Sharafat,” 76.

12. Tahmasbpour, “Photography in Iran: A Chronology,” 8.

separate department-like fields with a fine-tuned curriculum for each. Additionally, the compulsory joint lectures demonstrate the presence of an essence that all students should reach to. The institution had seven academic fields of “infantry, cavalry, artillery, medicine and surgery, pharmacy and mineralogy [...] All disciplines had a history, geography, mathematics, and foreign language lectures in common.”¹³ To exemplify, a student aiming to be the physician of Shah had to complete his education by acquiring knowledge of history and geography concurrently. The question here is whether photography was a separate field that therein graduate photographers were acquiring other joint lectures, or was it a joint lecture in which graduates with having different professions were also performing as photographers. In order to better identify the characteristic of indigenous photographers, this question has significance.

The first published personal record about the entrance of photography to Qajar Iran belongs to I'timad al-Saltana,¹⁴ a graduate from Dar ol-Funun that later became the chief state chronicler. He wrote about Dar ol-Funun: “as of this date [December 28, 1851] the useful discoveries of European nations will spread in this country.”¹⁵ The formation of a modern educational institution in Qajar Iran was founded with leading of the aforementioned Amir Kabir in Chapter Two, and approved by Naser al-Din Shah in 1851. At first, the main function of Dar ol-Funun was raising staff to serve the state organization; but later became as an institution threatening the legitimacy of Naser al-Din Shah. The foundation of a modern polytechnic college was, indeed, to accommodate the expectations of Shah from a modern institution to increment his own power but rather, this foundation resulted in diminishing the Shah's legitimacy as perpetuated its contact with the modern science, European instructors and modern

13. Mo'tamadi Esphandiar, “Dar ol-Funun: Hadaf Sazman Modiriyyat Hasel-e Kar” [Dar ol-Funun: Purpose - Organization - Management - Work Out], *Ministry of Education Islamic Republic of Iran: Research Institute for Education*, accessed November 23, 2017, <http://rie.ir/index.aspx?siteid=75&siteid=75&pageid=1167>.

14. Donna Stein, “Three Photographic Traditions in Nineteenth-Century Iran,” *Muqarnas* 6 (1989): 112, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1602285>.

15. Muhammad Hasan Khan, *I'timad al-Saltanah, Mir 'at al-Buldan* (Tehran: Entesharat-e Daneshghah-e Tehran, 1368/1989), 1080–1081, quoted in, Ekhtiar, “Nasir al-Din Shah and the Dar al-Funun: The Evolution of an Institution,” 153–154.

ideologies. In the commencement, the aim and purpose behind establishment of Dar ol-Funun was

ensuring that a new generation of Iranian youth, primarily military officers, was trained in the “useful sciences.” Amir Kabir believed that a disciplined Iranian standing army would not be possible without a single unified body of Iranian officers, and hoped that by implementing such reforms and centralizing power, Iran would be better equipped to protect its territorial integrity.¹⁶

Ekhtiar implies positive sciences as useful sciences. The state was inviting sons of courtiers, landed proprietors and notables to register at the college, to be eligible for employment in governmental vocations. Some of the successful students, due to the lack of competitiveness of Dar ol-Funun with European universities, were also sent to Europe to qualify their education more. But later in the 1870s, there occurred not only an increment in the number of enrolled students but more a change in the student typology. Thereby, sons of incipient bourgeoisie class also commenced registering to the college that consequently, vocation opportunities commenced not limited to being state employees. In addition, the typology of the state employees has transmuted as well because it was no longer just courtiers, landed proprietors and notables, but the sons of the newborn bourgeoisie could also take part in government affairs. It is beneficial to remember how the role of bourgeois in national politics was diminishing the power of the Shah. With the help of Dar ol-Funun, the conflict in expectation of Shah and protesting social strata from modernity transpires once more because these students were educated with the European model of training in which they become more and more familiar with European press and thoughts while the state was expecting to empower the centrality and power of the Shah from them.

Ekhtiar appreciates “unfailing enthusiasm” of Naser al-Din Shah as one of the important parameters sustaining the Dar ol-Funun which decreased in the 1870s.

According to Ekhtiar, Naser al-Din

16. Ekhtiar, “Nasir al-Din Shah and the Dar al-Funun: The Evolution of an Institution,” 153.

demonstrated genuine interest in, and vehement support for, the affairs of the Dar al-Funun, visiting the school frequently and granting medals and prizes to its most outstanding students. The two directors of the school, Ja'far Quli Khan Nayyir al-Mulk and Muhammad Husayn Khan Adib al-Dawla, reported that in the early years the shah was unlikely to go out without stopping at the school, encouraging students, and distributing awards.¹⁷

I will analyze how the 1870s can be construed as the initiation of the legitimacy crisis of the Shah in Chapter Four. However, for now, I can recall the agitation of the Reuter concession of 1872-73, referred to in Chapter Two, that was the first active uprising in which, metaphorically, society made its first move against the Shah. Naser al- Din's suspect from the political tendencies of the college members can be reasoned in the decrementation in his enthusiasm towards Dar ol-Funun in the 1870s.

Complementarily, the reluctant behaviour of Shah different from his early supports could be because of his suspicions from aforementioned secret societies and Faramush-khane in Chapter Two. When considering the political, social and economic conditions of the period outlined in the previous Chapter, the protesting posture and political tendencies of the college participants, especially the newly born bourgeois class and foreign instructors, who were members of a society hosted the rebellion process that concluded it with constitutional demands and revolution, would not be a surprise. Shah's diminishing enthusiasm and support of college covers the periods between 1870s and 1880s, precisely the commencement of the first uprisings. The photography, on the other hand, as a course within the curriculum of the college displayed its improvement in a different direction. According to Ekhtiar,

at this time he paid closer attention to photography, music, and painting than to other subjects. This contributed to a shift in emphasis from a curriculum with a strict military orientation emphasizing such disciplines as artillery, infantry, cavalry, engineering, medicine, and the exact sciences to one which included courses in history, geography, painting, photography, music, English, Russian, and German, and even gymnastics.

17. Hidayat, *Khatirat va Khatarat*, 75, quoted in, Ekhtiar, "Nasir al-Din Shah and the Dar al-Funun: The Evolution of an Institution," 155.

The shah's increasing attention to the latter subjects at this time promoted their development at the expense of the military and scientific fields.¹⁸

Hence the reduction in the enthusiasm of Shah towards polytechnic college created an uneven development between fields where photography stayed on the uninterrupted and developing side. Ekhtiar declares the reason of Shah's support of photography, music and painting as the "focus on subjects that we may categorize as arts and humanities was not academically or pedagogically motivated, but was symptomatic of his state of mind and disillusionment with reform." The reason behind his shifting focus on arts and humanities can be because "he may have perceived such subjects as less threatening and less prone to the penetration and encouragement of dissident political activity at the school than the military and other 'hard core' sciences."¹⁹ But was the shah right in the perception that photography could not threaten his power and was less hazardous? Passage of time demonstrates us that he made a false assumption. In Chapter Four, I will emphasize how photography played a significant role in politicizing the society by distributing the images from the Constitutional Revolution and the revolutionaries of Tabriz to other cities, because of the increase in commercial photography ateliers in Iran.

In point of fact, the inclusion of photography in the academic curriculum was the first marker of institutionalization of photography in Iran. In 1858, the first step had already been taken with this motivation:

Naser al-Din Shah ordered his ambassador in Europe, Farrokh Khan Amin-olDoleh, the recruitment of a professional photographer to teach in the Dar olFunun. This professional photographer was a Frenchman whose name was Carlhian that came to Iran for this duty in 1858. This is the first time that a teacher officially hired for the university.²⁰

Layla Diba claims the date of appointment of Francis Carlhian (d.1870 Tehran) to Dar

18. Ekhtiar, "Nasir al-Din Shah and the Dar al-Funun: The Evolution of an Institution," 158–159.

19. Ibid., 159–160.

20. Abol-Fathi, *Tarikh-e Mostanad-e 'Akkasi Dore-ye Naseri*, 90.

ol-Funun as 1859,²¹ hence, it can be claimed that one year after arriving in Iran the formal assent was given to Carlhian to be an instructor in the polytechnic college. Conclusively, after seventeen years from the entrance of photography in Iran (1842), the professional education of photography started in the national modern polytechnic college by having Europeans as instructors. The first recruitment was Carlhian, which also demonstrates the fact of commencement of professional photography firstly with the help of Europeans in Iran. According to Diba, photography in Iran “was taught with physics, mathematics and military history, first by Europeans [...] and then by young Iranians trained in Europe.”²² However, albeit Carlhian was the first instructor of photography in the Dar ol-Funun, he was not the pioneer European photographer who was recognized by the state. According to Donna Stein, I’timad al-Saltana identifies “the earliest practitioners of photography in Persia as Europeans from France, Austria, and Italy. They were instructors at Dar al-Funun [...] According to I’timad al-Slatana, the Frenchman Jules Richard (1816-91) pioneered photography in Iran.”²³ After the first graduates, the positions of being instructors at Dar ol-Funun, being court and commercial photographers were also satisfied by these graduates as well.

What is known is that the photography included in curriculum as part of the department of chemistry.²⁴ In fact, this denotes that the potential photographers were learning the required authorizations for the utilization of a camera, photofinishing and all necessary knowledge besides being raised as chemists. In the study of Sarmand, the number of first enrollment in the field of chemistry is quoted as seven among the total enrollments of hundred and seven.²⁵ If we accept the Tahmasbpour’s claim of 1851 as the date of the inclusion of photography in the curriculum, seven enrollment to the

21. Diba, “Qajar Photography and Its Relationship to Iranian Art: A Reassessment,” 88.

22. Ibid.

23. Stein, “Three Photographic Traditions in Nineteenth-Century Iran,” 112.

24. Ekhtiar, “Nasir al-Din Shah and the Dar al-Funun: The Evolution of an Institution,” 160.

25. Sarmand, *Azam-e Mohassal be Kharej az Kashvar dar Dore-ye Qajariyye*, 100.

department of chemistry reflects a small percentage. But If we accept Diba's argument of 1862 as the date of inclusion of photography to the curriculum, then first enrollment cannot be related to the education of photography. The fact that Carlhian was recruited as the teacher of photography in 1858 also denotes that the first enrollments are not cognate to photography. The information of the size of subsequent registration is unfortunately not available, but the common knowledge is that since the foundation of the college the numbers of enrolled students were gradually growing as well as continuation of an increase in embracing the diversified class members.

A close look at the student recruitment policies at the school reveals that the Dar al-Funun, which was originally designed to cater to the elite, was governed by a more democratic and inclusive policy on recruitment in its later years. Curzon reported that when he visited the school in the late 1880s the enrollment was no longer restricted to the elite. The democratizing trend in student recruitment may have had some bearing on the increase in the number of students in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, as well as a more socially diverse student body.²⁶

Consequently, an atelier of photography established with title of '*Akkashane-ye Dar ol-Funun*' as part of the department of chemistry. The primary function of this studio was to prepare students for practicing and learning the know-how for the authorization of photography. Afterwards, new functions integrated into their tasks. The students, together with their instructors, commenced to print albums and stage photographs in lines with the whichever orders of the state.

3.1.3 Naser al-Din Shah as a Photographer and Collector

In addition to being a Shah, Naser al-Din was also a photographer whose scope of the activity was gradually expanded in the field from 1859 onwards.²⁷ During the early years of his mingling with photography, Naser al-Din was a rather neophyte

26. Ekhtiar, "Nasir al-Din Shah and the Dar al-Funun: The Evolution of an Institution," 162.

27. Abol-Fathi, *Tarikh-e Mostanad-e 'Akkasi Dore-ye Naseri*, 80.

photographer. As a matter of fact, Tahmasbpour also appreciates him as the native but an amateur photographer.²⁸ According to Tahmasbpour, Naser al-Din Shah's mingling with photography can be divided into two periods in which the first covers the years between 1858 and 1878 and the second includes the years between 1884-1895.²⁹ Mostly, he photographed portraits of imperial seraglio and self-portraits beside landscape and his excursions, in which an amalgam of traditional and modern customs was composed. In Chapter Four, I will analyze Shah's utilization from photography more in detail. But for his corpus of photography, I will start with his private atelier within the Golestan Palace where the photographs by him were printed, and Naser al-Din Shah's private gallery which albeit was not as much as a *cabinet of curiosities*, still can be categorized as a *private collection* of his favored photographs and paintings.

Fundamentally, Naser al-Din Shah "assembled more than 20,000 photographs on themes as diverse as the women of his harem, self-portraits, Persian antiquity, architecture, landscapes, hunting escapades and even political prisoners" that makes a great royal collection which "contains more than 43,000 images by Iranian photographers, European photographers and adventurous travelers."³⁰ Within this huge collection there are photographs by Naser al-Din Shah himself that reveals his personal exuberance in photography, too. As a matter of fact, some of his self-portraits were vernacular photographs that were confidential frames taken in an intimate setting. Moreover, he photographed the women of seraglio erotically. Obviously, these photographs were not snapshotted for dispensing and the realm of printing these photographs by Naser al-Din Shah mainly arouse curiosity. Tahmasbpour, who is in search of an answer to satisfy the curiosity, claims that there was a special atelier within the palace where the eunuchs and some of the seraglio women were trained to work there. According to Tahmasbpour, the first of these photographs were either printed and/ or taken by the Shah or by Ja'far-gholi Khan, who had close relationship

28. Tahmasbpour, *Nasir al-Din, Shah-e 'Akkas: Pīramun-e Tarikh-e 'Akkasi-e Iran*, 39.

29. Ibid., 34-35.

30. Stein, "The Photographic Source for A Qajar Painting," 24.

with the Shah, thus, had a special permission for taking photographs of women of the seraglio.³¹ Moreover, he affirms a telegraph written by ‘Anis ol-Dowleh, the favoured concubine of Naser al-Din Shah, in which she reports the Shah that how she, consistently, takes care of the private atelier.³² Furthermore, Tahmasbpour mentions that ‘Aziz Khan, the famous eunuch of the Palace, assisted the Shah in photographing and printing these confidential pictures.³³ Consequently, the private atelier of the Shah was established for his personal enjoyment that was assisted by trained eunuchs, women of seraglio and by his inner circle of friends.

As I noted earlier, Naser al-Din Shah also had a private collection of his favored photographs and paintings. This atelier was built within the palace which in related with the private collection of the Shah, Willem Floor identifies that

This absence of false modesty also persisted among later shahs, Nasir al-Din Shah, for example, created a picture gallery on the European model. A large chamber was emptied and hung with portraits of foreign kings. Because these did not cover all the walls, colorful lithographs of “bathing girls” and the like were bought from the bazaar to fill the empty space. Orsolle (a French traveler) also remarks on the hotchpotch of materials offered in the gallery. In particular, he mentioned the Cheap lithographs of women, the “lithographies decollectees et dejambes” which contrasted sharply with the rest [...] In 1901 the picture gallery still existed [...] From this description it is clear that the display of pictures was rather eclectic, and even included photographs of some of the shah’s favorite women.³⁴

The recognized gallery in Floor’s study is most probably the same place that was noted as *the Talar-i Musse* in the study of Ekhtiar. She does not identify the collected photographs within the gallery but more she accentuates on the collected paintings. Ekhtiar notes that “The shah (Naser al-Din) relied on this new breed of artist to

31. Tahmasbpour, *Nasir al-Din, Shah-e 'Akkas: Piramun-e Tarikh-e 'Akkasi-e Iran*, 26.

32. Ibid., 33.

33. Ibid., 35.

34. Willem Floor, “Art (Naqqashi) and Artists (Naqqashan) in Qajar Persia,” *Muqarnas* 16 (1999): 138, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1523268>.

provide illustrations for court newspapers and books and to cover the walls of his private museum (the Talar-i Musse) with paintings in the European style.”³⁵ To the best of my knowledge, there is no study about this private collection of the Shah except for these two studies which briefly mention. Since the exuberance of the Shah in photography is an acknowledgement, the existence of a private collection appertaining to the Shah becomes more plausible.

Additionally, the enthusiasm of Naser al-Din Shah in photography made the spread of this medium as fast as he “inspired his courtiers to take up the art [...] Cameras were placed at the disposal of favored courtiers [...] who accompanied the Shah on excursions inside and outside the country.”³⁶ Thus, Naser al-Din Shah posed for the cameras during most of his leisure. The Shah’s exhilaration and desire of photography were at such a point that during his excursions to Europe, he visited the studios of the most famous photographers. For instance, in Paris in 1873, he had his photograph taken by Nadar (1820 – 1910), a famous photographer of the time, in which “he is presented as a modern version of Fath ‘Ali Shah: both rulers are depicted with their full imperial regalia, symbolising both their absolute authority and the wealth of the nation.”³⁷ He availed courtiers with photography not only by inspiring them but also by serving the publishings about the new western medium.

According to Yahya Zoka, in 1859, the first book on photography by an unknown Iranian author was printed, 14 pages long and very small in format (6 x 15 cm) [...] It was a handbook to be used as an introduction to the new medium. Zoka and also Iraj Afshar refer to a second book entitled *Ketab-e ‘Aks* by Mohammad Kazim, printed in 1863.³⁸

35. Ekhtiar, “Nasir al-Din Shah and the Dar al-Funun: The Evolution of an Institution,” 161.

36. Stein, “Three Photographic Traditions in Nineteenth-Century Iran,” 116.

37. Diba, “Qajar Photography and Its Relationship to Iranian Art: A Reassessment,” 88.

38. González, *Local Portraiture: Through the Lens of the 19th-Century Iranian Photographers*, 28.

3.1.4 Private Ateliers and Commercial Photography

The changes of the utmost importance in the social, political and economic conditions of the late Qajar era “both precipitated and necessitated changes in cultural production. One way to better understand these shifting paradigms is through an examination of print culture.”³⁹ Likewise, another supplementary way to understand these shifting paradigms is investigating a further cultural production that is photography because “modern technology: photography, lithography, telegraphy, the railway and more, regardless of the objectives and results, from the perspective of social exchange they all aspire to become common knowledge.”⁴⁰ Thus, photography can be integrated into the aforementioned print culture by the same token. In regard to the discovery of commercial photography during the Naseri period, the absorbing of photography into the mainstream and its dissemination commenced a reform different from the early pre-commercialized era of photography. Allan Sekula appreciates the discovery of commercial photography as

Photography proliferated, becoming reproducible and accessible in the modern sense, during the late nineteenth-century period of transition from competitive capitalism to the financially and industrially consolidated monopoly form of capitalist organization. By the turn of the century, then, photography stood ready to play a central role in the development of a culture centered on the mass marketing of mass-produced commodities.⁴¹

The commence on commercial photography affected the dissemination of knowledge and enhanced the communication among the society in Iran. Regardless of their class, all societal personae became able to *visually perceive* the different social strata of the country as well as his/her own social position with the avail of commercial photography. Yet, this time together with the commencement of commercial

39. Shiva Balaghi, “Print Culture in Late Qajar Iran: The Cartoons of “Kashkul”,” *Iranian Studies* 34, nos. 1/4 (2001): 165, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4311428>.

40. Bonetti and Prandi, “Italian Photographers in Iran 1848–64,” 17.

41. Allan Sekula, “The Traffic in Photographs,” *Art Journal* 41, no. 1 (1981): 21, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/776511>.

photography, the photography in Iran started to also represent “rather the intrusion of colonial systems of production in the traditional spheres of Persian craftsmanship.”⁴²

Since the 1850s, Qajar court was also benefitting from photographs as if they were engendered realistically. To put it differently, reality could be manipulated by the state. For instance, the Shah or the courtiers could be represented more charismatically or powerful as if implementing an impersonation to impress the society. After some twenty years of the entry of photography, however, it was integrated with the public right on when the commercial photography pervaded in addition to the political usages of photography by the state. Specifically, people could pose and bought the photographs of their own accord from the 1870s onwards. Different from the first twenty years, the photographs had begun to circulate not only among the state officials but also within the society who discern the popularity and commodity identity of the photographs. According to Yahya Zoka, “the first public photography studio in Tehran was founded by ‘Abbas ‘Ali Beyk in March 1868, with the control of Eghbal al-Saltanah.”⁴³ The photographs taken in the commercial studios had the personal signature of the photographer as the caption which not only differentiates their photographs from the ones taken in royal studios but also appears as the incipient advertisement of their own studios. The second and significant commercial atelier belonged to Antoin Sevruguin with whom I will deal below.

In addition to permanent atelier owners, there were traveling commercial photographers who customarily used newspapers to publicize their established transitory studios at each of their stops. These commercial photographers are called itinerant photographers. For instance, Russian D. Ermakov is one of them whose announcement of transitory studio in Tehran is shown in the study of Yahya Zoka.⁴⁴ Other types of itinerant and commercial photographers were among the amateurs from

42. Diba, “Qajar Photography and Its Relationship to Iranian Art: A Reassessment,” 98.

43. Zoka, *Tarikh-e ‘Akkasi va ‘Akkasan-e Pishgam dar Iran*, 58.

44. Ibid., 59.

the folk, who innovated cheaper apparatus made of wood to sell photographs at a lower price. They did not have any written advertisement and the dissemination of their arrival other than through word of mouth. These photographers were mostly strolling along villages and towns of Iran where they could perform still and outdoor photography and sell photographs to the ordinary people.⁴⁵

3.2 The Photographic Genres

In Chapter Two, I briefly noted about the genres and the pioneer photographers of each. All of the aforementioned pioneer photographic genres in Chapter Two were also presented during the Naseri period. Both the foreign photographers visiting Iran and the native photographers utilized from and printed photographs of these genres as diverse as that all of the practitioners were satisfying each genres' hallmarks.

During the 19th century, Iran was a country visited mostly by western diplomats, scholars, philomaths, and tourists with the political, military and archaeological motivations.⁴⁶ But still, there was a state of affairs that all of these western and occidental photographic genres performing by Iranians was achieved differently from its neighbors. The reason for this was that fewer foreigners travelled to Iran compared to its neighbors. For instance, at 19th century the Ottoman Empire and the Far East attracted more travelers than Iran.⁴⁷ Consequently, the restriction were imposed to visual learning of native photographers from foreign photographers. Still, it would be a false assumption to claim that this thoroughly prevented native Iranians from learning from foreigners. I rather preferred to interpret that this affair restricted the learning because, as already implied, even if there were fewer foreigners in

45. Ibid., 406–408.

46. Khadijeh Mohammadi Nameghi and Carmen Pérez González, "From Sitters to Photographers: Women in Photography from the Qajar Era to the 1930s," *History of Photography* 37, no. 1 (2013): 49, doi:10.1080/03087298.2012.718142.

47. Ibid.

comparison with neighbors, still there were some foreign photographers living in Iran and teaching in Dar ol-Funun. The fact is that the rate of influence from European styles was lower than the neighbors. The native photographers combined their traditional endemic understandings of images with the European perceptions, instead of echoing with the Western counterparts and performing the mimicry of the European imaginary. As a result of this amalgamation, a new understanding of image occurred in Qajar Iran. For instance, the naturalistic pictorial tradition in Iran was different from their European counterparts. “Instead, they willingly explored European prototypes, borrowed from fictional Orientalist constructions of the Middle East by foreign travelers, painters and photographers, and eventually developed a new mediated Iranian identity performed in photographs.”⁴⁸

Another example of the amalgamation can be recognized among the portrait photography. The typical Victorian poses of portraits, for instance, were frontal, hieratic and static,⁴⁹ in which

Several women are posed with their heads firmly supported by a hand, suggesting the method early photographers used to steady their models during the long camera exposures necessary at that time and taught models to live inside rather than outside the moment.⁵⁰

The European photographers teaching in the Dar ol-Funun have influenced native photographers in technical and aesthetic manners of the Victorian poses.⁵¹ However, beside performing Victorian poses, indigenous photographers merged these features with the symmetrical composition which was in use by the Iranian painters before the invention of the camera. Poses such as “reclining on the floor, sitting on a couch or bench and reclining on the back edge of the couch” are postures performed in native

48. Stein, “The Photographic Source for A Qajar Painting,” 24–25.

49. Ibid., 25.

50. Walter Benjamin, “A Short History of Photography,” *Screen* 13, no. 1 (1972): 17, doi:10.1093/screen/13.1.5.

51. González, *Local Portraiture: Through the Lens of the 19th-Century Iranian Photographers*, 29–30.

portraits in which “the cadenced movement up the picture plane may also borrow from the orderliness and taut structure evidenced in classic Persian miniatures.”⁵²

The most subjects of the Iranian photographs were landscapes, the shrines and tombs, archaeological sites, street scenery and people, studio portraits and ethnographical portraits. Both the outdoor photographs and staged photographs in the studios were performed by the Iranian photographers. Besides, there were examples of the anthropological photographs which were staged by W. Orden with

the care he displays in arranging the collages of types and the information given for each; by the repetition of certain subjects/topics, such as the cemeteries and also non-native communities of people in each city; by the number of art objects and artefacts and the care taken in arranging the image. It seems that he took considerable effort to give as much visual information as possible, with the result that his photographs provide a wealth of information about the material culture of the countries he visited; the visual information is supplemented by captions that are rich in information [...] most of his work is valuable for his documentary approach, showing an anthropological perspective.⁵³

Utilization of journals from photography was in a different realm. In some journals of Naseri period, such as Sharaf and Sharafat, “photographs were used to assist illustration of various lithographically printed journals, which remained the predominant printing technique well into the early 1920s.”⁵⁴ Towards the end of the century, Kodak cameras pervaded the photography considerably more than afore and with the Kodak, each of the buildings, roads and bridges per se became the photographers’ subjects.⁵⁵

52. Stein, “The Photographic Source for A Qajar Painting,” 25.

53. Nameghi and González, “From Sitters to Photographers: Women in Photography from the Qajar Era to the 1930s,” 52.

54. Sattari and Salamat, “Photography and the Illustrated Journals Sharaf and Sharafat,” 75.

55. Ella Rebe Durand, *An Autumn Tour in Western Persia* (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1902), 131.

3.3 The Photographers

Until the 1870s, most of the photographers in Iran were Europeans.⁵⁶ In my opinion, the increase in the native photographers was because of the commencement of commercial photography and the commodification of photographs. During the 1870s, the commercial studios were opened and their owners either came from abroad, like Antoin Sevruguin, or were graduates from the Dar ol-Funun, like ‘Abbas ‘Ali Beyk. The increase of native photographers in Iran was considerable enough to overshadow the number of active European photographers during the second half of the 19th century. Accurately, there were 105 native photographers⁵⁷ while the European photographers living in Iran was only 30.⁵⁸ These numbers justify the appreciation of Naseri period as ‘golden age of photography’, while at the same time averting me from inditing each one here for my dissertation. Donna Stein categorizes the photographers of the period into the three segments:

first, those belonging to the European documentary and geographic tradition, who explored cultural and physical differences throughout the world; second, indigenous photographers, who experimented with the new technical discoveries for enjoyment, without a defined mission, and third, commercial photographers, who discovered that images could be sold.⁵⁹

I will categorize the active photographers of Naseri period as domestic and foreign, in which the foreign itself will be divided into two groups as the foreigners who stayed in Iran and served for the Qajar state, versus the foreigners who returned to their homeland after accomplishing their errand for documentary photography. Therefore the domestic category of photographers refers to the native Iranian photographers and, as apparent, foreign refers to the foreign photographers.

56. Iraj Afshar, “Some Remarks on the Early History of Photography in Iran,” in *Qajar Iran: Political, Social and Cultural Change, 1800-1925*, ed. F. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983), 261–290, quoted in, Floor, “Art (Naqqashi) and Artists (Naqqashan) in Qajar Persia,” 133.

57. See the respective books Zoka, *Tarikh-e ‘Akkasi va ‘Akkasan-e Pishgam dar Iran*; Afshar, *Ganjine-ye ‘Aks-haye Iran: Hamrahe Tarikhche-ye Vorud-e ‘Akasi be Iran*, for the list of native photographers.

58. Stein, “The Photographic Source for A Qajar Painting,” 24.

59. Stein, “Early photography in Iran,” 258–259.

The first stop of the advent of photography in Iran was the palace, thus, the celebrated native photographers are either among the royal family or among court photographers. Indeed, the first native photographer was a Qajar prince named Malek Qasem Mirza (1807-1861). Malek Qasem, who visited Europe and was one of the first Iranians to study in France, was habituated with the European languages and culture. Therein, he discovered the photography and purchased himself a camera. According to Yahya Zoka, Malek Qasem was the first person to have a personal photographic apparatus and to take photographs in the fashion of daguerreotype and collodion process in Iran. He photographed Naser al-Din Shah, imperial seraglio and court servants and presented his designed album to the Shah in 1850.⁶⁰

The second of indigenous photographers was Naser al-Din Shah himself who was trained by Jules Richard who ‘‘apparently also taught photography to the young Naser al-Din Shah, a pastime that would remain dear to the ruler for most of his reign.’’⁶¹ After he ascended the throne, he was trained in collodion process with the avail of Francois Carlhian in 1859. The imperial seraglio, eunuch and imperial servants, the court and his self-portraits evolved gradually into appearance as the subjects of his photographs.⁶² I will analyze Jules Richard and Francois Carlhian below. To pick up on current subject, Yahya Zoka divides the hobby of photograph-taking of the Shah into two eras. The first era includes the photographs taken between 1859 and 1874 while the second era is from 1889 to his death (1896). During the first era, an excited Shah can be observed who not only aimed at staging photographs but also concentrated on the photo printing and developer machine, as well. After 1874, Zoka declares the commence of a decrease in Shah’s exuberance towards his hobby of photography because of the political atmosphere of the country. It is as if Zoka confirms my argument and my following assertions in Chapter Four. Zoka also states

60. Zoka, *Tarikh-e 'Akkasi va 'Akkasan-e Pishgam dar Iran*, 8–17.

61. Diba, ‘‘Qajar Photography and Its Relationship to Iranian Art: A Reassessment,’’ 87.

62. Zoka, *Tarikh-e 'Akkasi va 'Akkasan-e Pishgam dar Iran*, 26.

that the Shah was doing more professional photography from 1889 onwards.⁶³

Among the court photographers, Agha Reza Khan Eghbal-ol-Saltaneh (1843-1890), also known as Reza 'Akkas Bashi and Aqa Reza Khan, was the first native professional photographer in Iran, who was also trained in the occupation of photography by Francois Carlhian. Due to his proficiency, he became the first court photographer of the Naser al-Din Shah in 1863. Consequently, he assumed the title of 'Akkasbashi. In 1867, Naser al-Din Shah was accompanied by Agha Reza during his first visit to Khorasan. Throughout the journey, Agha Reza, as the court photographer, took the still photographs of the folks, streets and city life. Therefore, Zoka mentions about Agha Reza as the pioneer photojournalist of Iran.⁶⁴ Being a court photographer is identically equivalent to being a Shah's personal employee. Thus, these people have to satisfy the required performance with their consummate skill. In order to remain on duty, a court photographer has to photograph in accordance with the orders of the Shah and his photographs should earn the appreciation of the Shah. Indeed, Agha Reza maintained his vocation as the court photographer in this way. For almost twenty seven years, Agha Reza Khan performed as the court photographer in the royal studio of 'Akkaskhane-ye Mobarak-e Humayuni, where he took many portraits, report and documentary photographs as well as designing albumen prints in parallel with the Shah's orders.⁶⁵ The aforementioned establishment of the first commercial studio in 1868 was by one of the assistants of Agha Reza Khan named 'Abbas 'Ali Beyk (unknown-unknown). As well as being the commercial photographer, he also accompanied Agha Reza Khan during the vocational travels. For instance, "In 1869, Abbas ali Beyk sent to Iraq by royal decree to photograph holy Shiite sites. Aqa Reza Akkasbashi photographs prisoners. In 1870 Naser-ed-Din Shah makes pilgrimage to holy sites in Iraq. He is accompanied by Aqa Reza Akkasbashi."⁶⁶

63. Ibid., 27–38.

64. Ibid., 47–49.

65. Ibid., 55.

66. Tahmasbpour, "Photography in Iran: A Chronology," 9.

As noted earlier, the graduates from Dar ol-Funun were also recruited as court photographers. Mirza Hossein-‘Ali ‘Akkasbashi, for instance, was among the graduates of Dar ol-Funun sent to Europe to develop his education of photography further. On his return from Europe, he became the court photographer and chief operator of ‘Akkaskhane-ye Mobarak-e Humayuni during the years 1877 and 1890.⁶⁷ ‘Abdollah Mirza Qajar (1850- ca.1910) was the second most famous and prolific photographer after Aqa Reza Khan, who was also graduated from Dar ol-Funun. But different from Mirza Hossein-‘Ali, he commenced working at the royal atelier of the Dar ol-Funun, (‘Akkaskhane-ye Dar ol-Funun) after graduation.⁶⁸ ‘Abdollah Mirza Qajar also served as the court photographer, and was commissioned to travel the country in order to stage documentary photographs of Iran.⁶⁹

Moreover, other main provinces also had their royal ateliers and private photographers. Some governors were also capable in taking photographs. For instance, Ali Vali Khan also known as Ali Khan Hakem, was the “governor of northwestern provinces, undertakes photograph documentation of various regions under his jurisdiction, and assembles a scrapbook of photographs and documentary annotations, which he presents to Naser ed-Din Shah as a gift.”⁷⁰

The eminent foreign photographers who stayed in Iran and commenced working in the Qajar governmental vocations are Jules Richard (Mirza Reza Khan), Austrian Kreziz (Krecic?), Focchetti, Luigi Pesce, Francois Carlhian, Ernst Holtzer and Antoin Sevruguin (Sevruguin Khan). The Frenchmen Jules Richard (1816-1891) came to Iran in c.1844-46 and took the name of Mirza Reza Khan after converting to Islam.⁷¹ He is also known as Richard Khan and is famous for his teaching photography at Dar

67. Zoka, *Tarikh-e ‘Akkasi va ‘Akkasan-e Pishgam dar Iran*, 83.

68. Ibid., 98.

69. Sattari and Salamat, “Photography and the Illustrated Journals Sharaf and Sharafat,” 78.

70. Tahmasbpour, “Photography in Iran: A Chronology,” 9.

71. Stein, “Early photography in Iran,” 259.

ol-Funun as well as to the Qajar court. Bonetti and Prandi maintain that he commenced teaching photography at Dar ol-Funun from 1851 onwards.⁷² However, this fact is only mentioned in their study without paying attention to the inclusion of photography in the curriculum of college as well as without considering the fact that the first recruited teacher of photography was Carlhian who employed at 1858. Thus, most probably, teaching at court with teaching at Dar ol-Funun is misspelt. There is solely one photograph taken by Richard that could reach the present day. This photograph is preserved at Musée d'Orsay.⁷³ Austrian August Karl Kreziz (Krecic?) (1814-1886) was active in Iran during 1851-1859 where Italian Focchetti and French Luigi Pesce performed in Iran from 1851 onwards.⁷⁴ These three are declared as instructors in different departments of Dar ol-Funun by Donna Stein.

Austrian Kreziz (Krecic?), an artillery instructor, and the Italian Focchetti, a science teacher and engineer, who supervised the telegraph line from Tabriz to Tehran and imported the collodion process to Persia soon after it was invented in 1847. The Neapolitan Colonel, Luigi Pesce, who emigrated to Persia in 1848 to become Commander-in-Chief to the Persian infantry, was an avid photographer.⁷⁵

Donna Stein also indicates the request letter of Luigi Pesce, written in March 1861 to Count Cavour, in which he appries his albumen prints. According to Stein, Pesce also sends a copy of his album, designed with the photographs of the monuments of Persia, to William I of Prussia in January 1861.⁷⁶

González notes Francois Carlhian (1818–70) as the one who thought the

72. M. F. Bonnetti and A. Prandi, *La Persia Qajar. Fotografi italiani in Iran 1848-1864* (Rome: Peliti Associati, 2010), 23, quoted in, González, *Local Portraiture: Through the Lens of the 19th-Century Iranian Photographers*, 27.

73. Bonnetti and Prandi, *La Persia Qajar. Fotografi italiani in Iran 1848-1864*, 23, quoted in, González, *Local Portraiture: Through the Lens of the 19th-Century Iranian Photographers*, 27.

74. González, *Local Portraiture: Through the Lens of the 19th-Century Iranian Photographers*, 28.

75. Stein, "Early photography in Iran," 259.

76. Angelo M. Piemontese, "The Photograph Album of the Italian Diplomatic Mission to Persia (Summer 1862)," *East and West* 22, nos. 3/4 (1972): 262, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29755776>.

aforementioned collodion process to the Shah and Reza ‘Akkasbashi.⁷⁷ Maria Francesca Bonetti and Alberto Prandi add Hakim-ol-Mamalek to the list of the first students of Carlhian.⁷⁸ Khadijeh Mohammadi Nameghi describes Ernst Holtzer (1835–1911) as the German telegraph engineer,⁷⁹ who was employed in Telegraph office until 1890. Concurrently, he was photographing the Qajar lands that his “description are a fund of unusual information, recording all strata of life and illuminating the decadence and decline of the Qajar dynasty in the last quarter of the 19th century.”⁸⁰ The last of famous foreign photographers who stayed in Qajar lands until his death was Georgian Antoin Sevruguin (c. 1830s–1933), who witnessed both the late Qajar and early Pahlavi eras of Iran as the photographer. The literature has taken cognizance of Sevruguin more than other foreign photographers and it would not be a mistake to claim that the many studies about Sevruguin are acknowledged properly. Thus, he is the most prominent photographer of the history of photography of Iran. His name has been written in divergent forms when translating from the cursive style to the Latin, such as *Serunian*, *Segruvian*, *Sevriogin* and *A. Sevrugin*. He was one of the prolific commercial photographers who opened his studio “on *Khiaban-i Dowlah* (Avenue of the Ambassadors) in Tehran in the 1870s, and his pictures received a gold medal at the Brussels Exposition of 1897.”⁸¹ Sevruguin had mostly written the titles and indications of photographs in Latin letters. Since it is acknowledged that he was a prolific and famous commercial photographer of his time, this choice of Sevruguin paves the way for raising an assertion about the potency of foreign customers in the domestic market of photography with a high degree of probability. He has photographed Naser al-Din Shah, as well as his imperial seraglio that demonstrates his close relationship with the Shah. Apart from this, the literature also claims that he was one of the supporters of the constitutionalists during the

77. González, *Local Portraiture: Through the Lens of the 19th-Century Iranian Photographers*, 29.

78. Bonetti and Prandi, “Italian Photographers in Iran 1848–64,” 14.

79. Nameghi and González, “From Sitters to Photographers: Women in Photography from the Qajar Era to the 1930s,” 51.

80. Stein, “Early photography in Iran,” 268.

81. Ibid.

revolution. The reason for this claim is the fact that "More than 5,000 glass plate negatives by Sevruguin were destroyed in 1908 by fire during the Constitutional Revolution."⁸² The photographs from Tobacco movement and other constitutionalist leaders by Sevruguin also confirms this claim. In Chapter Four, I will analyze the photographs captured by Sevruguin while analyzing the legitimacy crisis of the Shah that was betokened in the photographs of the period.

For the second segment of my foreign photographers categorization, which includes the foreigners who returned to their homeland after accomplishing their errand for documentary photography, Italians cover a sizable portion. One of them is Luigi Montabone (?-1877) who, together with his assistant Pietrobon, traveled Iran during the summer of 1862 to accomplish his Italian diplomatic mission. His acquisition of this travel was visual documentation of Iran in which "images have survived in three albums, which contain slightly different groupings of photographs."⁸³ Secondly, most of the travelers of the time has utilized from Sevruguin's photographs without crediting him. For instance,

In the case of Friedrich Sarre (1836-1910) [who travelled in Iran and Turkestan in 1897-98 and 1899-1900 and was a scholarly traveller], he only used photographs by Sevruguin. In the absence of copyright laws in the nineteenth century, Sevruguin is once again not credited.⁸⁴

The British Edward Granville Browne (1862-1926), a prominent Iranologist, also utilizes from photographs by Sevruguin without referring to the photographer. This tendency of travelers can be threefold. First, Sevruguin chooses the latin alphabets in writing the indications and titles of the photographs. Secondly, Sevruguin is a photographer already known for having an international award from the Brussels Exposition of 1897. And lastly, Sevruguin, as a prolific photographer, is the owner of a

82. Noted in Stein, "The Photographic Source for A Qajar Painting," 31.

83. Stein, "Early photography in Iran," 261-262.

84. Nameghi and González, "From Sitters to Photographers: Women in Photography from the Qajar Era to the 1930s," 54.

famous commercial studio that can be easily accessed by travellers.

3.4 What Did Photographers See and the Legitimacy Crisis of the Shah

The photograph is a communication. The truth of the photograph is the truth of the painting or sculpture, a personal one, discovered by the artist & laid out for the viewer. It is a message from the photographer stating: This is what I see.⁸⁵

Photography was reflected as a science when included in the curriculum of the polytechnic college, which was in keeping with the aforementioned M. Arago's way of presenting it. Photography could not be edited broadly to be resonating with art, but as a medium of reporting and documentation, it reached prodigious usages during the Naseri period in Iran. Thus, for the period, most of the photographers' expression of what they discern was duplicated as the concrete photographs. Furthermore, the choice of the subjects presents how the photographers position themselves. The contentious atmosphere mentioned in Chapter Two introduced a legitimacy crisis for the Shah that will be analyzed in Chapter Four. For my inquiry, the legitimization crisis of Naser al-Din Shah was not only subjected to an amelioration of his legitimacy with creating an image of powerful ruler via photography but also it was subjected to a political subversion via commercial photographers. For instance, albeit the court photographers were serving for the Shah as the bulwarks of the amelioration, the commercial photographers such as Sevruguin preferred to photograph the protestors and their dominant size as will be analyzed further in Chapter Four. These protestors were not only among society but also were among the royals as well. According to Charles Kurzman, for instance, most of the founders of the *Revolutionary Committee*⁸⁶, had the modern educational background that even some of them were graduates of Dar

85. Lisa Furness, "Art versus Documentary – My photo-philosophy and inspirations," Furness Photography, <http://www.furnessphotography.com/blog/art-versus-documentary-my-photo-philosophy-and-inspirations>.

86. A committee that had a large number of founders which Kurzman categorizes as one of the important mark stones belonging to prodemocracy mobilization in Iran.

ol-Funun.⁸⁷ The committee founded in 1904 by which the educational background of the founders reveals to be pertained to the Naseri period. What is known is that some of the Qajar princes were graduates of Dar ol-Funun and the Shah's state regime and his sanctions like tobacco agreement were criticized by those of Qajar ancestry, as well. One of them was Suleyman Qajar who "organized the first student strike in Iran," then he became a member of the Revolutionary Committee, and "decades later, he helped to found the Socialist Party of Iran."⁸⁸



87. Charles Kurzman, *Democracy Denied, 1905-1915: Intellectuals and the Fate of Democracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 63.

88. Ibid., 179.

CHAPTER IV

PHOTOGRAPHY AND POLITICS: A LEGITIMATION CRISIS

4.1 Legitimation Crisis in Iran

The most prevalent and utmost confrontations Iran have faced since the second half of the 19th-century were the growing gap between an absolutist monarch and its subjects. Another confrontation was the diminishing of the Persian empire's prestige and international power in foreign affairs. Photography, in such an atmosphere, performed the role of a communication channel amongst these confrontations. The main reason for these confrontations was insufficiency of the traditional monarchic structure of Iran for both inside and outside of the country. There were Great Powers - especially England and Russia - and their expansionist policies on one side and, there were some social strata, who were dissatisfied by the Great Powers' politics over Iran, postulated the state's administrative structure and unjust ruler to be responsible for the backwardness of Iran, on the other side. Yet, the expansionist policies of the Great Powers were increasing decade by decade that correspondingly and ironically made the Persian society more familiar with and made them eager to the notion of the nation-state structure to be able to empower their country and their welfare. As a result, Iran was often referred to as a non-modern state and its backwardness reasoned with the form of Qajar administration. Thus, both internal and external atmosphere were resounded in against the traditional Qajar power structure, and subsequently, they became a source of confrontations during the reign of Naser al-Din Shah. Accordingly, both of these two-sided postures were managing and accentuating a threat on losing legitimacy of Naser al-Din Shah for his sovereignty. Photography found usage in

resounding in the interests of the state, society and foreigners discretely.

At this point, the definition of the legitimacy crisis by Jürgen Habermas in 1973, which although the theory is primarily concerns advanced capitalist states and societies, still fits well with the Naseri Period. Habermas writes about legitimation crisis as “the legitimizing system does not succeed in maintaining the requisite level of mass loyalty while the steering imperatives taken over from the economic system are carried through.”¹ Thus,

A legitimation crisis then, must be based on a motivation crisis—that is, a discrepancy between the need for motives declared by the state, the educational system and the occupational system on the one hand, and the motivation supplied by the socio-cultural system on the other.²

Following these definitions, I will examine in the pages below the legitimacy problem of the Naseri period that ruling power belonged to an absolutist Shah who was ironically ruling a decentralized empire. Although the legitimation crisis of Habermas requires more in-depth studies and discussion, this study emphasizes the failure of the Shah in maintaining the requisite level of mass loyalty as a parameter in creating the legitimation problem.

Accordingly, this absolutist Shah’s reign ended with his assassination and remarked him as the first and only assassinated Shah of Iran. Soon after his death, the first phase of the constitutional revolution commenced in 1905 and gained parliamentarism in the country in 1906. With this respect, the political authority of Naser al-Din Shah, which was threatened and diminishing during his reign, should be presented here for a better understanding the change in power structure after his assassination in Iran.

According to Max Weber’s classifications of power structures, it can be argued that Naseri Period witnessed the shift from a traditional governance towards a more

1. Jürgen Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988), 46.

2. Ibid., 74–75.

rational-legal structure. After the assassination of Naser al-Din Shah (1896), first constitutional parliament was established in 1906. In the Naseri period, attempts to consolidate the central power embodied itself in supporting the institutionalization of modern foundations. What these institutions did, in fact, was enhancing the contact of society with modernity and resulted in the nationwide public upheavals against the orders of the traditional central authority (the Shah). The rising public awareness about the modernity eventually initiated the substructure of a constitutional government. By considering this change, I argue that the Naseri period has witnessed the process up to the transmutation of the political structure. The Naseri era as a period of a shift of traditional power structure towards a rational-legal structure.³ I will enlarge my claim of discerning the Naseri period as the maturation process, but let me introduce what was the political legitimacy betokened in Qajar society afore.

4.1.1 Political Legitimation

What Homa Katouzian calls the traditional monarchic system of the Qajars era as “*Estebdad*”, a form of domination that was different from European style absolutism and despotism from 16th century through 19th. One of the characteristics of this regime the absence of the rule of primogeniture for the inheritance and succession to the throne between the Qajar princes.⁴ Abbas Amanat maintains the Naseri Period was the first example of a modern monarchical absolutism because of the practice of modern diplomacy with rival states in order to strengthen the absolutist power. However, Amanat also claims that this attitude of the Shah was weakening his

3. The analysis of the effects of the constitutional revolution on the political structure of Iran during 20th century is another study's topic. Thus, in this dissertation, I do not focus on the future developments of constitutional revolution and parliament, but more, I focus on the motivation behind the political uprisings of 19th century from a societal point of view. This motivation was embodied with earning a separation of power against an absolutist power. In this manner, neither the closing of parliament in 1908, the reestablishment of it in 1909, and the *court d'état* of 1921, nor the disagreement between the clergy, Babis and intelligentsia and the multi-party period are not the focus points of this study.

4. Sahhosseini, “Mashrute: Englab-i ke baraye Ganoon bood - Homa Katouzian.”

ministerial autonomy.⁵ During the reign of Naser al-Din Shah, the traditional power structure was maintained with suspicion and distrust, and for the first time, a Persian Shah was assassinated. Ten years after the assassination, foundation of a constitutional and parliamentary regime, adaptation of a rational legal system and separation of powers were achieved against the traditional Qajar power structure. What was the significance of these achievements was the historical background of these adaptations was accompanied by the illegitimacy of the traditional structure of governance.

Naser al-Din Shah experienced this illegitimacy by employing diverse monarchic forces to balance his political image as well as the system itself. He supported the ideas of some of modern institutions and enhancements like modern hospitals and a modern polytechnic college. “First modern factory in Persia, was inaugurated. Other factories [...] were established in the following years.”⁶ But at the same time, he tried to preserve his traditional status as absolute ruler. For instance, after the mass uprising against his concessions to foreigners in the Tobacco movement, which is studied in Chapter Two, Naser al-Din Shah “restricted the development of education and made it difficult to educate abroad. Without his government’s permission, his citizens were forbidden to travel to Europe.”⁷

Homa Katouzian also calls the power of the Qajar state as arbitrary rule and adds “Since power was arbitrary there was no law in the sense of a written or unwritten framework that would set an independent limit to the exercise of power and thereby make social and economic life reasonably predictable.”⁸ He defines the religiously legitimized authority of Qajar Shahs by claiming it as an “ideal concept” where

5. Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe: Nasir Al-Din Shah Qajar and the Iranian Monarchy, 1831-1896*, xiii-xiv.

6. Shireen Mahdavi, *For God, Mammon, And Country: A Nineteenth Century Persian Merchant: Haj Muhammad Hassan Amin Al-Zarb* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1999), 14.

7. Djalili and Kellner, *İranın son İki Yüzyıllık Tarihi* [The Last Two Hundred Years of The History of Iran], 31.

8. Homa Katouzian, *Iranian History and Politics: The Dialectic of State and Society* (Oxford: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 103.

“justice may be perceived to exist only in relation to the existing social expectations,” and concludes “the unjust ruler was contrary to that, and therefore rebellion against him was legitimate. But many unjust rulers were not overthrown, and so, in theory, they still had the Grace and remained the Shadow of Almighty.”⁹ But what has been experienced beginning from the mid 19th-century was the emergence of the modern ideologies that brought some other social classes like merchants and intelligentsia to the arena of politics; this was different from the previous practice. Therefore, the unjust ruler in religious manner commenced to be found culpable for not preserving national rights against western powers, and came up with revealing that the Shah and society were weak without having a rational bureaucracy, rational legal judiciary system, and a parliament. Clergy did not just define the Shah as unjust but also commenced to call him impotent in these manners as well. The reason why I emphasize the term of “injustice” is cognate with the traditional norms of legitimacy in traditional Persian empires.

4.1.2 Social Reactions

Clergy and Babis had religious roots and can be put on the same scale in the category of religious upheaval demanding for religious reform.¹⁰ But what is important for the religious upheavals led by the clergy was the fact that the Shi’a sect and society had an important role in the legitimacy of Qajar dynasty with having the Shah on the top of the hierarchy. The society was not directly the source of legitimacy for Qajars, but harming the welfare of society was enough for referring to a Shah *unjust* according to the traditional norms. Where being an unjust ruler, theoretically and traditionally, was the reason of losing the legitimate right of rule of the Shah.

By the Qajar era, a shah’s right to rule depended, as it had for centuries in

9. Ibid., 46.

10. For more information on the role of clergies and Babis during the 19th century see: Bayat, *Iran’s First Revolution: Shi’ism and the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1909*.

Iran, primarily on how well he provided for his subjects welfare and defended them, but also now on how he supported a Shi'ī clerical hierarchy as it developed more and more autonomous power and status. During the Qajar era, the clergy's status as the main guardians and interpreters of religious law during the occultation of the Twelfth Imam had to be more and more explicitly acknowledged by the sovereign as he strove to maintain their support.¹¹

Thus having clergy as an opposite force against the Naser al-Din Shah covers a large portion in demolishing his legitimacy. Babi movement was also questioning legitimacy of Shi'a sect which was threatening the Shah who needed clergy's support. All in all, this tempestuous religious parameters was threatening the power of Naser al-Din Shah.

What merchants and intelligentsia had in common was both were, mostly, from elite and new born bourgeoisie class who were more open to the outside world due to their business and educational trips. In general the merchants and intelligentsia had secular and scientific tendencies, in common. Mangol Bayat describes these two groups as “they understood that principles such as human rights, rationalism, scientism, and belief in the indefinitely progressive development of the human mind lay at the basis for the new social system that checked exploitation and domination of humans by humans.”¹² Thus these two groups were harming Qajar legitimacy through modern ideologies such as nationalism, national economy and secularism. They were, in general, against the “arbitrary rule”¹³ of Qajar monarchy as they wanted to limit the monarchic absolutist power. According to Katouzian, the social upheavals that lasted for almost half a century, extending to the overthrow of the constitution, were made

11. Ernest S. Tucker, *Nadir Shah's Quest for Legitimacy in Post-Safavid Iran* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 14–15.

12. Bayat, *Iran's First Revolution: Shi'ism and the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1909*, 34.

13. Homa Katouzian in his study *Iranian History and Politics: The Dialectic of State and Society* generally describes the all different Iranian states as generally arbitrary authority over society. Qajar also was one of those states according to his study. However, he adds that there were some breaks in this generalization that one of them was opening a parliament and adopting a rational legal judiciary system. However, he declares that although there were breaks in the trend, they were short in time and what Iran experienced was again turning back to arbitrary ruling position. For further information see: Katouzian, *Iranian History and Politics: The Dialectic of State and Society*.

against the arbitrary rule of the Qajar Shahs.¹⁴

The reason why I use two opposite sides is not to create a simple dichotomy and to facilitate the study. It seems more convenient to describe how Iran adapted photography during the reign of Naser al-Din Shah. Because, in my opinion, the relationship between the Qajar monarchy and society, although this relationship of court and society witnessed sometimes a partnership, had entered into the path of becoming two separate parties. In fact, this approximately 50-year long Naseri Period, was the maturation period with all its socioeconomic and politic parameters, in which the society would rise against the state in the struggle for a constitutional government.

In Chapter Two, I have already demonstrated the quandaries by examining the factors harming the political/traditional hegemony of Naser al-Din Shah and analyzed diversified modes of upheavals that they all resulted in the common voice. This common voice was damaging the legitimacy of Naser al-Din Shah which also led to politicization of different societal strata.¹⁵ They were the four discontent groups mentioned previously in Chapter Two, namely the clergy, Babis, merchants and intelligentsia.

Iran's 19th-century was authentically a patronizing process of social, economic and political tensions. Even during the second half of this century, the calibre of pressure went up. Albeit the famine was a quandary that Iranians often experienced because of climate and its geological structure, I claim that the ensuing food shortage that took place during the Naseri period were integral part of the gradual diminishing of Qajar legitimacy. Since the cities hit by the famine were among the most populous of Iran, it is clear that in such an atmosphere, the legitimacy of Qajar dynasty was damaged.

14. Ibid., 26–27.

15. Agrarian peasants of that century were involved in the upheavals but mostly they could be participated due to their Erbab's (landlords) wish rather than being directly politicized. See: Sahhosseini, "Mashrute: Engelab-i ke baraye Ganoon bood - Homa Katouzian," .For this reason, I prefer to use societal strata instead of society while talking about actors leading to, participating in or affecting the social upheavals.

Additionally, the postures of the local administrators were in the ways of stocking grain during the famine. This posture, as well, enhanced the damage of the Qajar dynasty's legitimacy as the centre paid less attention to stockpiling of officials. The Councils of merchants reacted to this situation, which is another aspect of diminishing legitimacy of the court. Albeit merchants' perspective prioritized the national economy, their policies were shaped not in favor of state but in favor of the nation. They inculcated the officials and province governors for harming the nation and welfare of the society. This was an incipient political posture of merchants gained during the second half of the century. A national bourgeois of Iran was gradually taking shape.

According to Hamid Dabashi, Babism was the most effective movement of the century which for ten years, people in different cities such as Rasht, Tabriz and Tehran have been involved in rebellions along the Babi community. Even some members of the royal family became sympathizer of the movement, such as prince Abol Hasan Mirza Shaikh al-Ra'is.¹⁶ Dabashi claims these revolts virtually ended the legitimacy of Qajar dynasty.¹⁷

One of the critical reasons why Babi uprisings harmed the credibility and legitimacy of Naser al-Din Shah is that the Islamic legitimacy of the Qajar Shahs was predicated on corroboration of the clergy. As an example, Mulla Ali Kani corroborated and substantiated Naser al-Din Shah in 1873 that designated to be construed as the legitimate ruler of the country.¹⁸ This time, however, the decisions of the Shah was particularly questioned by a large mass with the leadership of clergy.

Perhaps opposition to the Shah has allowed these four societal strata to converge at some points. While intelligentsia could express religious reforms and together with the merchants can take part in a religious upheaval, some clergy could also defend the

16. Bayat, *Iran's First Revolution: Shi'ism and the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1909*, 23.

17. Dabashi, *Iran: Ketlenmiş Halk*, 71–72.

18. Hamid Dabashi, *Shi'ism: A Religion of Protest* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 169.

interests of merchants and intelligentsia, too. For instance, in opposition to religious/traditional legitimacy of Qajar monarchy some intelligentsia called for a reform in Islam. As an example, “From London (Jamal al-Din) Afghani contributed strong articles to Malkom’s *Qanun* and published letters sent to the Shi’i ulama in Iraq and Iran calling on them to depose the shah.”¹⁹ Another example of the collaboration is that “In the Constitutional era of the 1900s, although not necessarily religious individuals, such intellectuals as Akhundzadeh, Malkom Khan, Agha Khan Kermani, and Jamal al-din Afghani called for a kind of Islamic Protestantism.”^{20,21} All of these political determinations resulted in a change in the structure of power. Even Jamal al-Din Afghani reflected his ideas on the Shah through his writings.

By eliminating Nasir al-Din, he probably believed, he would deliver Iran from the yoke of a willful tyrant who, as he saw it, obstructed the way to “progress” and “civilization.” For sure, the assassination of the Shah cleared the path for the coming of a revolution.²²

Iranians’ reading of the European material was also impacted by two distinct yet interrelated factors, namely, the tradition of reacting to domestic autocracy, a tendency with certain similarities to the teachings of the eighteenth century French Enlightenment as well as the example of the nineteenth century British parliamentary system, and the ideological consequences of Iran’s semi-colonial situation, which was specific to Iran - although Iran was never directly colonized, it was affected by imperial politics and economic incursions during the Qajar period (1785-1925). Opposition to autocracy and resistance to imperialist advances gradually assumed a nationalist form in some elites and non-elite circles - for instance, it was experienced firsthand by segments of the merchant classes, intellectuals, some members of the clergy, and also by some covertly dissenting members of the political elite. In particular such opposition and resistance were aroused by concessions granted to foreign

19. Keddie, *Modern Iran Roots and Results of Revolution*, 62.

20. The Islamic Protestantism was in short demanding of an anticlerical society and politics by reforming of the powerful Muslim authorities in Iran. This was inspired by the Protestantism of Europe that the conflict between clergy and intelligentsia among this demand was an hot topic on the first parliaments as well. It even got more popular during mid 20th-century Iran with the Ali Shariati’s call for it.

21. Mojtaba Mahdavi, “Max Weber in Iran: Does Islamic Protestantism Matter?,” *Canadian Political Science Association*, 2005, <https://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2005/Mahdavi.pdf>.

22. Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe: Nasir Al-Din Shah Qajar and the Iranian Monarchy, 1831-1896*, 443.

interests and capitulations to foreign states. Domestically, however, opposition to local or central authorities was often expressed in measures such as seeking individual justice out of grievance (*tazallom*), and resorting to the normative paradigm of '*circle of justice*'.²³

Apart from the fact that the court of Naser al-Din Shah remained not totally indifferent to changing parameters, Shah's perception was also affected by the benefits of modernization. Both the Shah and these four strata were both adapting themselves to modernity at the same time. However, their adaptations were in the form of opposite goals in resounding the legitimacy policies. Shah applied policies of modernity to strengthen his legitimacy while society was experiencing modernity to reach their goal of constitution. In other words, while the Shah was trying to maintain his own absolutist right of rule, society was demanding a limitation to the power of the Shah. Photography gained usage and popularity under the affect of this confrontation of expectations from modernity. With interrelating and integrating with the changing socioeconomic and politic conjecture of second half of 19th-century, photography found its pioneer and diversified usages.

During his reign, Naser al-Din Shah aimed to centralize his authority and to prove his power both inside and outside Iran due to the afore said important confrontations. At such a period, photography offered opportunities for both amassing information from inside and outside of the country and also became a mediator for apprising the internal and external dynamics. Inspired by Susan Sontag's indication as "Nevertheless, the camera's rendering of reality must always hide more than it discloses,"²⁴ I argue that the legitimacy crisis of the period was the hidden motivation of the most of the photographs more than what they disclosed. For instance, representing the Qajar administrators, modern institutions of the country and the charisma of the Shah by photographic images were contiguous with benefitting from photographs to accommodate for amassing erudition about the subjects like prisoners, tribal groups

23. Gheissari, "Iran's Dialectic of the Enlightenment: Constitutional Experience, Transregional Connections, and Conflicting Narratives of Modernity," 24.

24. Sontag, *On Photography*, 18.

and some politically challenged territories like borderline with the neighbor Ottoman Empire. In addition to the use of photography to represent and to document, there were photographs of social rites and royal ceremonies, too, which were visual collection of information about the society. All in all, these usages are some of the functions of photography during the Naseri period. One may even argue that, as stated by Ali Behdad, “the power of the photographic image became the image of dynastic power”²⁵ during the Naseri period. But the question why Naser al-Din Shah needed these offers of photography, will avail us better shape the function of photography of the era. Chapter Two has already shown demonstrated the legitimacy crisis of the Naseri period.

Naser al-Din Shah himself describes his feelings about the period as “If only no European had ever set foot in my country, we would have been spared all of these tortures. But since these aliens have penetrated, I intend to take as good and as much advantage of them as possible.”²⁶ According to Jakob Eduard Polak (1818-1891), Shah’s favourite physician, the above paragraph was the expression of Naser al-Din Shah in a private conversation. When taking into consideration that this is taken from a diary, it can be seen as a general feeling that suits the Shah too, although it can also be quoted from the Shah himself. The Shah traveled to Europe in 1873, 1878 and 1889, and he reproduced the occidental fashion of photography with the Persian characteristics and sent albums to neighbors and rivals. The portraits of the Shah was always included by which the endeavouring to represent his power as an absolutist Shah and also to represent his country in a modern way by its establishments were the main motivation. By photography, thus, Naser al-Din Shah also intended to take as good and as much advantage of western powers as possible, just like Polak quoted.

Hamid Dabashi describes the 19th-century Iran in the following words. “At the same

25. Behdad, “The Power-Ful Art of Qajar Photography: Orientalism and (Self)-Orientalizing in Nineteenth-Century Iran,” 141–142.

26. Jakob Eduard Polak, *Persien, das Land und seine Bewohner* (New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1976), 294, quoted in, Ekhtiar, “Nasir al-Din Shah and the Dar al-Funun: The Evolution of an Institution,” 153.

time, Iran was both modernized and colonized.”²⁷ He also describes this as “the paradox of colonial modernity in Iran.”²⁸ Losing its northern territories to Russia in wars which created a political hegemony of Russia on the north of the country in addition to British’s semi-colonial practices in the south of Iran provided an opportunity for these countries to intervene in the Iranian politics and establish their domination over Iran. Yet, these countries also brought modern developments to Iran. Thus Iran both learned about modern bureaucracy, military technology and capitalist/modern industry from them. Another result, as expected, was the emergence of a reactionary nationalist patriotic movements against these powers. Iran not only tried to develop itself with modernization to compete with the western powers but also to protect its independence and territorial integrity.

The above quote from Naser al-Din Shah describes this dilemmatic situation, albeit to some extent. He understood that he had to overcome the harms caused by these powers by benefitting from since Qajar court had to protect itself against the existing threats to its independence from outside, as well as from the insurrections and disobedience that seriously diminished its legitimacy inside. As Farshad Malek-Ahmadi summarizes “This paradoxical pattern of both resentment and respect/ emulation has been termed a ‘true key to the problems of Western impact on the East.’”²⁹

When considering the prolonged Naseri Period with all of its upheavals and modernization of the society besides increased foreign interventions in terms of politics and economy, the swaying of political image of the classical periods of Persian history makes itself visible. Particularly from the second half of the nineteenth century, the development of modern European state structure began to be felt all over the world. The characteristic of this century was that the interactions of states and

27. Dabashi, *Iran: Ketlenmiş Halk*, 62.

28. Ibid., 62–65.

29. Amin Banani, *The Modernization of Iran, 1921-1941* (California: Stanford University Press, 1961), 10, quoted in, Farshad Malek-Ahmadi, *Democracy and Constitutional Politics in Iran: A Weberian Analysis* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 39.

societies have increased in many different ways and through various channels. Not only the instruments and manufactured products but also the thoughts and ideologies were in the universal circulation. Thus, both the internal and external circumstances begun to require a sharing of political power rather than absolutism. In words of Eric Hobsbawm, the perception of an advanced country, during the reign of Naser al-Din Shah, was:

There clearly existed a general model of the desirable structure and institutions of a properly 'advanced' country, give or take a few local variations. It should form a more or less homogeneous territorial state, internationally sovereign, large enough to provide the basis of national economic development, enjoying a single set of political and legal institutions of a broadly liberal and representative kind (i.e. it should enjoy a single constitution and the rule of law), but also, at a lower level, it should have a fair degree of local autonomy and initiative. It should be composed of 'citizens' [...] These were aspirations, and not only for the 'developed' countries (all of which by 1880 conformed to some degree to this model) but for all others who did not wish to cut themselves deliberately off from modern progress. To this extent the liberal constitutional nation-state as a model was not confined to the 'developed' world.³⁰

Although this definition is more like a typology of an advanced state, this was an accurate and accepted one starting from the second half of the century. The modern progress that Hobsbawm points to, was an expressed urge of both Qajar Iran including the protesting groups. But because of economic, technological insufficiency, non-centralized authority and so many other inner and global conjectural reasons, it was not an easy task to apply all these radical reforms in Iran. It was not applicable also due to the differences of the previous 17th and 18th centuries' developments that accumulated its own historical trajectory until the second half of the 19th century. One may argue that the superstructural differences of society, culture and religion between Europe and Iran were also among the reasons. The main reason lied perhaps in the confusion between tradition and modernity. This can also be one of the main motivations behind pursuing diverse forms compared to Europe. However, it cannot

30. Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875-1914* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 22.

be the only one because there were problems in economy and politics beside traditional and cultural issues. To Hobsbawm, the Naseri Period coincides with the category of the non-developed states and was not a nation-state.

A very large part of the non-developed world possessed no states of this, or sometimes of any, form. Some of it consisted of the possessions of European powers, directly administered by them: these colonial empires were shortly to be enormously expanded [...] Some of it consisted of sometimes very ancient empires such as the Chinese, the Persian and the Ottoman, which had parallels in European history but were clearly not territorial states ('nation-states') of the nineteenth-century type, and were very obviously (it seemed) obsolescent.³¹

As a necessity of the conjecture, new political routes were being sought by the court. During the reign of Naser al-Din Shah, a modern ways of image-making aimed by the help of photography which “raise alarm bells about that old axiom that the camera never lies”³² with the reasoning of creation a new “loo” to ameliorate the legitimacy of the Shah. Photography, beside entertaining Naser al-Din Shah’s personal interest that made him as the second native Iranian amateur photographer,³³ also served as a functional media for political arena. Just like Ali Behdad claims “photography proved useful to Iran’s internal power structure in that they provided the monarch with images of power [...] Nasir al-Din Shah used photography to make himself the quintessential image of monarchical power.”³⁴ In order to comprehend some photographic notions such as the representation, the modern taste, models of photographs, founding of both official or state-owned and individual studios in different cities, emerging of report and documentary photographs, creation and circulation of albums which both produced by the Qajar officials for Shah and also produced to be sent to foreign countries, understanding the aim behind the production is required. Additionally, in which

31. Ibid., 23.

32. Philip M. Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Day*, 3rd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 165.

33. Zoka, *Tarikh-e 'Akkasi va 'Akkasan-e Pishgam dar Iran*, 26.

34. Behdad, “The Power-Ful Art of Qajar Photography: Orientalism and (Self)-Orientalizing in Nineteenth-Century Iran,” 150–151.

circumstances the foreigners and protesting groups benefited from photographs that gained internal and external value, and for which purposes they were used should be reckoned with the understanding of the potential reasonings behind them.

Moreover, this was such a period that ‘advanced countries’ also enhanced their “national self-advertisements”³⁵ by the help of technological developments. And one of them was photography. As an example, during the second half of the 19th century, the Victorian England for the first time tried to persuade the public opinion for its political legitimacy by the help of Photography.

As a result of technological innovations, the century saw a steady rise in the role of public opinion and in the use of propaganda by governing élites to influence it [...] This was greatly aided by major advances in the speed with which newspapers could be produced, by the invention of photography, by improved transport systems such as railways and, later in the century, by the advent of electricity and flight. Asa Briggs was right when he described such nineteenth-century developments as constituting a genuine ‘Communications Revolution’.³⁶

Through oeuvre of Max Weber’s rationality theme, the differences of bureaucracy and related parameters between 19th century’s Occidental and the Oriental societies remarks the oriental public spheres as of irrational domains because of the incapacity in participating the bureaucracy and capitalist system’s structures. Thus there is a controversy over whether there was an occidental type of public opinion in the East of the 19th century or not.

Bureaucratic administration means fundamentally the exercise of control on the basis of knowledge. This is the feature of it which makes it specifically rational. This consists on the one hand in technical knowledge which, by itself, is sufficient to ensure it a position of extraordinary power. But in addition to this, bureaucratic organizations, or the holders of power

35. A term used by Philip M. Taylor when describing the Great Exhibition held in Crystal Palace, England in 1851. For Further see: Taylor, *Munitons of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Day*, 162.

36. Ibid., 158–159.

who make use of them, have the tendency to increase their power still further by the knowledge growing out of experience in the service.³⁷

Although there is a controversy over whether there was a western type of public opinion in the East of 19th-century, not surprisingly, Naseri Period was aware of this communicational inventions and there were newspapers, electricity and photography existed in Iran during the reign of Naser al-Din Shah - railway also was a topic during his reign but could not be achieved. Among them, the ability of photographs in persuasion the opinions of both Iranian subjects and foreigners was also an known concept. Beside the circulation of western ideologies within the society, Naser al-Din had its first trip to Europe in 1873 that followed by two other visits occurred in 1878 and 1889. So, as the first Shah visiting Europe, he was also aware of European states not only by hearing and reading or by expansionist forces which Iran had relations with, but he witnessed with his own eyes as well. Gift giving of portraits of Naser al-Din Shah and including the image of the Shah in each album's first page, were nothing but benefiting from the power of photographic image in constructing a charismatic Shah in the eyes of his subjects and foreign countries. The emerging of the circulation of photographic portrait of the Shah within the country can be exemplified by the fact that "with the assistance of Ghulam Husayn Khan, Nasir al-Din Shah took photographs of himself early in his rule and gave them to Rijal and local chieftains as tokens of his dynastic power."³⁸ This usage in affecting the opinions continued its growth in propagandizing public opinion. This trend did not arise only in the direction of ruling class but also developed at the hands of protesting groups, as well. Appropriately, not only the Shah but protesting groups and foreigners also benefitted from photography to legitimate their goals. In other words, the "axiom of camera" played the roles of both harming and healing function for the political illegitimacy. To exemplify, In 1902 "A photograph of Joseph Naus was just the pretext all interested

37. Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), 339.

38. Behdad, "The Power-Ful Art of Qajar Photography: Orientalism and (Self)-Orientalizing in Nineteenth-Century Iran," 149.

groups needed. The Belgian expert hired by the government to reform the tax system of the country was seen wearing clerical garb at a costume party.” Thus “In March 1905, during the Moharram holy week [...] The tollab³⁹ brandished copies of the photograph of Naus, demanding vengeance.”⁴⁰ The discovery of the political power of photography by the protesting groups, as it was the case in dismissal of Joseph Naus, also manifested itself during the constitutional period. Figure 2 is the photograph duplicated and distributed among society that presents Naus in appearance of clergy costume. The photograph read as the prove for Naus’s insulting behaviour and became as the main provocative elements of the agitation in which, the two of the protesting strata played role of significance.

The protests of merchants, supported by clerics, between 1900 and 1905 emerged out of the customs, trade and tariff reforms that Joseph Naus had introduced to Iran. Indeed, this was increasingly directed against Naus himself, who came to hold key positions in the service of Qajar administration.⁴¹

All of these signs of progress in the utilization of photography reflect the potential of photographic images in affecting the political tendencies of both the state and protesting groups during the Naseri period. The origin of the society’s conscious of the power of photography dates back to Tobacco movement of 1891-1892, while the state was well cognizant of the power of photography in politics, since 1870s.

4.2 Towards a Constitutional Government

For Iran, the 19th-century ended with the crucial event of the assassination of the Shah.

39. Tollab is plural form of “Talabe” which was used for describing the students of religious studies in Qajar Iran. The term is being used in today Iran, too.

40. Bayat, *Iran’s First Revolution: Shi’ism and the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1909*, 107.

41. Elahe Helbig, “From Narrating History to Constructing Memory: The Pole of Photography in the Iranian Constitutional Revolution,” in *Iran’s Constitutional Revolution of 1906: Narratives of the Enlightenment*, ed. Ali M. Ansari (London: Gingko Library, 2016), 68.

The Constitutional Revolution therefore sought to provide not a restoration or repair of the Qajar Pact nor a revival of an even earlier 'circle of justice' paradigm - in fact the assassination of Naser al-Din Shah in 1896 by a petitioner-turned assassin was a clear indication of the breakdown of that paradigm for good.⁴²

The assassination was done by Mirza Reza Kermani (unknown-1896) who was previously arrested. While *Akhtar* reports the sadness of the Iranians and the editorship of the journal about the assassination with mentioning the Shah with respect, even with praising his character,⁴³ and reports the translations of the Ottoman newspapers of *Sabah*, *Ikdam* and *Terjüman-ı Hakikat*'s news about the assassination to demonstrate the Shah's importance for the Ottoman lands,⁴⁴ still does not report anything about the assassin himself. The official gazette of *Rozname-ye Iran*, on the other side, reports that the assassin came incognito and tried to escape after shooting the Shah with a gun, but he was caught after surviving from the danger of lynching attempt of the furious crowd.⁴⁵ The *Rozname-ye Iran* also reports the execution of the Mirza Reza Kermani on 10 August 1896 in *Meydan-e Mashgh* (*Mashgh Square*) that how government led his death body to remain in the square for days in order to show the revenge of the assassination.⁴⁶ Photographing of the dead body, which was pictured both by court photographers and Antoin Sevruguin, demonstrate the situation of the execution in Qajar lands as well as marking the dead body of the Kermani. The photograph taken by Sevruguin (Figure 3) is taken from a distance, whether because of not being a court photographer at the time or due to the aim of demonstrating the mass around the gallows. Figure 4, on the other hand, has the dead body of the Kermani as principal focal point and in order to reinforce the state as the sovereign willpower of the execution, the frame also includes the officials. These two photographs are examples

42. Gheissari, "Iran's Dialectic of the Enlightenment: Constitutional Experience, Transregional Connections, and Conflicting Narratives of Modernity," 33.

43. Mohammad Taher Tabrizi, ed., *Akhtar*, vol. 9 (Tehran: National Library and Archives of I.R. of Iran, 1383/2004), 8045–8047.

44. Ibid., 8048–8051.

45. Mohammad Taher Tabrizi, ed., *Akhtar*, vol. 5 (Tehran: National Library and Archives of I.R. of Iran, 1382/2003), 3541.

46. Ibid., 3586.

of the document and report usages. Additionally, they can be read as demonstration of the revenge and the visual documentation of the execution have been accomplished by the photography. But still no information about Mirza Reza Kermani's identity have been reported in both Persian newspapers in related with his religion or political aims. The foreign press however, are more outspoken about the identification of the Mirza Reza Kermani. For instance, *The Rockland Country Journal* of the USA reported on 9 may 1896 that the assassin was a Babi mullah.⁴⁷ Some historians argue that he was a fellow of pan-Islamism and supporter of Jamal al-Din Afghani (unknown-1897). But still, whether he was a supporter of Jamal al-Din Afghani or was he a Babi is an issue of debate in literature.⁴⁸

Few years after the assassination of the Shah, the emergence of a change in the power structure and political authority, achievement of a parliament emerged that elevates the potency of reading the Naseri period as the maturation process of the constitutional revolution. Thus the 'golden age' of photography broke ground and found value within a maturation process which went in parallel with threatening the legitimacy of the Shah. In such a way that, the absolute power and authority of the Shah was commenced to be criticized. Respectively, after the assassination, the power structure reestablished with the help of constitutional revolution. In this sense, photography embarked the role as one of the applied policies to both heal the legitimation and to prevent its diminishing further. Thus, photographs of the period can actually present the story behind the legitimation crisis of the Shah and his state.

It would not be a mistake to see the Naseri Period as an era that coincided with a

47. "Shah Slain at Shrine," *Rockland County Journal*, May 9, 1896, <https://news.hrvh.org/veridian/cgi-bin/senylrc?a=d&d=rocklandctyjournall18960509.2.32#>.

48. The assassin was Mirza Reza Kermani, who according to Mira Xenia Schwerda was a Babi. But according to Abbas Amanat and Ervand Abrahamian he was one of the students of Jamal al-Din Afghani with pan-Islamic ideas. For each claim, however, both Babis and clergy like Afghani were against the ruling legitimation of Naser al-Din Shah. See: Schwerda, "Death on Display. Mirza Reza Kermani, Prison Portraiture and the Depiction of Public Executions in Qajar Iran," 175; Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe: Nasir Al-Din Shah Qajar and the Iranian Monarchy, 1831-1896*; Abrahamian, "The Causes of the Constitutional Revolution in Iran," 400.

maturation process for constitutional revolution which resulted in establishment of a parliament (Majlis) soon after his death. The reason for this is the opening of the Majlis which was a change in the parameters of the traditional power structure emerged after the Shah's assassination, which the historical background of the demand for a Majlis was experienced during the reign of Naser al-Din Shah.

As mentioned earlier, there was a gap between the Shah and his subjects, who were both models of photographs and also was exposed to the diversified photographic usages. The photography break ground on this gap that should be examined first. In this line, I studied the 19th century's main protests to examine the photography and its usages in Iran. John Tagg suggests:

Items produced by a certain elaborate mode of production and distributed, circulated and consumed within a given set of social relations; pieces of papers that changed hands, found a use, a meaning and a value, in certain social rituals [...] images made meaningful and understood within the very relations of their production and sited within a wider ideological complex which must, in turned, be related to the practical and social problems which sustained and shaped it.⁴⁹

The different modes of protests and revealing reaction of all four groups manifested their goals under journalism, secret societies and upheavals which ended up as politicization of these groups. At the end of the century, this politicization would eventually take an important step. Iran gained a special first milestones of modernization in politics, the first parliament. In this milestone, each group had separate labor. Their participation in the process towards the Constitution had continued afterwards as well. The first signature on constitution was of Mozaffar al-Din Shah (successor of Naser al-Din Shah, r.1896-1907). This signature was, theoretically, acceptance of Constitution by the Qajar monarchy. Yet, apart from the fact that it is incorrect to claim this first milestone brought a modern state structure with the wish of Qajar dynasty; two years later, parliament was closed by the wish of

49. Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*, 164.

Mohammad Ali Shah, (successor of Mozaffar al-Din Shah, r. 1907-1909). Although these actual events did not occur during the Naseri period, they are crucial since they demonstrate the results of the shift in power structure and its relationship with society during the reign of Naser al-Din Shah. The outcome of the short-lived majlis was “*Estebdad-e Saghir*”, two year period between 1908 and 1909, which means in Persian historiography as Lesser Tyranny. This was a period that photography gained a practice of propagandistic usage - the case of photograph of Naus in hands of tollabs was one of the pioneer propagandistic usage of photography that was mentioned above. Also, the gap between state and society would be ensued even more. Mohammad Ali Shah, with the help of Cossack Brigade closed down the Majlis in 1908 and uprisings, especially in major cities like Tabriz, continued until 1909.⁵⁰ This period resulted with the continuation of the constitutional protests for the opening of the Majlis for the second time.

During long periods of history, the mode of human sense perception changes with humanity's entire mode of existence. The manner in which human sense perception is organized, the medium in which it is accomplished, is determined not only by nature but by historical circumstances as well.⁵¹

Walter Benjamin helps us to clarify the period between the entry of the photography and the constitutional revolutions, albeit to some extent. As I have noted earlier, the literature agrees on the date of photography's entrance in 1842 whereas the first constitution signed by Mozaffar ed-Din Shah of Qajar was in 1906. Second opening of the parliament was in 1909. Some sixty seven years after the entrance of photography, Iranians learned about patriotism and nationalism, rationalism, scientism, human rights, concepts of independence and supremacy of science. Therefore, returning to

50. Shiva Balaghi, “Constitutionalism and Islamic Law in Nineteenth-Century Iran: Mirza Malkum Khan and Qanun,” in *Human Rights With Modesty: The Problem of Universalism*, ed. András Sajó (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV., 2004), 330.

51. Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (New York: Prism Key Press, 2010), 22.

Benjamin, as the perception of society was changing, progression and achievement of the photography and its usages were also changing, accordingly. On the other hand, experiencing western ideological adaptations was affecting the perceptions of both the state and society, which was reverberated through photographs of the period, too.

By 1910s, Iranians gained more social power to be able to promote their modern ideologies that at the same time they call more attention to the enhanced and institutionalized usage of photography. Since the 1910s, “with the gradual rise of a modern middle class, that modernist socio-cultural production was put on a strong base; and that professional instruction, use, and popularization of modern scientific knowledge received a decisive thrust.”⁵²

4.3 The Photographs

Photography was accommodated by the Shah to distribute and gather information while it was also utilized for engendering appreciation and fear as well as the visual document archiving. On the other side, both the establishment of commercial photography ateliers and the rise of the social discontent with the applied policies of the Shah by 1870s subvert both the monopoly of state in photographic production and legitimacy of the Shah. Consequently, the political usages of photography gained differentiated functionalities beginning from this year which needs to be considered in contextualizing the historical background of the era. In this line, the motivation of rejuvenating the legitimacy of Shah can be read through photographs. As John Berger says:

Every image embodies a way of seeing. Even a photograph. For photographs are not, as is often assumed, a mechanical record. Every time we look at a photograph, we are aware, however slightly, of the photographer selecting that sight from an infinity of other possible sights.

52. Cyrus Schayegh, “The Social Relevance of Knowledge: Science and the Formation of Modern Iran, 1910s-40s,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 43, no. 6 (2007): 944, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40262541>.

This is true even in the most casual family snapshot. The photographer's way of seeing is reflected in his choice of subject. The painter's way of seeing is reconstituted by the marks he makes on the canvas or paper. Yet, although every image embodies a way of seeing, our perception or appreciation of an image depends also upon our own way of seeing.⁵³

Berger underlines the photographer's individuality in designing the within the frame of a photograph and in deciding on the exclusion and inclusion from the frame. In addition, the cultural backbones shape the way society visually perceives. Albeit it is incorrect to deny the individuality of the photographer, an individual cannot be shaped discretely out of the conjunctions of the era. Similarly, Janet Wolff emphasizes on the individuality of the artist formed by "social structures and individual action," and she argues that "all actions, including creative or innovative action, arises in the complex conjunction of numerous structural determinants and conditions."⁵⁴ Thus, while celebrating a court photographer of the Naseri period, the choice of the frame could not be solely constructed by the creativity and/or free will of the photographer. And to such a degree that the legal hierarchy and its ad hoc norms also intervene in the photographers' choice.

For the Naseri period, the above mentioned confrontations of the era constitute the individuality of the photographer, too, that can be perceived through photographers' choice of subject and the way of representing it. Additionally, the subject's own status and interests also affect the juxtaposition of the images and elements in a photograph. For instance, a photographer, whether court photographer or commercial photographer, cannot freely reflect the image of the Shah, administrators or merchants independent from the way of representing their classes during the 19th century Iran. Thus as long as the mutual interdependence of individual with the conjecture exists, photographer and subject's independence from the socio-cultural, socio-politics and socio-economic parameters will not pristinely exist. For instance, the reason why Naser al-Din Shah

53. John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin UK, 2008), 10.

54. Janet Wolff, *The Social Production of Art: Communications and Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1981), 9.

appeared as a powerful and confident, a Shah, embodying the characteristic of a Qajar Shah concurrently with appearing as a modern and stylistic Shah in his portraits, can not be separately considered with the historical background and requirements of the era, which are dealt with in detail in the preceding chapters. Likewise, the usages of photographs are a testimony to how the production of photographs was depending on the needs of the era.

As already seen, during the conflict in Shah and society's expectations in adaptation of modernity, the Shah and protesting social strata's usages of photographs constituted themselves with the different motivations. For instance, before the 1870s, the enthusiasm of the Shah towards posing photographs and his own career of being amateur photographer was in its infancy. All these photographs are now presented in the Golestan Palace archive. During this stage, Naser al-Din Shah's enthusiasm for photography showed itself actively, but then this enthusiasm extended beyond being a special interest as a sort of policy of his own. According to Tahmasbpour, before 1863 there is no survived photograph taken by the Shah himself. However, he claims that albeit there are no survived photograph, there are clues of the privately active enjoyment of the Shah with photography as the photographer of the era prior to 1863.⁵⁵ His interest in photography is also a known phenomenon:

Filippo de Filippi, the Italian chronicler on the 1862 mission, remarked thus upon Nasr ed-din Shah's personal enthusiasm for photography: 'When it was the turn of Signor Montabone (to meet the Shah), the Shah, hearing that he was a distinguished photographer, expressed the wish to see his work and to pose himself for a photograph.'⁵⁶

However, beside the portraits of Shah, the administrators, and imperial seraglio women, there are photographs of some of the well-known participants of upheavals, landed proprietors, notables and important congregants of the empire at hand, too.

55. Tahmasbpour, *Nasir al-Din, Shah-e 'Akkas: Piramun-e Tarikh-e 'Akkasi-e Iran*, 21–23.

56. Piemontese, "The Photograph Album of the Italian Diplomatic Mission to Persia (Summer 1862)," 290, quoted in, Stein, "Early photography in Iran," 262–263.

Naser al-Din Shah's one of the responses to the upheavals was gathering visual documentation of the participants and the society. For instance, not only the court photographers took pictures of the participants of Tobacco movement, but also court photographers' documentary and social documentary albums begun to increase from the 1870s onwards. In other words, Naser al-Din Shah has accumulated photographs of people from virtually all walks of life since 1870s. The reason can be twofold. First, a universal tendency to amass visual information about people was of central importance not only for Naser al-Din Shah but for other states and their policies, which the stature of being cognizant about his subjects was facilitated by photography. Secondly, the Shah could be vigilant of the discontent with and disobedience towards him, which betokens the assumption of the fact that he could realize the threats against his legitimacy.

The reason of the variability of the subjects of photographs from the 1870s onwards can be the agitation of the Reuter concession, the first of mass movements mentioned in Chapter Two and it is studied that how the agitation occurred by disobedience of the social strata against the Shah's policies. Just after the Reuter concession of 1872-73, when the politicization of the social strata showed itself up, diversification in the album productions can be observed. Beside this agitation, the 1870s is also the era of the opening of individual studios. Thus, in addition to the disobedience of the society, there occurred the commercial photography. Within these studios, such as the studio of Sevruguin, the latest technical and artistic refinements were in utilization. In these studios with the European framing styles, photographs with sale motivation were commenced. The other improvements in the technology of photography that were initiated with the Scott Archer's developments of 1852, mentioned in Chapter Two, eased the path for these studios to stage photographs, duplicate and market them. By the emphasis of "the first decade of photography," Walter Benjamin tries to define the pre industrialisation phase of the history of photography and categorizes this phase as "the prime of photography." He differentiates the duplication and marketing of

photographs with the photographic productions of the first decade:

But that is the decade which precedes its industrialisation. Not that this early period was not already full of market vendors and charlatans who had mastered the new technique for the sake of profit; indeed they did so on a mass scale. But the latter belonged to the fairground and its traditional arts, where photography has always been at home, rather than to industry. Industry conquered the field with the visiting-card snapshot, its first manufacturer characteristically becoming a millionaire.⁵⁷

In this way, the opening of studios and their commercial production of photography supported the industrialization of the photography in Iran, too. Notwithstanding Benjamin's diagnosis of the industrialization of the photography, the individual studios may have assisted in the diminishing legitimacy of the Shah. At this point, the individuality of the photographer defined by John Berger requires attention. From 1870s onward, the circulated photographs begun not to be produced solely by the order of Shah and officials. But more, photographs became a commodity that could be bought and sold for wider public. Now the audience also expanded into ordinary people and the photographers' free-will and individuality became more visible than afore. Thus, Berger's emphasis on the ways of seeing of the photographer thereupon becomes more clearly effective. With the initiation of individual studios and commercial photography, the patronage of state, which previously was established by the official studios and official photographers conforming to the state's orders, decreased because of the new born commercial photographers who allowed for diminishment of the control of state over photographic production.

Yahya Zoka identifies how the commercial photographers were a threat to the Qajar state during the Constitutional Revolution. Zoka categorized a separate title of "martyr photographers" in his study and therein he identifies the photographers who were killed or faced Qajar state's oppression and whose studios officially closed because of photographing and duplicating the photographs of the constitutionalist

revolutionaries and the instants of the revolution of Tabriz in Tehran.⁵⁷ In other words, due to the facilitating of the photographic circulation undesirable by the state, the individual studios experienced state oppression. The circulation of revolutionary photographs was, certainly, damaging the Qajar legitimacy. Additionally, since the demand constitutes the circulation, Zoka also reflects the posture of society in supporting the constitutional revolution. Albeit he describes the situation of the photography at the of the 20th century, it seems as the posture of these studios established since the 1870s who were in against the Shah during the Naseri period, has evolved in the 20th century even more.

To exemplify, the Tobacco movement which was one of the utmost upheavals diminishing the Naser al-Din Shah's legitimacy were photographed, too. Figure 5 is one of these photographs which produced by an individual or commercial photographer. As noted previously, the Tobacco movement harmed both the Islamic and traditional authority of Naser al-Din Shah in as much as that the visual documentation of the clergy and potential participants captured. As noted in Chapter Two, Nazem-ol Eslam Kermani states the clergy's distribution of propagandistic pamphlets in public buildings by the end of 1892 for awareness of the society and calling for potential partisans in against the concession. This kind of organization can contain visual propaganda, too, especially while the Naseri period's vast utilization of photography is revived. This possibility is getting more vigorous when there are such photographs at hand. Figure 5 belong to the 1891-1892 and demonstrates the mass while praying. One of the politically effective moments for Muslims is when the Friday pray, led by a clergy stated as Imam-e Jama'at, finishes. In each Friday, Muslims gathers for praying at noon as an Islamic ritual and obligation in which a potency of leading a negotiation and discussion with the gathered crowd by Imam-e Jama'at occurs at the end. The Imam-e Jama'at in this photograph is no one other than Mirza Hasan Khan Shirazi, the owner of the well-known fatwa condemning the use of

57. Zoka, *Tarikh-e 'Akkasi va 'Akkasan-e Pishgam dar Iran*, 284–285.

tobacco in 1891. He was one of the important figures of the movement as a politicized clergy. This photograph is taken during the Tobacco movement in which demonstrates the large crowd led by Shirazi so that becomes one of the parameters demonstrating the seriousness of the movement. From the clothings of the prayers, the participation of different strata is obvious, which folds the seriousness of the event even more. The question here is who the photographer was. Most probably, it was Antoin Sevruguin, who was not a court photographer during Tobacco upheaval. Thereupon this increases the potency of not being taken for the court, but for duplication and sale in his own studio. In Chapter Three I mentioned about the odds about Sevruguin's reformist character. On that account, the visual distribution of the characteristic of the movement can embrace the motivation of propaganda as well.

Another example is Figure 6, this time certainly staged by the Sevruguin, during one of the passive resistance of the clergy named as *Bast*, also against the Shah. One may argue that the motivation behind capturing these pictures were not propaganda. However, whether the motivation were propaganda or not, these photographs were distributing the knowledge, size of the mass and the importance of the upheaval which can courage other strata and materializes a Shah under legitimacy threat. The state would not desire the dissemination and documentation of such a political and social crisis of the country. Such that in the near future, a Kurdish woman would appropriately buy a photograph of the constitutionalist leader of Tabriz for 10 tuman in Tehran. Sharif ol-Dowleh describes how she kisses the photograph and prays for the leader.⁵⁸ This portrait of a revolutionary leader has not certainly been taken by a court photographer and with the sanction of the state during a revolution against the Shah. This event actually demonstrates the potencial of photographs in the spread of political upheavals among the society and the consequentiality of the commercial ateliers in the spread becomes limpidly conspicuous.

58. Ibid., 284.

Zoka mentions about many commercial ateliers founded in different cities of Iran during the Naseri period. With the help of these studios, access to information has become more expeditious and more facile than before. Therein, these photographs embrace consequentiality the documentation of a disobeyed absolutist Shah by his mass of subjects. In this way, these photographs served for the diminishing authority and legitimacy of the Shah whose designed poseur is the absolute and powerful Shah with the titles of “The Shah of the World of Islam.” A photograph from 1865 (Figure 7), for instance, reflects one of the royal styles stating of the imperial character of Qajar dynasty. The title of the photograph is the above royal style of “The Shah of the World of Islam.” Nearly all of the photographs of Shah, except the ones taken by himself, are titled with the royal styles, majestic poses and jests and therein photographers are “influenced by ‘pictorial’ photographers who copied the look of Beaux-Arts paintings.”⁵⁹ Entitling portraits of Shah with the royal styles, generally with stylized calligraphy, emphasizes design of the audience’s perception and appreciation of the Shah’s image because “Descriptions, or descriptive titles, set limits to expectations, direct attention to subject or context, perhaps name the time and place.”⁶⁰ Usually, the majestic jest is fortified by a royal style and imperial character. The title of Figure 7 emphasizes the Shah’s Islamic authority in conjunction with the common photographic poseur of Naser al-Din Shah. This title demonstrates the emphasis of the Shah on the Islamic legitimacy in 1865, which from another point of view, it also demonstrates the equivalent significance of the threat on his Islamic status which was announced by the clergy in upheavals. Figure 5 and 6 demonstrate the opposition to Muslims against the Shah, which this political and social crisis of the country would not be desired to be visually published by the Shah.

The distribution of information was facilitated with photography, especially among a society with a low literacy rate. The prominence of visual information was perceived

59. Sontag, *On Photography*, 40.

60. Mary Price, *The Photograph. A Strange, Confined Space* (California: Stanford University Press, 1994), 71.

both by the state and society. Indeed, while the state was amassing information through court photographers, the society could be apprised of national upheavals by commercial photographers. To influence his subjects' appreciation and perception, Naser al-Din posed portrait photographs and included them in the albumen prints to send abroad as well as to send his domestic provinces. The majestic portraits of Naser al-Din Shah are not unique for the period and proximately all of the albumen prints start with his majestic jests which are entitled with the royal styles revealing the imperial characteristic. The official newspapers also had the majestic illustrations of the Shah on the first page. These portraits conduit that how Naser al-Din Shah tried to visualize a semblance of his image with prestige and power in his subjects' eyes. The aphorism of "Seeing comes before words"⁶¹ was in this way served to his subjects and portraits of Shah began to take their place also on the walls as the dynastic images. Figure 8, for instance, demonstrates the portrait of Shah framed and hanged on the wall of one of his administrators. In portraits an amalgam of traditional portrait paintings of Shahs with portrait photographs of the Naser al-Din Shah is efficaciously seen. In a way, the representation of Shah was embellished with modern and traditional refinements.

Figure 9, for instance, reflects the majestic Shah with power and confidence. The Shah's standing pose in Figure 9 has similarities with the universal 19th-century's majestic poses. The difference is the traditional elements of the Iranian symbolism and painting tradition within the frame which embark the photograph with Iranian characteristic. Leaning against a table or a chair was universally common for photographs staging in the studio, which reflects the familiarity of Iranian photographers with the European photographic styles. Shah's one hand is on the table and second on his belly in this photograph that can frequently change both with putting the hand on a magnificent chair while standing or sitting on that chair in other photographs. However, the flowers on the table, as Pérez González declares:

61. Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 7.

we can find several recurrent elements, such as the man holding a flower, as one of the more particular ones. The fact that the man is holding a flower is quite an unknown and bizarre element in Western portraiture [...] But not in the Persian painting tradition.⁶²

Thus, a mimicry of the Persian painting relocated in this photograph as well. With this respect, this photograph as well conduit the amalgam of traditional elements with modern pose.

Another example of the cumulation of modern and tradition in this photograph is wearing the tie-like collar folded over his neck with the traditional cloths together. The title of the photograph declares Naser al-Din as “the Shah of the world of Islam” again, in which there are common points of this photograph with Figure 7. First point is that both of them are captured previous then the Reuter concession, and secondly, both belonged to the same photographer and captured in the same studio, and both are duplicated in the same album number 133. In this album, there are photographs taken by other photographers in an other studios. The photographer of Figure 10, for instance, is Naser al-Din Shah himself. As an example of the portrait of the Shah from a younger age, in Figure 10 Shah is standing next to a sumptuous chair. Within the frame of this photographs is reverberating power of the Shah via his jest, and his clothings which is an amalgam of the occidental and oriental fashion. This posture in clothing has similarities with his expectation from modernity. We should remember that the Shah was benefitting from modernity to empower his traditional absolutist power. This dilemma can be observed from the within the frame as well. The missed eye contact of the Shah with the camera in this photograph can not frequently be observed from his photographs at the older ages. The lack of eye contact together with the jest and the serious look of the Shah, can withal be read as ascribing the aim of proving to his ability and merit of ruling the country as an adolescent. Another inference that can be achieved from Album number 133 is that albums can be the product of duplication from different photographs taken in different years, places and

62. González, *Local Portraiture: Through the Lens of the 19th-Century Iranian Photographers*, 114.

by different photographers. The reason of this inference is that the age of Shah as well as the photographers of Figure 10 with Figures 9 and 7 are different from each other. Below I will examine Figure 10 more in detail, but for now it would be appropriate to point out that this album is a recollection of the majestic jests of the Shah. The requirement of recollection of these photographs in 1865 as an albumen print is totally suitable to the political realm of the era. The requirement of this recollection can be, confidently and concurrently, to represent the power of Shah with emphasizing his personal interest in being a photographer to predispose his character to modernity.

One of the utmost confrontations of the period was losing the traditional Persian Empires' prestige not only domestically but also in the international arena. During the Naseri period, it is known that the international traffic of domestic albums was the trend. Iran was also a participant of this trend as well. During the reign of Naser al-Din Shah, there were not only album production for sending abroad, but also there were private albumen production for his own interest. Additionally, some albums were sent to local administrators or portraits of the Shah were gifted to the successful personae. In all kinds of albums, the hegemony of poses in the portraits of the Shah endeavours to reflect the accentuation on the Shah's power. Combination of the modern jests with traditional looks, on the other hand, reflects the Iranian modernization which, as noted earlier, during the Naseri period Iran was embracing both the tradition and the modern concurrently.

Among the Shah's own corpus of photographs, there are photographs of the imperial seraglio and his own portraits and self portraits. Therein endures differences in the way of representing the Shah's identity between the portraits Naser al-Din took and the portraits taken by another photographer. In Figure 10, for instance, we observe the reflected charisma of the Shah that noted down "I took my picture by myself". It is seen from this photograph that he holds the déclencheur which proves the description of the photograph. These kind of photographs, as noted in Chapter Three, were produced in the private photographic studio of the Shah in the Golestan Palace. There

are also portraits of the Shah taken by other photographers before the 1863. For instance, Figure 11 staged in 1859 by Carlhian. The objects within the frame of this photograph are similar with the Figure 10; a chair and the Shah in official cloths. However, albeit both the poses are standing, there are differences in the objects' luxuries and the jests of the Shah. In Figure 11 he has eye contact with the camera while in Figure 10 he has not. Additionally, the luxury of the chair is different. These differences can be due to the taste of the photographers. However, definitely, Naser al-Din Shah has reflected himself in a more majestic and powerful jest with more confidence and (maybe) proud of being both a photographer and a Shah. Additionally, in Figure 11 the eye contact of the Shah with camera also provides the sense of a face to face communication of the Shah with the audience of the photograph, while in Figure 10 his eye contact with the camera is absent.

On the contrary, what we visually perceive in Figure 12 is a Shah with a less majestic jest compared to heretofore photographs. This photograph was represented in album number 289 which was created between 1864-1881. The age of the Shah in this frame reveals the fact that this photograph was captured more proximate to the completion date of the album. Thus this jest of the Shah was captured after the great famine of 1871-1872, agitation of Reuter concession, and the harm of tribalism, especially the Shahseven tribe mentioned in Chapter Two, to the politics of the country. Soon after the change in portraits of Shah, the council of merchants founded along the rise of national bourgeoisie favoring the nation more than the Shah, Imperial Banks established ergo the semi-interdependence of country economically and politically came into more open. Moreover, Shah commenced to be suspicious and doubtful of intelligentsia, clergy, merchants, and also Dar ol-Funun students. It is noted in Chapter Three that Dar ol-Funun students were the only modern educated youth in Iran and how Shah's enthusiasm and support of college was reduced during 1870s and 1880s. All in all, society was released from the central power and hegemony of the Shah with the Tobacco movement, and from 1870s onwards Shah was aware of this kind of

disobedience because of the Reuter agitation, Faramush-khane and tribes semi-autonomous character. Along these lines, I can suggest that Figure 12 was staged when politics and economy commenced to be deteriorated for the Shah. At this point, it is better to analyze Figure 12 more in detail.

Due to the eye contact of the Shah with the camera in Figure 12, the sense of a face to face communication with the audience is materialized. The fashion and power instruments in his styling, like fur, are incremented by his ring as well. A facial jest that messages a genuine smile, like in Figure 13, is absent. In Figure 13, Shah demonstrates the traditional fashion of the Qajar by wearing a long shirt. Albeit he wears the same jacket with the fur on it in Figure 12, which is special to the Naser al-Din Shah, he wears tie-like piece of fashion. This tie-like cloth are the common points of Figures 9 and 12 which reflects the amalgam of the traditional and occidental fashion. The characteristic of combining the modern and tradition can be seen through Shah's preference of clothing, an outlast tendency similar with his policies aforementioned in Chapter Two. Thus, his continuous tendencies juxtaposed with his newly adapted tendencies and policies within the portrait.

What we visually perceive from the late photographs of the Shah is a decrease in majestic and confident jests besides a decrease in modern elements of the frame in contrary to his earlier photographs. In Figure 14, for instance, what is a more serious but also an easygoing face expression. There is no utilization of additional elements in the photograph which reflects the absence of pre-preparation for the photograph. Naser al-Din is standing in his palace's garden with his traditional looking.

At the last stages of his reign, a tendency of private photograph collection corpus of Naser al-Din emerges with more naturalistic and spontaneous like poses. His portrait photographs can be categorized in three different periods. The first phase is the period between 1863 and the 1870s. Second is the 1870s and 1890s, whereas the last phase embraces proximately the final years of his reign. In other words, the change in his

portraits style suits with the political realm of the era mentioned in Chapter Two. The first phase of his portraits conduit him as an absolutist, modern and powerful, and confident with including occidental luxuries as well as traditional refinements within the frame. The second phase reflects a reduction in his enthusiasm of photography and he promptness to bureaucratic usages, albumen prints to be send abroad and domestic provinces, as well as documentation and report usage of photography increases. The last phase witnesses to more naturalistic and spontaneous like poses with tendency of including traditional and Islamic refinements within the frame. Thus, I can suggest that the development of portraits of Shah adapted itself in parallel with the changing dynamics of the country, too.

After the 1870s, a propensity of being cognizant of the society's character and their social rites was on elevating stage, thus, the visual documentation of social rites become more apparent. The nomad's wedding ceremonies, caravanserais in which most of them include tea houses as public domain, and on the whole, the ordinary people from different strata with their folk became subjects of many court and commercial photographers. As the supplementary reports, the punishments were also photographed. One of photographs of the social rites is Figure 15 that presented in an album gifted to Shah in 1890. The description of the photograph displays the subjects as relatives of bride and bridegroom while preparing their traditional ceremonies of wedding.

As an example for punishment photographs, Figure 16 demonstrates the bastinado which was a traditional legal punishment of the Qajar era. This photograph belongs to the album number 438 which carries the report function not only because of reporting this photograph but also because of reporting the new city of *Dar ol-Khalafe-ye Naseri* by having its new administrator of Qajar (Amir-e Qajar) as the photographer. Dar ol-Khalafe is actually the incipient name of Tehran with its environs, which was expanded in 1873 by the order of Naser al-Din Shah. Farhad Nazari reveals the Shah's firman about the expansion of the capital, Tehran, after his return of first Europe

travel.⁶³ The album number 438 officially reports the new city by including the punishments and penalties, ordinary people, foreigners, and treasure seekers in the city. Its motivation of production seems to be familiarizing the Shah with the people of different strata and social life within the newly expanded city. Each photograph has description below and has been marked with Dar ol-Khalafe-ye Tehran and the photographer's name as Amir-e Qajar.

If I will transmit from album number 438 to the antecedent topic of photographing the penalties, bastinado generally appears as the subject of these kind of photographs. Whereas, albeit Figure 17,⁶⁴ have similarities with the bastinado photographs which have the foremost motivation of reporting the punishments, its description conducts a differentiated motivation of photographing from bastinado photographs. The description says that "Esphandiar (the name of the personae) was punished and his ear was cut because he committed sexual abuse. Both giving the punishment in the public domain and the public demonstration of the photograph were made for the sake of society." What function this photograph carries is to engender fear in the audience. The identification of the men with his name and his crime, as well as distribution of the photograph of punishment, prove that the photography was not only utilized for creating splendour but also it was used for engendering fear in order to reflect the power of state. In both cases, it is understood that the photography earned functionalities in order to reinforce the power and hegemony of the Shah. Moreover, with retention of the aforementioned legitimacy crisis of the Shah, the requisites of his reign opened the path for these functions to be acquired to consolidate his legitimacy with the help of photography.

Thus, not only Shah endeavored to consolidate his legitimacy by collecting information and being cognizant of his subjects but also benefited from the impact

63. Farhad Nazari, "Ferman-e Vaghozari-ye Arazi-ye Dar ol-Khalafe-ye Naseri (The Firman of construction of the Dar ol-Khalafe-ye Naseri)," *Gholestan Honar* 9, no. autumn (2007): 94–100.

64. Due to the faded note of the date, the last issue of the year is not clear. Still, it seems to be belong to 1896.

capacity of the photography. However, the Shah could not always photograph people to gather information, without experiencing any restriction. This also proves the states diminished centrality and power. Photographing the tribes is a good example to demonstrate the dilemmatic situation between the order of the Shah to photograph the tribes, because they were not only threatening his legitimacy but also they were threatening his diplomatic relations with Russia, and the effect of the tribe's semi-autonomous character on disobeying the order of being photographed.

Tribes had a centralized importance to be photographed by the same token the aforesaid Tobacco movement's character was photographing. This importance was the fact that both were threatening the legitimacy of Naser al-Din Shah. Furthermore, as noted in Chapter Two, the tribalism and their domination were significant parameters reducing both the legitimacy of the Shah and harming the relations with Russia. Thus, respectively, report and documentation usages of photography founded utility for amassing information about tribes, just like revealing as a fascinating subject to be photographed for foreign photographers, to a degree that most of both the court and commercial photographers of the era adorned their photographs with tribesmen. Commercial photographers staged the *mise-en-scène* photographs of the tribesmen whereas court photographers were sent to the habitants of the tribes to photograph them. In Chapter Two, I revealed the fact that it was either Francis Carlhian or Henri de Coulibeouf de Blocqueville who was taken hostage by Turkomans tribe during his visit to fulfill the command of state in 1860. As the court photographer, Carlhian or de Blocqueville, was sent to Merv for amassing visual information about the tribe. Unfortunately, the photographer, most probably, could not capture photographs from the event. Figure 18 is the representatives of Turkomans captured by Sevruguin at Meydan-e Mashgh, the shooting square in Tehran. The photograph demonstrates two men having white turbans and standing among the Turkomans. These men most probably belonged to clergy. Additionally, the photograph seems to be an official one because of the choice of location. Thus, the reason of the inclusion of the two clergies

can be twofold. Firstly, Turkmen already had members of the clergy in which the role of clergy in tribalism fortifies. Secondly, Sevruguin materialized the state's control and power with including the two clergies in the frame as if the Shi'ite clergies were always organized together with Turkomans. Albeit this photograph demonstrates the tribe, it still reinforces its representative character with having the allowance, order or confirmation from the court. Figure 19, on the other hand, is one of the rare photographs that reveals the habitant of tribes in 19th century. By retention the taking hostage a court photographer in 1860 and with considering the tribalism's conflicts with the state, the photographer of Figure 19 is most probably someone who is familiar with the tribe. In Chapter Two, I noted that Nikkie Keddie calls the tribes as semi-autonomous and politically effective. I agree with her determination because the photographs conduit alike facts.

My deductions from Figures 18 and 19 are twofold. Firstly, taking hostage the court photographer in Merv reflects the fact that the state's wish and order to photograph the Turkomans was not satisfactory which demonstrates their politically effectiveness in the way of their disobedience in against Naser al-Din Shah's authority. This is echoing the legitimization crisis of Naser al-Din Shah who has the motivation of being an absolutist Shah and empower centrality and who endeavours to reinforce his absolutism by entitling his portraits with such royal styles mentioned above. Secondly, and on first deduction's ground, the state opts to have visual representatives of them in lieu of natural documentary poses, because the state could not enter into their habitat, whereas the photographer should earn the tribe's consent to enter their habitat and photograph them. This also demonstrates their semi-autonomous character.

Mass upheavals and questioning of Shah's orders and absolute power as well as spread of the movements like Babism, prompt Naser al-Din Shah to gather information not only from potential participants in protests but also from his administrators, landed proprietors, notables and important congregants of the empire. Therein, photography helped in visually documenting and archiving of them. To exemplify, court

photographers took many photographs similar with Figure 20 to visualize well-known religious congregant's member of provinces. Figure 20 represents a well-known personae of Semnan in 1895. The identification of the subject and the photographer is provided while reporting his photograph to the Shah. Additionally, the importance of telegraph in the communication of protesting groups alongside its role in connecting the Shah to his provinces was witnessed. Thus, some of the document archiving photographs of the same year were Figure 21 and Figure 22 which, by order, each demonstrates the head of the telegraph offices of Semnan and Shahrud.⁶⁵ This function of the photography was also utilized for prisoners to be documented. Figure 23 is about the prisoners of the castle of the ancient city of Ardabil. It was included in the album of Ali Vali Khan, which was completely arranged for the sake of reporting.

In addition to gathering information, representing his majestic images, and engendering fear among his subjects and visual document archiving, Naser al-Din Shah withal endeavoured to present his social contributions to his subjects and country with the help of photography. While photographing the new constructions and facilities to represent modern face of Iran, he also photographed the constructed or restored buildings of traditional significance. One of these constructions was *Takiye Dawlat*, which was built in Tehran in 1873 for religious performance and praying on the heyday of *taziya*.⁶⁶ Taziye is a Shiite traditional ceremony that, concurrently, generated the place as public domain where large crowd could assemble. "It consisted of a large circular amphitheater with several entrances surrounding a large open area; a tent was used as a roof. Its primary purpose was to provide a staging area for the most elaborate taziya performances."⁶⁷ There are many photographs taken by court photographers to represent in a way a social service of the state which was embracing a traditional character. One of these photographs is Figure 24. The description of the

65. Since Shahrud is a city in the Semnan province, we could understand from the title of the photographs that the province of Semnan had two telegraph offices in 1895.

66. Kamran Aghaie, "Ta'ziya (Ta'ziyeh)," in *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, ed. Kate Millson and Corrina Moss (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004).

67. Ibid.

photograph, which reflects the crowd beside the luxury elements like chandeliers, is “Takiye Dawlat, when the musicians enters.” Figure 25 withal demonstrates the performance of Taziye. These two figures are from album number 219 and from the years of 1890 and 1891. This album carries the documentary and report notion since it includes the photographs from different social strata with their personal identification as well as the photographs of public domains such as Takiye Dawlat. It may also be that the frequently photographing such a building of religious and traditional significance when the crowd is assembled, can have the motivation of underlining the accommodation of Naser al-Din Shah to the tradition and religion in his subjects’ eyes. As noted previously, the 1870s was a critical decade in the emergence of legitimacy crisis of the Shah, thus the state’s motivation in utilization from these photographs of Takiye Dawlat can be empowering its traditional and Islamic legitimacy.

In order to ameliorate his legitimacy, the Shah also endeavoured to reflect himself as a ruler having empathy with the national and traditional values of the society. Therein the reason can be reestablishment of his political legitimacy, because the ideology of “Nationalism is relatively easy to express in images, whether they caricature foreigners or celebrate the major events of a nation’s history.”⁶⁸ Respectively, there are such photographs of the Shah that are taken to maintain his empathy with Persian tradition and nation with regard to his accusation of being illegitimate from four strata, especially during the Tobacco movement. This motivation is akin to the motivation of staging the photographs of Takiye Dowlat. Therefore, Naser al-Din Shah also posed for photographs while standing within the crowd to reflects his accommodation to the tradition and Islam.

For instance, there are so many photographs similar with Figure 26 which conduit Shah’s participation at traditional ceremonies. These photographs are captured during his last stages of reign, especially after social upheavals of significance. In Figure 26

68. Burke, *Eye witnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, 64.

Shah participates at *Ashpazan* (the cooks) ceremony while he wears a natural face in contrast with his majestic portraits. One can argue that these photographs materialize the efforts involved in ameliorating the aforementioned abyss between Naser al-Din Shah and his subjects.

* * *

To sum up, the utilization of photography was adapted to the changing parameters of the reign of Naser al-Din Shah in each decade. Subsequently, the legitimation crisis of the Shah was betokened the usage of photography, as well. This can be observed from the variability of the usages of photography and style of portraits with considering the before and after upheavals. To exemplify, the visually documenting and archiving of the tribes, in which the state was unsuccessful that superseded its failure by having representative photographs of them, prisoners, and people from all walks of life was nothing but to make the Shah more vigilant of the society that has inculpated him as the illegitimate ruler. Yet in time, the use of photography was so influential in reflecting the Shah that at his funeral, an immense poster replicated from his photograph was on his throne. This also photographed when his court performed the salute ceremony in front of Naser al-Din Shah's image as if he was there. (Figure 27)

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

By employing photographs, our motivation was to argue the legitimization crisis of the long-standing Naser al-Din Shah. The reflections of the crisis are read by emphasizing on the language of the photographs, concurrently, within the context of the politics of the era.

In a broader sense, this study focused on the legitimization crisis of Naser al-Din Shah and revealed that this crisis commenced since the 1870s. The Shah witnessed protracted negotiations with foreign states, prolonged economic crisis and internal riots since 1870s and eventually his reign ended with his assassination in 1896. Hence, the crisis would not settle down and the Constitutional Revolution would be started after 9 years of his death with the will of political system change. I take the Naseri period as an maturation process towards the Constitution because of the social upheavals which were the first stones of the Constitutional Revolution and the way of society to gather as a mass. The initial phase of the political use of photography by society is revealed as well as the vast political use of them by state. By employing photographs, with considering the context, frames, jests of the Shah, and the titles of portrait, I saw that the Shah was vigilantly aware of his legitimacy problem and he was utilizing from photographs to heal his legitimacy.

This study started with demonstration of the initial commercialization process of photography and its entrance to Iran. The historical background of the inception of photography during the second half of the 19th century with its pioneer usages and

photographers are presented. This is also done to better serve the photographic notions which Iranians were also familiar with. By doing so, I have also discussed the historical conditions of the Naseri period in which the photographs were used, circulated and found meaning.

In this context, I have pointed to the political and social crises of the country by reference to the prolonged concessions to the Great Powers, foreign diplomatic relationships, rise of a new national bourgeois, clergy's dissatisfaction with the applied policies, prolonged famines and poverty, economic crisis and even on occasions experiencing empty treasury, occurrence of instability in religious domain and acceleration in the spread of modern knowledge in Iran with the help of intelligentsia. All these parameters are presented in detail with attaching the political and social scope which also indicate the increased gap between the Palace and society as well as decentralization of Qajar empire. This gap, automatically, diminished the power of the Shah. Thus, the dissertation has pointed to the conjecture in which the Shah was experiencing a legitimization crisis.

It is in this perspective that present study has placed the advent of photography in the Naseri period together with the early institutions of the medium. While doing so, it was revealed that the rise of commercial studios is concurrent with the first riots against the Shah, the agitation of Reuter concession during 1872-73. This crisis was the mark of a shift in the obedience of the mass to the Shah's absolutist power. As a result, as a medium of reporting and documentation, it was shown how photography reached prodigious usages during the Naseri period in Iran.

I have also argued how commercial studios diminished the hegemony of the Palace over photographic productions by decreasing the potency of royal photographs' implementation of impersonation to impress the society. Further, I have discussed how photographs commenced circulating not only among the state officials but also within the society who discern the popularity and commodity identity of the photographs

since the 1870s.

As the case study, this dissertation investigated the traditional Islamic notions of political legitimacy in Iran with the modern notions of the legitimate ruler. At this point, the definition of the legitimacy crisis by Jürgen Habermas was employed to seek the answer for the legitimacy problem of the Naseri period in which an absolutist Shah was ironically ruling a decentralized empire, as important as to investigate the shift of power materialized in the 1906, Constitution, that came after Shah's assassination which remarks him as the first and only assassinated Shah of Iran.

This dissertation reveals that Naser al-Din Shah was aware of the function of photographic images in affecting the perception, thus, he utilized photography to engender fear in the audience, as well as, to impress the same audience by presenting himself with majestic images with titles suitable for the expectations of the protesting groups. He also utilized photographs to demonstrate his positive image by emphasizing his contributions to his subjects and country, for instance the newly built Takiye Dowlat was mostly photographed by the court photographers. Additionally, he made a successful use of photography to be able to control his subjects by amassing visual information, visually documenting and archiving of the people from all walks of life. In short, by close reading of photographs of the era, this dissertation investigated that the legitimization crisis of the Shah can be read from photographs as well.

A necessary further study related to the history of photography of the Naseri period is to investigate the debates in the dates of certain key institutions. Existing lack of clarity serves as a series limitation on such critical issues for the analysis since they often disrupt the narrativity as much as effecting the formulations of new questions for further inquiries. On further avenue for future research still remains to be the issue of native photographers which should be studied in order to better analyze the contribution of indigenous lenses of the period.

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APPENDIX



Figure 1: Unknown photographer, *The pioneering work of photojournalism*. Published in Bob Lansroth, "First Picture Ever Taken - Importance of World's First Photographs", last updated: August 12, 2015, <https://www.widewalls.ch/first-picture-ever-taken-importance-worlds-first-photographs/>



Figure 2: Unknown photographer, 1902, *postcard*. Collection of Naser Hassanzadeh. Published in Elahe Helbig, "From Narrating History to Constructing Memory: The Role of Photography in the Iranian Constitutional Revolution," ed. Ali M. Ansari, (London: Gingko Library, 2016), 43. Inscription: Monsieur Naus, Head of Customs, dressed as Iranian during a celebration with other foreigners.



Figure 3: Antoin Sevruguin, *Public hanging of Mirza Reza Kirmani, August 12, 1896, albumen print*. Freer and Sackler galleries, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, dc, FSA A.15 12



Figure 4: Unknown photographer, *Mirza Riza*. *Tehran, August 1896*. Collection of Azita Bina and Elmar W. Seibel, Boston. Inscription: Mirza Reza Kermani, murderer of Naser al-Din Shah, on the gallows.



Figure 5: Unknown photographer. Published in Rozita Miri, *Tahrim-e Tonbaku (Boycott of Tobacco)* Institute for Iranian Contemporary Historical Studies (IICHHS), <http://www.iichs.ir/s/3493>



Figure 6: Antoin Sevruguin, *Group Portrait: Mullahs Seating "Bast"* graphic, albumen print. Stephen Arpee Collection. Freer and Sackler galleries, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, dc, FSA A2011.03 B.53.



Figure 7: Unknown photographer, *Naser al-Din Shah Qajar*, Album Nr.133, #5. Golestan Palace Archives, Tehran. Title: 'Ala Hazret Aghdas-e Homayun-i Shah-n-Shah-e Eslam Panah.



Figure 8: Antoin Sevruguin, *Group Portrait: Nasir Al-Din Shah, Kamran Mirza on right, Amin al-Sultan on left* graphic, albumen print. Myron Bement Smith collection, Freer and Sackler galleries, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, dc, FSA A.4 2.12.GN.51.05.



Figure 9: Unknown photographer, *Naser al-Din Shah Qajar*, 1865, Album Nr.133, #1. Golestan Palace Archives, Tehran. Title: Sar kar 'Ala Hazrat Agdas-e Homayun Shah-n-shah Vali Ne'mat-e kolle Mamalek-e Mahruse-ye Iran sene 1281.

سکه دارم من سکه ها را در دستم



این عکس را من خودم گرفتم
در آستان قدس

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Figure 10: Naser al-Din Shah, *Naser al-Din Shah Qajar*, Album Nr.133, #6. Golestan Palace Archives, Tehran. Title: Sar kar 'Ala Hazrat Agdas-e Homayun Shah-n-shah Ruh-al-'Alemin. Inscription: I took this photograph by myself.



Figure 11: Francis Carlhian, *Naser al-Din Shah Qajar*, 1859, Album Nr. 679. Golestan Palace Archives, Tehran. Published in Mohammad Reza Tahmasbpour, "Naser al-Din Shah: the photographer Shah," (Tehran, Nashr-e Tarikh-e Iran, 2008,) 23.



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Figure 12: Unknown photographer, *Naser al-Din Shah Qajar*, ca. 1880, Album Nr. 289, #15-2. Golestan Palace Archives, Tehran.



۱۳۵۰ اواخر آبان ماه هجری قمری
 کهنه ۱۱ آذرماه در طهران
 انور محمد بن محمد آقا

Figure 13: Naser al-Din Shah, *Naser al-Din Shah Qajar*; 1866. Album Nr. 215, #6. Golestan Palace Archives, Tehran. Inscription: 1866, eight days after celebration of Norouz, I take myself in Tehran.



Figure 14: Antoin Sevruguin, *Standing Portrait of Nasir Al-Din Shah* graphic, ca. 1890s, *albumen print*, Myron Bement Smith collection, Freer and Sackler galleries, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, dc, FSA A.4 2.12.GN. 51.08



Figure 15: Unknown photographer, 1890. Album Nr. 169, #11. Golestan Palace Archives, Tehran. Inscription: Relatives of aforementioned bride and bridegroom.



Figure 16: Unknown photographer, Album Nr. 438, #5. Golestan Palace Archives, Tehran. Inscription: This personae is chastised for breaking eighty glass plates of photographs bought from Arabia so that only a few of glasses could be used for this represented album.



Figure 17: Unknown photographer, *ca.* 1890s. Golestan Palace Archives, Tehran. Published in Başak Kilerci, "Reading Ottoman- Qajar Relations through Photography," Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, 2013, 163. Inscription: Esphandiar was punished and his ear was cut because he committed sexual abuse. Both giving the punishment in the public domain and the public demonstration of the photograph was made for the sake of society.



Figure 18: Antoin Sevruguin, *Tehran (Iran): Turkmen Representatives at Maydan-i Mashq (Shooting Range)* graphic, ca. 1880s-1910, albumen print. Myron Bement Smith collection, Freer and Sackler galleries, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, dc, FSA A.4 2.12.GN.24.06



Figure 19: Vvedensky, Народное гуляние в Самарканде. Фото Введенского, 1890. (Popularity in Samarkand. Photograph by Vvedensky, 1890.) Published in zidanio, "Этнографический обзор - Россия второй половины XIX века (27) (Ethnographic Review - Russia of the Second Half of the 19th Century)," in livejournal.com, last updated in 02 April 2014.

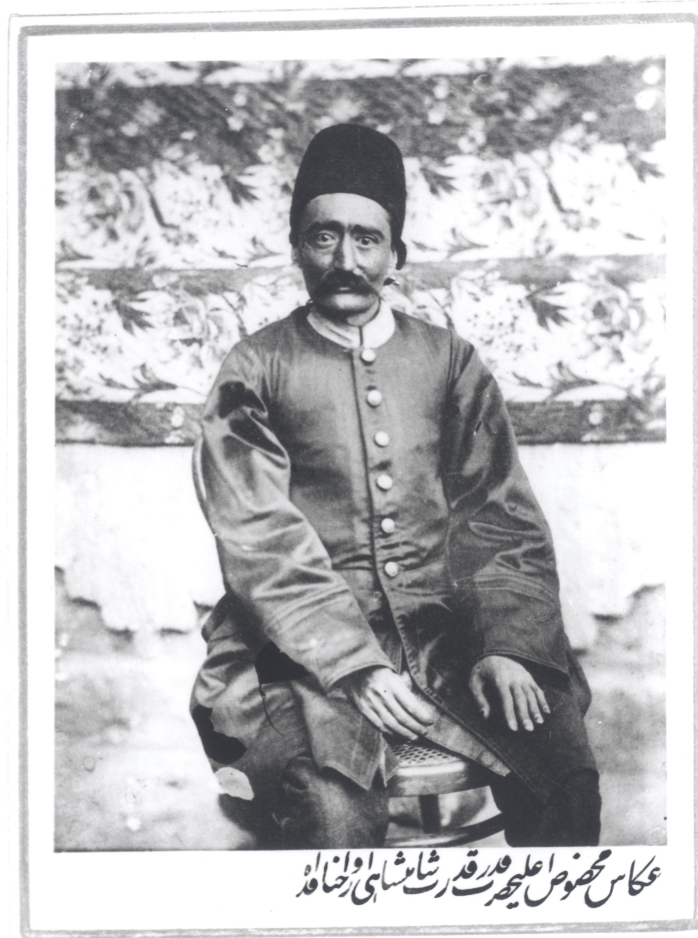


اقامه محسن که از اجله سمنان است

Figure 20: 'Abdollah Qajar, 1895. Album Nr. 291, #17-1. Golestan Palace Archives, Tehran. Inscription: 'Agha Seyyed Hasan From the hometown of Semnan in 1895.



Figure 21: 'Abdollah Qajar, 1895. Album Nr. 291, #18-2. Golestan Palace Archives, Tehran. Inscription: Mirza Abol- Hasan the head of telegraph office in Semnan.



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Figure 22: 'Abdollah Qajar, 1895. Album Nr. 291, #45-2. Golestan Palace Archives, Tehran. Inscription: The head of telegraph office in Sharud.



Harvard University - Fine Arts Library / Album of photographs by Ali Khan Vaili, Qajar.

Figure 23: Ali Vali Khan, *Ali Vali Khan's Album*, ca. 1862-1900, #154. HVD - Core, <http://id.lib.harvard.edu/aleph/010292681/catalog>



Figure 24: Unknown photographer, 1890-1891. Album Nr. 219, #67. Golestan Palace Archives, Tehran. Inscription: The Takiye Dowlat when the musicians enter.

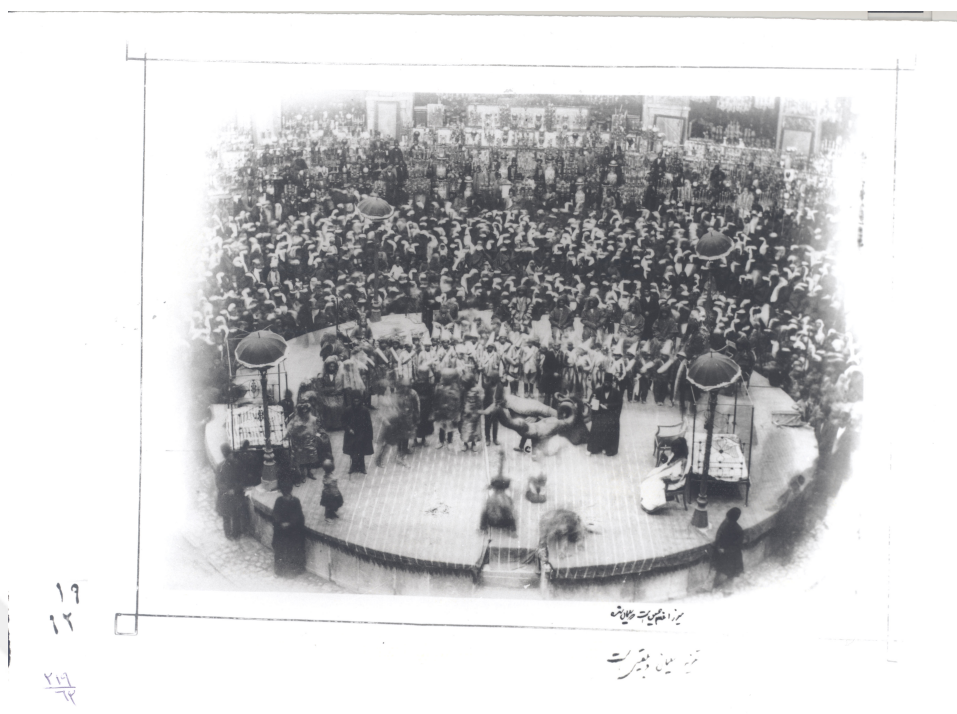


Figure 25: Unknown photographer, 1890-1891. Album Nr. 219, #62. Golestan Palace Archives, Tehran. Inscription: The actor is Mirza Gasem Hossein in Takiye Dowlat.



Figure 26: Antoin Sevruguin, *Nasir Al-Din Shah Supervising a Banquet for Ashpazan* graphic, ca. 1880-1896, albumen print. Myron Bement Smith collection, Freer and Sackler galleries, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, dc, FSA A.4 2.12.GN.17.02



Figure 27: Ali Vali Khan, *Ali Vali Khan's Album*, ca. 1862-1900, #238. HVD - Core, <http://id.lib.harvard.edu/aleph/010292681/catalog>