Accessing the Sultan through Ceremony and Photography: Dissemination of a New Imperial Image during Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's Reign (1909-1918)

by

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Accessing the Sultan through Ceremony and Photography:

Dissemination of a New Imperial Image during Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's Reign (1909-1918)

Koç University

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ABSTRACT

Accessing the Sultan through Ceremony and Photography: Dissemination of a New Imperial Image during Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's Reign (1909-1918)

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This study aims to examine the photographs of imperial ceremonies during Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign and their role in the creation of a new, more accessible public image of the sultan. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad ascended the throne in 1909 during a particularly turbulent era of the Empire when it was troubled with internal and external conflict. In a time of hardship, Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's ceremonies created feelings of solidarity within the audience along with a feeling of reverence for the sultan and the Ottoman dynasty. Ceremonies are a tool for those in power to define and describe themselves. For governments, the political use of ceremonies is to display and reinforce legitimacy. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad and the Committee of Union and Progress were direly in need to legitimize their power, and ceremonies were an excellent opportunity for this. Mehmed V Reşad was very much unlike his predecessor in that he wanted to create a more accessible image, lifting Sultan Abdülhamid II's restrictions imposed on printing photographs of the sultan and appearing in many public ceremonies. Therefore, photojournalism became a very important tool for the propagation of the sultan's image which mainly focused on the numerous ceremonies the sultan attended, ranging from religious Islamic ceremonies to diplomatic visits of foreign heads of state. This study compiles photographs from three Ottoman periodicals depicting Sultan Mehmed V Reşad attending ceremonies. Overall, this thesis argues that ceremonies and their photographs were used to disseminate Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's imperial image which relied on visibility and accessibility to sway public opinion in his favor.

Keywords:
Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, Ceremonies, Imperial Image, Ottoman Photography, Visibility, Second Constitutional Era, Photojournalism, Committee of Union and Progress

ÖZET

Seremoni ve Fotoğraf ile Sultana Erişebilmek: Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad (1909-1918) Döneminde Yeni Bir İmparatorluk İmajının Yayılması

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Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi, Yüksek Lisans

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Bu çalışmanın amacı Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad dönemindeki imparatorluk seremonilerinin fotoğraflarını incelemek, ve bu fotoğrafların sultanın daha erişilebilir ve halka açık bir imaj yaratmasındaki rolünü açıklamaktır. Sultan V Mehmed Reşad tahta 1909 yılında, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun iç ve dış çatışmalarla dolu özellikle karmaşık bir döneminde tahta geçti. Bu yıllarda Sultan V Mehmed Reşad'ın seremonileri izleyenleri arasında beraberlik duyguları ile birlikte sultan ve Osmanlı hanedanına saygı yarattı. Seremoniler güç sahiplerinin kendilerini istedikleri biçimde tasvir etmeleri için bir araçtır. Devletler seremonileri meşruiyetlerini pekiştirmek için kullanmışlardır. Hem Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad hem de İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti politik güçlerini meşrulaştırmak istemişlerdir ve seremoniler de bunun için fırsat yaratmıştır. Sultan Mehmed V. Reşad selefine göre daha açık, görünür, ve erişilebilir bir görüntü yaratmak istemiştir. Reşad, Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in gazetelerde padişahın fotoğrafının basılması yasağını kaldırdığı gibi saray dışına ve İstanbul dışına birçok tören ve gezi yapmıştır. Bunların sayesinde resimli gazetecilik, padişahın dini törenler ve diplomatik ziyaretçilerini ağırlamak gibi vesilelerle yaptığı seremonileri fotoğraflayarak yeni imajının yayılmasında çok önemli olmuştur. Bu çalışma Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad döneminin üç yayınında basılmış seremoni fotoğraflarını derlemiştir. Bu fotoğraflar halkın padişaha bağını güçlendirmek amacıyla Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın yeni ve erişilebilir imajını Osmanlı'da yaymıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler:

Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad, Seremoniler, İmparatorluk İmgeleri, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Fotoğraf, Görünürlük, İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi, Resimli Gazetecilik, İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti

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ABBREVIATIONS

HTU	Hakkı Tarık Us Collection of Digitized Periodicals
MK	Milli Kütüphane (National Library of Turkey)
SALT	Salt Archives
UBDC	Universität Bonn Digital Collection

INTRODUCTION

Objectives and Methodology

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad (r. 1909-1918) was the penultimate Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. He became the Sultan in 1909 when the Committee of Union and Progress deposed Sultan Abdülhamid II. This happened shortly after the reinstatement of the Ottoman constitution in 1908, which started the Second Constitutional Era (*İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi*). Sultan Mehmed V Reşad is largely known as a Sultan with little political effect with the rise of the Committee of Union and Progress during his reign. There was a new imperial image created during this time that was the result of not only the Committee's efforts but also the Sultan's as well. For this effort, Sultan Mehmed V Reşad had numerous ceremonies throughout his reign, which were photographed extensively. Furthermore, many of these photographs appear in periodicals of the era.

Documenting political events has always been a subject of art throughout the world. Different mediums, such as illuminated manuscripts and paintings, were used to commemorate these events. With the invention of photography, the new medium was also utilized to continue this long-standing tradition. It became quicker to produce images with photography. Furthermore it was relatively cheaper and easier to access than painting, which meant that it was not only available to the higher classes and the wealthy. Therefore, with photography, it became more widespread and easier to portray and document political events. This change was not immediately reflected in the Ottoman Empire because of the restrictions on photography during Sultan Abdülhamid II's era. During Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign, however, these restrictions were lifted, and photography became a very important political tool to disseminate images.

Photographs of imperial ceremonies remained untapped sources of information regarding the political and cultural environment in Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign as they have not been studied before. In fact, photography during Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign is very much understudied. Scholarship on the history of photography in the Ottoman Empire has been very focused on the era of Sultan Abdülhamid II, while his successor's era has been overlooked. Photographs of World War I (1914-1918) also garnered some interest. Ceremony photographs, however, have never been the subject of an academic study.

This study aims to put photographs of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's ceremonies in a political, cultural, and artistic context by examining their role in the creation of a new, more accessible public image of the sultan. To do this, I approach the photographs from the following angles: depictions of ceremonies, images of the Sultan, printed material in magazines, and historical documentation. My main argument is, ceremonies and their photographs were used to disseminate Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's imperial image which, relied on visibility and accessibility to sway public opinion in his favor during a turbulent time for the Ottoman Empire.

The first chapter chronicles the history of imperial image-making in the Ottoman Empire in two sections. The first section is the history of press in the Ottoman Empire, starting in Sultan Mahmud II's reign up to and including Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign. In the Ottoman Empire, the history of press is intertwined with political history. Many prominent political figures emerged as journalists. Newspapers were used by opponents of the Sultan and the Ottoman state to share and publicize their ideas. On the other side, the Ottoman state used newspapers to promote their own ideology. Furthermore, the state used censorship to prevent the dissemination of the ideas of the dissidents. In this section,

I aim to provide information on the environment in which the photographs and magazines were produced.

The second section of the first chapter examines the relationship between imperial image-making and sultanic visibility through ceremonies and visual media. As the photographs depict imperial ceremonies the history of such ceremonies in the history of the Ottoman Empire is important. Ceremonies could either be used in excess to increase the visibility of the sultan or used sporadically to limit access to the sultan. This section shows that although the use of ceremonies to increase visibility during Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign differs greatly from the previous Sultan Abdülhamid II's, it has its roots in an older effort of imperial image making by increasing visibility.

This section also includes an overview of the visual history of imperial-image making through increasing visibility. Visual depictions of ceremonies were not used for such an imperial agenda until Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign. Visual depictions of the sultans themselves, however, have been used extensively. Starting with Sultan Selim III and further established by Sultan Mahmud II, an overview of imperial portraiture is provided. With this information, I aim to root the propagation of these photographs in an older practice of using visual imagery to increase visibility with innovation on the subject matter.

The second chapter provides an overview of the history of photography in the Ottoman Empire. Introduced to the Empire by travelers, photography was embraced quickly and became localized. It was also used according to the imperial agenda of the sultan. Sultan Abdülaziz used the new medium to increase his visibility and commissioned portraits, whereas Sultan Abdülhamid II used it to catalog the Ottoman Empire and limited its use to decrease his visibility.

The third chapter categorizes the photographs according to types of ceremonies and gives information on the specific ceremonies shown in each photograph. The categorization is as follows: the accession ceremonies (*biat, cülus,* and sword girding), religious ceremonies, political ceremonies, province tours, diplomatic ceremonies for visiting foreign heads of states, and the funeral ceremony. The accession ceremonies do have religious and political characteristics, but this category is held separate because these ceremonies uniquely mark the starting point of a sultan's reign. The religious ceremonies are ones that are linked with Islamic rituals and highlight the Sultan's identity as a religious leader, the caliph, as well as his role as a pious Muslim following religious duties. The political ceremonies show the Sultan's role as the head of the Ottoman state. Rather than the religious aspects, these ceremonies focus on the Sultan's relationship with the parliament and the military. The province tours consist of the Sultan's trips to provinces with the intent of connecting to Ottoman people living outside of Istanbul. The diplomatic ceremonies were conducted to receive foreign heads of states to further relationships with other countries. The funeral ceremony marks the end of the reign of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad. Photographs from this ceremony were collected in an album for the Ottoman court, but they do not appear in periodicals. Photographs from previous ceremonies were reprinted; however, to announce the death of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad. The last section of this chapter includes a statistical analysis of the photographs regarding their publications, photographers, and dates to see the network of image-making and the press.

There are numerous photographs of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad. For this thesis, I focused solely on the photographs of ceremonies. Photographs of these ceremonies can be found in various archives and collections in Turkey and abroad; but, to examine the social context in the Ottoman Empire, this thesis only includes photographs that were

printed in Ottoman newspapers of the era. Photographs of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's ceremonies were printed in three Ottoman periodicals: *Servet-i Fünun, Şehbal,* and *Resimli Kitab.* Even though there are numerous photographs of ceremonies printed in these publications, to narrow the scope of the thesis, I only looked at photographs where Sultan Mehmed V Reşad is visible.

To achieve my goals, I examined *Şehbal* and *Resimli Kitab*'s entire publication history. For *Resimli Kitab* I looked at fifty-one issues from September 1908 to February 1914. For *Şehbal,* I covered its one hundred issues from March 14, 1909 to July 14, 1915. *Servet-i Fünun* had the longest publication life among them. It had started during Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign and continued into the Republican Era. To see the change in attitude towards printing photography I started with its first issue from March 17, 1891. The photographs included in this thesis were printed between 1909 and 1918. To my knowledge, these three were the only publications that printed photographs of ceremonies even though portrait photographs of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad appear in other publications as well.

The first step in my analysis was a formalist methodology to gather more information on the photographs. I cross-referenced photographs from different publications to identify photographers who were not credited in the newspapers. This also determined which photographs were reprinted in multiple publications. Identifying photographers also included looking for the photographers' signatures or stamps on the photographs.

I examined the backgrounds, especially architectural elements and landscapes, to pinpoint the locations. Because the photographs were printed with a delay of sometimes days and even months, I referred to primary sources to attribute photographs to specific

ceremonies and dates. When the relevant information in the primary sources was insufficient, I used supplementary material from other researchers. I consulted the French and Ottoman Turkish captions under the photographs if provided. To ascertain the reliability of the captions, I cross-referenced these with the primary and secondary sources.

In light of this research, this thesis fits the theoretical framework of ruler visibility for imperial image-making provided by Darin Stephanov in his book *Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908.* Stephanov takes ruler visibility as an important concept to define the relationship between the ruler and the ruled.[1] He describes visibility as the sum of direct and indirect, literal and figurative, and intended and unintended influences of the one (the ruler) on the other (the ruled) and vice versa.[2] Imperial ceremonies act as direct ruler visibility while photography is an indirect channel. Photographs of ceremonies combine these two elements. This study situates the photographs of ceremonies as tools for imperial image making by Sultan Mehmed V Reşad and the Committee of Union and Progress, through increasing the visibility of the Sultan to the Ottoman public.

[1] Darin N. Stephanov, *Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), 2.
[2] Stephanov, 2.

Literature Review

In 2017, TBMM Milli Saraylar (National Palaces) prepared an exhibition focusing on Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign at the Dolmabahçe Palace. Three books published in conjunction with this exhibition were excellent starting points for my research. This first, titled *Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü* was an exhibition catalog for photographs from this era.[3] The book includes photographs of ceremonies, portraits, landscapes, and architectural photographs. They are not limited to the National Palaces collection also including photographs from the Ömer M. Koç Collection and the Deniz Müzesi (Naval Museum). This book includes photographs printed in newspapers but only a few were selected. Furthermore, an in-depth analysis of the political and cultural context of the photographs was not deemed necessary for an exhibition catalog. Nevertheless, the book was an introduction to the subject matter and a gateway to further research.

Another exhibition catalog from the same event titled *Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad ve Dönemi Sergisi* brings the photographs together with other exhibited objects such as paintings, furniture, porcelain tableware, and medals.[4] The section on photography is limited to an article on the funeral album of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad. The third book is titled *Osmanlı Arşiv Belgelerinde Sultan Mehmed V Reşad ve Dönemi.*[5] Published as a companion to the exhibition, this is a compilation of all Ottoman state documentation from this era. Original documents in Ottoman Turkish are reprinted alongside their Turkish translations. I used these translations for documents regarding state protocol during ceremonies and processions.

Within the scope of this thesis, I surveyed three periodicals from Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's era for photographs of ceremonies. I accessed *Servet-i Fünun* through Milli

[3] *Sultan Mehmed V. Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü* (Ankara: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2017).
[4] *Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad ve Dönemi Sergisi* (Ankara: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2017).
[5] *Osmanlı Arşiv Belgelerinde Sultan Mehmed Reşad ve Dönemi* (Ankara: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2017).

Kütüphane (Turkish National Library) and examined issues from 1909 to 1918. *Şehbal* was accessed through the digital collection of Universität Bonn. Lastly, I accessed *Resimli Kitab* through the Hakkı Tarık Us library's digitalized periodicals. For these last two periodicals, I surveyed all of their issues throughout their publication lives.

Two more primary sources were used to contextualize the photographs. These are both memoirs of state officials. The first is *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim,* written by Lütfi Simavi.[6] Simavi was the head chamberlain to Sultan Mehmed V Reşad in the first years of his reign. His memoirs are translated and collected in three volumes by the National Palaces. The second is *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar* by Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil.[7] Uşaklıgil served as the first secretary to the Sultan. Simavi and Uşaklıgil were perhaps the two closest officials to Sultan Mehmed V Reşad in the Ottoman court. Their memoirs provide insight into the mood and thoughts of the Sultan in a way that could not be recorded in court documents.

In addition to the primary sources, I used supplementary material to enhance my understanding of the political and cultural climate of the Ottoman Empire. These pertained not just to the era of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, but also his predecessors to identify any continuance or divergences. The subjects of the supplementary sources can be categorized as the ceremonies, political developments, journalism, illuminated manuscripts and paintings, and photography.

I used two works on ceremonies in the last century of the Ottoman Empire to understand their impact: Hakan T. Karateke's *Padişahım Çok Yaşa: Osmanlı Devleti'nin*

[6] Lütfi Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, vol. I, III vols. (Ankara: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2017); Lütfi Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, vol. II, III vols. (Ankara: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2017); Lütfi Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, vol. III, III vols. (Ankara: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2017).
[7] Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1981).

Son Yüzyılında Merasimler and Darin N. Stephanov's *Ruler Visibility, Modernity, and Ethnonationalism in the Late Ottoman Empire.*[8] Karateke focuses on the repeating imperial ceremonies including the accession ceremonies for the *cülus* and *biat,* the sword girding ceremonies, Friday prayers processions, and imperial receptions from Sultan Mahmud II to Sultan Mehmed VI Vahdeddin. Through this Karateke outlines an Ottoman canon of ceremonies and traces how the protocol changed. The reflections of these ceremonies in art take a backseat as paintings and photographs are only used as documentation. Stephanov also studies Ottoman ceremonies in the last century but limits his scope to end in 1908 and looks at ceremonies through the lens of sultanic visibility. As mentioned in my introduction, Stephanov created a lexicon to ascertain the various elements that constitute sultanic visibility, including ceremonies and imagery. For the tradition of earlier ceremonies in the Ottoman Empire, I referred to Dündar Alikılıç's book *İmparatorluk Seremonisi: Osmanlı'da Devlet Protokolü ve Törenler.*[9]

The works I used to understand the political-historical background of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's era can be separated into two: more general books for political context, in addition to works specifically on the formation and growth of the Committee of Union and Progress and state ideology in the Ottoman Empire. For a more general overview, I used Erik Jan Zürcher's *Turkey: A Modern History*, Şükrü Hanioğlu's *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, and Niyazi Berkes' *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*.[10] To understand the Young Turks, the Committee of Union and Progress, and their role in the

[8] Hakan T. Karateke, *Padişahım Çok Yaşa: Osmanlı Devleti'nin Son Yüzyılında Merasimler* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2004); Stephanov, *Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908*.
[9] Dündar Alikılıç, *İmparatorluk Seremonisi: Osmanlı'da Devlet Protokolü ve Törenler*, 1. baskı, 2 (Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Tarih Düşünce Kitapları, 2004).
[10] Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 3rd ed. (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004); M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, 7., Yapı Kredi yayınları Cogito, 1713 117 (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005).

Ottoman government in this era I referred to Şükrü Hanioğlu's following works: *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)*, *The Young Turks in Opposition,* and *Preparation for a Revolution: the Young Turks, 1902-1908.*[11]

Moreover, Kemal Karpat's *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* and *The Evolution of the Turkish Political System and the Changing Meaning of Modernity, Secularism and Islam* provided insight into state ideology in the Ottoman Empire, Nationalism, Ottomanism, and Turkism.[12] For state ideology before Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's era, Selim Deringil's seminal work *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909* not only gives political background but interweaves Sultan Abdülhamid II's state ideology with the cultural developments of the era such as journalism and photography.[13] On the topic of journalism, İpek K. Yosmaoğlu also links state ideology and the press in her article "Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1913."[14]

Photography in the Ottoman Empire constituted a very important part of the research. Works by two researchers, Engin Özendes and Bahattin Öztuncay, lay the documentary foundation for the history of photography in the Ottoman Empire.

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[11] M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1986); M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, Studies in Middle Eastern History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908*, Studies in Middle Eastern History (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[12] Kemal Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, Studies in Middle Eastern History (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Kemal H. Karpat, "The Evolution of the Turkish Political System and the Changing Meaning of Modernity, Secularism and Islam," in *Studies on Turkish Politics and Society: Selected Articles and Essays*, Social, Economic, and Political Studies of the Middle East, v. 94 (Boston, MA: Brill, 2004), 201–31.

[13] Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909*, Paperback ed (London: Tauris, 1999).

[14] İpek K. Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1913," *The Turkish Studies Association Journal* 27, no. 1/2 (2003): 15–49.

Özendes's book *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Fotoğrafçılık, 1839-1923* outlines the introduction and growth of the medium with entries for prominent photographers.[15] Özendes takes a deeper look into two of these photography studios in her two books *Sébah & Joaillier'den Foto Sabah'a Fotoğrafta Oryantalizm* and *Abdullah Frères: Osmanlı Sarayının Fotoğrafçıları.*[16] Both were official court photographers during Sultan Abdülaziz and Sultan Abdülhamid II's reigns and Özendes's books underline the close relationship between the Ottoman sultans and photography. This relationship was further analyzed through portrait photography in Bahattin Öztuncay's book *Dynasty and Camera: Portraits from the Ottoman Court*.[17] Öztuncay takes a more general look into portrait photography in *Hatıra-i Uhuvvet - Portre Fotoğraflarının Cazibesi: 1846-1950.*[18] Finally, Öztuncay's *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları - 19. Yüzyıl İstanbulunda Fotoğraf: Öncüler, Stüdyolar, Sanatçılar* is another detailed look into the history of the medium.[19] The two-volume book also includes biographical information on the photographers and studios in its first volume, with the second one dedicated to a selection of photographs presented in various categories. Although the book focuses on the nineteenth century this book was useful for my research because some of the studios mentioned did continue to operate in the twentieth century.

In addition to the aforementioned books that take a more documentary approach, I used two books published as companions to photography exhibitions by Koç University. These are not strictly exhibition catalogs as the articles provide a more analytical

[15] Engin Özendes, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Fotoğrafçılık, 1839-1923* (İstanbul: YEM Yayın, 2013).
[16] Engin Özendes, *Sébah & Joaillier'den Foto Sabah'a Fotoğrafta Oryantalizm* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2004); Engin Özendes, *Abdullah Frères: Osmanlı Sarayının Fotoğrafçıları* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006).
[17] Bahattin Öztuncay, *Dynasty and Camera: Portraits from the Ottoman Court* (İstanbul: Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, 2010).
[18] Bahattin Öztuncay, *Hatıra-i Uhuvvet - Portre Fotoğraflarının Cazibesi: 1846-1950* (İstanbul: Aygaz, 2008).
[19] Bahattin Öztuncay, *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları - 19. Yüzyıl İstanbulunda Fotoğraf: Öncüler, Stüdyolar, Sanatçılar* (İstanbul: Aygaz, 2003).

approach to the history of photography. The first book is *Camera Ottomana: Photography and Modernity in the Ottoman Empire, 1840-1914.* Bahattin Öztuncay's article "The Origins and Development of Photography in Istanbul" is a condensed version of his books.[20] Edhem Eldem's "Powerful Images – The Dissemination and Impact of Photography in the Ottoman Empire" is a more critical look into the relationship between imperial ideology and the dissemination of photography. It is notable for its inclusion of the reign of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, highlighting the changing attitude towards photography and propagation of imagery.[21] The second exhibition book is *Ottoman Arcadia: The Hamidian Expedition to the Land of Tribal Roots (1886)*. In this book Ahmet Ersoy's article "The Sultan and His Tribe: Documenting Ottoman Roots in the Abdülhamid II Photographic Albums" is an excellent companion to Selim Deringil's *Well-Protected Domains*, further examining the influence of Sultan Abdülhamid II's image-making policies on photography.[22]

Finally, I used the following sources to help me contextualize the photographs in light of previous modes of visual representation. For this research, I focused on the visual representation of ceremonies in illuminated manuscripts and imperial image-making through sultanic portraiture. For the former, I referred to *40 Gün 40 Gece: Osmanlı Düğünleri, Şenlikleri, Geçit Alayları* by Metin And, *Ottoman Painting* by Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, and Zeren Tanındı, and *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*.[23] For the latter, I consulted two book chapters by Günsel Renda:

[20] Bahattin Öztuncay, "The Origins and Development of Photography in Istanbul," in *Camera Ottomana: Photography and Modernity in the Ottoman Empire, 1840-1914*, ed. Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem (İstanbul: Koç University Publications, 2015), 66–105.
[21] Edhem Eldem, "Powerful Images – The Dissemination and Impact of Photography in the Ottoman Empire," in *Camera Ottomana* (İstanbul: Koç University Publications, 2015), 106–53.
[22] Ahmet Ersoy, "The Sultan and His Tribe: Documenting Ottoman Roots in the Abdülhamid II Photographic Albums," in *Ottoman Arcadia: The Hamidian Expedition to the Land of Tribal Roots (1886)* (İstanbul: Koç University Center for Anatolian Civilizations, 2018), 31–64.
[23] Metin And, *40 Gün 40 Gece: Osmanlı Düğünleri, Şenlikleri, Geçit Alayları* (İstanbul: Toprakbank, 2000); Serpil Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting* (Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture and Tourism

"Propagating the Imperial Image: Tasvir-i Hümayun (1800-1922)" from *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman,* and "European Artists at the Ottoman Court: Propagating New Dynastic Image in the Nineteenth Century" from *The Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism.*[24] These sources assisted in placing the photographs of ceremonies within the larger scope of Ottoman art history.

Publications, 2010); Günsel Renda et al., eds., *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman* (İstanbul: İşbank, 2000).

[24] Renda et al., *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*; Günsel Renda, "European Artists at the Ottoman Court: Propagating New Dynastic Image in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism*, ed. Zeynep İnankur, Reina Lewis, and Mary Roberts (İstanbul: Pera Museum, 2011), 221–232.

1. IMPERIAL IMAGE-MAKING IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad (Figure 1.1) was born on November 2, 1844. After spending the majority of his life as a *şehzade*,[25] he became the 35th Ottoman Sultan on April 27, 1909 and died on July 3, 1918. The twentieth century continued processes of change and transformation in the Ottoman Empire that had begun in the nineteenth century and earlier. Territorial losses continued and frontiers shrank. Statesmen at the center and in the provinces continued their contestations for power. The idea of nationalism was the driving force behind civil unrest. The forces triggering these territorial losses now involved domestic rebellions as well as imperial wars.[26]

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad was put on the Ottoman throne by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). He had little control over state matters and Ottoman politics during his reign was controlled by the Committee. There, imperial image-making between 1908 and 1918 was not only through the Sultan's efforts, but also through the CUP's machinations. This chapter is divided into two sections to give a historical background on the imperial image-making efforts of the Ottoman Empire. The first section is on journalism, which was introduced to the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. It quickly became a political tool used both by the state and its opposition to propagate their views. The second section is on the tradition of imperial ceremonies in the Ottoman Empire. This tradition was changed according to the imperial agenda throughout the centuries.

[25] *Şehzade* was the title given to the Ottoman princes. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad became the Sultan at 65, the oldest Ottoman Sultan to accede to the throne.
[26] Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 54.

1.1. Journalism, Censorship and the Imperial Image

The history of the press and journalism in the Ottoman Empire is closely linked to the Empire's political history. One of the first Ottoman newspapers in Ottoman Turkish was not published in Istanbul but Cairo. In 1828, the governor of Egypt published *Vekayi-i Mısriyye* to inform his staff of the modernization process that had begun in the Ottoman Empire.[27] In 1831 *Takvim-i Vekayi*, the official newspaper of the Ottoman State, begun publication during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II. Although its target audience was the government officials, it was sold to the general public as well.[28]

The first privately-owned newspaper was *Ceride-i Havadis* in 1840 which included cultural and technological news in addition to politics. The public interest was low and it only survived through government support and eventually became a semi-official newspaper.[29] All the writers of *Ceride-i Havadis* were members of the translation bureau of the Sublime Porte.[30] In the first decades journalism as a profession did not exist; journalists were people who had jobs in the government or worked in the private sector.[31]

Until 1860 there was very little interest in the newspapers, and they did not reach more than 300 people per day.[32] Disinterest on the public's part can be traced back to the late introduction of the printing press into the Ottoman Empire.[33] The literary habits already present in the Western cultures for several centuries had only been cultivating since the eighteenth century.[34] However, readership rapidly grew throughout the

[27] Orhan Koloğlu, "Newspapers," in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 431.
[28] Kenan Demir, "Osmanlı'da Basının Doğuşu ve Gazeteler," *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 2014, 61.
[29] Koloğlu, "Newspapers," 431; Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1913," 17.
[30] Koloğlu, "Newspapers," 431.
[31] Orhan Koloğlu, "Basın," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1993), 69.
[32] Koloğlu, 69.
[33] Koloğlu, "Basın."
[34] Olcay Özkaya Duman, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Ulusal'dan Yerel'e Basın ve Yayıncılık Faaliyetlerinin Gelişimi Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme," *Turkish Studies* 8 (2013): 1031–41.

nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Readership was not limited to the circulation numbers.[35] People had access to newspapers in coffee-houses and could read the publications.[36]

In 1862 Şinasi started publishing *Tasvir-i Efkar*, a newspaper that would become an apparatus for the Young Ottomans. It promoted ideas of freedom and democracy.[37] Ali Suavi's *Muhbir* was a Young Ottoman publication that advocated for a constitutional system.[38] The Young Ottomans who brought their ideas into the Empire through journalism supported the cause of the people to weed out elitism.[39] They promoted the idea of a "loyal citizen" instead of a "loyal subject."[40] The criticism towards the state increased with the number of newspapers and in response, the government created laws governing the press. These were case and need based laws.[41] Permission to publish a newspaper in the Ottoman Empire was subject to inspection by the Ministry of Education for the locals or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for foreigners per the 1857 law.[42] *Matbuat Müdürlüğü* (Administration of Press Affairs) was established in 1862 and this started the era of censorship that would last until 1909.[43] Penalties for publishing against the state agenda included fines, imprisonment, and exile for journalists, editors, and publishers in addition to the publication being shut down.[44] The government closed *Muhbir* and exiled

[35] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 78.
[36] Murat Gül, *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009), 34.
[37] Koloğlu, "Newspapers," 431.
[38] Banu Dağtaş, "Contested Modernities: 'Diverse Voices' of the Pioneering Journalists in the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of Media Critiques* 3, no. 12 (December 31, 2017): 147.
[39] Şerif Mardin, "Power, Civil Society and Culture in the Ottoman Empire," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11, no. 3 (1969): 275.
[40] Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1913," 34.
[41] Yosmaoğlu, 17.
[42] Fatmagül Demirel, "Censorship of Newspapers," in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 131; Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1913," 17.
[43] Demirel, "Censorship of Newspapers," 131.
[44] Demirel, 131; Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1913," 18.

the editor-in-chief Ali Suavi.[45] He and other journalists fled the Ottoman Empire and continued their efforts in Europe.[46]

Despite the oppression by the government, the presence of the press continued to grow within the Ottoman Empire. In Istanbul, there were 17 new publications between 1860 and 1866, and 113 more between 1867 and 1878.[47] Namık Kemal's new publication, *İbret* sold a never-before-seen 25.000 copies which showed that the public was becoming opinionated.[48] But the government redoubled its efforts to control the media. In 1876, despite protests from newspapers, a new law was announced that all newspapers had to be reviewed by the Administration of Press Affairs before they could be published.[49]

In the same year, Sultan Abdülaziz was dethroned by a military coup and replaced by Sultan Abdülhamid II.[50] Sultan Abdülhamid II gradually proved to be stricter and stricter regarding the press even though he had promised to uphold the freedom of press when he had vowed to protect the first Ottoman constitution upon taking the throne in 1876.[51] With the strict censorship during the Hamidian period, the number of new publications per year dropped from nine or ten to only one per year.[52] Bribery for publications in favor, and censorship through the press bureau was meant to ensure no dissenting opinions would be shared.[53]

[45] Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1913," 18.
[46] Koloğlu, "Newspapers," 431.
[47] Koloğlu, 432.
[48] Koloğlu, 432.
[49] Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1913," 19.
[50] First, Sultan Abdülaziz was replaced by Sultan Murad V who was quickly dethroned three months later due to being mentally unfit to rule. .
[51] Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1913," 19–21.
[52] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 78.
[53] Koloğlu, "Newspapers," 432; Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1913," 22–24.

The Administration of Press Affairs reviewed each and every issue of a newspaper before it could be published.[54] Sultan Abdülhamid II tried to promote the religious identity of the Ottoman Empire and put emphasis on Muslim solidarity to combat the ideas of liberalism, nationalism, and constitutionalism.[55] The newspapers were forbidden to publish anything that would damage the reputation of the Sultan, the Empire, the military, or the state in addition to being forbidden to use words such as "strike," "assassination," "revolution," "anarchy," "republic," or "freedom."[56] In fact any political content was looked down upon and the papers that abstained from it got preferential treatment at the Administration of Press Affairs; although the vague yet strict nature of censorship meant that even nonpolitical publications which had content about science, technology, literature, and arts had to act cautiously and were found harmful in the later years of Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign.[57] The vagueness in the law was intended as it gave the government more discretionary capacity to veto subjects.[58] For an Ottoman newspaper to survive during the Hamidian period, it had to become a mouthpiece of the regime.[59] Furthermore, it had been stripped of its main purpose of reporting news.[60]

Censorship for Ottoman newspapers applied to foreign publications as well. A preliminary process to eliminate content could not be utilized for these; therefore, Sultan Abdülhamid II resorted to bribing the publications to print favorable content which not only was ineffective, oftentimes had the opposite of the intended effect with the newspapers openly making fun of the "despot" Sultan.[61] Customs and post offices were

[54] Demirel, "Censorship of Newspapers," 131.
[55] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 79.
[56] Demirel, "Censorship of Newspapers," 432.
[57] Demirel, 132; Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1913," 19.
[58] Demirel, "Censorship of Newspapers," 18.
[59] Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1913," 26.
[60] Yosmaoğlu, 31.
[61] Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1913."

put under strict surveillance so that foreign publications deemed unsuitable would not enter the Empire. Some still found their way in, as the Ottoman authorities had no control over embassies and foreign-run post offices.[62]

An opposition group, called the Ottoman Unity Society (*İttihad-i Osmani Cemiyeti*) had formed in the Empire in 1895. Some of its members were arrested which forced the remaining members to flee to Paris, where they published opposition newspapers and called themselves the Young Turks.[63] The Paris group and the Istanbul group collectively decided on the name Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*) for their organization, continuing the unionist ideas of the Young Ottomans.[64] Their main point of criticism was that the system of governance had primarily relied upon unconditional loyalty to the Sultan.[65] A split within the group happened in 1902 when members disagreed on whether the use of violence to dethrone Sultan Abdülhamid II was justified; however, by 1907 both groups had agreed on the necessity of aggressive means to seize control.[66]

An important factor the revolution was the news that the Russian and British Empires had met to discuss the Balkans and fearing the partitioning of the Empires the CUP decided to act.[67] The Unionist officers in Macedonia revolted to demand the reinstatement of the constitution. The Sultan gave in to their demands, fearing doing

[62] Demirel, "Censorship of Newspapers," 132.
[63] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 86.
[64] Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri (1895 - 1908)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), 34; Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 86.
[65] Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)*, 62.
[66] Hanioğlu, *Preparation for a Revolution*, 130; Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 86–90.
[67] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 90.

otherwise would result in dethronement;[68] but used the censorship of media to present it as he had decided to reinstate the constitution of his own accord.[69]

Politically, the CUP did not want to take drastic steps so decided not to dethrone Sultan Abdülhamid II nor to change the cabinet.[70] The Sultan's propaganda process had worked, he was beloved within the Empire and his control over the press meant that he was seen as the hero of the situation.[71] The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 also brought an end to the Hamidian restrictions on the press. This was achieved not by the CUP, but by the journalists themselves. By refusing to submit their publications to preliminary censorship on the day after the coup, they created a de facto abolition of censorship unrecognized by an official law.[72] This also resulted in an unprecedented new publication craze. In the seven months following the reinstatement of the constitution, the number of publications in the Ottoman Empire rose from 120 to 730.[73] Circulation rose from two thousand to average more than twenty thousand per day.[74]

Opposition to the CUP grew within the Empire and this culminated in the countercoup attempt of 1909, known as the 31 March Incident (*31 Mart Olayı*).[75] The attempt was suppressed by the Action Army (*Hareket Ordusu*) moving to Istanbul from Macedonia.[76] This time the CUP dethroned Sultan Abdülhamid II and put his brother Sultan Mehmed V Reşad on the throne. The Sultan's role in the government was further limited to minimize his role.[77] The countercoup also gave the Committee of Union and Progress the reason it needed to put stricter regulation on the press. From then on, during

[68] Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 401.
[69] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 93.
[70] Zürcher, 94.
[71] Zürcher, 85–94.
[72] Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1913," 32.
[73] Koloğlu, "Newspapers," 432.
[74] Koloğlu, "Basın," 72.
[75] Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 154.
[76] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 97.
[77] Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 150–53.

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign, the Ottoman press came under the control of the Committee of Union and Progress until 1918.[78] Although initially, in 1909, additions to the constitution by the CUP protected the freedom of press, the modifications to the Press Law in 1913 added more restrictions.[79] Now, in addition to being able to shut down newspapers, the government could also bar journalists who were previously convicted from founding new publications.[80]

The opposition to the CUP continued however due to ethnic, religious and social conflicts.[81] The CUP used violence to ensure its continuation; from murdering dissident journalists to intimidating voters and politicians to ensure their majority in the 1912 election known as the *Sopalı Seçim* or the Election of Clubs.[82] In 1912 another uprising in Albania forced the closure of the cabinet and the entirety of the CUP-backed government resigning which gave way to a brief period of the opposition party forming a new government.[83] However, the new government dissolved the Chamber of Deputies which not reconvene again until 1914 and by then the CUP would ensure their presence.[84] The CUP retook the control in 1913 with a coup d'état called *Bab-ı Ali Baskını* and started controlling full executive power.[85] They again jumped at the opportunity to use a crisis, the Balkan Wars, to gain support for the Committee.[86]

Meanwhile, censorship continued between Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign and the Second Constitutional Era, but its nature changed. Sultan Abdülhamid II's censorship

[78] Koloğlu, "Newspapers," 432.
[79] Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1913," 35–36.
[80] Yosmaoğlu, 36.
[81] Karpat, "The Evolution of the Turkish Political System and the Changing Meaning of Modernity, Secularism and Islam," 206.
[82] Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 156.
[83] Hanioğlu, 156.
[84] Hanioğlu, 156.
[85] Karpat, "The Evolution of the Turkish Political System and the Changing Meaning of Modernity, Secularism and Islam," 204.
[86] Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 157.

was more personal, relying on self-censorship, rewarding informants and sanctioned behavior, and preliminary censorship; whereas the CUP's censorship was an impersonal centralized control of the state.[87] CUP's outward ideology was Ottomanism but there was also a growing tendency towards Turkism.[88] Similar to what happened during Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign, publications without political content again had a relatively easier time surviving in this climate. Photographs of imperial ceremonies during Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign were printed in three journals: *Resimli Kitab, Servet-i Fünun,* and *Şehbal.* These had three things in common. Firstly, they were among the rare publications that printed photographs. Secondly, they printed the photographs among unrelated articles, with only the captions giving the photographs' context. Lastly, they did not include political content and therefore were able to avoid being shut down by the CUP due to political reasons.

Resimli Kitab was published monthly between September 1908 and February 1914, in fifty-one issues. It focused on culture, art, and education. Its editor-in-chief was Ubeydullah Esad. It published many photographs of current events. Their mission statement was to preserve the artistic spirit in every aspect of the magazine. It is the longest amongst the three publications, with one hundred pages per issue. It was a high-quality publication that featured Art Nouveau frames and decorations.

Şehbal ran from March 14, 1909 to July 14, 1915 in one hundred issues. Its director was Hüseyin Saadet Arel. Every issue included a section oriented towards women. It was printed with high-quality materials. It has elegant Art Nouveau ornamentations decorating its pages. Its production quality and layout design won

[87] Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1913," 47–49.
[88] Karpat, "The Evolution of the Turkish Political System and the Changing Meaning of Modernity, Secularism and Islam," 206.

awards.[89] Like *Resimli Kitab,* it printed numerous photographs including images of the Italo-Turkish and Balkan Wars but never commented on them in the text. The articles focused on literature, arts, culture, and philosophy. It also published translations of poems and stories from English and French.[90]

Servet-i Fünun ran from March 17, 1891 until May 26, 1944 for 2464 issues. The longest-running publication among the three. It had one of the most technologically advanced printing presses of the era owing to a donation from Sultan Abdülhamid II. With editor in chief Tevfik Fikret, it was home to many prominent writers of the era such as Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil, Recaizade Ekrem, and Ahmed Rasim. First known for its politically thought-provoking articles, which continued even after Tevfik Fikret left the publication, *Servet-i Fünun* became largely a tabloid after 1901. This was partially due to its editor Hüseyin Cahit and director Ahmed İhsan being prosecuted and going to trial over an article on the French Revolution. It continued as a weekly magazine in the Second Constitutional Era.

[89] Nazım H. Polat, "Şehbal," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2010).
[90] Kenan Demir, "Osmanlı'da Dergiciliğin Doğuşu ve Gelişimi (1849- 1923)," *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 2016, 91.

1.2. The Tradition of Ceremonies in the Ottoman Empire, Visibility, and Imagery

Ceremonies are assemblies to commemorate the days and events important in the socio-cultural course of a society. Ceremonies and processions play very significant roles in analyzing and understanding the culture of states and individuals. Ceremonies are a tool for those in power to define and describe themselves.[91] For governments, the political use of ceremonies is to display and reinforce legitimacy.[92] If used wisely, ceremonies provide governments and institutions a way to sway the public opinion. In the Ottoman Empire, ceremonies allowed for direct ruler visibility, a rare chance for the public to personally see the sultan. Ceremonies and processions were important features in Ottoman culture, and they were part of the Empire's effort of framing the public's gaze to create a desired image according to imperial politics.

After the conquest of Constantinople, the Ottoman sultans cultivated an omnipotent and powerful image through the control of the gaze and limiting their visibility.[93] That the ceremonies and protocol were very important instruments in the Ottoman socio-political life is evidenced by their meticulous records of their regulations.[94] In the Ottoman Empire, ceremonies were regulated by rules which determined the participants, their placements, and their duties. These rules called "Teşrifat Usulleri" were noted in the laws (*Kanunnames*) and official books (*Teşrifat Defterleri*). The first Ottoman sultan to compile the protocol rules in writing was Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror (r. 1444-1446, 1451-1481).[95] Sultan Mehmed II set precedent

[91] Karateke, *Padişahım Çok Yaşa: Osmanlı Devleti'nin Son Yüzyılında Merasimler*, 210.
[92] Hakan T. Karateke, "Legitimizing the Ottoman Sultanate: A Framework for Historical Analysis," in *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, ed. Maurus Reinkowski and Hakan Karateke, The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage, v. 34 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2005), 49–50.
[93] Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: The Architectural History Foundation, 1991), 16.
[94] Alikılıç, *Imparatorluk seremonisi*, 37.
[95] Alikılıç, 26.

for the imperial ceremonies and the imperial image which were codified in the late 1470s as such according to Gülru Necipoğlu:

> "This rule book stipulated that the monarch remain aloof; he would no longer sit at banquets or appear regularly in public audiences as he used to do. Except for the two religious holidays in which he agreed to give public audiences, he would remain in seclusion, only receiving privileged dignitaries and ambassadors in his private audience hall four times a week."[96]

There were changes and additions to these rules in the following centuries and the protocol rules became increasingly more important. These rules aimed to regulate the internal and external affairs of the court. During Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent's reign (r. 1520-1566), the prestige of the Ottoman court increased. This brought along an increase in the protocol and etiquette rules.[97] The seclusion was continued into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In addition to the omnipotent and sacred aura they created, their status as a military leader was also emphasized.[98] Military campaigns were the most important means of public visibility for the sultans up until the late sixteenth century.[99]

In the seventeenth century, the sultans ceased personally going on military campaigns. In addition to hunting trips outside Istanbul, there were processions for Friday prayers, visits to the mantle of prophet Mohammed (*Hırka-i Şerif*), and the sword girding ceremony for the accession of a new sultan in the capital.[100] However, these were rare

[96] Gülru Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal Palaces," *Ars Orientalis*, no. 23 (1993): 303.
[97] Alikılıç, *Imparatorluk seremonisi*, 33–36.
[98] Stephanov, *Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908*, 10.
[99] Cengiz Kırlı, "Surveillance and Constituting the Public in the Ottoman Empires," in *Public, Politics, and Participation: Locating the Public Sphere in the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Seteney Shami (New York: Social Science Research Council, 2010), 291.
[100] Kırlı, 291.

occasions whose extraordinary circumstance was highlighted and the sultan's visibility remained low. For most of the ceremonies, the audience was limited to the elite who shared the ceremonial space and interactivity with the audience was nonexistent with the Sultan engaging only in restrained and strongly ritualized behavior.[101]

The seclusion and privacy established in the Ottoman Empire dissipated especially in the Tulip Period[102] when Sultan Ahmed III aimed to create a new imperial image. Spectacles, ceremonies, and processions were a big part of this new image that relied on visibility.[103] The Tulip Period did not suddenly start the trend of public ceremonies and festivities, they had been in the Ottoman tradition previously,[104] but the sultans manipulated the gaze this time to create a more accessible image. The Ottoman rulers used a host of legitimizing instruments to enhance their position, ranging from public celebrations of stages in the lifecycle of the dynasty to good works.[105] Festivals were also utilized when the empire was troubled by war and economic difficulties, as a way for the Empire to assert its dominance, display its power and artistic prowess, and provide entertainment for Ottoman people from all strata. These festivities continued later in the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century during Sultan Selim III's reign (r. 1789-1807). They increased the visibility of the Sultan but only within the capital. Further reaching visibility through ceremonies was not achieved until Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839).

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[101] Stephanov, *Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908*, 13.
[102] The period roughly between 1718-1730 was retroactively named the Tulip Period (*Lale Devri*). It was the later half of Sultan Ahmed III's (r. 1703-1730) reign and was marked by artistic and cultural innovation.
[103] Esin Atıl, "The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 190.
[104] For more information on ceremonies in Ottoman illuminated manuscripts see And, *40 Gün 40 Gece: Osmanlı Düğünleri, Şenlikleri, Geçit Alayları*. For the analysis of a sixteenth century Ottoman festival through illuminated manuscripts see Derin Terzioğlu, "The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation," *Muqarnas*, no. 12 (1995): 84–100; Nurhan Atasoy, *Surname-i Humayun 1582: An Imperial Celebration* (İstanbul: Koçbank, 1997).
[105] Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, 93.

In this first shift in ruler visibility in the nineteenth century, he created a more directly visible persona of the Sultan while the Empire was going through an imperial crisis .[106] Within Istanbul, he participated in ceremonies frequently, going to the openings of news buildings, military parades, and Friday prayers.[107] He emphasized his Muslim identity for the Muslim population; and emphasized his universal kingly identity for the non-Muslim subjects.[108] He had five country trips between 1830 and 1837 to various provinces of the Ottoman Empire so that he could see his subjects and be seen by them.[109] He created the tropes of love for and by the ruler through a father-children metaphor in relation to his subjects.[110] Furthermore, he used the domestic press, which had been introduced to the Ottoman Empire during his reign, to promote his public image.[111] The efforts of Sultan Mahmud II set a precedent for his successors by employing ceremonies for public visibility.

Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839–1861) continued Sultan Mahmud II's image-making policies to become a more accessible ruler and to increase his visibility directly. He advanced the trope of love for the ruler that Sultan Mahmud II had created.[112] In 1846 he went on a tour of Rumelia and tours to other provinces followed where he established the image of the ruler in the minds of the locals when it had not existed before.[113] Sultan Abdülmecid interacted with the public in his province tours. He did not wave but turned

[106] Stephanov, *Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908,* 199–200.
[107] Kırlı, "Surveillance and Constituting the Public in the Ottoman Empires," 293.
[108] Stephanov, *Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908,* 200.
[109] Kırlı, "Surveillance and Constituting the Public in the Ottoman Empires," 291.
[110] Stephanov, *Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908,* 23.
[111] Darin N. Stephanov, "Ruler Visibility, Modernity, and Ethnonationalism in the Late Ottoman Empire," in *Living in the Ottoman Realm: Empire and Identity, 13th to 20th Centuries*, ed. Christine Isom-Verhaaren and Kent F. Schull (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), 261.
[112] Stephanov, *Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908,* 84–85.
[113] Stephanov, 201.

his head to observe the crowds, which was unlike his predecessors' restrained movements and fixed gaze in ceremonies.[114]

Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861-76) once again continued to increase the direct visibility of the Ottoman Sultan. He continued the tradition of going to province tours, visiting Thessaloniki and Egypt.[115] The first Sultan to visit European cities, his direct visibility outside the Empire was increased greatly through this trip. Until the end of his reign, there was remarkable continuity throughout the nineteenth century regarding imperial image making by direct visibility to the public.[116]

The era of Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) marks the second shift in ruler visibility. This shift was not a sudden break from previously established norms for the imperial image in the nineteenth century but a gradual shift from direct to indirect sultanic visibility throughout his reign.[117] Fearing dethronement, Sultan Abdülhamid II lived almost as a recluse, which decreased direct visibility through ceremonies considerably.[118] Although limited, direct visibility was utilized once again as a ceremonious occasion to highlight its extraordinary occasion. There was a split regarding direct sultanic visibility in this era. To royal peers, for example to Kaiser Wilhelm II during his visits to Istanbul in 1889 and 1898, the Sultan remained accessible, but his visibility was carefully staged; whereas to the domestic public, he was inaccessible and invisible.[119] This dichotomy was

[114] Stephanov, "Ruler Visibility, Modernity, and Ethnonationalism in the Late Ottoman Empire," 263.
[115] Yunus Özger, "Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın Edirne Seyahati," *Çanakkale Araştırmaları Türk Yıllığı*, no. 22 (2017): 135–62; Kemalettin Kuzucu, "Balkanlar'da Son Osmanlı Padişahı: Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın 1911 Yılındaki Rumeli Seyahati," *Uluslarası Türk Kültür Coğrafyasında Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no. 2 (2011): 1–39.
[116] Stephanov, *Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908*, 120–21.
[117] Stephanov, 205.
[118] Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*, 167.
[119] Stephanov, *Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908*, 183–86.

used by the Sultan to present himself as a pious Muslim to Muslims, and a Western ruler to non-Muslims.[120]

This new imperial ideology regarding visibility changed when Sultan Mehmed V Reşad (r. 1909-1918) took the throne. There was a return to heightened visibility through ceremonies within Istanbul and in the provinces. However, Sultan Abdülhamid II's precedent set for diplomatic visits from foreign sovereigns continued. The most important difference during this era was that the deciding force behind the visibility or invisibility was not just the Sultan himself, but also the Committee of Union and Progress.

While ceremonies were opportunities for direct visibility, their visual depictions provided very limited indirect visibility until the twentieth century, during Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign. Between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries illuminated manuscripts were the visual medium where ceremonies were recorded (Figures 1.2.1-1.2.3.). [121] These albums were commissioned by the sultan or court officials. Although they were carefully constructed according to convey an imperial ideology, they were prized possessions kept in the court and their audience was minimal.[122] In the eighteenth century individual and larger scale paintings, such as Kostantin Kapıdağlı's painting of a ceremony of Sultan Selim III, were also commissioned (Figure 1.2.4).[123] Paintings of ceremonies and processions continued in the nineteenth century but the visibility remained low.[124] Although depictions of ceremonies were not propagated, in the

[120] Stephanov, 205.
[121] Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting,* 139–45; Zeynep Tarım-Ertuğ, "Osmanlı İstanbul'unda Merasim ve Teşrifata Dair Kaynaklar," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 8, no. 16 (2010): 140–42.
[122] Zeynep Tarım-Ertuğ, "The Depiction of Ceremonies in Ottoman Miniatures: Historical Record or a Matter of Protocol?," *Muqarnas* 2 (2010): 270.
[123] Günsel Renda, "Propagating the Imperial Image: Tasvir-i Hümayun (1800-1922)," in *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman* (İstanbul: İşbank, 2000), 470.
[124] Gülsen Sevinç Kaya, "Padişahın Ressam Kulları," in *İhtişam ve Tevazu: Padişahın Ressam Kulları* (İstanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2012), 47.

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a new trend of indirect visibility was attained through sultanic portraiture.

Sultan Selim III was the first ruler to have his portrait distributed amongst Ottoman dignitaries, foreign ambassadors and rulers, notably having a gift exchange of medallions with Napoleon I.[125] While sultanic portraiture had been prevalent in the Ottoman Empire, propagation of the images were limited, and propagation as such was not for an imperial agenda Sultan Mahmud II was a revolutionary who followed in the path of Selim and changed the iconography of Ottoman portraiture with his modernization process.[126] It was a tradition for monarchs in Europe to have portraits made to be hung in state offices and given as presents to other monarchs. This tradition was carried over to the Ottoman Empire by Sultan Mahmud II as the Order of the Imperial Portrait (*Tasvir-i Hümayun*). He had his portraits made as medallions to be given to prominent statesmen (Figures 1.2.5 and 1.2.6). He gifted this medal to foreign sovereigns and their families. He commissioned European artists to paint his portraits in oil, which was a new medium for sultanic portraiture. Sultan Mahmud II was also the first Sultan to have his oil portraits hung in government offices. In 1836 his portrait was hung in the Selimiye Barracks with a ceremony. His portrait decorated other buildings such as the Taksim Barracks, the Military Academy (*Mekteb-i Harbiye*) and the Sublime Porte (*Bab-ı Ali*).[127]

There were changes to the painted portraits of the sultans in the nineteenth century. Previously, the sultans' portraits had been greatly influenced by Eastern traditions. In the nineteenth century, there was a shift towards Western concepts. The iconography changed from traditional *kaftans* and *kavuks* to a more European style of clothing during Sultan Mahmud II's reign (Figure 1.2.7). The Sultan's image was also

[125] Renda et al., *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, 448–49.
[126] Renda et al., 443.
[127] Renda et al., 451–52.

accompanied by heretofore unseen props such as European furniture. The overall visual change emphasizes the image of the Sultan as a reformist in administration and his efforts to modernize the image of the state.[128]

Sultan Abdülmecid and Sultan Abdülaziz continued the tradition of propagating the sultan's image through both small medals and larger portraiture.[129] During Sultan Abdülaziz's reign, a new technique, photography was integrated, into the tradition of the *tasvir-i hümayun* in addition to medallions and small portraiture. As with ceremonies, this new form of visibility shifted with the accession of Sultan Abdülhamid II. Propagation of the sultan's visual image came to a stop during Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign who shifted to a more indirect form of visibility. He prohibited the circulation of his portraits, whether in government buildings or newspapers, replacing the visual propagation with banners reading "Long Live the Sultan!"[130]

After Sultan Abdülhamid II was deposed in 1909, propagation of the Sultan's portrait was back in full force. The new Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's image became one of the most popular icons of the Second Constitutional Era, and his photographs were printed in every medium possible, including magazines and postcards.[131] There was an ideological reason behind this as Edhem Eldem explains "the paternal appearance of the aging monarch provided a comforting image of unity and stability in the troubled years of revolution and war that preceded the final conflagration of the Great War."[132]

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[128] Günsel Renda, "European Artists at the Ottoman Court: Propagating a New Dynastic Image in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism*, ed. Zeynep İnankur, Reina Lewis, and Mary Roberts (Istanbul: Pera Museum Publication, 2011), 221–31. p. 229

[129] Renda, "European Artists at the Ottoman Court: Propagating New Dynastic Image in the Nineteenth Century," 225.

[130] Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 22.

[131] Edhem Eldem, "Powerful Images – The Dissemination and Impact of Photography in the Ottoman Empire," in *Camera Ottomana* (Istanbul: Koç University Publications, 2015), 147.

[132] Eldem, 147.

2. PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

2.1. Introduction of Photography into the Ottoman Empire and its Development

The nineteenth century saw new developments in philosophy, psychology, science, and technology. As Michelle Woodward points out, "the nineteenth century's passion for cataloging, collecting and explaining the world in scientific, empirical terms was manifested in the formation of new disciplines such as anthropology and sociology, new theories like Darwin's evolution, as well as in the ways society used the new technology of photography."[133]

The photographic process was concurrently developed in France and England. In France, Louis Daguerre announced his invention of the Daguerreotype in 1839. Meanwhile, Henry Fox Talbot had been working on the Calotype process in England. The Daguerreotype was imprinted on a metal surface and could not be reproduced. In contrast, the Calotype process was printed on a paper, which was a negative, so reproductions were possible.[134]

By the time Daguerre's photographic process was announced in Paris, European popular interest in the Middle East had also been already firmly established. Orientalism had been a trend in painting, music, fashion, and decoration.[135] Middle Eastern motifs had been appropriated for use in clothing fashions, literature, music, furniture, drawings, and paintings since the sixteenth century. French scientist and politician François Arago demonstrated the interest in archeology and documenting the Middle East:

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[133] Michelle L. Woodward, "Between Orientalist Clichés and Images of Modernization: Photographic Practice in the Late Ottoman Era," *History of Photography* 27, no. 4 (Winter 2003): 364.
[134] Naomi Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography*, 4th ed. (New York: Abbeville Press, 2007), 14–37.
[135] Semra Germaner and Zeynep İnankur, "Orientalism in the 19th Century and Turkey," in *Orientalists at the Ottoman Palace* (TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2006), 11.

> "How archeology is going to benefit from this new process! It would require twenty years and legions of draftsmen to copy the millions and millions of hieroglyphics covering just the outside of the great monuments of Thebes, Memphis, Karnak, etc. A single man can accomplish this same enormous task with the daguerreotype" [136]

Therefore, since its conception, photography became an integral part of the colonial project, documenting the foreignness of the colonial 'other', while simultaneously placing it within the confines of imperial surveillance.[137] As soon as photographers developed ways to photograph the world they immediately headed to Egypt, Palestine, and Istanbul.

In 1839 Gaspard-Pierre-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière (1798-1865) was in Paris at the time when Louis Daguerre unveiled his early photographic process. Embarking on a trip to the Middle East in the same year, Lotbinière acquired one of the first daguerreotype cameras in order to make photographic records of the ancient monuments he was about to see on his journey.[138] He traveled via Malta to Greece, and then carried on to Alexandria. He photographed Athens, Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Turkey. Lotbinière was a French businessman and amateur daguerreotypist. He was the first to photograph the Acropolis of Athens and ancient Egyptian monuments.[139]

Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (1804 – 1892) was a French photographer who was active in the Middle East. His daguerreotypes are the earliest surviving photographs of Greece, Palestine, Egypt, Syria, and Turkey. Girault de Prangey studied

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[136] See Gisèle Freund, *Photography & Society* (Boston: D. R. Godine, 1980); Paul E. Chevedden, "Making Light of Everything: Early Photography of the Middle East and Current Photomania," *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 18, no. 2 (1984): 151–74.
[137] Wendy M. K. Shaw, "Ottoman Photography of the Late Nineteenth Century: An 'Innocent' Modernism?," *History of Photography* 33, no. 1 (February 2009): 82.
[138] Öztuncay, 70
[139] Bahattin Öztuncay, "The Origins and Development of Photography in Istanbul," in *Camera Ottomana: Photography and Modernity in the Ottoman Empire, 1840-1914*, ed. Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem (Istanbul: Koç University Publications, 2015), 68–71.

painting in Paris at the École des Beaux-Arts and in 1841 he learned the daguerreotype process, possibly from Louis Daguerre himself. Girault de Prangey was keenly interested in the architecture of the Middle East, and he toured the eastern Mediterranean between 1841 and 1844, producing over 900 daguerreotypes of architectural views, landscapes, and portraits.[140]

The earliest photographers who traveled to the Middle East did not photograph for commercial purposes but were primarily wealthy tourists or explorers of archeological ruins, often working for government sponsors. By the late 1850s, the wet collodion process of making glass negatives allowed for the creation of multiple, more affordable prints for broader distribution. Photographers like Francis Frith (1822-1898) and Félix Bonfils (1831-1885) found commercial success with a European public fascinated by the "East" as well as with tourists traveling in the region seeking mementos to take home.[141]

Commercial, missionary, and official photographs of 'anthropological interest' were occasionally shown and discussed at the Ethnological Society's Ordinary Meetings.[142] Photography provided a degree of accuracy that was not possible with paintings or etchings. This ability led to its use as a tool for accumulating visual surveys of urban space, historical monuments, colonial possessions, and people as ethnic or occupational 'types'. With easy reproducibility in addition to its accuracy, photography satiated the need to see and explore the world. Commercially produced images were avidly collected and displayed.[143]

Photography provided a degree of accuracy that was not possible before with paintings or engravings. This ability led to its use as a tool for accumulating visual surveys

[140] Öztuncay, 90.
[141] Öztuncay, 68–72.
[142] Christopher Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology* (London: Reaktion Books, 2011), 22.
[143] Pinney, 23.

of urban space, historical monuments, colonial possessions, and people as ethnic or occupational 'types'. Commercial, missionary, and official photographs of 'anthropological interest' were occasionally shown and discussed at the Ethnological Society's Ordinary Meetings.[144] Photography was relatively cheaper and easier to access than painting, which meant that it was not only available to the higher classes and the wealthy. It is possible to find photographs of people from every stratum. In this sense, photography was an equalizer.

The cultural environment of the Ottoman Empire was changing in the nineteenth century, increasingly becoming influenced by Europe. Photography in the West developed as part of modernity, as such, its introduction into the Ottoman Empire was integral to the Empire's modernization process. Photography was introduced to the Ottoman Empire very soon after its invention. The invention was introduced in the newspaper *Takvim-i Vekayi* on 28 October 1839.[145] Precursors to the photographic medium had been introduced to the Empire by then, however. In 1805 a camera obscura had been purchased for the engineering school *Mühendishane-i Berri Hümayun* and from then on photography lessons were offered in the school.[146]

While the first photographers in the Ottoman Empire were visitors from Europe, photography studios began to make their appearance in the Ottoman Empire starting with the 1840s. Most local photographers in the Ottoman Empire were members of ethnic minority communities, particularly Armenian, Greek, and Levantine Christians; these

[144] Pinney, 22.
[145] Engin Özendes, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Fotoğrafçılık, 1839-1923* (Istanbul: YEM Yayın, 2013), 15.
[146] Engin Çizgen, "Fotoğrafçılık," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1993), 330.

communities had long cultivated business and intellectual relationships with Europe, and thus were the first to learn the new technology and its commercial applications.[147]

Photography was also very popular amongst the public in the Ottoman Empire. As photography became more popular, collecting photographs became more widespread. Photographs were printed on postcards and sold as souvenirs. Photographs of family members and loved ones were displayed in bookcase, on console and pianos, on walls along with photographs of famous figures and prominent statesmen. Memory rooms full of photographs were very popular in the nineteenth century.[148]

Photography was popular within court circles in addition to private homes. Portrait photographs placed in elaborately decorated frames or collected within albums were exchanged as gifts among monarchs and dignitaries. Portraits of monarchs and sultans were also sold in photography studios to the public. The customers became very interested in these portraits and it became a major source of income for photography studios. Taking the photographs of royalty was a privilege and photographers competed to have the title of official "court photographer" to be able to take these.[149]

Sultan Abdülaziz, who took the throne in 1861, was very interested in photography, especially portrait photography. He sat for portrait photographs during his trip to Europe. This trip was a very important event politically and culturally. For the first time in the history of the Ottoman Empire, a sultan was visiting Europe. After leaving Paris, Sultan Abdülaziz moved on to the United Kingdom as a guest of Queen Victoria.

[147] Kathryn A Ebel, "Visual Sources for Urban History of the Ottoman Empire," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 3, no. 6 (2005): 479.
[148] Öztuncay, "The Origins and Development of Photography in Istanbul," 90.
[149] Öztuncay, 86–101.

His portrait photograph was taken on July 13, 1867 at Balmoral Castle by William Downey who was commissioned by Queen Victoria (Figure 2.1.1).[150]

In 1863 Sultan Abdülaziz invited Abdullah Frères to his hunting lodge in Izmit to take his photograph. The result (Figure 2.1.2) pleased the Sultan, and he declared, "My countenance and true likeness is as in the photograph taken by the Abdullah brothers. I command that henceforth only the photographs taken by them shall be recognised as official photographs to be distributed throughout the land." and subsequently the sultan made them his official court photographers.[151] Abdullah Frères was a studio made up of brothers Viçen (1820-1902), Hovsep (1830-1908) and Kevork (1839-1918) Abdullahyan. With Sultan Abdülaziz's approval, they were able to print the Sultan's *tuğra* on their portraits.[152] Abdullah Frères lost their favor with Sultan Abdülhamid when they photographed the Russian army in 1878 after the Ottomans had just lost a war against the Russians.[153] In 1886 they opened another studio in Egypt by the request of Khedive Tevfik Pasha. Tevfik Pasha requested Kevork to take photographs during his trip to visit the historical sites of Egypt. Photographs of Egypt were sold to tourists in their studios.[154]

For photography during Sultan Abdülaziz's era, portrait photography can be said to be the most important form as it was utilized to propagate the sultan's image. Portraiture as a political tool had been present in the Ottoman Empire Portraiture is the peak of biographical records. Pictorial traditions of the time greatly influenced portrait photography. The aim of portrait photography in the nineteenth century was to relay the social identity, economic and political status, and character of the subject.[155] To

[150] Öztuncay, *Hatıra-i Uhuvvet - Portre Fotoğraflarının Cazibesi: 1846-1950*, 88.
[151] Engin Özendes, *Abdullah Frères: Osmanlı Sarayının Fotoğrafçıları* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006), 39.
[152] Öztuncay, "The Origins and Development of Photography in Istanbul," 92.
[153] Öztuncay, 83.
[154] Özendes, *Abdullah Frères: Osmanlı Sarayının Fotoğrafçıları*, 102–10.
[155] Öztuncay, "The Origins and Development of Photography in Istanbul," 86.

communicate these qualities, the photographer carefully arranged the scenery. The background, the pose, and the decoration were all purposefully chosen by the collaboration of the photographer and the subject. Photography in that era required a lot of light to form an image and it could take up to twenty or thirty minutes to take one photograph. The subject needed to be motionless during this time otherwise the image would be blurry. Therefore, subjects of portrait photography most often posed sitting to minimalize movement during the process.

While portrait photography of the sultan was immensely popular during Sultan Abdülaziz's reign, this changed with his dethronement and the accession of Sultan Abdülhamid II. Sultan Abdülaziz had brought along his nephew, future Sultan Abdülhamid II to Europe. William Downey also took photographs of future Sultan Abdülhamid II during this trip (Figure 2.1.3).[156] Despite his interest in photography, Sultan Abdülhamid II did not like to pose for portraits himself, which included photographs. He did not want his portraits to be distributed to the public either.[157] Sultan Abdülhamid II believed that photography was too close and personal. He didn't like his portrait to be taken so as not to show any signs of weakness. There are very few photographs of him. One was taken in 1867 by English photographer William Downey in Balmoral when he was a prince visiting Queen Victoria in Balmoral Castle. Another one was taken by Abdullah Frères in 1869. Because of the scarcity of the Sultan's photographs, these two that were taken before he became the Sultan were reused later during his reign.[158]

[156] Öztuncay, *Hatıra-i Uhuvvet - Portre Fotoğraflarının Cazibesi: 1846-1950*, 92.
[157] Eldem, "Powerful Images – The Dissemination and Impact of Photography in the Ottoman Empire," 119.
[158] Öztuncay, *Hatıra-i Uhuvvet - Portre Fotoğraflarının Cazibesi: 1846-1950*, 92.

The interest in portrait photography continued into Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign.[159] Sultan Abdülhamid II commissioned portraits of statesmen, military personnel and his family. He was very interested in photography and he collected photographs.[160] He had a studio built in the palace[161] and he took photographs himself.[162] He commissioned artists to take photographs of the Ottoman Empire's army, navy, factories, schools, new buildings, and Ottoman provinces to document the modernization of the Empire. Sultan Abdülhamid II's interest in photography was not just an artistic fascination. He saw great potential in this new media to be used to further his imperial ambitions. He commissioned a project to document the Ottoman Empire. Between 1880 and 1893 over fifty albums were produced. These albums were designed to take control of the image of the empire, to take back the power of the gaze, and to represent the empire from an imperial perspective.[163] Instead of portraying the empire as a romantic, historic, ethnographically different place, the Abdülhamid Albums controlled the gaze by using the modern medium to focus upon aspects of the empire that displayed modernity.[164] The symbols of modernity in these photographs include schools, military buildings and personnel, factories, hospitals, government buildings, and monuments. Sultan Abdülhamid II gifted one album documenting the Empire to British Museum and one to the United States Library of Congress.[165]

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[159] Öztuncay, *Dynasty and Camera: Portraits from the Ottoman Court*, 26.
[160] Eldem, "Powerful Images – The Dissemination and Impact of Photography in the Ottoman Empire," 120.
[161] Özendes, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Fotoğrafçılık, 1839-1923*, 32.
[162] Özendes, *Abdullah Frères: Osmanlı Sarayının Fotoğrafçıları*, 175.
[163] Özendes, 83; Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 151–52.
[164] Shaw, "Ottoman Photography of the Late Nineteenth Century," 83.
[165] Muhammad Isa Waley, "Images of the Ottoman Empire: The Photograph Albums Presented by Sultan Abdülhamid II," *The British Library Journal* 17, no. 2 (1991): 111. For an in-depth analysis of the album sent to the United States see William James Harper, "Backward and Forward: Photographic Gifts between the Ottoman Empire and the United States in the Late Nineteenth-Century" (Koç University, 2013).

Sultan Abdülhamid II's stance towards photography is in defiance of how the Ottoman Empire had been depicted so far – through an orientalist, romantic, colonially-driven gaze. Sultan Abdülhamid remarked that:

> 'Most of the photographs taken for sale in Europe vilify and mock Our Well-Protected Domains. It is imperative that the photographs to be taken in this instance do not insult Islamic peoples by showing them in a vulgar and demeaning light'.[166]

The attempt to portray modernity was a response to the European tendency towards Orientalist depictions. Instead of portraying the empire as a romantic, historic, ethnographically different place, the Abdülhamid Albums controlled the gaze by using the modern medium to focus upon aspects of the empire that displayed modernity such as the modern military, institutions, monuments, and buildings.[167] Sultan Abdülhamid gifted one album documenting the Empire to the United Kingdom and one to the United States.[168]

The vast documentation was not only done to present a new image to the West, but also because Sultan Abdülhamid II wanted to see the Ottoman Empire himself. His predilection towards collecting and cataloging information also extended to photography, and he collected over 36,000 thousand photographs in the Yıldız Palace.[169] This was the inwards use of photography for imperial ideology, and the outwards was the control of what was disseminated. From the Yıldız Palace Sultan Abdülhamid II carefully controlled

[166] Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 156.
[167] Shaw, "Ottoman Photography of the Late Nineteenth Century," 82–83.
[168] Waley, "Images of the Ottoman Empire: The Photograph Albums Presented by Sultan Abdülhamid II," 111.
[169] Ersoy, "The Sultan and His Tribe: Documenting Ottoman Roots in the Abdülhamid II Photographic Albums," 32.

what photographs would be permitted to printed in periodicals.[170] The strict press censorship applied to images as well.

Sultan Abdülhamid II was forced to leave the throne after a coup in 1909, and Sultan Mehmed V Reşad took his place. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad did not have his brother Sultan Abdülhamid II's interest in photography.[171] Although Sultan Mehmed V Reşad did not officially restrict the dissemination of his image, some limitations applied on an individual basis. Lütfi Simavi notes one occasion that the court photographer Phébus was asked to destroy negatives of a photograph taken at court picturing the Sultan with Niyazi Bey who had been part of the Action Army (*Hareket Ordusu)*.[172] Niyazi Bey's rank was deemed not high enough to be portrayed next to the Sultan. It is important to note that the order did not come from the Sultan, but two high-ranking military officers Hasan Rıza Pasha and Ali Rıza Pasha. When the problem was brought to his attention through Lütfi Bey, the Sultan agreed with the request and ordered the photographs to be destroyed.

A development during Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign was that photographers had more opportunities to photograph the Sultan outside. Mehmed V Reşad was very much unlike his predecessor in that he left the court a lot more to increase his visibility to the public. This created an opportunity for artists who were not official court photographers to access the Sultan and photograph him. The propagation of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's photographs created a more accessible imperial image. Many photographs of the Sultan were disseminated through books, newspapers, and postcards; often accompanied by the Ottoman flag.[173] With no restrictions on printing the sultan's image, newspapers were free to photograph this new sultan who frequently made public

[170] Ersoy, 32–33.
[171] Öztuncay, *Hatıra-i Uhuvvet - Portre Fotoğraflarının Cazibesi: 1846-1950*, 27.
[172] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, I:67.
[173] Öztuncay, *Dynasty and Camera: Portraits from the Ottoman Court*, 67.

appearances. Therefore, photojournalism became a very important tool for imperial visibility. Photojournalism did not suddenly start as its seeds had been sown during Sultan Abdülhamid II's era.[174] Photojournalism continued growing during Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign, especially in the first years before the Committee of Union and Progress's stricter press laws came into effect.

The technological advances by this era meant a quicker shutter speed and faster exposure time. Photography no longer required minutes of waiting to capture an image. Furthermore, it was possible to capture scenes in action with minimal blurring. As Edhem Eldem explains:

> "The arrival of the snapshot – fast, casual, and unstaged – had brought a sense that reality could be recorded – an idea that photojournalism exploited to the full during the troubles to give readers a totally new feeling of immediacy."[175]

In the first years of its introduction, photography was in the domain of the elite. By the end of the nineteenth century, it had become an object of mass consumption.[176] The beginning of the twentieth century saw photography become even more widespread. Therefore, many photographers and studios were working in the Ottoman Empire during this time. Within the scope of this thesis, the ones I want to elaborate on in this chapter are those who have taken photographs of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad attending his ceremonies.

[174] For photojournalism during this time see Ahmet Ersoy, "Ottomans and the Kodak Galaxy: Archiving Everyday Life and Historical Space in Ottoman Illustrated Journals," *History of Photography* 40, no. 3 (July 2, 2016): 330–57.
[175] Eldem, "Powerful Images – The Dissemination and Impact of Photography in the Ottoman Empire," 147.
[176] Eldem, 149.

2.2. Photographers of the Ceremonies

Aşil Samancı, owner of the studio Apollon, was born in 1870 in Istanbul as the son of painter and decorator Jacob Samancı. His years working with his father had given him knowledge about painting and interior decoration.[177] He also worked with Abdullah Frères where he learned about photography as well. This also gave him the opportunity to access the court. He gave the *şehzades* photography lessons.[178] *Sadrazam* Cevad Pasha, who was interested in photography, took Samancı as an apprentice.[179] He cataloged Istanbul's cultural heritage through photography. In 1890 Samancı bought all the photographic equipment and negatives of the Gülmez Frères photography studio. He joined Sultan Mehmed V Reşad in his Hereke, Bursa, and Rumeli tours and photographed the journey. He photographed Kaiser Wilhelm II in Ottoman military uniform during his third visit to Istanbul in 1917.[180] He worked in Istanbul until 1925 when he moved to Athens. He died there in October 27, 1942.[181]

Asaf Muammer Bey was a photographer in addition to being a writer, having written fiction and newspaper articles. He was exiled in 1911/1912 because he had opposed the Committee of Union and Progress.[182] He returned to the Ottoman Empire in 1918. He was the director of the Ottoman magazine *Mahasin* between 1908-1909 until its 9th edition.

[177] Behzat Üsdiken, *Pera'dan Beyoğlu'na 1840-1955* (Istanbul: Akbank Kültür ve Sanat Müdürlüğü, 1999), 320.
[178] Üsdiken, 320.
[179] See his entry in *Dünden Bugüne Istanbul Ansiklopedisi* v.8.
[180] Özendes, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Fotoğrafçılık, 1839-1923*, 284–85.
[181] Üsdiken, *Pera'dan Beyoğlu'na 1840-1955*, 320.
[182] *Sultan Mehmed V. Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*, 42.

Studio Hilal or "Hilal Fotoğrafhanesi" was located in Thessaloniki and run by Ahmed Kemal Bey. [183] Therefore, it was appropriately located to photograph Sultan Mehmed V Reşad on his Thessaloniki trip in 1911.

Kenan Reşid Bey was the son of Reşid Bey who worked as a government official at the customs. His exact date of birth is unknown, but it is thought to be in the 1880s.[184] He was a photographer with a military background.[185] He worked as a photojournalist in the newspaper "*Resimli Kitab*" between 1909 and 1910. In 1909 they printed his photograph of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad at Bursa during one of his trips. Like Sigmund Weinberg, he was involved in cinema as well, having worked as a cameraman.[186] After the start of World War I, he was charged with photographing the Dardanelles. Among those whom he photographed were Enver Pasha at Çanakkale and *şehzade* Ömer Faruk Efendi. He shot a documentary movie of the resistance organization *Müdafaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti* during the war.[187] His involvement with Turkish cinema continued after the formation of the Republic of Turkey.

Studio Phébus was owned by Armenian Ottoman Bogos Tarkulyan. He was especially known for his portrait photographs. He was a fisherman's son from Kumkapı. He started in the business by working for the Karakaş studio.[188] He also worked as an assistant in Abdullah Frères's studio.[189] After his first studio[190] burned down, he moved

[183] *Sultan Mehmed V. Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*, 42.
[184] *Sultan Mehmed V. Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*, 43.
[185] Öztuncay, *Hatıra-i Uhuvvet - Portre Fotoğraflarının Cazibesi: 1846-1950*, 274.
[186] *Sultan Mehmed V. Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*, 43.
[187] *Sultan Mehmed V. Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*, 43.
[188] Engin Özendes, "Bogos Tarkulyan," in *Dünden Bugüne Istanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1993), 217.
[189] Bahattin Öztuncay, *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları - 19. Yüzyıl Istanbulunda Fotoğraf: Öncüler, Stüdyolar, Sanatçılar* (Istanbul: Aygaz, 2003), 282.
[190] There are conflicting dates regarding this studio. The date is given as 1882 in Öztuncay, 282. with its location as Pangaltı. However the date is 1890 in Üsdiken, *Pera'dan Beyoğlu'na 1840-1955*, 320.

to another location next to the old Saint Antoine Church on le Grand Rue de Péra (now İstiklal Street) and named his studio "Phébus."[191]

His proficiency in portrait photography made him the first choice of the Ottoman elite to have their photographs taken. He had taken painting lessons and painted over some of his photographs.[192] Although known for his portrait photography, he also took landscape photographs of Istanbul for which he asked for permission from the court to present them to the sultan.[193] In the Abdülhamid Albums sent to the United States Library of Congress, fifty-one belonged to Tarkulyan.[194]

Tarkulyan became an official court photographer and received a medal for his work. His close relationship with the court continued during Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign. He was invited to the court to take portrait photographs. He also photographed Kaiser Wilhelm II, King Ferdinand of Bulgaria, Emperor Karl I of Austria, and King Peter of Serbia.[195] He photographed Kaiser Wilhelm II's second visit to Istanbul in 1893.[196] This album of photographs was later presented to Sultan Abdülhamid II. In 1900 Shah Muzafereddin of Iran was invited to visit Istanbul by Sultan Abdülhamid II. Tarkulyan was tasked with photographing the Shah and he was awarded with his first imperial medal for his efforts.[197] In the same year his studio burned down in the Beyoğlu Fire and was forced to relocate.

He continued to be an important photographer for the Ottoman court after Sultan Mehmed V Reşad took the throne as well. During this time, he photographed two

[191] Özendes, "Bogos Tarkulyan," 217.
[192] Özendes, 217.
[193] *Sultan Mehmed V. Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*, 45.
[194] Öztuncay, *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları - 19. Yüzyıl Istanbulunda Fotoğraf: Öncüler, Stüdyolar, Sanatçılar*, 286.
[195] Özendes, "Bogos Tarkulyan," 217.
[196] *Sultan Mehmed V. Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*, 45.
[197] Öztuncay, *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları - 19. Yüzyıl Istanbulunda Fotoğraf: Öncüler, Stüdyolar, Sanatçılar*, 286.

additional diplomatic visits, those of King Ferdinand of Bulgaria and King Petro of Serbia. He also helped another photographer, Bahriyeli Ali Sami Bey in photographing visiting foreign military officials.[198] He shut down his studio in 1937 and died in 1940.

The studio of Sébah & Joaillier was founded by Ottoman photographer Pascal Sébah, and later his son Jean Pascal Sébah who took over the studio. Pascal Sébah was born in 1823, in Constantinople. His father was a Syrian Catholic and his mother Armenian. He opened his first photography studio named "El Chark Société Photographic" in 1857, in Pera.[199] Later the studio moved to the Grand Rue de Péra next to the Russian Embassy.[200] The studio's named changed to Sébah & Joaillier in 1885 when Policarpe Joaillier joined the firm. Joaillier left the firm in 1902 and returned to Paris but photographs after this date sometimes are still attributed to the studio as Sébah & Joaillier.

In 1873, Pascal Sébah collaborated with Osman Hamdi Bey to photograph models that led to him being commissioned to photograph folk costumes of the Empire's provinces for the Ottoman Exhibition in Vienna, bringing him acclaim from both Europe and the Ottoman court.[201] The studio was awarded with medals for their participation in the Paris (1870 and 1878), Vienna (1873), and Philadelphia (1877) exhibitions.[202] In 1873, Sébah was successful enough to open another studio in Cairo. His studio in Cairo was also named El Chark.[203]

Kaiser Wilhelm II's first visit to Istanbul took place in 1889 and Sébah & Joaillier were tasked with photographing the visit. The photographs were a success and they were

[198] Öztuncay, 286.
[199] Üsdiken, *Pera'dan Beyoğlu'na 1840-1955*, 328.
[200] Engin Özendes, *Sébah & Joaillier'den Foto Sabah'a Fotoğrafta Oryantalizm* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2004), 175.
[201] Özendes, 180.
[202] *Sultan Mehmed V. Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*, 46.
[203] Üsdiken, *Pera'dan Beyoğlu'na 1840-1955*, 328.

awarded the titles "Photographes de la Cour Royale de Prusse,"[204] a title which they proudly displayed on their cards.[205] Pascal Sébah died in 1886 and his son Jean Pascal Sébah took over the studio in 1888. Jean Pascal took on a partner, Polycarpe Joaillier and the studio became Sébah & Joaillier. Sébah & Joaillier took over the title of official court photographers of the Ottoman court in 1880. Polycarpe Joaillier died in Paris in 1904 and his son Gustave replaced him, but he left the studio to return to Paris.[206] In 1910 Jean Pascal took on a new partner, Agop İskender and this partnership continued until 1934.[207]

In 1908 Pascal Sébah retired and left the studio to Agop İskender.[208] Agop İskender was born in Istanbul in 1871. İskender added the archive of Abdullah Frères's negatives to the Sébah collection. They did not change the name of the studio and continued using the banner and logo design from the 1800s. Only in the Republican era was the studio's name changed to Sabah to better cater to the Turkish clientele.

Sigmund Weinberg was born in Poland with Romanian Jewish origins. He moved to Istanbul in 1889 and opened a store selling photographic and film equipment.[209] His shop was located in Grande Rue de Péra. He was interested not just in photography, but also in technological innovations and commerce. He is credited as bringing cinema to the Ottoman Empire by opening the first movie theatre, bringing the first phonograph and gramophone, and importing the first automobile.[210] In 1899 he informed Sultan Abdülhamid II of the new technologies and being able to film his ceremonies should the sultan wish but the sultan, being suspicious, had his spies follow Weinberg.[211] During

[204] Photographers of the Royal Court of Prussia
[205] Özendes, *Sébah & Joaillier'den Foto Sabah'a Fotoğrafta Oryantalizm*, 219.
[206] Öztuncay, *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları - 19. Yüzyıl Istanbulunda Fotoğraf: Öncüler, Stüdyolar, Sanatçılar*, 279–80.
[207] Öztuncay, 280; Özendes, *Sébah & Joaillier'den Foto Sabah'a Fotoğrafta Oryantalizm*, 243.
[208] Üsdiken, *Pera'dan Beyoğlu'na 1840-1955*, 328.
[209] Burçak Evren, "Sigmund Weinberg," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1993), 393.
[210] Evren, 393.
[211] *Sultan Mehmed V. Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*, 47.

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign, he was allowed to photograph many of the sultan's ceremonies and these were printed in the newspaper *Servet-i Fünun* for which Weinberg worked. A photograph of him with his camera following Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's Rumelia trip was printed in *Servet-i Fünun*'s 1045th issue (Figure 2.2.1).

3. CEREMONIES IN PHOTOGRAPHS DURING SULTAN MEHMED V REŞAD'S REIGN (1909-1918)

Ceremony	Newspapers	Sigmund Weinberg	Sébah & Joaillier	Phébus	Apollon	Kenan Reşid Bey	Asaf Muammer Bey	Hilal	Unknown	Total	Ceremony total
Accession	Servet-i Fünun			1					6	7	13
	Şehbal			1					3	4	
	Resimli Kitab			1					1	2	
Religious	Servet-i Fünun	7							1	8	17
	Şehbal								2	2	
	Resimli Kitab	3				4				7	
Political	Servet-i Fünun	6		3					1	10	22
	Şehbal		5						1	6	
	Resimli Kitab		1	3		2				6	
Trips	Servet-i Fünun	9	1		2		4		5	21	55
	Şehbal	1	6		1				8	16	
	Resimli Kitab		4		1			1	12	18	
Diplomatic	Servet-i Fünun	8		1					3	12	21
	Şehbal		2							2	
	Resimli Kitab		5						2	7	
Total		34	24	10	4	6	4	1	45		128

Table 1. Number of photographs by ceremony types, newspapers, and photographers

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad participated in many ceremonies throughout his reign, and this chapter aims to categorize and explain the ceremonies whose photographs were printed in newspapers. Before delving into the photographs, definitions of these ceremonies in the Ottoman context are provided. The categorization is as follows: the accession ceremony, religious ceremonies, political ceremonies, Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's tours of the Ottoman provinces, diplomatic ceremonies where heads of foreign states visited, and finally the funeral ceremony.

3.1. Accession Ceremony

The Ottoman accession ceremony is comprised of two ceremonies; *biat*, and sword girding ceremonies. The *biat* ceremony was the complement of *cülus* and they were held on the same day. *Cülus* is the act of the new ruler taking the throne. The term cülus means "to sit" in Arabic, which referred to a sultan's accession to the throne.[212] The accession ceremony was conducted as soon as possible to prevent conflict resulting from a fight for the throne. *Biat*, in Islamic states, is the socio-political contract between the ruled and the ruler. Through this contract, the people acknowledged the authority of their ruler and pledged their loyalty. The ruler, in turn, pledged commitment to the responsibility of governing the people in accordance with Islamic law. The rulership of the sultan was legitimized by the *biat* ceremony. In the Ottoman Empire, *biat* was expressed as kissing the hand or skirt of the sultan or touching one's face to the throne.[213] In the nineteenth century, this was changed to the participants bowing in front of the throne.[214] As the entirety of the population could not be present during the ceremony, they were represented by religious, military, and bureaucratic officials. The *cülus* and *biat*

[212] Zeynep Tarım-Ertuğ, "Enthronement and Accession Ceremony," in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 207–9.
[213] Alikılıç, *Imparatorluk seremonisi*, 40–41.
[214] Karateke, *Padişahım Çok Yaşa: Osmanlı Devleti'nin Son Yüzyılında Merasimler*, 51.

were announced to the public by firing cannons after the ceremonies. Couriers were sent to villages to make the announcement. Beginning with the nineteenth century, newspapers and telegrams were also utilized to make the announcements.

After the conquest of Constantinople, the accession ceremony was held in the Topkapı Palace in front of the *Babüssaade*,[215] in accordance with the law. There firstly was a private *biat* ceremony in the *Hırka-i Saadet* room of the Topkapı Palace. The public ceremony was held in front of the *Babüssaade*, where a throne was placed. If the previous sultan was dead, his casket was brought in front of *Babüssaade* and his funeral prayers were held after the *biat* ceremony. Although holding the *biat* ceremony in the Topkapı Palace was the norm, there were exceptions. In the last century of the Ottoman Empire, the immediacy of the ceremony was more important than its location. If the previous sultan died, the ceremony was held before the funeral and if the sultan was deposed, the ceremony was held within hours because the enthronement ceremony was always completed as soon as possible to ensure that a sultan reigned at all times.[216]

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's *biat* ceremony was held at the *Harbiye Nezareti*[217] in Beyazıt, on April 27, 1909. There was a rush to conduct the *biat* ceremony as soon as possible to legitimize the new sultan as soon as possible after Sultan Abdülhamid II was dethroned due to a coup. Because most of the parliament members could not attend this hasty *biat* ceremony, a second one was held in Meclis-i Milli on May 20, 1909. One photograph from the first *biat* ceremony was printed in the 935th issue of *Servet-i Fünun* on May 6, 1909 (Figure 3.1.1). Sultan Mehmed V Reşad visited the *Hırka-i Saadet*[218]

[215] The gate of the Topkapı Palace connecting the second courtyard where many state ceremonies were conducted and the third courtyard which was more private.
[216] Tarım-Ertuğ, "Enthronement and Accession Ceremony," 207–9.
[217] The Ottoman Ministry of Defense.
[218] The *Hırka-i Şerif* alsonamed the *Hırka-i Saadet* is the mantle of the prophet Mohammed preserved in the Topkapı Palace as a religious relic.

room at the Topkapı Palace after the ceremony at *Harbiye Nezareti*. In this photograph he is in his carriage in front of Hagia Sophia, on the way to the Topkapı Palace. This was the first *Selamlık* ceremony for the Sultan.[219] This photograph was printed again in the publication's 1401st issue on July 11, 1918 (Figure 3.1.2).

After the *biat* ceremony, a ceremony for girding of the dynastic sword was later held. It was done in the first week of the sultan's accession. The sword girding consisted of two ceremonies: the sultan girding the sword of Osman at the tomb of Abu-Ayyub al-Ansari and a procession named "*Kılıç Alayı*" visiting the mausoleum of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror.[220] The sword girding ceremony was a much more public one than the *cülus* and *biat*. It was the equivalent of the coronation ceremonies of Europe.[221] Although the sword girding ceremony can be seen as the counterpart of the European rulers' coronation ceremonies, it has elements from Byzantine, Arabic and İslamic traditions of accession.[222]

The rules of this ceremony were not defined in any official court documents until the seventeenth century. These rules were revised after the Tanzimat in 1839 and Sultan Abdülmecid was the first sultan to wear westernized clothing in the procession.[223] It is rumored that this ritual was founded by Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror. Afterward, twenty-seven sultans, including the last Sultan Mehmed VI Vahdeddin had their sword girding ceremonies in Istanbul. The exceptions were Sultan Ahmed II and Sultan Mustafa II who had their processions in Edirne and Sultan Murad V who never had a sword girding procession due to his ill health in the first week of his brief reign.

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[219] The *Selamlık* does not necessarily refer to a procession for a Friday Prayer. Processions where the Sultan went in public to greet them, hence the name *Selamlık* from "to greet," were named *Selamlık.*
[220] Necdet Sakaoğlu, "Kılıç Alayları," in *Dünden Bugüne Istanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1993), 555–57.
[221] Alikılıç, *Imparatorluk seremonisi*, 52.. For more on the sword as a power symbol see Karateke, 63-70.
[222] Sakaoğlu, "Kılıç Alayları," 555–57.
[223] Sakaoğlu, 555–57.

One or two swords were chosen to symbolize the political and religious ideology of the sultan. The person who girded the sultan the sword varied, but they were selected from those with religious affiliations.[224] Although it was generally the *Şeyhülislam*[225] or the *Nakibüleşraf*,[226] for Sultan Mehmed V Reşad it was Abdülhalim Çelebi, the last *Postnişin* of the Konya Mevlana Dervish Lodge. This choice was possibly due to Çelebi's negative sentiments towards Sultan Abdülhamid II.[227] The sword that was girded was said to be Hz. Ömer's. This claim is highly contested by historians[228] but its presence signifies the importance of religious symbolism in legitimizing the sultan in public consciousness. Starting with the fifteenth century, the sword girding was held in the tomb of Abu Ayyub Al-Ansari in Eyüp built by Sultan Mehmed II. The route from Topkapı Palace to Eyüp, known as Divanyolu, thus became an important route for Ottoman processions. The new sultan did not directly go from the Topkapı Palace to Eyüp, but he also visited the previous sultans' mausoleums along Divanyolu.

The first text to refer to this route with the name Divanyolu is Vehbi's *Surname*, where the 1720 circumcision procession was recounted and was illustrated by Levni.[229] The word Divan does not refer to the weekly meetings of the governing pashas under the sultan's supervision, but to all that concerned the state and power in the Ottoman system.[230] In addition to the sword girding ceremony, this route was used for stately royal

[224] Karateke, *Padişahım Çok Yaşa*, 75.
[225] In the Ottoman Empire, *Şeyhülislam* (transliterated as Shaykh al-Islam) was the title given to the leader of the clergymen (*ulemas*). They had political roles in addition to their religious duties. Mehmet İpşirli, "Şeyhülislam," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2010), 91.
[226] *Nakibüleşraf* were the clergymen who were tasked with taking care of those who descended from the line of prophet Mohammed. Ş. Tufan Buzpınar, "Nakibüleşraf," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2006).
[227] Karateke, *Padişahım Çok Yaşa: Osmanlı Devleti'nin Son Yüzyılında Merasimler*., 73;76.
[228] Karateke., 72.
[229] Maurice Cerasi, "The Urban and Architectural Evolution of the Istanbul Divanyolu: Urban Aesthetics and Ideology in Ottoman Town Building," *Muqarnas* 2 (2005): 189–232.
[230] Cerasi. 189.

processions that included military parades, the sultan's weekly trips to one of the Friday mosques, weddings, and circumcisions.[231]

After the conquest of Constantinople, the Divanyolu was the axis upon which most sultanic tombs and mosques were built. These tombs built by the successors of deceased sultans proclaimed Ottoman dynastic legitimacy both architecturally and ceremonially by highlighting the uninterrupted continuity of a proud lineage. These tombs built by reigning sons to commemorate dead fathers served to accentuate a continuous chain of dynastic succession; as did the ritual visitation of ancestral tombs by a new sultan following his accession, which was a ritual that aimed to legitimate the successor by stressing his noble royal lineage. The route of the sword girding procession on Divanyolu was made to be longer than other ceremonies and more people were in attendance.[232] Read serially, the collective message of the mosque complexes and tombs alongside Divanyolu is the power of the Ottoman Empire, highlighted with the warrior-saint Abu Ayyub al-Ansari's tomb complex.

Ayyub's tomb and mosque complex were used by the Ottomans to legitimize the conquest of Constantinople through Islamic associations. The tomb was made in a distinctly Ottoman style which linked Abu Ayyub al-Ansari to the succession of Ottoman rulers buried in similar funerary structures.[233] The tomb became an important center for many Ottoman ceremonies including funerary and accession processions.[234] It is not clear when royal visits to the tomb started and when they gained their ceremonial nature[235] but

[231] Cerasi. 201.
[232] Sakaoğlu, "Kılıç Alayları," 555-557.
[233] Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 48.
[234] Gülru Necipoğlu, "Dynastic Imprints on the Cityscape: The Collective Message of Imperial Funerary Mosque Complexes in Istanbul," in *Cimetières et Traditions Funéraires Dans Le Monde Islamique* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1996), 25.
[235] Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital*, 50.

it is reported that the tradition of the girding ceremony in Ayyub's tomb started with Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror.[236] He initiated courtly visits to the Abu Ayyub tomb.[237]

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's procession for his sword girding did not start from the Topkapı Palace on account of him not residing there. On May 10, 1909, Sultan Mehmed V Reşad started the procession for his sword girding ceremony from the Dolmabahçe Palace. He went to Eyüp by sea, with the Boat Söğütlü. After the girding, he went to visit the mausoleum of Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror at Fatih by land. According to tradition, the sultan could go to Eyüp either by sea or land. The return procession on land allowed people to see the new sultan.[238] It also allowed the sultan to walk through Divanyolu which was historically an important route for accession processions. Necdet Sakaoğlu remarks that the ceremony caused previously unseen levels of excitement throughout the city because the people of Istanbul for the first time saw a sultan greeting them with a cheerful attitude.[239] Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's head chamberlain Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil and first secretary Lütfi Simavi both note that the attempted grandeur of the ceremony clashed with the dilapidated streets of Istanbul.[240] An article from *The New York Times* on the sword-girding ceremony points out that for the first time in Ottoman history, non-Muslims were allowed in the Eyüp Mosque to watch the ceremonies.[241]

There are eleven photographs of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's sword girding ceremony that includes the sultan printed in the magazines. There is none of the sword

[236] Necipoğlu, "Dynastic Imprints on the Cityscape: The Collective Message of Imperial Funerary Mosque Complexes in Istanbul," 25.
[237] Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital*, 67.
[238] Alikılıç, *Imparatorluk Seremonisi*, 55.
[239] Necdet Sakaoğlu, "Mehmed V," in *Dünden Bugüne Istanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1993), 344-349.
[240] Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar* (Istanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1981), 116 and Lütfi Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, vol. I, III vols. (Ankara: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2017), 63.
[241] "New Sultan Breaks Moslem Traditions," *The New York Times*, May 11, 1909.

girding itself, but the procession through Divanyolu was photographed. Five of these printed photographs are from *Servet-i Fünun*, four from *Şehbal* and two from *Resimli Kitab*. The Sultan leaving the palace was shown in all three of these publications. Although unidentified under the photographs, it can be seen from the backgrounds that he is leaving the Dolmabahçe Palace. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad is dressed in his formal attire sporting many medals. All of these photographs are the same shot (Figures 3.1.3, 3.1.4 and 3.1.5). The photographs depict the soldiers in two lines at right and left standing at attention. The second and third ones cropped out the name of the photographer, Phébus which appears on the one printed in *Servet-i Fünun*. The two soldiers at the end of the line on the left are in the middle of a curtsy on the first two photographs. The third, in *Şehbal*, cropped out this too, zooming in on the Sultan walking away from the palace. Although the ones in *Resimli Kitab* and *Şehbal* do not attribute the photographs to a photographer, it can be concluded that it was Phébus.

This was not a part of the ceremony that was usually visible to the general public because they only were able to view the procession through Divanyolu and the palace grounds were not open to the public. Therefore, these photographs showed the viewers a never before seen part of the ceremony. *Servet-i Fünun*'s caption of the photograph only notes that the Sultan was leaving the palace whereas *Şehbal* specified further by writing that the Sultan was going to Eyüp. *Resimli Kitab* interestingly refers to this image as the Sultan after visiting the *Hırka-i Şerif,* which is not part of the sword girding ceremonies. *Hırka-i Şerif* is a religious relic, a mantle that is believed to have belonged to the prophet Muhammad. Visiting this relic was a part of the *cülus* and *biat,* but neither of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's two *biat* ceremonies were held in Topkapı. It is possible that this was an error on the part of *Resimli Kitab.*

The rest of the photographs of the sword girding ceremony show the procession. *Servet-i Fünun* produced a supplement to its 936th issue on May 13, 1909. This enabled them to print these pictures before any other publication. Two photographs from this supplement (Figures 3.1.6 and 3.1.8) were reprinted on August 29, 1918 in *Servet-i Fünun'*s 1401st issue (Figures 3.1.7 and 3.1.9). The first photograph shows the sultan in Eyüp, on the way to the sword girding ceremony (Figure 3.1.6). There is a large carpet on the street placed for the procession. We can see that the Sultan walked the way from the Eyüp Pier to the Eyüp Sultan Mosque. This route today is still referred to as the "Cülus Yolu" meaning "Cülus Road." It was also named after Sultan Mehmed V Reşad as its official name today is "Sultan Reşat Caddesi."

For the next photograph, the photographer could get close up to the Sultan in his carriage (Figure 3.1.8). Also in the carriage is Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Pasha who was selected by the Committee of Union and Progress to accompany the Sultan as he was a revered military figure.[242] The people of Istanbul are seen in the background cheering and raising their hats, saluting the Sultan. The Sultan is aware of the photographer and looking directly at the camera.

The following photographs were taken after the sword girding ceremony, as the Sultan takes the land route back to the Dolmabahçe Palace. One in *Resimli Kitab*'s 8th issue closely shows the Sultan in his carriage (Figure 3.1.10). His hand gesture suggests that he was greeting the public. The public is seen in the background, some clapping, in close proximity to the Sultan. Next three photographs were taken from one spot as the procession went through in Edirnekapı, printed in *Şehbal*'s 6th issue (Figures 3.1.11,

[242] Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar*, 7-8

3.1.12 and 3.1.13). The Sultan is again seen greeting the public from his carriage as the people watch on from the background.

The photographs of the accession ceremony do not show a great many attendees, but those who were attending were able to get close to the procession. They also a Sultan who was interacting with the public. The Sultan is looking around, acknowledging and greeting them in many photographs, with the public cheering him on which corroborates Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil's observations of a Sultan happy to be amongst his people after many years of confinement.[243]

3.2. Religious Ceremonies

Religious ceremonies for the Ottoman Empire consist of ceremonies in the Islamic tradition. The Sultan also was the Caliph, the religious head of the religion, therefore the Sultan used these ceremonies to reinforce that identity. While the accession ceremony had many religious elements, it was not included in this section because of its eclectic nature of blending Islamic and Ottoman, religious and political rituals. The photographs of ceremonies included in this section are; ten of the *Selamlık* ceremonies for Friday Prayers, three of the Bayram ceremonies and processions, and four from a visit to Setre-i Nebevi for a total of seventeen.

The Friday Prayer is the religious duty of all Muslims to congregate on Fridays to pray. In a ceremonial sense, the Friday Prayers, or *Cuma Selamlığı* was the sultan's weekly visitation of one of the mosque complexes in Istanbul. This ceremony, which is a

[243] Uşaklıgil, 8

procession from the palatial residence of the sultan to one of the city's mosques and a procession back to the palace, continued until the end of the empire.[244]

The name *Cuma Selamlığı* does not solely refer to religious prayers. Any ceremony where the sultan went out and greeted the public was named *Selamlık*.[245] The mosque had to be public one according to Islamic guidelines. The sultan chose the mosque for the ceremony. In the earlier centuries, mosques closer to the Topkapı Palace such as the Hagia Sophia, Sultanahmed or Beyazid mosques by land. In the eighteenth century visiting Eyüp Sultan, Yeni Valide, and Arap mosques by boat through Haliç. With the construction of new palaces outside the historic peninsula mosques in Beşiktaş such as Kılıç Ali Pasha, Nusretiye, Dolmabahçe, and Ortaköy mosques were frequented by the sultans.

This ceremony had political and social importance in addition to its religious significance as it was an opportunity for the sultan to leave the palace and be visible to the public; and thus, for the public to feel closer to him. Until the eighteenth century, they were especially grandiose because they also marked a sultan's return to Istanbul from campaigns. Although the Fridays Prayers were tradition, they were mostly absent from protocol books predating the nineteenth century. They were recognized as an official state ceremony in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[246] The Friday Prayer processions became official in his reign and their protocols were designated.[247]

The sultan went to the designated mosque with a procession. The procession was the same as a Bayram procession until Sultan Abdülhamid II changed it at which point

[244] Necdet Sakaoğlu, "Cuma Selamlığı," in *Dünden Bugüne Istanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1993), 443-444.
[245] Karateke, *Padişahım Çok Yaşa: Osmanlı Devleti'nin Son Yüzyılında Merasimler*, 124-125.
[246] Karateke, 123 and Necdet Sakaoğlu, "Cuma Selamlığı," in *Dünden Bugüne Istanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1993), 443-444.
[247] Sakaoğlu, "Cuma Selamlığı," 443-444.

these processions became more intricate and important. They became shows of the empire and the sultan's power with the inclusion of the most important units of the military.[248] This show of power was not only for the eyes of the citizens but also for foreign visitors. Sultan Abdülhamid II's processions became tourist attractions and by taking the reins of his carriage himself the Sultan symbolically took in hand the reins of the state.[249] Mixing of this political power imagery with the concept of going to Friday Prayers made the *Cuma Selamlığı* a ritual symbol of the caliphate.[250] The higher visibility brought about by these public ceremonies also had its drawbacks. There was an assassination attempt in 1905 from which Sultan Abdülhamid II escaped unscathed.[251] Although grandeur of the *Cuma Selamlığı* decreased after the dethronement of Sultan Abdülhamid II, the tradition continued to be important.

New guidelines made during Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign designated the *Cuma Selamlığı* processions as the best way for senior officials to meet with the sultan.[252] Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's processions were much less impressive than Sultan Abdülhamid II's. *Cuma Selamlığı* was also an opportunity to access the sultan not just for the people, for also for government officials for whom otherwise reaching the sultan would be impossible.[253]

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's first *Selamlık* procession took place on May 9, 1909. This was the first-ever ceremony of the Sultan, even before his sword girding ceremony but after the *biat* ceremony in April. Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil writes that the Committee of Union and Progress wished to present as magnificent a spectacle as possible despite the

[248] Karateke, 127.
[249] Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909*, Paperback ed (London: Tauris, 1999), 23.
[250] Karateke, 129.
[251] Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains,* 24.
[252] Karateke, 129.
[253] Karateke, 129

difficult times that had passed. He finds this attempt clumsy but overall observes a public happy to see its Sultan and a Sultan happy to see the public.[254]

A photograph from this first official ceremony of the new Sultan was printed in *Servet-i Fünun'*s cover of its 936th issue on May 13, 1909 (Figure Figure 3.2.1). Photographer Sigmund Weinberg's signature is visible in the bottom right corner. The same photograph was published in *Resimli Kitab'*s May 1909 issue but with Weinberg's signature cropped out (Figure 3.2.2). For all of the photographs of the *Selamlık* ceremonies, there are none from inside the mosques. Only the processions before and after are shown.

Two years later Sigmund Weinberg photographed another *Selamlık* ceremony on May 5, 1911. One of which, the Sultan leaving the Üsküdar Yeni Camii Mosque, was on *Servet-i Fünun*'s cover on May 18, 1911 (Figure 3.2.3). Sultan Mehmed V Reşad is wearing his official regalia and carrying a sword as a symbol of power. Other photographs show the Sultan arriving at Üsküdar by boat and greeting the people (Figure 3.2.4), in his carriage (Figure 3.2.5) and at the Selimiye Barracks (Figure 3.2.6). This ceremony included more than a trip to the mosque, as the sultan went on to visit the nearby Selimiye Barracks afterward.[255] Two of these photographs were also used for *Resimli Kitab* for its May-June issue (Figure 3.2.7 and Figure 3.2.8). This time they did not crop Weinberg's signature. A third outing for the Friday Prayers was photographed for *Şehbal* and published on March 28, 1911 (Figure 3.2.9 and 3.2.10). The Sultan can be seen entering and leaving an unknown mosque.

[254] Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar*, 7-8
[255] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 307.

The processions and protocol for Bayram ceremonies were similar to *Selamlık* ceremonies.[256] There were two Bayram ceremonies per year and the Sultan chose a mosque for prayers. Sultan Abdülhamid II used the Sultanahmet Mosque and the Sinan Pasha Mosque for Bayram prayers, and before his reign, the mosques chosen were generally Sultanahmet or Hagia Sophia mosques.[257] The Bayram ceremonies after the processions were one of the rare occasions when Sultan Abdülhamid II allowed statesmen to approach him.[258] Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's Bayram processions were not as grand as his predecessor's.[259] The Bayram ceremony consisted of the processions going to and coming back from the mosque. One photograph of a Bayram procession of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad can be found on the cover of *Servet-i Fünun*'s 1019th issue dated December 15, 1910 (Figure 3.2.11). It shows Sultan Mehmed V Reşad in his carriage after praying at the Nusretiye Mosque.

Two other photographs of Bayram ceremonies from *Servet-i Fünun* taken by Sigmund Weinberg do not depict a procession, but rather a ceremony at the Dolmabahçe Palace. These two photographs, again by Sigmund Weinberg, shows a ceremony for the *Eid al-Adha* or the Feast of the Sacrifice. *Eid al-Adha* is one of two Bayrams observed by Muslims. It is celebrated on the tenth of the month *zilhicce* of the Islamic calendar. Muslims offer an animal sacrifice to god on this Bayram. The meat is either eaten or given to others as a charity. Sacrifice ceremonies continued throughout the lifespan of the Ottoman Empire. Sultan Abdülhamid II used the court of the Dolmabahçe Palace for sacrifice ceremony and had twenty-one sheep sacrificed. [260] Sultan Mehmed V Reşad can be seen using the same location for a sacrifice ceremony on December 2, 1911 after a

[256] Sakaoğlu, "Cuma Selamlığı," 443-444.
[257] Karateke, *Padişahım Çok Yaşa: Osmanlı Devleti'nin Son Yüzyılında Merasimler*, 102-103.
[258] Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 25.
[259] Karateke, 111-112.
[260] Karateke, 105.

Bayram procession from the Nusretiye Mosque in Tophane.[261] The animals are alive in the first photograph on the cover of the 1071st issue, white against a backdrop of black clothing (Figure 3.2.11). The Sultan is overseeing the ceremony. The second photograph is the aftermath, showing the dead sheep on the ground with the Sultan in the background (Figure 3.2.13).

On July 15, 1909 Sultan Mehmed V Reşad visited the Topkapı Palace for a new religious ceremony. He was to visit the *Setre-i Nebevi* in the *Hırka-i Saadet* chamber. *Setre-i Nebevi* is the name of the shroud that covers prophet Muhammed's tomb; *Setre* meaning to cover in Arabic and *Nebevi* meaning all regarding the prophet Muhammad. The cover would is changed every year and in 1909 one was brought to Istanbul for public viewing.[262] *Resimli Kitab* published three photographs from this trip and all three are attributed to photographer Kenan Reşid Bey. These show the Sultan in his carriage on the way to the Topkapı Palace from Sarayburnu accompanied by the Khedive of Egypt Abbas Hilmi Pasha (Figures 3.2.14, 3.2.15 and 3.2.16). A group of people watching his arrival can be seen in the background of the last photograph. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's visit to the Topkapı Palace to see the shroud marked the first time a sultan had done so.[263] Previously this visit was considered as appropriate only for the lower classes. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's participation brought him closer to the public.

The last religious ceremony photographed was when Sultan Mehmed V Reşad attended a *Selamlık* for *Mevlid-i Nebevi* on March 24, 1910. This *mevlid* coincided with a diplomatic visit from King Ferdiand I of Bulgaria. *Mevlid* referred to celebrations in the name of the prophet Muhammad on the occasion of his birthday. This photograph by Kenan Reşid Bey was published on the 18th issue of *Resimli Kitab* (Figure 3.2.17). The

[261] Simavi, 402.
[262] Gün, 26.
[263] Gün, 26.

Sultan is in his carriage going to the Sultanahmet Mosque. Kind Ferdinand watched the procession as well.[264]

3.3. Political Ceremonies

This section covers photographs portraying a variety of ceremonies which are political, but not religious in nature. Eleven from Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's four visits to the Ottoman parliament Meclis-i Mebusan, two from a visit to the military school Harbiye Mektebi, four from a banquet at the Beylerbeyi Palace, and three from a naval parade make up this category photographs.

Meclis-i Mebusan was a part of the Ottoman parliament that consisted of deputies elected by the Ottoman public. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's first visit to the Meclis-i Mebusan took place on May 21, 1909. At this time the Meclis-i Mebusan met at the old Darülfunun building near Hagia Sophia.[265] There are two photographs of this visit, both from *Servet-i Fünun* in its 938th issue on May 28, 1909. The first, printed on the cover, shows the Sultan in his carriage outside the Darülfunun building (Figure 3.3.1). For the second shot, the photographer Sigmund Weinberg was allowed inside the building and photographed the Sultan in his box (Figure 3.3.2). Here the Sultan listened to a speech by *Sadrazam* Hilmi Pasha.[266]

The meeting place of the Meclis-i Mebusan was moved to the Çırağan Palace in November 1909. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad attended the second convention of the parliament on November 15, 1909. His arrival was photographed by Sébah & Joaillier and the photograph was printed in *Şehbal*'s 16th issue on November 28, 1909. (Figure

[264] *Sultan Mehmed V. Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*, 32.
[265] The name Darülfunun referred to the building's roots as a university. It was given to governmental use in the 1860s and the first Meclis-i Mebusan congregated here in 1877.
[266] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, I:69–70.

3.3.3). The same photograph was printed also in *Resimli Kitab*'s 15th issue in the same month (Figure 3.3.4). There are no photographs of him inside the building but his departure was also photographed. Phébus's image was published in *Servet-i Fünun*'s 963rd issue on November 18th, 1909 (Figure 3.3.5). *Resimli Kitab* printed a very similar photograph in its 15th issue (Figure 3.3.6). Unlike their photograph of the Sultan's arrival, this one is not attributed to a photographer. These two pictures both show the Sultan on the stairs of the Çırağan Palace taken from similar vantage points. Notably, it can be seen that the Sultan is carrying his sword as a symbol of power.

After a fire at the Çırağan Palace in January 1910, the parliament meetings were moved to the Cemlia Sultan Palace in Fındıklı.[267] November 14, 1910 marked the third convention of the parliament and the Sultan was present for the occasion. There are two photographs of this, one from inside the building and one outside. Phébus took a photograph of the Sultan in his box that was printed in two publications. A larger one appeared in *Resimli Kitab*'s 26th issue (Figure 3.3.7). *Servet-i Fünun* printed a cropped version of the photograph that focused on the Sultan in its 1016th issue on November 24, 1910 (Figure 3.3.8). Phébus also photographed the Sultan leaving the parliament building in his carriage. This photograph again appears both in *Resimli Kitab* (Figure 3.3.9) and on *Servet-i Fünun*'s cover (Figure 3.3.10).

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's last trip to the parliament was on May 14, 1914. This commencement of the Meclis-i Mebusan came after several years of uncertainty for the Meclis-i Mebusan; of note are its termination in 1912, the Raid on the Sublime Porte (*Bab-ı Ali Baskını*) in 1913, and a new election in 1914. One photograph was published in *Servet-i Fünun*'s 1198th issue on May 21, 1914 (Figure 3.3.11). The Sultan is once

[267] This palace, along with the Münire Sultan Palace was one of the two small palaces called *Çifte Saraylar*.

more in front of the Cemile Sultan Palace. Another photograph of the Sultan leaving the palace was printed in *Şehbal*'s 97th issue on May 28, 1914.

These photographs showed the Sultan and the Meclis-i Mebusan as allies working together. Furthermore, the photographs by Sigmund Weinberg and Phébus portraying the inside of the buildings provided the readers with a rare glimpse into the inner workings of the parliament. These were less public ceremonies than the processions. Photographs of these ceremonies increased formerly limited visibility. For the religious ceremonies and the accession ceremony, photographs of the Sultan mostly are the processions outside from and to a destination. The parliament photographs were more intimate, putting the viewer and the Sultan in the same enclosed space.

In addition to the visit to the parliament, Sultan Mehmed V Reşad attended other political ceremonies. One of these was the Sultan going to the military school on August 27, 1909. The school was the *Mekteb-i Harbiye*. The sultan visited the school for an award ceremony and gave gifts to accomplished students.[268] Two photographs of this visit were printed in *Resimli Kitab*'s 12th issue in September/October 1909. These photographs are attributed to Kenan Bey underneath. One shows the Sultan leaving the school building (Figure 3.3.13) and the other is the Sultan in his carriage on the way back to the palace (Figure 3.3.14). He is not wearing any medals but he is in military uniform and is carrying a sword symbolizing power.

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad organized a banquet for the members of the parliament at the Beylerbeyi Palace on June 10, 1910. There was a Bosphorus tour by sea after the banquet. Those invited included the *mebus*, the *ayans*,[269] the grand vizier, the ulema, and

[268] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, I:139.
[269] The *mebus* were the publically elected members of the *Meclis-i Mebusan* and the *ayans* were the members of the *Meclis-i Ayan* appointed to their positions by the Sultan.

ambassadors.[270] The organization of the banquet, including the music, was done in the European style.[271] The *Şehbal* published four photographs of this occasion in its 22nd issue on June 28, 1910. In the first, the Sultan is photographed walking to the Beylerbeyi Palace with a procession of court officials and soldiers (Figure 3.3.15). The second shows them having stopped and posing for the camera (Figure 3.3.16). *Şehbal*'s caption for this photograph tells that the Sultan asked for this photograph. Two more photographs of the Sultan leaving the palace also appear in *Şehbal* (Figures 3.3.17 and 3.3.18). *Şehbal* notes that the Sultan was greeting the attendees as he was leaving. *Şehbal*'s captions for the photographs do not just describe the event but emphasize the Sultan's interactions with others. This was a political event as the guests included members of the parliament but its informal nature was reflected in the Sultan's choice of clothing, a plain redingote instead of a military uniform.

The last kind of ceremony for this section was the naval parades. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad was photographed attending two of these parades. The first took place on July 4, 1909. The Sultan went to the Battleship Mesudiye, from where he watched the parade with his imperial caique.[272] Sigmund Weinberg's photograph of the Sultan in a white naval uniform was the cover of *Servet-i Fünun*'s 946th issue on July 22, 1909 (Figure 3.3.19).

A year later, on July 23, 1910 there was another naval parade. The date fell on the 10th of July or *10 Temmuz* in the *Rumi* calendar. This date had been declared a holiday by the parliament to celebrate the declaration of the Second Constitutional Era. This was a politically important holiday for the Committee of Union and Progress because it celebrated the anniversary of their rise to power in 1908. The Sultan watched the parade

[270] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, I:231.,
[271] Sakaoğlu, "Mehmed V," 345.
[272] *Sultan Mehmed V. Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*, 26.

aboard the Yacht Ertuğrul. Lütfi Simavi remarks that this parade was lackluster compared to the previous year's.[273] Sigmund Weinberg again was the photographer for the three photographs published in *Servet-i Fünun*'s 999th issue on July 28, 1910. The first of these shows the Sultan in the imperial caique, in a black uniform (Figure 3.3.20). This time Weinberg also photographed the Sultan aboard the Yacht Ertuğrul (Figures 3.3.21 and 3.3.22). Similar to the photographs inside the parliament buildings, these two photographs evoke a feeling of closeness through the confined space of the yacht.

3.4. Province Tours

Visiting provinces was not a tradition in the Ottoman Empire before the nineteenth century. The Sultan was only visible to the residents of the capital.[274] Until Sultan Mahmud II, who was the first sultan to take a trip within the Ottoman realm to see closely how the public lived and to communicate with the people, Ottoman sultans did not leave Istanbul for purposes other than conquest.[275] However, Sultan Mahmud II's main objective was to be seen rather than to just see the provinces.[276]

Sultan Mahmud II's successors continued this tradition as his son Sultan Abdülmecid had accompanied Sultan Mahmud II in several of his trips.[277] Sultan Abdülmecid participated in three provincial trips of his own including cities such as Hereke, Izmit, Bursa, Thessaloniki in addition to a tour of the Mediterranean islands.[278] His son Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, then a *şehzade,* accompanied Sultan Abdülmecid to

[273] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, I:241.
[274] Erik Jan Zürcher, "Sultan Reşad'ın Haziran 1911'deki Makedonya Seyahati," in *Savaş, Devrim ve Uluslaşma: Türkiye Tarihinde Geçiş Dönemi: 1908-1928* (Istanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005), 121–37.
[275] Haluk Selvi, "Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın Izmit Seyahati (27-28 Ekim 1909)," *Uluslararası Kocaeli Tarihi Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, 2016, 925–46.
[276] Kırlı, "Surveillance and Constituting the Public in the Ottoman Empires," 291.
[277] Kuzucu, "Balkanlar'da Son Osmanlı Padişahı: Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın 1911 Yılındaki Rumeli Seyahati."
[278] Özger, "Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın Edirne Seyahati."

Thessaloniki.[279] Sultan Abdülaziz also continued the tradition by visiting Thessaloniki and Egypt, problematic provinces of the Empire at the time.[280] Furthermore, Sultan Abdülaziz was the first Sultan to visit European cities.

There was a pause in the province trips during Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign as he rarely left the Yıldız Palace.[281] His only trip outside the city of Istanbul was the European voyage when he was a *şehzade* during Sultan Abdülaziz's reign. Instead of province trips, he asserted his authority remotely by relying on a network of spies, propaganda through newspapers, and sermons in mosques.[282] Therefore a Sultan leaving the palace to connect with his people was not an occurrence in recent memory during Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign.[283]

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad went on several trips to many Ottoman provinces in the early years of his reign. There were five trips and they started as small day-long excursions and gradually became tours that lasted weeks. The Committee of Union and Progress wanted to capitalize on the successes of the first trips and increase the visibility of the Sultan to create unity within the public. The Sultan visited Hereke, Bursa, and Izmit in the first year of his reign. A trip to Edirne took place in 1910 and lastly a long Rumeli trip that included Thessaloniki, Skopje, Pristina, and Manastir in 1911.

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's first trip outside Istanbul was to Hereke on June 18, 1909. He visited the Hereke fabric factory that was built during Sultan Abdülmecid's reign. He traveled by boat because he preferred sea travel. A photograph showing him leaving the factory was printed in *Servet-i Fünun'*s cover of its 942nd issue on June 24,

[279] Zürcher, 124.
[280] Özger, "Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın Edirne Seyahati"; Kuzucu, "Balkanlar'da Son Osmanlı Padişahı: Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın 1911 Yılındaki Rumeli Seyahati."
[281] Selvi, "Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın Izmit Seyahati (27-28 Ekim 1909)."
[282] Zürcher, "Sultan Reşad'ın Haziran 1911'deki Makedonya Seyahati," 124.
[283] Zürcher, 124.

1909 (Figure 3.4.1). The same photograph was also published cropped in Şehbal's 7th issue on July 14, 1909 (Figure 3.4.2). A third version, again cropped, appears in *Resimli Kitab*'s 9th issue in June/July 1909 (Figure 3.4.3). *Resimli Kitab* had two more images of this trip. One showing the Sultan walking in Hereke (Figure 3.4.3) and one of him returning from the factory (Figure 3.4.4). The Sultan is not wearing a uniform or medals, instead of wearing his redingote. The people of Hereke, especially children, can be seen watching the Sultan.

A longer trip to Bursa took place between September 2-6, 1909. As with the trip to Hereke, there are no records of the Committee of Union and Progress organizing this trip and asking the Sultan to participate. Lütfi Simavi attributes the reason for this trip to the Sultan wanting to see the Ottoman lands.[284] The Sultan already liked daily trips within Istanbul and had enjoyed going to the Beylerbeyi or Göksu palaces.[285] For the Bursa trip the cortege traveled to Mudanya with the Yacht Ertuğrul and from there moved on to Bursa by train (Figure 3.4.6).[286] He was accompanied by *şehzades* Yusuf İzzeddin and Vahdeddin in addition to the *sadrazam*.[287] The Bursa trip had special significance as the city was a former capital of the Ottoman Empire. Visiting the city strengthened the imperial legacy of the Sultan in addition to connecting with the public. The success of this trip prompted the Committee of Union and Progress to seize the opportunity of province tours and they viewed this one as a template.[288] Sultan Mehmed V Reşad himself was very pleased with the trip as well.[289]

[284] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, I:143.
[285] Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar*, 37.
[286] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, I:142–43.
[287] Simavi, I:143.
[288] Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar*, 38.
[289] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, I:145.

Photographers for this trip were Asaf Muammer Bey and Sigmund Weinberg, and their work was printed in *Servet-i Fünun*. The publication used two images by Asaf Muammer Bey for their cover of its 954th issue on September 3, 1909 (Figure 3.4.7). First shows the Sultan being greeted by the people of Bursa and the second shows the Sultan in his carriage in front of the Grand Mosque of Bursa for the Friday Prayers. These two photographs were printed again, in the same layout, in the magazine's 1401st issue on July 11, 1918 (Figure 3.4.8).

Three more photographs of the trip by Sigmund Weinberg are also present in *Servet-i Fünun.* One shows the Sultan in his imperial tent (Figure 3.4.9).[290] Similar to the Hereke trip, he is not wearing an official uniform. In another, the Sultan is leaving the Bursa train station in his carriage (Figure 3.4.10). Lastly, a second photograph of the Sultan at the Grand Mosque of Bursa for the Friday Prayers (Figure 3.4.10).

The trip to Izmit on October 27-28 was Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's last province trip in 1909. Izmit was a politically important destination because it had a multi-ethnic and multi-religious population which included ethnically Greek and Armenian Ottomans.[291] Furthermore, it had a high crime rate at the beginning of the Second Constitutional Era[292] and the local tradesmen complained of high taxes.[293] *Şehzades* Yusuf İzzeddin and Vahdeddin were again accompanying the Sultan.[294] The Sultan traveled first to Haydapaşa train station with the Yacht Ertuğrul, then travelled to Izmit by train (Figure 3.4.6).[295] The train stopped at several stations along the way so that the

[290] Ottoman tents were reflective of their era's imperial ideology as well, see Ashley Dimmig, "Fabricating a New Image: Imperial Tents in the Late Ottoman Period," *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 3, no. 2 (July 1, 2014): 341–72.
[291] Bülent Cirik, "İkinci Meşrutiyet'in İlk Yıllarında Izmit Sancağı (1908-1910)," *Uluslararası Kocaeli Tarihi Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, 2016, 893.
[292] Kurtuluş Demirkol, "II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Başlarında Izmit Sancağı'nda Asayiş," *Uluslararası Kocaeli Tarihi Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, 2016, 910.
[293] Cirik, "İkinci Meşrutiyet'in İlk Yıllarında Izmit Sancağı (1908-1910)," 898.
[294] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, I:159.
[295] Simavi, I:159.

Sultan could greet the cheering public which included people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds.[296] İn Izmit the locals had the opportunity to relay their grievances to the Sultan. The Sultan also presented a united government and sovereign through his visit to the local Committee of Union and Progress chapter.[297]

The press wrote articles on the success of the trip, remarking that the Sultan acted as a unifying force among the people and cemented constitutionalism without glossing over the problems of the province.[298] Sultan Mehmed V Reşad appreciated this opportunity to be closer to his public, a sentiment he disclosed to the *Meclis-i Mebusan* in his speech for the parliament's second commencement on November 13, 1909. [299]

A photograph of the procession through Izmit by Sigmund Weinberg was printed in *Servet-i Fünun'*s 961st issue on November 4, 1909 (Figure 3.4.12). The sultan can be seen waving to the onlookers in his redingote. This was the last province trip of the Sultan where he wore civil clothing. *Servet-i Fünun* reprinted the photograph nine years later in its 1401st issue on July 11, 1918 (3.4.13). *Şehbal* also printed Weinberg's photograph without attribution in its 15th issue on November 14th, 1909. *Şehbaş* printed two additional photographs. One more of the procession showing the schoolchildren holding flags (Figure 3.4.15) and one of the Sultan in front of the Izmit Kiosque (Figure 3.4.16).

In 1910 Sultan Mehmed V Reşad had his penultimate province trip. This trip to Seyyidler and Edirne took place between October 27 and November 1, 1910. The Committee of Union and Progress conceived of and organized this trip. They wanted to present the image of a powerful sultan to the people of the Balkan peninsula and the

[296] Simavi, I:159.
[297] *Sultan Mehmed V. Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*, 29.
[298] Selvi, "Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın Izmit Seyahati (27-28 Ekim 1909)," 932.
[299] Selvi, 932–33.

world.[300] Similar to Bursa, Edirne was a symbolically important city because it was another former capital of the Ottoman Empire. This visit bolstered Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's links to the Ottoman dynasty. Furthermore, the trip combined the military show of power and boost of morale at Seyyidler with the religious symbolism of a Friday Prayer procession at Edirne. The trip was planned so that it would coincide with a Friday Prayer by the CUP.[301]

Şehzades Yusuf İzzeddin and Vahdeddin once more joined Sultan Mehmed V Reşad along with ministers for foreign and internal affairs and many other government officials.[302] Sultan Mehmed V Reşad traveled to Seyyidler by train (Figure 3.4.17). He rested a while in his imperial tent then went on to join a military parade in his carriage. It was proposed to Sultan Mehmed V Reşad that there were automobiles available should he wish to use one for the ceremony but the Sultan refused, citing that it was tradition that the public would be able to see the Sultan during these ceremonies and an automobile would not allow that.[303] People living in surrounding villages traveled as long as a day to see the Sultan.[304]

While head chamberlain Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil refers to the military parade and procession as chaotic and failures, first secretary Lütfi Simavi remarks that they were excellent.[305] After the parade the Sultan moved on to Edirne by train (Figure 3.4.17). The next day he went to the Edirne Selimiye Mosque for Friday Prayers. In his last two days, he went to inspect the redoubts in Edirne and went to the Üç Şerefeli Mosque for afternoon prayers. In his speech to the governor and people of Edirne Sultan Mehmed V

[300] Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar*, 65.
[301] Özger, "Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın Edirne Seyahati."
[302] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, I:127.
[303] Simavi, I:128.
[304] Özger, "Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın Edirne Seyahati," 140.
[305] Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar*, 65; Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, I:128.

Reşad expressed that it was his wish to see the Ottoman provinces and connect with their people.[306] Although the trip was the brainchild of the Committee of Union and Progress, the Sultan was excited about the trip and tried as much as he could to dutifully portray the powerful and tenacious Sultan he was expected to be.[307]

Fourteen photographs of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad in Seyyidler and Edirne were printed in newspapers, eleven from Seyyidler and three from the Friday Selamlık in Edirne. Sébah & Joaillier, sometimes only accredited as Sébah, followed and photographed the Sultan. A photograph of the studio showing the Sultan getting off the train at Seyyidler was printed both in *Resimli Kitab*'s 25th issue of September/October 1910 (Figure 3.4.18), and in *Servet-i Fünun*'s 1013th issue on November 3, 1910 (3.4.19). This marks the first ceremony that the Sultan is photographed wearing a military uniform and medals. In his trips to Hereke, Bursa, and Izmit he wore plain clothes. As the province trips increasingly became more important political tools the formality of the clothing also increased to make use of their symbolism.

In the next photograph, again Sultan Mehmed V Reşad is leaving the train station to enter the procession field. The photograph by Sébah appears both in *Resimli Kitab* (Figure 3.4.20) and in the 30th issue of *Şehbal* dated November 28, 1910 but is not attributed to a photographer in *Şehbal* (Figure 3.4.21). A closer photograph of the Sultan also was printed in *Şehbal* (Figure 3.4.22). In these photographs, the Sultan is seen carrying a sword to complete his imperial regalia. A photograph of the Sultan in the field also was printed in *Servet-i Fünun*'s cover of their 1013th issue on November 3, 1910 (Figure 3.4.23). The same photograph was reprinted for the 1401st issue of *Servet-i Fünun* on July 11, 1918 (Figure 3.4.24).

[306] Özger, "Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın Edirne Seyahati."
[307] Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar*, 65–66.

Before the military parade, the Sultan rested a while in his imperial tent. This striped ten can be seen in a photograph in *Şehbal* (Figure 3.4.25). Although a photographer is not given by the publication, it can be surmised from the following two photographs that it was the studio Sébah. A photograph by Sébah in *Resimli Kitab* shows the tent from another angle (Figure 3.4.26). This photograph can also be found in, again with no attribution, in *Şehbal* (Figure 3.4.27). *Şehbal* does attribute a last photograph of the Sultan in his carriage in the military parade to the studio Sébah & Joaillier (Figure 3.4.28.)

The last three photographs are of the Sultan attending the Friday Prayer at Selimiye Mosque. One photograph showing the Sultan in his carriage outside the mosque was published in *Resimli Kitab* (Figure 3.4.29), without citing a photographer, but the same photograph was also printed in *Şehbal* with Sébah & Joaillier's name (Figure 3.4.30). *Şehbal* published one more photograph of the *Selamlık*, of the Sultan in his carriage leaving the mosque.

All of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's province trips culminated in one grand trip of Rumeli. The Committee of Union and Progress was very worried about the Balkans.[308] With the rise of Nationalism, there was growing unrest in the Balkan peninsula. For a united Ottoman Empire, the Committee of Union and Progress aimed to unite different nationalities under one ruler. Therefore Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's appearance in the region was very important, and one last trip was organized by the CUP.[309] CUP's concern for the Rumeli trip was to ensure the territorial integrity of the Empire and to prevent the people of the Balkan peninsula from following in the steps of the Greeks, who seceded in 1829. It was also meant as a deterrent to European states who wished to exploit the

[308] Zürcher, "Sultan Reşad'ın Haziran 1911'deki Makedonya Seyahati," 123.
[309] Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar*, 124.

instability of the region to their benefits by presenting a unified Ottoman Empire.[310] Thessaloniki was also especially important to the CUP. This was where the revolt against Sultan Abdülhamid II started in 1908 which led to the reinstitution of the liberal constitution and resulted in the Second Constitutional Era.

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad was again happy to be undertaking this responsibility and leaving Istanbul.[311] Despite his old age, he was uncharacteristically energetic during the trip.[312] First planned for April 1911, the trip had to be delayed because of the instabilities in the region due to nationalist revolts and the complexity of the preparations needed.[313] The trip's announcement created excitement within the Empire even before it began. In Istanbul the Sultan personally met with groups of envoys from Lebanon and Beirut who proclaimed their loyalty and gratitude.[314] Military troops from Amasya, Trabzon, Sivas, and Ankara were moved to Kosovo anticipating a possible threat to the Sultan.[315]

Macedonia did not consist of one Ottoman administrative unit; the region included the provinces of Thessaloniki, Kosovo, and Manastir.[316] Although it was one trip, it spanned many cities within the region. Thessaloniki was the main hub. First there was one trip to Skopje, Pristina, and Kosovo; after returning to Thessaloniki another to Manastir; final return to Thessaloniki and back to Istanbul (Figure 3.4.32).

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[310] Kuzucu, "Balkanlar'da Son Osmanlı Padişahı: Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın 1911 Yılındaki Rumeli Seyahati," 15.
[311] Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar*, 124.
[312] Zürcher, "Sultan Reşad'ın Haziran 1911'deki Makedonya Seyahati," 126.
[313] Zürcher, 125. The decision was made during a dinner party at Minister of Interior Talat Bey's house Kuzucu, "Balkanlar'da Son Osmanlı Padişahı: Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın 1911 Yılındaki Rumeli Seyahati."
[314] Kuzucu, "Balkanlar'da Son Osmanlı Padişahı: Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın 1911 Yılındaki Rumeli Seyahati," 5.
[315] Kuzucu, 5.
[316] Zürcher, "Sultan Reşad'ın Haziran 1911'deki Makedonya Seyahati," 121. Skopje was the capital of the province of Kosovo in the Ottoman Empire.

The Sultan went to Thessaloniki by sea, with several ships and the Battleship Barbaros Hayreddin.[317] The fleet left Istanbul on June 5 and people gathered on either side of the Bosphorus to see them off.[318] The first stop was Çanakkale where the Sultan landed and received people of Gelibolu.[319] The fleet arrived at Thessaloniki on June 7 where a ship from İzmir had come as well to welcome to Sultan.[320] After spending the night in the ship the Sultan landed on June 8. The Sultan spent four days in Thessaloniki in this first leg of the tour. On June 9 he went to the Hagia Sophia Mosque with a procession for the Friday Prayers. The next day he visited the barracks and had a groundbreaking ceremony for the commemorative monument.

On June 11 the Sultan left Thessaloniki to go to Skopje by train. After spending four days in Skopje he left for Pristina on June 15. On June 16 he attended a Friday *Selamlık*, a groundbreaking ceremony for a *medrese*. On the same day, Sultan Mehmed V Reşad visited the mausoleum of Sultan Murad I[321] who was killed in Kosovo. This was a symbolically heavy part of the trip. Similar to ritual visits to ancestral tombs on Divanyolu, this visit strengthened the dynastic legacy of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad. The setting of Kosovo also worked to evoke memories of the glorious Ottoman past of conquests.

He went back to Thessaloniki on June 17. He spent three more days in the city and had a public procession.[322] On June 20 he went to Manastir by train. On June 23 he went to the İshakiye Mosque for Friday Prayers and there was another public

[317] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, II:319.
[318] Zürcher, "Sultan Reşad'ın Haziran 1911'deki Makedonya Seyahati," 126.
[319] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, II:321.
[320] Kuzucu, "Balkanlar'da Son Osmanlı Padişahı: Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın 1911 Yılındaki Rumeli Seyahati," 9.
[321] The mausoleum was for the internal organs of the Sultan. His body was brought back to Bursa to be interred.
[322] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, II:337.

procession.[323] He once more returned to Thessaloniki on June 24 thus the voyage back to Istanbul started and they arrived on June 26.

Similar to previous trips, the Committee of Union and Progress closely monitored the voyage through its members in both Istanbul and Thessaloniki who participated with speeches to the public at times.[324] The Committee of Union and Progress wanted to promote the Sultan as a popular figure who is close to the public; therefore, the Sultan sought to communicate with the locals as much as possible[325] In all destinations the Sultan took special care to communicate with the public as much as possible.[326] The Sultan met with the group of people from İzmir in Thessaloniki. Two official envoys from Bulgaria and Serbia came to Kosovo to meet the Sultan.[327] The kings of these countries would come to Istanbul shortly after. Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil recounts that the reception by the public was remarkably positive. He writes that people from all nationalities and religions came together to rejoice with celebrations lasting day and night.[328]

This visit had been announced to the villages and newspapers in advance.[329] Journalists from foreign newspapers in addition to Ottoman publications were allowed to join the trip.[330] *Resimli Kitab*'s director Ubeydullah Esad also went to Thessaloniki.[331] Aşil Samancı (Studio Apollon) who was the imperial photographer of the era also officially joined the trip.[332] The success of the trip was recounted in the newspapers,

[323] Simavi, II:341.
[324] Zürcher, "Sultan Reşad'ın Haziran 1911'deki Makedonya Seyahati," 128.
[325] Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks and the Ottoman Nationalities: Armenians, Greeks, Albanians, Jews, and Arabs, 1908-1918* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2014), 59–60.
[326] Zürcher, "Sultan Reşad'ın Haziran 1911'deki Makedonya Seyahati," 132.
[327] Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar*, 136.
[328] Uşaklıgil, 137–38.
[329] Zürcher, "Sultan Reşad'ın Haziran 1911'deki Makedonya Seyahati," 133.
[330] Kuzucu, "Balkanlar'da Son Osmanlı Padişahı: Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın 1911 Yılındaki Rumeli Seyahati," 7.
[331] Kuzucu, 21.
[332] Kuzucu, 7.

whether they were partisan to or opposition to the CUP.[333] The newspapers reported that the trip was a success in uniting the people of Rumeli in their love and respect for the Sultan.[334] Erik Jan Zürcher states that the trip failed to fulfill the following political purposes; bolstering the bonds between the government and the Muslim Albanian population, creating bonds between ethnic groups through Ottomanism, and politically strengthening CUP who had lost public support in the previous years. However, he concludes that it succeeded in creating the image of a likable and approachable Sultan.[335]

This trip was photographed extensively. There are twenty-four images of the Sultan published in the magazines, eighteen of which are of the first days at Thessaloniki. A photograph of the Sultan landing at Thessaloniki was printed in *Resimli Kitab*'s 30th issue in May/June 1911 (Figure 3.4.33). The Sultan is wearing a military uniform. *Şehbal* published a photograph with more religious imagery, showing the Sultan and the people of Thessaloniki at prayer in its 41st issue on July 28, 1911 (Figure 3.4.34). *Servet-i Fünun*'s photograph in its 1045th issue on June 16, 1911 by Sigmund Weinberg shows the Sultan walking through at the same square with the carpets (Figure 3.4.35). *Servet-i Fünun* republished this photograph in its 1401st issue on July 11, 1918 (Figure 3.4.36).

Photographs from the procession for the Friday *Selamlık* on June 9 were also printed in all three publications. Sigmund Weinberg photographed the Sultan leaving the Hagia Sophia Mosque for *Servet-i Fünun*'s cover of its 1046th issue on June 22, 1911 (Figure 3.4.37). *Resimli Kitab* used an image from the local studio Hilal (Figure 3.4.38) in addition to a photograph by an unknown photographer, possibly also Hilal (Figure

[333] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, II:345.
[334] Zürcher, "Sultan Reşad'ın Haziran 1911'deki Makedonya Seyahati," 135.
[335] Zürcher, 136–37.

3.4.39). *Şehbal* published a photograph from the procession, showing lined up soldiers saluting the Sultan (Figure 3.4.40).

Resimli Kitab published two photographs of the Sultan at the ceremony for the groundbreaking of the commemorative monument in front of a tent (Figures 3.4.41 and 3.4.43). One is attributed to Apollon (Figure 3.4.43), and although the other (Figure 3.4.41) one does not name a photographer it is possible that it is by the same studio. Cropped versions of these two photographs were also published in *Şehbal* (Figures 3.4.42 and 3.4.44). Two photographs of the procession returning from the barracks can be found in *Resimli Kitab* as well. One shows the Sultan in his carriage with soldiers standing at attention on the sides (Figure 3.4.45). The second one shows a closer view of the Sultan greeting the soldiers (Figure 3.4.46). *Şehbal* printed one image from this procession too (Figure 3.4.47). Although he wore a uniform for the Friday *Selamlık* at the Hagia Sophia mosque, here the Sultan is seen wearing plain clothes.

As the Sultan left Thessaloniki to go to Skopje by train on June 11, he was photographed again. One photograph from *Resimli Kitab* shows the Sultan walking from the carriage to train in a uniform and carrying a sword (Figure 3.4.48). There are two more photographs of the Sultan in *Resimli Kitab*, inside the train speaking to the people of Thessaloniki who had come to see him off (Figures 3.4.49 and 3.4.50).

Apollon followed the Sultan to Skopje and one of his photographs of the Sultan in his carriage in Kosovo was printed in *Servet-i Fünun*'s 1047th issue on June 29, 1911 (Figure 3.4.51). The same photograph was reprinted in the magazine's 1401st issue on July 11, 1918 (Figure 3.4.52). A second photograph of the same scene was published in *Resimli Kitab* as well (Figure 3.4.53). The Sultan then moved on to Pristina. A photograph of him at the groundbreaking for the planned *medrese* was published in *Servet-i Fünun'*s

1048th issue on July 6, 1911 (Figure 3.4.54). This photograph again was reprinted in the magazine's 1401st issue on July 11, 1918 (Figure 3.4.55). The last photograph of the trip is from Istanbul, of the welcoming committee for the Sultan's return (Figure 3.4.56). This photograph by Sigmund Weinberg was published in *Servet-i Fünun*'s cover of its 1048th issue on July 6, 1911. The photograph shows the Sultan at the Dolmabahçe Palace, praying. Although more provincial trips were planned both by the Committee of Union and Progress and by Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, the Sultan's ill health and the ensuing wars prevented them from happening.[336]

3.5. Diplomatic Ceremonies

The nineteenth century saw a new tradition take root for diplomatic visits in the Ottoman Empire. Previously, ambassadors conducted diplomatic relations between states, and it was rare that a sovereign personally met the Sultan. Visits from heads of states started in the late nineteenth century in the Ottoman Empire during Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign and became more frequent in the twentieth century during Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign. International relations becoming more intricate due to the looming World War I was one reason for this, in addition to new advances in transportation technologies. During Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign, four visits from foreign sovereigns were photographed and published in newspapers. Two of these, King Ferdinand I of Bulgaria and King Peter I of Serbia's visits in 1910 were more prominently features in the press.

King Ferdinand I of Bulgaria and his wife Queen Eleonor visited the Ottoman Empire between March 21 and 29, 1910. Previously in Ottoman territory, Bulgaria had

[336] Kuzucu, "Balkanlar'da Son Osmanlı Padişahı: Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad'ın 1911 Yılındaki Rumeli Seyahati," 32.

recently become a sovereign nation in 1908. According to Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil, the Bulgarians wanted to see the Ottoman system of a constitutional monarchy in Istanbul.[337] Both sides wanted to trip to strengthen the relationship between two neighbors.[338] The Sultan and the imperial court had been informed that the King and Queen of Bulgaria were to visit.[339] Uşaklıgil notes that the responsibility of discussing politics fell to the government of the Committee of Union and Progress, and the Sultan's responsibility was only to be a good host.[340] This was the first time that Sultan Mehmed V Reşad was hosting a sovereign.[341] Although Sultan V Mehmed Reşad aimed to be a good host, he did not think good relations would be guaranteed with Bulgaria because he did not like the King's inquisitive questions.[342]

King Ferdinand and Queen Eleonor arrived at Istanbul by train on March 21, 1910. They were welcomed by the Sultan at the Sirkeci station. Sultan Reşad accompanied the Queen to the imperial tent from Sirkeci. From Sirkeci, the King and Queen went to the Yıldız Palace where they would reside for the duration of their visit.[343] The people of Istanbul had gathered on the sides of the streets to watch the procession.[344] There was a reception and feast at the Dolmabahçe Palace on the same evening.[345] The attire of the guests and music was in European fashion.

[337] Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar*, 96.
[338] Zeynep Alanoğlu, "Meşruti Sistemde Bir Padişah Portresi: Sultan Mehmed Reşad (1909-1918)" (Istanbul Üniversitesi, 2019), 90.
[339] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, I:203.
[340] Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar*, 97.
[341] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, I:205.
[342] Simavi, I:215.
[343] The Yıldız Şale Kiosk had become the official guest house for visiting sovereigns during Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign. He had made additions to the kiosk for the visits of Kaiser Wilhelm II. "Yıldız Şale Köşkü," Milli Saraylar, n.d., https://www.millisaraylar.gov.tr/blog/yildiz-sale-kosku.
[344] Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar*, 98.
[345] Uşaklıgil, 102.

King Ferdinand visited *şehzade* Yusuf İzzeddin and *Sadrazam* Hakkı Pasha on March 22.[346] For lunch, the King and Queen went to the Dolmabahçe Palace where the Queen visited the harem.[347] The king and queen visited the Bulgarian Church on the next day, then visited the Meclis-i Mebusan to watch the proceedings. Another reception at the Yıldız Şale Kiosk was held for lunch. After lunch, there was a military procession at the *Hürriyet Tepesi*. *Hürriyet Tepesi* (Liberty Hill) in Şişli was where the *Abide-i Hürriyet* (Monument of Liberty) was located. As a memorial monument to those killed in the 31 March incident, it served as a visual reaffirmation of the Second Constitutional Period.[348] An imperial tent was erected on the hill. Many troops had been sent away from Istanbul after the 31 March incident so there was difficulty to put together a military parade.[349] In addition to the official personnel, many people from Istanbul had gathered at Liberty Hill to watch the parade. Lack of set protocol rules for such an occasion had created a chaotic environment.[350] After the military parade the Sultan presented the King and Queen with Ottoman medals.[351] The Sultan then went to the Teşvikiye Mosque for Friday prayers, the King and the Queen joined him at the mosque.[352] In the following four days, the King and Queen visited several churches and mosques in Istanbul in addition to visits to Hereke and Bilecik.[353]

There are five photographs of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad during this visit. The first three were taken at the Sirkeci station when the King and Queen arrived. The first one, published in *Servet-i Fünun'*s 981st issue on March 24, shows the Sultan and the King side by side, walking to the Yacht Ertuğrul (Figure 3.5.1). Sultan Mehmed V Reşad is

[346] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, I:207.
[347] Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar*, 99.
[348] Alanoğlu, "Meşruti Sistemde Bir Padişah Portresi: Sultan Mehmed Reşad (1909-1918)," 92.
[349] Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar*, 100.
[350] Uşaklıgil, 101.
[351] Alanoğlu, "Meşruti Sistemde Bir Padişah Portresi: Sultan Mehmed Reşad (1909-1918)," 92.
[352] Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar*, 101.
[353] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, I:211.

seen wearing a military uniform adorned with medals, as is the King. The Sultan was also carrying a sword. An imperial tent can be seen in the background. The next photograph from *Servet-i Fünun*'s 982nd issue from March 30, 1910 shows the Sultan walking to the yacht, and Queen Eleonor had taken his arm (Figure 3.5.2). This portrays the Sultan's European influenced demeanor during the trip. This is the only photograph of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad with a woman, and the only known instance that an Ottoman Sultan had shown this manner of closeness with a European Queen. The third photograph from the same issue shows the Sultan leaving the train station (Figure 3.5.3). From the skirts visible behind him it can be seen that it was the Queen accompanying him.

Two more photographs from this trip are from the military parade. In the first photograph by Sigmund Weinberg published in *Servet-i Fünun*, the imperial tent from the previous photographs makes a reappearance (Figure 3.4.6). Another view of the tent can be seen in a photograph published in *Resimli Kitab*'s 18th issue (Figure 3.4.7). The Sultan can be seen speaking to the King and the Bulgarian Minister of War.[354]

King Petro I of Serbia had planned on a visit to the Ottoman Empire before King Ferdinand I of Bulgaria, claiming to Lütfi Simavi that King Ferdinand had heard of this intention and planned his trip sooner due to competition.[355] The ceremonies and protocol during King Ferdinand's visit provided the precedent for King Petro's visit. The same banquets and processions were used.[356] The trip took place between April 3 and 9, 1910.

The King arrived on April 3, 1910 at the Sirkeci train station. In addition to the Sultan *şehzade* Yusuf İzzeddin and *Sadrazam* Hakkı Pasha were among those who welcomed the King. The next day he visited the Ecumenical Patriarchate of

[354] Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar*, 101.
[355] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, I:215.
[356] Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar*, 105.

Constantinople and visited the military of Harbiye.[357] On April 5, after a banquet at the Yıldız Şale Kiosk the King and the Sultan went to the *Hürriyet Tepesi* (Liberty Hill) for a military parade. Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil found this military procession to be a success after the trial of the previous one.[358] The attire during these parades was important. Lütfi Simavi writes that Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's sons were not in uniform during the military parade because they were not in the military, a fact that the King drew attention to which embarrassed Lütfi Simavi.[359] The King then visited the *Meclis-i Mebusan* on June 6 before returning on June 9.[360] Unlike the King Ferdinand I of Bulgaria, the Sultan had liked the modest and sincere looking King Petro I of Serbia.[361]

There are thirteen photographs of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad during this diplomatic visit. Six of those of the King's arrival and welcoming ceremony at Sirkeci. Sigmund Weinberg's photograph of the Sultan arriving at the Sirkeci station was published in *Servet-i Fünun*'s 983rd issue on April 7, 1910 (Figure 3.5.6). The Sultan is seen in front of the imperial yacht, in military uniform and carrying a sword. The King's arrival was published in *Resimli Kitab*'s 19th issue (Figure 3.5.7). The Sultan and his retinue are leaving for the imperial tent. A photograph by Sébah & Joaillier shows that a different imperial tent was used this time (Figure 3.5.8). Published in *Resimli Kitab*, this photograph shows the Sultan and *şehzade* Yusuf İzzeddin who is also in military uniform. Another photograph from *Resimli Kitab* shows the Sultan and the King on the way to board the Yacht Söğütlü (Figure 3.5.9). The same photograph was also published in *Şehbal*'s 21st issue on June 14 (Figure 3.5.10). A photograph of the same scene with a

[357] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, I:210.
[358] Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi: Son Hatıralar*, 105.
[359] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, I:213.
[360] Simavi, I:211.
[361] Simavi, I:215.

wider angle was taken by Sigmund Weinberg for *Servet-i Fünun*'s 983rd issue (Figure 3.5.11).

The next four photographs show the Sultan and the King going to the Yıldız Şale Kiosk for a banquet. Photographed again by Sébah & Joaillier, the Sultan and the King are seen leaving the Dolmabahçe Palace in a photograph from *Resimli Kitab* (Figure 3.5.12). The same photograph was used by *Şehbal* although without Sébah & Joaillier's name for its 21st issue (Figure 3.5.13). A photograph by Phébus from *Servet-i Fünun*'s 983rd issue shows the sovereigns in the imperial car (Figure 3.5.14). *Resimli Kitab* also published a photograph of the Sultan and the King in the car, with the Sultan waving (Figure 3.5.15). Because of sharing a car, these photographs show the sovereigns in close proximity, sitting side by side, symbolizing recognition of legitimacy and friendship between the states.

After the banquet at Yıldız Şale Kiosk they moved on to *Hürriyet Tepesi*. Their arrival was photographed by Sébah Joaillier for *Resimli Kitab* (Figure 3.5.16). Again side by side in the car, this time with a military backdrop this photograph was a show their military power. The same imperial tent from the welcoming ceremonies was used for the military parade, as can be seen in Sigmund Weinberg's photograph from *Servet-i Fünun*'s 985th issue (Figure 3.5.17). Here the foreign military attachés being presented to the King in front of the imperial tent. Another photograph by Weinberg showing the Sultan, the King, and the attendees posing was also published (Figure 3.5.18).

Later during Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign, Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany visited the Empire. This was the Kaiser's third visit after two made during Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign. This visit took place in October 1917, while the First World War was ongoing. Therefore, the visit of the allied Kaiser was a very important political event.

During this four-day visit, the Kaiser not only visited Istanbul but also went to the battlefields in Çanakkale.[362] This trip was not publicly announced because the Committee of Union and Progress feared an assassination attempt, but the preparations started two days earlier.[363]

The Kaiser's trip also included another ally for World War I, Bulgaria. After a trip in Bulgaria that was celebrated widely by the public and the newspapers, the Kaiser moved on to Istanbul by train.[364] Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, with his sons and *şehzade* Vahdeddin, greeted the Kaiser at the Sirkeci train station. Notably absent was *şehzade* Yusuf İzzeddin who had committed suicide in 1916 due to stress. Afterward, the Kaiser, accompanied by the Sultan and Enver Pasha in the imperial carriage, went on a procession through Istanbul.

The trip's reflection in the press through photographs, however, was small. By then, *Resimli Kitab* and *Şehbal*, two magazines printing photographs, had ceased publication. Moreover, the secrecy surrounding the event may have impeded the photographers from attending the ceremonies. Only one photograph from this visit was published in *Servet-i Fünun*'s 1323rd issue on October 17, 1917 (Figure 3.5.19). It is from the personal archive of Ahmed İhsan, the director of the newspaper. The photograph shows the Sultan welcoming the Kaiser at Sirkeci. Enver Pasha can be seen on the right. The photograph, or its printing technique, is of a lower quality than the photographs of the King of Bulgaria and Serbia in 1910 (Figures 3.5.1-3.5.18). The contrast is low in the background and detail of the soldiers is lost to only show a black area. Two more images of this visit appear in *Servet-i Fünun*'s 1367th and 1400th issues too, but the thick outlines,

[362] Alanoğlu, "Meşruti Sistemde Bir Padişah Portresi: Sultan Mehmed Reşad (1909-1918)," 95.
[363] Ö. Kürşad Karacagil, "Alman İmparatoru Istanbul'da (1917)," *Gazi Akademik Bakış* 6, no. 12 (2013): 117.
[364] Karacagil, 115.

and roundly granulated grey areas suggest these are engravings fashioned after photographs (Figures 3.5.20 and 3.5.21).

Although there are photographs of Kaiser Wilhelm II's visit in various archives, such as the Deniz Müzesi (Naval Museum), the Ömer M. Koç Collection, the Imperial War Museum, and Das Bundesarchiv (German Federal Archives), the scope of this chapter only includes photographs printed in Ottoman publications. Similarly, Sultan Mehmed V Reşad hosted other foreign sovereigns, such as Emperor Karl I of Austria in 1918, but photographs of these were not published in newspapers.

3.6. Funeral Ceremony

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad was already an old man when he became the Sultan and he was suffering from problems with his bladder all his life. Especially the last state visits from Kaiser Wilhelm I and Emperor Karl I's visits had taken a toll on his health.[365] Sultan Mehmed Reşad died on July 3, 1918. The burial ceremony was held on July 4, one day after his death. Accompanied by *şehzades* and members of the court, his casket was brought through Ortaköy Street and put on a ferry from Çırağan Pier which traveled to the Topkapı Palace complex.

Sultan Mehmed V Resad's death caused sorrow among the public and thousands of people attended his funeral ceremony. People at the Hagia Sophia square and on the Haliç shore sadly watched the procession carrying Sultan Mehmed V Resad's coffin with

[365] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, II:571.

prayers and eulogies.[366] The local newspapers published in favor of the dynasty and tried to create a feeling of "national mourning."[367]

Sultan Mehmed V Reşad died nearly six months after Sultan Abdülhamid II, therefore the statesmen who attended his funeral were almost the same men. Those who would attend the ceremony and where they would stay was arranged by the Protocol Department. In "The regulations book on the rules that should be obeyed during the funeral ceremonies of the dead people from the Sultanate Dynasty," which had been prepared with Sultan Mehmed V Resad's instructions on February 22, 1914, all the details about who would attend Sultan Abdülhamid II's funeral ceremony, under which title, and in which row they would be, were considered.[368] The difference between the two funeral ceremonies was that the public's participation and respect were much more in Sultan Abdülhamid II's funeral because he had ruled much longer than Sultan Mehmed V Reşad.[369]

Since the early periods of the state, until Sultan Selim II, the sultans had attended their predecessors' funerals. This custom changed after Sultan Selim II and the Ottoman sultans did not attend their predecessors' funerals with the exception of Sultan Selim III attending Sultan Abdülhamid I's funeral prayer.[370] The important part in Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's funeral was that his successor Sultan Mehmed VI Vahdeddin also attended. He attended the funeral ceremony in Topkapı Palace. While the casket was taken to Eyüp by sea, Sultan Vahdeddin did not attend the procession. He traveled to Eyüp by land,

[366] Servet Yanatma, "The Deaths and Funeral Ceremonies of Ottoman Sultans (from Sultan Mahmud II to Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin)" (Boğaziçi University, 2007), 83–84.. 83-84, 116.
[367] Nevim Tüzün, "Osmanlı Sultanı V. Mehmed Reşad'ın Vefatının İkdam, Sabah, Tani ve Vakit Gazetelerine Yansımaları," *Journal of International Social Research* 12, no. 65 (2019): 156.,
[368] Yanatma, "The Deaths and Funeral Ceremonies of Ottoman Sultans (from Sultan Mahmud II to Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin)," 134–35..
[369] Yanatma, 141..
[370] Yanatma, 136–37.

through the Divanyolu route.[371] Lütfi Simavi writes that a sultan not attending the funeral of his predecessor is an act of disrespect that is unheard of in Europe yet is considered custom in the Ottoman Empire and congratulates Sultan Vahdeddin on his decision.[372]

Sultan Mehmed VI Vahdeddin disobeyed a dynastic tradition by attending his brother Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's funeral rites. His decision to attend may have been the result of a will to use the opportunity of the ceremony to create a public image that portrayed his power and legitimacy as a sultan. A ceremony through Divanyolu stressed the holy warfare ideology of the state and the sanction of Ottoman rule by the warrior-saint Ayyub.[373] It strengthened Sultan Vahdeddin's legitimacy as the caliph by reviving an old tradition.[374]

Funeral ceremonies in the Ottoman Empire are linked to accession ceremonies. Ottoman funerary rituals served simultaneously to associate the new sultan's reign with a dynastic past, and the final transfer sovereignty did not occur during the accession ceremony but after the funeral rituals.[375] The death of the Ottoman sultans and the ensuing funeral ceremonies are an important segment of the Ottoman dynastic culture. A semblance of continuity between the accession of the new ruler and the burial of the old one ritually concealed the temporary disruption of the imperial order during chaotic periods. The smooth sequence of accession and funeral rites thus helped to bridge the dangerous hiatus in the order of things brought about by a sultan's death.[376] The Ottoman accession and burial rituals stressed the perpetuity of the ruling dynasty. By going through

[371] Yanatma, 126..
[372] Simavi, *Sultan Mehmed Reşad Han'ın ve Halefinin Sarayında Gördüklerim*, 2017, III:577.
[373] Necipoğlu, "Dynastic Imprints on the Cityscape: The Collective Message of Imperial Funerary Mosque Complexes in Istanbul," 25.
[374] Ahmad, *The Young Turks and the Ottoman Nationalities*, 138.
[375] Necipoğlu, "Dynastic Imprints on the Cityscape: The Collective Message of Imperial Funerary Mosque Complexes in Istanbul," 34.
[376] Necipoğlu, 34.

Divanyolu to Eyüp, the sultan strengthened his dynastic link in the eyes of the audience through the ritual itself and the monuments he passed by and visited. Architecture and the ritual of the ceremony joined together to highlight the prestige of the ruling house.[377]

There are eleven photographs in the funeral albums of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, and their photographer is unknown (Figures 3.6.1-3.6.11). Unlike other photographs which were examined so far in this thesis, these photographs were not taken to be printed in a newspaper. The photographs for newspapers are singular, focusing on one moment of a particular event. The funeral album, on the other hand shows the continuous story of the procession from Topkapı to Sirkeci. Furthermore, the photographs were not printed in a newspaper and their serial nature indicates that publication was never the intention. This reflects the nature of the funeral ceremony which was more private and somber affair than the previous ones. Similarly, illustrated manuscripts in the Ottoman Empire were not made for the masses and their viewings were reserved for the elite and prestigious guests. One notable absence in the photographs is the new Sultan Vahdeddin's. Although he attended parts of the funeral ceremony, he does not appear in the photographs. This may be a result of his reverence for the tradition of Ottoman sultans not attending their predecessor's funerals. Although he used this opportunity to heighten his visibility, the official visual documentation pays respect to the deceased sultan and Ottoman traditions.

Rather than printing photographs of the funeral procession, *Servet-i Fünun* chose to print photographs from Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's previous ceremonies (Figures 3.1.2, 3.1.7, 3.1.9, 3.4.8, 3.4.13, 3.4.24, 3.4.36, 3.4.52, and 3.4.55). These were printed in *Servet-i Fünun*'s 1401st issue on July 11, 1918. These are photographs from his sword girding ceremony, and province trips. All of them were reprints of photographs previous

[377] Necipoğlu, 35.

published in *Servet-i Fünun.* This attests to how much Sultan Mehmed V Reşad had come to be identified with his ceremonies.

3.7. Statistics and Analysis

Newspapers	Sigmund Weinberg	Sébah & Joaillier	Phébus	Kenan Reşid Bey	Apollon	Asaf Muammer Bey	Hilal	Unknown	Total
Servet-i Fünun	30	1	5	0	2	4	0	16	**58**
Şehbal	1	13	1	0	1	0	0	14	**30**
Resimli Kitab	3	10	4	6	1	0	1	15	**40**
Total	**34**	**24**	**10**	**6**	**4**	**4**	**1**	**45**	**128**

Table 2. Number of photographs in *Servet-i Fünun*, *Şehbal*, and *Resimli Kitab* by photographers

Looking at Table 2, it can be seen that Sigmund Weinberg has the highest number of published photographs with 34. This can be attributed to the prolificacy of the photographer, but it should be kept in mind that his signature is the most easily recognizable of the group. Weinberg chose areas of plain white or black in his photographs to sign his name in the opposite color, regardless of whether it would disrupt the framing or the focal point of the picture. Other photographers are harder to identify unless the newspaper has given them credit. Unknown photographers make up the biggest group. It is difficult to identify these unless the publication has credited them. The first reason for this is that although the publications had official photographers this did not exclude them from printing photographs by other photographers. Second is that even if the photographs from the same ceremony or scene appear in multiple publications, unless the shot is exactly the same it cannot be assumed that the same photographer was the originator because many photographers could be at one scene at a time. For the same reason, even if several photographs of one ceremony is printed in one publication, and

only one is credited, it cannot be assumed that the photographs in the same issue are from the same photographer.

The table also shows that *Servet-i Fünun* had most of the photographs, 56 out of 126. *Resimli Kitab* followed with 40 and lastly *Şehbal* with 30. The last two publications had a much shorter lifespan than *Servet-i Fünun*, which continued publishing during the First World War.

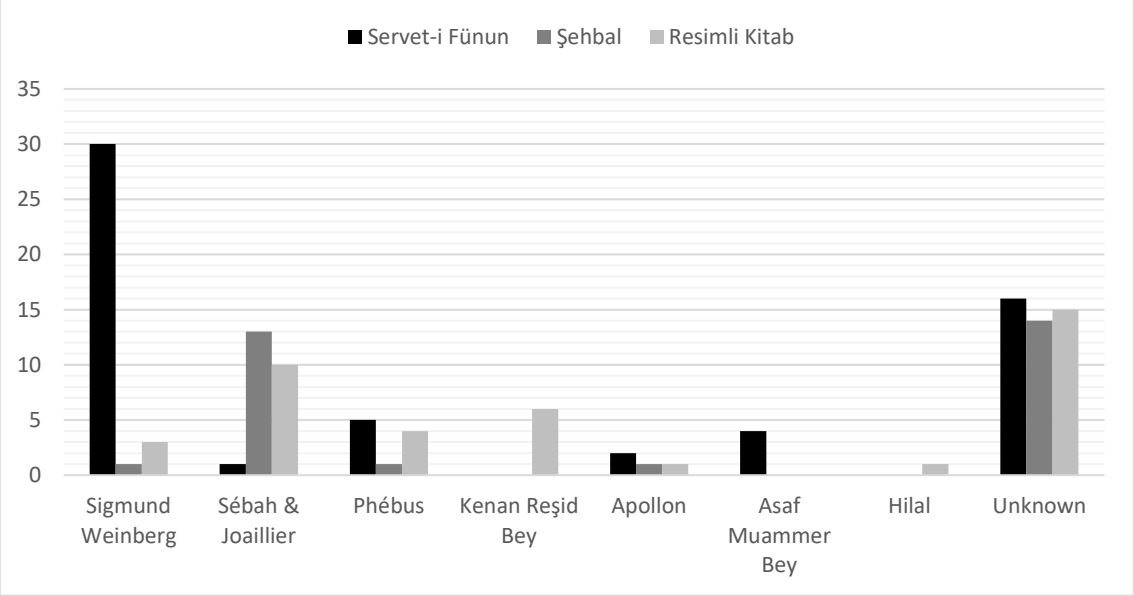
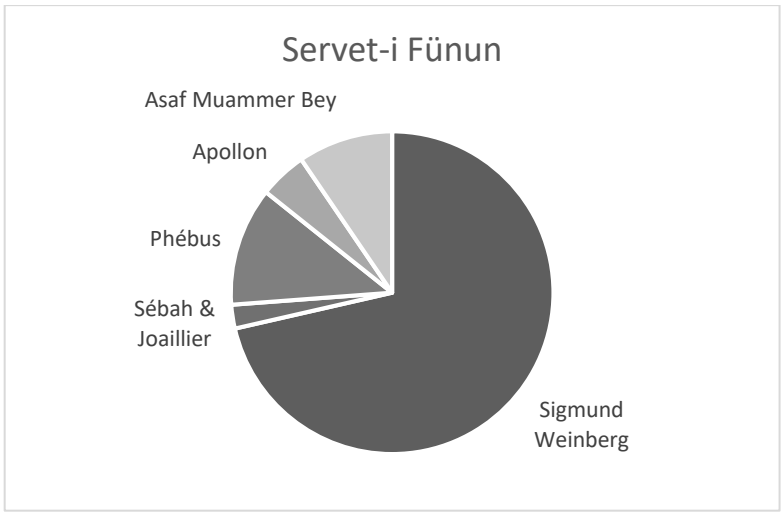
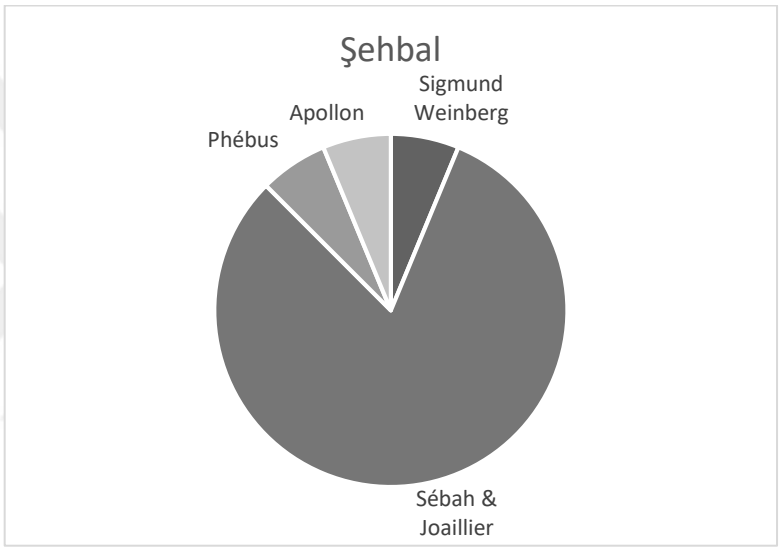


Chart 1. Distribution of the number of photographs by photographers in each publication

Chart 1 shows the relationship between the photographers and the newspapers by showing the distribution of the photographers. Sigmund Weinberg had almost all of his work published in *Servet-i Fünun*. Sébah & Joaillier had their work mostly in *Şehbal* and *Resimli Kitab*. Similarly, Phébus's work was mostly in *Sevet-i Fünun* and *Resimli Kitab*. Sigmund Weinberg, Sébah & Joaillier, Phébus, and Apollon's work appeared in all three of the newspapers. On the other hand, Kenan Reşid Bey, Asaf Muammer Bey and Hilal had their photographs in only one publication.





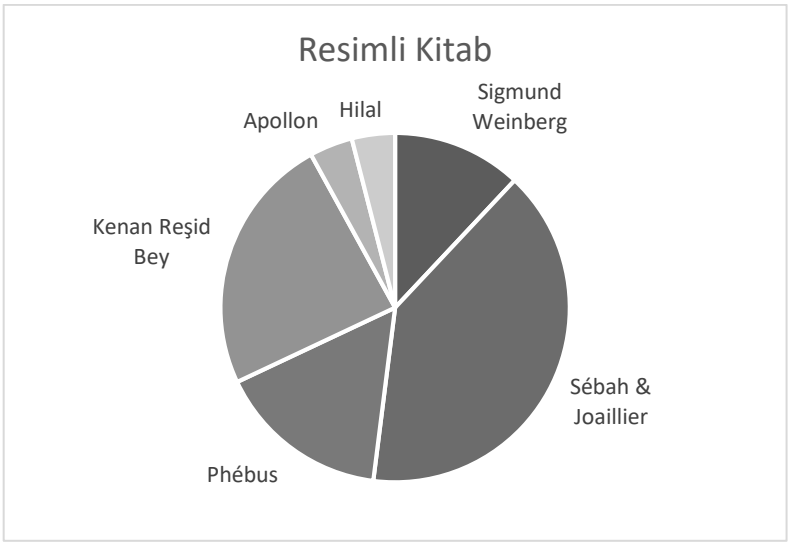


Chart 2. The ratios of known photographers' work in the publications

Charts 2-5 allow for individually looking at each publication, focusing on the known photographers. Sigmund Weinberg had the highest number of photographs from *Servet-i Fünun.* For both *Şehbal* and *Resimli Kitab* the leader is Sébah & Joaillier. *Resimli Kitab* had the widest range of photographers with six, followed by *Servet-i Fünun* with five, and *Şehbal* with four. *Şehbal'*s homogeneity could be attributed to its lack of credit to photographers. Many of the identifications from *Şehbal* came by cross referencing the other two magazines. If no exact match was found attribution was impossible due to aforementioned reasons.

Ceremony	Sigmund Weinberg	Sébah & Joaillier	Phébus	Kenan Reşid Bey	Apollon	Asaf Muammer Bey	Hilal	Unknown	Total
Accession			3					10	**13**
Religious	10			4				3	**17**
Political	6	6	6	2				2	**22**
Trips	10	11			4	4	1	25	**55**
Diplomatic	8	7	1					5	**21**
Total	**34**	**24**	**10**	**6**	**4**	**4**	**1**	**45**	**128**

Table 3. Categories of ceremonies and photographers

Table 3 shows the number of photographs by each photographer according to categories of ceremonies. The accession ceremony was only photographed by Phébus. Sigmund Weinberg photographed every ceremony except the accession. Sébah & Joaillier did not photograph any of the religious ceremonies. Hilal, being a studio located at Thessaloniki, only photographed the trip to Rumeli. Asaf Muammer Bey also only photographed the province trips. Phébus and Kenan Reşid Bey did not photograph the province trips and their photographs are all of ceremonies within Istanbul. The province trips were the most photographed ceremonies and their photographs have the widest variety of photographers. This can be attributed to the fact that these trips were the first imperial trips outside Istanbul in more than thirty years. They were a novelty which

generated interest. More importantly, for the Rumelia trip in particular, the Committee of Union and Progress asked photographers to join the trip and advertised it in the press.

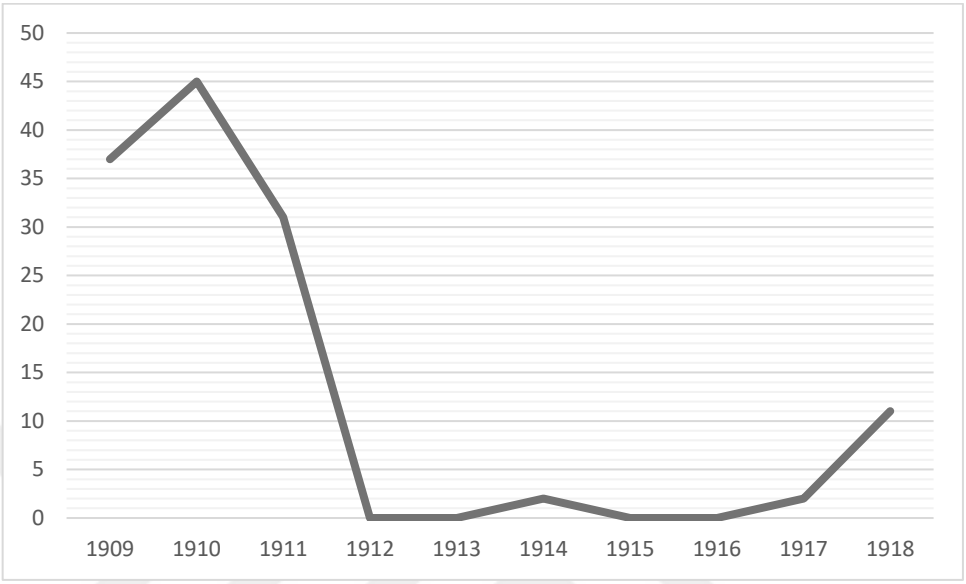


Chart 3. Number of published photographs of ceremonies throughout Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign

The photographs start off very strong with Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's accession ceremony in 1909, owing to the freedom to publish and propagate the Sultan's image that came with the coup of 1908. They taper off during 1911 and there none from 1912. A small spike happens in 1914 when Sultan Mehmed V Reşad visited the parliament but the photographs disappear again. This was before *Resimli Kitab* and *Şehbal* shut down in 1914 and 1915 respectively, so that was not the reason for their discontinuation.

There are several possible reasons. One is that the Italo-Turkish Wars, the First Balkan War, and the First World War made the trips more difficult and dangerous. The second is that the Sultan was old and sick, so he was not able to participate in many ceremonies. As many of these ceremonies had been the Committee of Union and Progress's efforts for uniting the Ottoman people under one figurehead, they may have

come to the realization that these efforts were not giving the political results they had hoped for and therefore abandoned this plan. However, Sultan Mehmed V Reşad and his ceremonies had been so inseparable in the public consciousness that to commemorate him after his death *Servet-i Fünun* once more published photographs of the Sultan's old ceremonies.

CONCLUSION

This study compiles photographs from three Ottoman publications depicting Sultan Mehmed V Reşad attending ceremonies to show how the image-making efforts during Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign were reflected in the media. There was a shift towards a more visible image for the Sultan through direct and indirect means. Photographs of ceremonies blended these two efforts together.

Beginning with its introduction into the Ottoman Empire in Sultan Mahmud II's reign, the press was a political tool both for the Ottoman sultans and the government, and their opponents. The Committee of Union and Progress was on the opposition side and when they came to power in 1908, they exerted control over the press through laws because they were aware of the importance of the newspapers in controlling the narrative and creating an imperial image. The Committee did not abolish the position of the sultan completely, but instead tried to use it for their own purpose, which was the continuation of the Ottoman Empire with the Sultan acting as a unifying figure. Surveillance and censorship were used extensively to control the press in the nineteenth century. They continued censorship even though the methods were changed after Sultan Abdülhamid II was deposed. Neither Sultan Mehmed V Reşad nor the CUP had the preliminary press restrictions of Sultan Abdülhamid II. The press was not required to print certain topics. The newspapers also did not have to be approved by a government body prior to publication. Sometimes, such as the province tours, the press was invited specifically to join; but that was not always the case. The role of newspapers in creating a new sultanic image was the culmination of both intended and unintended visibility. Furthermore, there was a limit to the extent of the propagation of this new image for the Sultan. The three periodicals which printed the photographs of ceremonies operated in Istanbul; thus, the photographs' visibility was limited to the Ottoman capital.

I also examined the relationship between imperial-image making and sultanic visibility firstly through ceremonies and secondly visual media. Ceremonies and processions were a way for the sultan to project a desired public image. They were an opportunity for the sultan to directly interact with the public. The public appearance of the Ottoman sultans helped build their public image. Sharing the same thoughts and emotions amplified feelings of fraternity and created a spiritual bond amongst the audience. Increasing visibility through ceremonies to build the Sultan's public image became very important during Sultan Mahmud II's reign and continued to be the imperial strategy until Sultan Abdülhamid II, whose policy relied on invisibility. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's ceremonies can be seen as a revival of the nineteenth century tradition. In a time of hardship, Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's ceremonies created feelings of solidarity within the audience along with a feeling of reverence for the Sultan and the Ottoman dynasty. Imperial ideology in the nineteenth century included both tradition and modernity, which was reflected in the visual representations of the sultan. Ottoman sultans disseminated their image with large-scale portraits, medals, and photography. This tradition briefly stopped during Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign but was revived in the twentieth century. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's photographs are the continuation of practices of *tasvir-i hümayun* and imperial portraiture from the nineteenth century.

In the nineteenth century, photography was also used for imperial ideology during Sultan Abdülaziz and Sultan Abdülhamid II's reigns. While Sultan Abdülaziz embraced the new media and utilized it along with traditional painting to disseminate his image, Sultan Abdülhamid II controlled its use to decrease his visibility. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign again marked a deviation from the practices of Sultan Abdülhamid II and a return to previous traditions. Photojournalism became a very important tool for the propagation of the Sultan's image which mainly focused on the numerous ceremonies the

Sultan attended, ranging from religious Islamic ceremonies to diplomatic visits of foreign heads of state.

In this thesis, I categorized the photographs according to the types of ceremonies with information on the specific ceremonies. The same photographs appearing in several periodicals show that there was a network of photographers and newspapers who collaborated. The photographer/publication relationships were not always dyadic. This section also reveals common elements of photographs according to their categories. The religious ceremonies are more private than the political ones. For the religious ceremonies, we do not see the Sultan inside a mosque or the Topkapı Palace. But for the political ceremonies, there are photographs of the Sultan inside the parliament buildings.

The accession ceremony photographs show that increasing visibility was the policy for imperial image-making from the start of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign. The press quickly went into action to photograph the ceremonies and do not show hesitation to publish the image of the Sultan. This shows that the press was not concerned that Sultan Abdülhamid II's restrictions towards the dissemination of his image would carry over to the news Sultan's reign. The religious ceremonies show Sultan Mehmed V Reşad as a pious Muslim following Islamic traditions. Political ceremonies show that the Sultan supported the parliament, and by extension, the Committee of Union and Progress. These photographs present a unified Ottoman government and sultanate. Photographs of the province tours show a Sultan eager to connect with Ottoman people from all social and religious backgrounds while upholding Islamic rituals and paying respects to the Ottoman dynastic past. Photographs of diplomatic visits from foreign heads of states portray the Ottoman Empire as an important player in the international arena both with hospitality and with the show of military power. The funeral ceremony's photographs' exclusion from the press highlights *Servet-i Fünun'*s choice to commemorate Sultan Mehmed V

Reşad by reprinting photographs of his previous ceremonies. Although these ceremonies were from the first years of his reign and many years had since passed, Sultan Mehmed V Reşad was identified with his ceremonies.

The majority of the ceremony photographs date before 1912. 1912 onwards were difficult years for the CUP. The opposition party briefly came to power only to be overthrown by the CUP. The Ottoman parliament was closed until 1914. This occasion is the only ceremony photographed and published until 1917. The time when the CUP struggled to hold the central power in the Ottoman Empire coincides with the decline of photographs of ceremonies. The decline also coincides with the change of the CUP's ideology from Ottomanism to Turkism. Although the Committee was a deciding factor behind the ceremonies, the only agency cannot be attributed to the Committee. Sultan Mehmed V Reşad had restarted the nineteenth century tradition of increasing visibility through imperial ceremonies.

The Committee of Union and Progress wanted to use the figure of the Sultan as a unifying force for the Ottoman people to create a sense of unity within the people and prevent territorial losses. They wanted to promote the Sultan as a popular figure who is close to the public. Some ceremonies within Istanbul, such as the accession ceremony and diplomatic ceremonies, were conducted under the guidance of the Committee, but some others, like Friday prayer processions, were the result of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's will. The province trips gradually became longer and went further away from the capital to culminate in the Rumelia trip in an attempt to allay the discontent growing in the Balkans with the influence of the Committee, but they were started by Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's small trip to Hereke. The driving forces behind the ceremonies worked together. The two parties did not necessarily decide on this agenda together, but their inclinations were compatible. Primary sources note that Sultan Mehmed V Reşad was happy to be attending

these ceremonies and these made him feel closer to the public. Although he was not completely in control of the image-making process, the portrayal of a kind, down-to-earth Sultan who respected the rituals and traditions of the Ottoman Empire was one that harmonized well with his personality. The Sultan's personality during the ceremonies is apparent in his photographs. Unlike previous sultans who maintained a rigid demeanor during ceremonies, Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's photographs show him greeting the public. Not only was the visibility increased, but Sultan Mehmed V Reşad also presented a more approachable and friendly appearance as evidence by his gestures.

The use of photography to represent the ceremonies of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad continue the trend of manipulating the gaze through media in the Ottoman Empire. The audience of the ceremonies of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad was not just the people who physically witnessed it. The photographs brought the ceremonies to a wider audience. The photographs heightened the increased direct visibility of the ceremonies through increased indirect visibility. Previously, representations of ceremonies in images remained private and almost invisible. Photography changed this and enabled many viewers to access the Sultan's ceremonies indirectly. The subject matter of ceremonies meant that these were different from *tasvir-i hümayun.* The "snapshot" aspect inferred a more natural and personal quality to these photographs compared to the formally posed imperial portraiture. The ritual of the ceremony and photography joined together to highlight the prestige of the ruling house. The photographs symbolically reclaimed power and legitimacy through the act of representation; and disseminated a new visible imperial image to a new audience.

This study only examines photographs of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's ceremonies printed in Ottoman newspapers within the context of sultanic visibility. There are additional photographs of these ceremonies in various archives, collections, museums,

and libraries in Turkey and abroad. Further studies on these photographs should be conducted for a fuller understanding of the importance and impact of photographs of ceremonies. Moreover, the scholarship on Ottoman photography during this era is severely lacking and a more general study of photography during Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's reign can yield important information to better contextualize ceremony photographs.

FIGURES



Figure 1.1. Apollon, Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, watercolor on photograph, 1909, from *Dynasty and Camera: Portraits from the Ottoman Court,* p.31.



Figure 1.2.1. Seyyid Lokman, The enthronement ceremony of Sultan Süleyman I, *Hünername vol. 2*, ca. 1587-88, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. H. 1524, fol. 25b-26a. from "The Depiction of Ceremonies in Ottoman Miniatures: Historical Record or a Matter of Protocol?," p.257



Figure 1.2.2. Seyyid Lokman, A Bayram ceremony at the Topkapı Palace, *Şehinşahname vol. 2*, ca. 1592, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. B. 200, fols. 159b-160a, from "The Depiction of Ceremonies in Ottoman Miniatures: Historical Record or a Matter of Protocol?," p.264



Figure 1.2.3. Levni, Parade of cooks, tanners, butchers, and livestock traders, *Surname-i Vehbi*, 1727, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A. 3593, fols. 73b-74a, from *40 Gün 40 Gece: Osmanlı Düğünleri, Şenlikleri, Geçit Alayları*, p. 272-73.

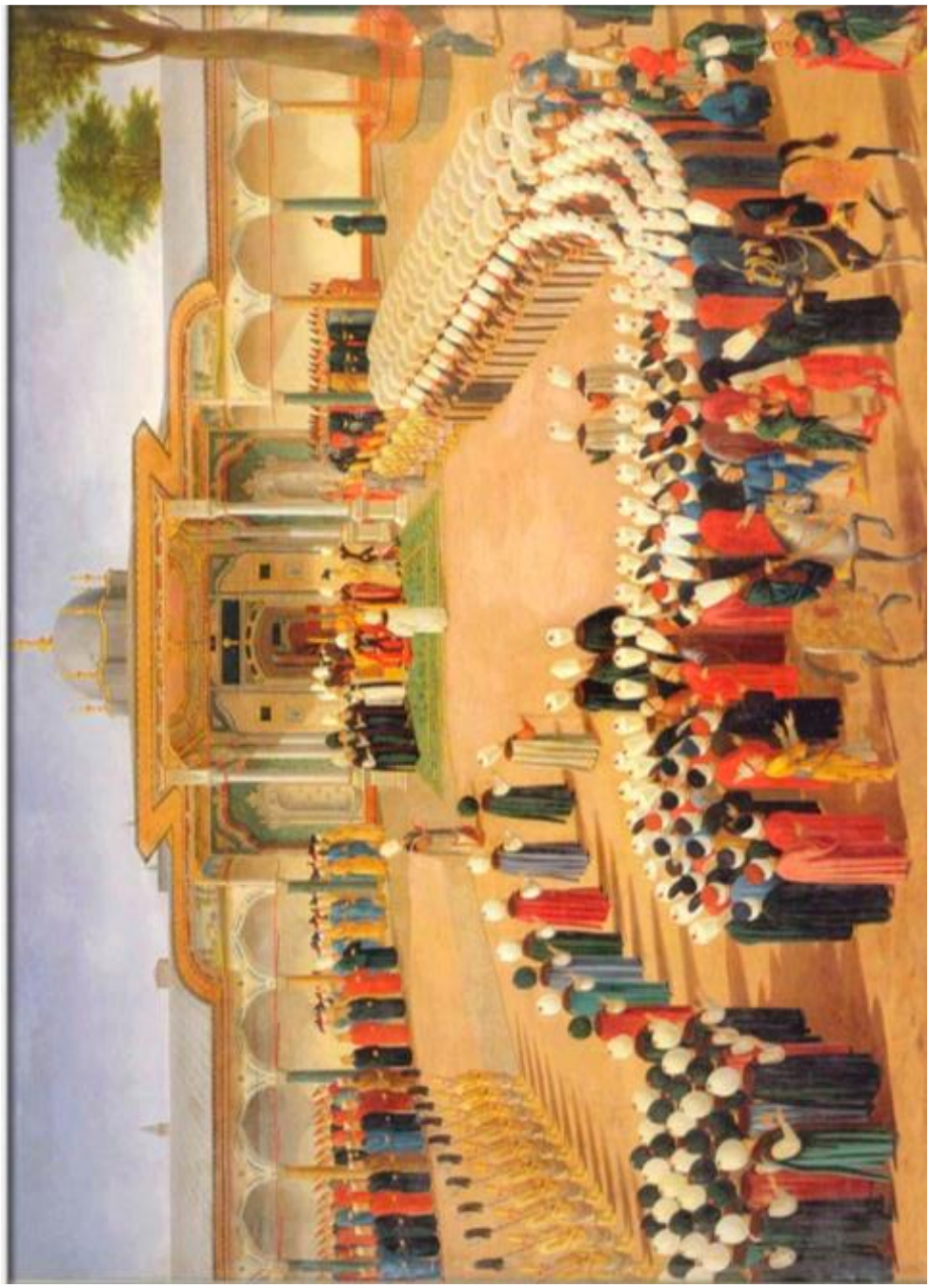


Figure 1.2.4. Attributed to Kostantin Kapıdağlı, Selim III in audience, Topkapı Palace Museum 17/163, ca. 1789, from *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, p.470.



Figure 1.2.5. Anonymous, Medal with the portrait of Sultan Mahmud II (*tasvir-i hümayun nişanı*), Topkapı Palace Museum 2/1023, from *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, p.508.



Figure 1.2.6. Marras, Medal with the portrait of Sultan Mahmud II (*tasvir-i hümayun nişanı*), Topkapı Palace Museum 17/208, 1832, from *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, p.509.



Figure 1.2.7. Anonymous, Sultan Mahmud II, oil on canvas, TSM 17/115, from *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, p.505



Figure 2.1.1. William Downey, Sultan Abdülaziz, 1867, from *Hatıra-i Uhuvvet - Portre Fotoğraflarının Cazibesi: 1846-1950*, p.89.



Figure 2.1.2. Abdullah Frères, Sultan Abdülaziz, 1865, from *Dynasty and Camera: Portraits from the Ottoman Court*, p.79.



Figure 2.1.3. William Downey, Abdülhamid Efendi, 1867, from *Hatıra-i Uhuvvet - Portre Fotoğraflarının Cazibesi: 1846-1950*, p.93.



Figure 2.2.1 Unknown Photographer, Our photographer at Thessaloniki, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1045 p.108, 3 Haziran 1327 (16 June 1911), MK



پادشاه جدید وعظمتلو ایلك سلاملق رسم عالیسی ایفا بیورمق اوزره ایا صوفیه‌یه حین تشریفلرنده طوپقپو سرایینه مواصلتلری
[پادشاهز آیچی عربه دروننده کورنکده‌در]
L'arrivée de S. M. MEHEMED V à Top-Kapou-Séraï.

Figure 3.1.1. Unknown Photographer, His Majesty Mehmed V in front of Hagia Sophia on the way to the Topkapı Palace, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.935 p.385, 23 Nisan 1325 (6 May 1909), MK



سلطان محمد خان خامس ، آیاصوفیه‌ده اجرا اولونان ایلك سلاملق رسمنه کیدرکن
Le premier Sélamlik de Mehmed V à Sainte-Sophie.

Figure 3.1.2. Unknown Photographer, The first Selamlık of Mehmed V at Hagia Sophia, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1401 p.368, 11 Temmuz 1334 (11 July 1918), SALT



Figure 3.1.3. Phébus, The sultan leaving his palace, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.937 p.5, 7 Mayıs 1325 (20 May 1909), MK



Figure 3.1.4. Phébus, The inauguration ceremony - at the moment of leaving his palace to go to Eyüp, *Şehbal*, n.6 p.105, 1 Haziran 1325 (14 June 1909), UBDC



Figure 3.1.5. Phébus, His Imperial Majesty after visiting the Hırka-i Şerif, *Resimli Kitab*, n. 8 p.799, Mayıs 1325 (May-June 1909), HTU



سلطان محمد حضرتلری قلیچ آلاینده ایوب جامعشریفنده
Dans la mosquée d'Eyoub

Figure 3.1.6. Unknown Photographer, At the Eyüp Mosque, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.936 supplement between p.408-409, 30 Nisan 1325 (13 May 1909), MK



سلطان محمد خان خامس ، قلیچ آلاینده : حضرت ایوب سلطان تربه‌سنده
Le ceignement de sabre de Mehmed V à Eyoub.

Figure 3.1.7. Unknown Photographer, The sword girding ceremony of Mehmed V in Eyüp, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1401 p.368, 11 Temmuz 1334 (11 July 1918), SALT



سلطان محمد حضرتلری قلیچ آلاینده ، ادرنه قپوسی طرفلرنده
Sultan Mehmed V, dans Sa Voiture de Gala.

Figure 3.1.8. Unknown Photographer, Sultan Mehmed in his carriage, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.936 supplement between p.408-409, 30 Nisan 1325 (13 May 1909), MK



خاقان مغفور سلطان محمد خان خامسك قیلیچ آلایی خاطراتندن
آلای ادرنه قاپوسی جوارندن کچرکن
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Figure 3.1.9. Unknown Photographer, Mehmed V's inauguration procession in Edirnekapı, *Servet-i Fünun*, n. 1408 p. 52, 29 Ağustos 1334 (29 August 1918), SALT



قلنج آلايى رسملرندن : ذات حضرت پادشاهى كردونهٔ همايونلرنده
L'investiture du Sabre: S. M. I. Mehmed V. dans sa voiture de gala

Figure 3.1.10. Unknown Photographer, The Sword Girding: His Imperial Majesty Mehmed V in his car, *Resimli Kitab*, n.8 p.795, Mayıs 1325 (May-June 1909), HTU



موكب همايونك قليج آلايندن عودت ايدركن ادرنه قاپيسى جوارينه مواصلتى.
La cérémonie de l'investiture. – Le cortège impérial près de la Porte d'Andrinople.

Figure 3.1.11. Unknown Photographer, The inauguration ceremony - The imperial procession near Edirnekapı, *Şehbal*, n.6 p.106, 1 Haziran 1325 (14 June 1909), UBDC



قبلیج آلایندن عودت ایتاسنده ، ادرنه قاپیسی جوارندکی موقع مخصوصده مجتمع سفرای اجنبیه یه التفات شاهانه

La cérémonie de l'investiture. — Le Sultan saluant le corps diplomatique, au retour du cortège.

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کردونهٔ همایون موقع سفرایی کچدکدن صوکرا

La cérémonie de l'investiture — Le Cortège Impérial, vu de la place réservée au corps diplomatique.

Figure 3.1.13. Unknown Photographer, The inauguration ceremony - The imperial procession, seen from the place reserved for the diplomatic corps, *Şehbal*, n.6 p.108, 1 Haziran 1325 (14 June 1909), UBDC



Figure 3.2.1. Sigmund Weinberg, His Majesty Mehmed V leaving his palace to attend the Selamlık, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.936 cover, 30 Nisan 1325 (13 May 1909), MK



Figure 3.2.2. Sigmund Weinberg, The Selamlık: The departure of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan for the Dolmabahçe Mosque, *Resimli Kitab*, n.8 p.782, Mayıs 1325 (May-June 1909), HTU



Figure 3.2.3. Sigmund Weinberg, His Majesty the Sultan exiting the Yeni Cami Mosque in Üsküdar after the Selamlık, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1041 cover, 5 Mayıs 1327 (18 May 1911), MK



ذات حضرت پادشاهینك اسکدار اسکله‌سنه مواصلت عایونلری

S. M. le Sultan débarquant à l'échelle de Scutari.

Figure 3.2.4. Sigmund Weinberg, His Majesty the Sultan landing at Üsküdar, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1041 p.5, 5 Mayıs 1327 (18 May 1911), MK



سوکیلی پادشاهمز اسکدار جهتنده کردونهٔ عایونلرینه بیز ایکن، قدوم عایون شرفنه تیماً قربانلر ذبح اولونورکن

S. M. le Sultan dans Sa voiture à Scutari.

Figure 3.2.5. Sigmund Weinberg, His Majesty the Sultan in his car in Üsküdar, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1041 p.5, 5 Mayıs 1327 (18 May 1911), MK



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Figure 3.2.7. Sigmund Weinberg, Arrival of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan at Üsküdar for the first time for the Selamlık, *Resimli Kitab*, n.29 p.371, Nisan 1325 (April-May 1911), HTU



Figure 3.2.8. Sigmund Weinberg, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan passing through Üsküdar for the Selamlık , *Resimli Kitab*, n. 29 p. 371, Nisan 1325 (April-May 1911), HTU

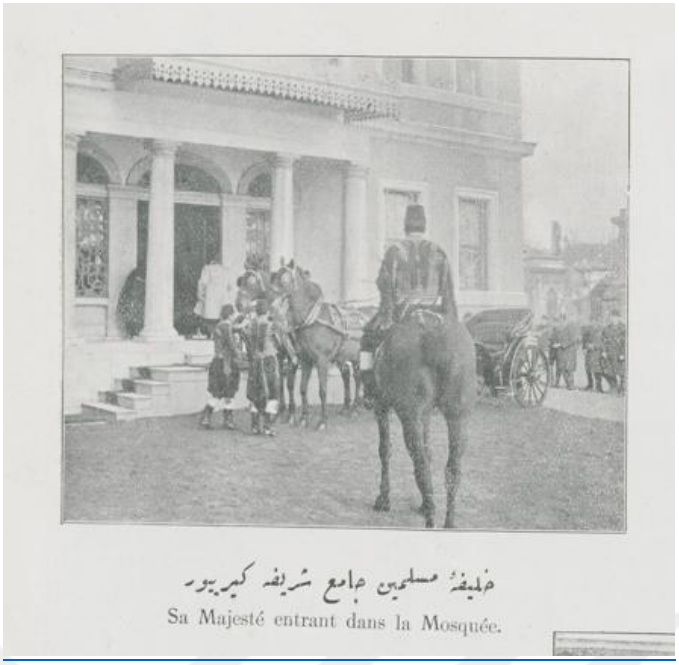


Figure 3.2.9. Unknown Photographer, His Majesty entering the mosque, *Şehbal*, n.36 p.220, 15 Mart 1327 (28 March 1911), UBDC



Figure 3.2.10. Unknown Photographer, After the religious ceremony the Sultan returns to the palace, *Şehbal*, n.36 p.220, 15 Mart 1327 (28 March 1911), UBDC

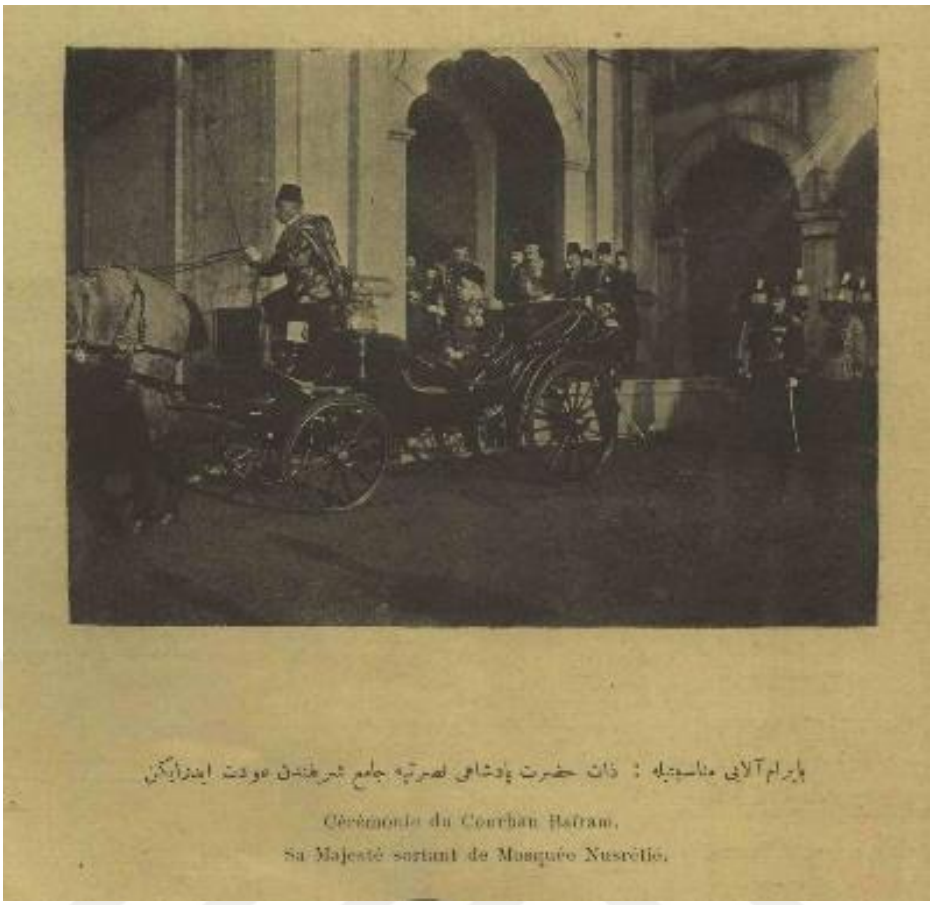


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Figure 3.2.13. Sigmund Weinberg, The celebration of Kurban Bayramı; sacrificied sheep at the Imperial Palace, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1071 p.100, 1 Kanunuevvel 1327 (14 December 1911), MK



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Figure 3.2.15 Kenan Reşid Bey, Arrival of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan and the Khedive at the Topkapı Palace, *Resimli Kitab*, n.11 p.1113, Ağustos 1325 (August-September 1909), HTU



Figure 3.2.16. Kenan Reşid Bey, Return of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan after visiting the cover of the tomb of the prophet, *Resimli Kitab*, n.11 p.1110, Ağustos 1325 (August-September 1909), HTU



3.2.17. Kenan Reşid Bey, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan going to the Sultanahmet Mosque for the ceremony of "Mevlüd," *Resimli Kitab*, n.18 p.474, Mart 1326 (March-April 1910), HTU



ذات شاهانەنك مجلس مبعوثان دائرەسنى تشريفلرى. دائرۀ مبعوثان حولیسنده .
L'arrivée de S. M. I. le Sultan MEHMED V au Parlement.

Figure 3.3.1. Sigmund Weinberg, Arrival of H. I. M. the Sultan Mehmed V at the Parliament, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.938 cover, 15 Mayıs 1325 (28 May 1909), MK



مجلس مبعوثانده ذات شاهانه محفل همایونلرنده بولندوقلرى [فروت فونك خصوصى فطوغرافیسندن
S. M. I. le Sultan MEHMED V dans sa loge au Parlement, d'après la phot. du Servet-i-Funoun.

Figure 3.3.2. Sigmund Weinberg, H. I. M. the Sultan Mehmed V in his box at the Parliament, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.938 p. 21, 15 Mayıs 1325 (28 May 1909), MK



فوطو : سباح و ژوآیيه Photo : Sébah & Joaillier

ذات شاهانه مجلس مبعوثانه دائره‌سی افتتاح اولونانه چراغانده سرایی اوکنده

Sa Majesté devant le PARLEMENT à Tchiraghan.

Figure 3.3.3. Sébah & Joaillier, His Majesty in front of the parliament in Çırağan, *Şehbal*, n.16 p.310, 15 Teşrinisani 1325 (28 November 1909), UBDC



مجلس مبعوثان عثمانيك رسم كشادنى ايفا ايتمك اوزره ذات حضرت پادشاهينك چراغان سرايينه
اثناى مواصلتلرنده آلنان بر رسم

S. M. I. le Sultan arrivant au Palais de Tchéragan nouveau Chambre des Députés pour assister à la réouverture du Parlament.

Figure 3.3.4. Sébah & Joaillier, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan arriving at the Çırağan Palace's new Chamber of the Deputees to assist in the reopening of the Parliament, *Resimli Kitab*, n.15 p.190, Kanunuevvel 1325 (December 1909-January 1910), HTU



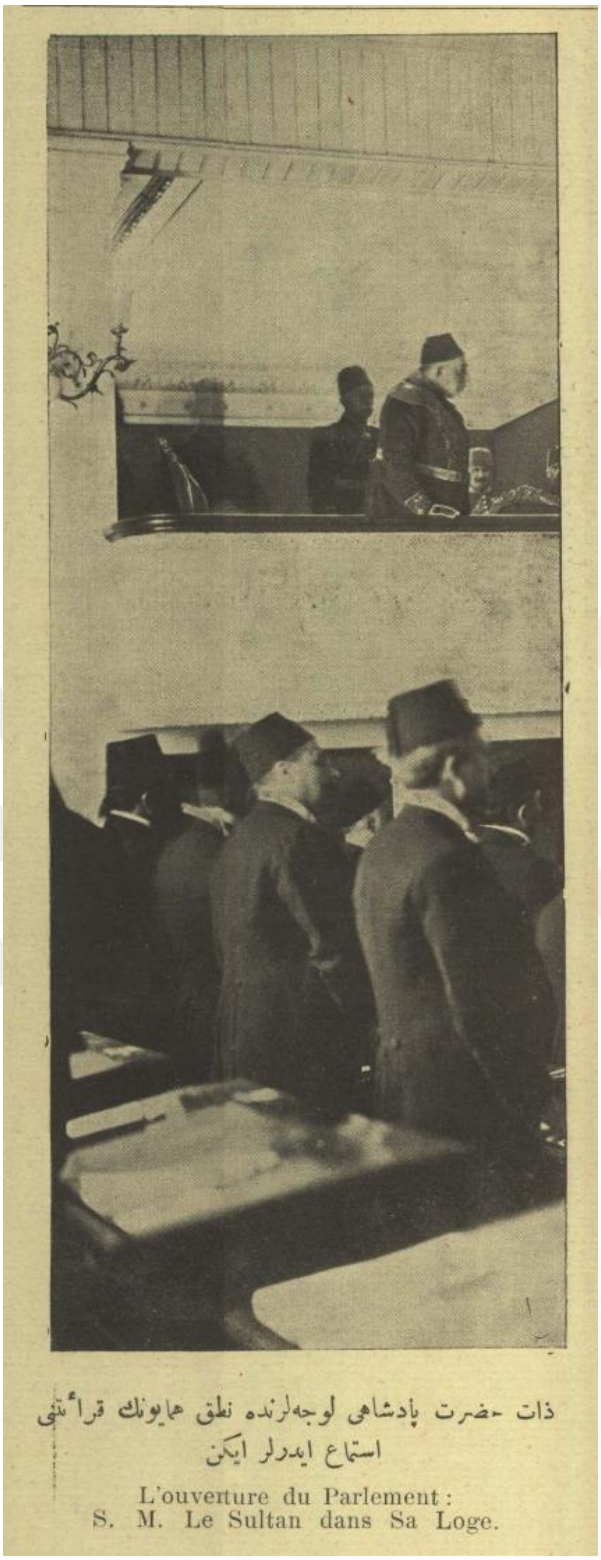
Figure 3.3.5. Phébus, H. I. M. the Sultan Mehmed V leaving the palace of the parliament after the imperial speech, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.963 p.5, 5 Teşrinisani 1325 (18 November 1909), MK



Figure 3.3.6. Phébus, The opening of the new Parliament: the return of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan to the Parliament, *Resimli Kitab*, n.15 p.202, Kanunuevvel 1325 (December 1909-January 1910), HTU



Figure 3.3.7. Phébus, The reading of the Imperial Speech during the third commencement of the Parliament, *Resimli Kitab*, n.26 p.92, Kanunuevvel 1326 (December 1910-January 1911), HTU



ذات حضرت پادشاهی لوجه‌لرنده نطق همایونك قرائتنی
استماع ایدرلر ایکن

L'ouverture du Parlement :
S. M. Le Sultan dans Sa Loge.

Figure 3.3.8. Phébus, Commencement of the Parliament: H. M. the Sultan in his box, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1016 p.28, 11 Teşrinisani 1326 (24 November 1910), MK



Figure 3.3.9. Phébus, The return of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan after the opening of the Parliament, *Resimli Kitab*, n.26 p.93, Kanunuevvel 1326 (December 1910-January 1911), HTU

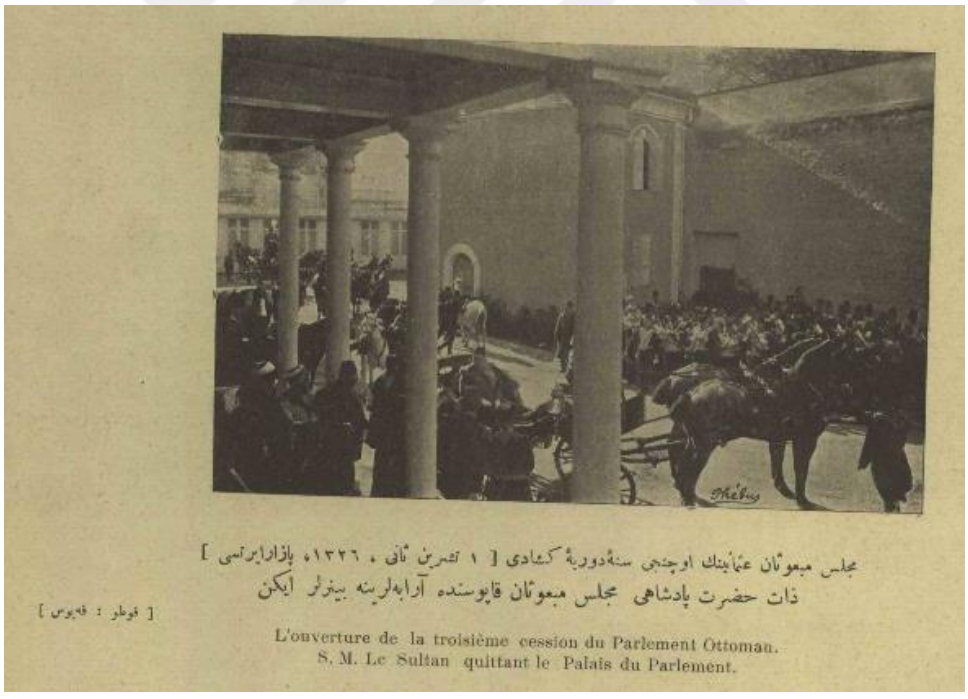
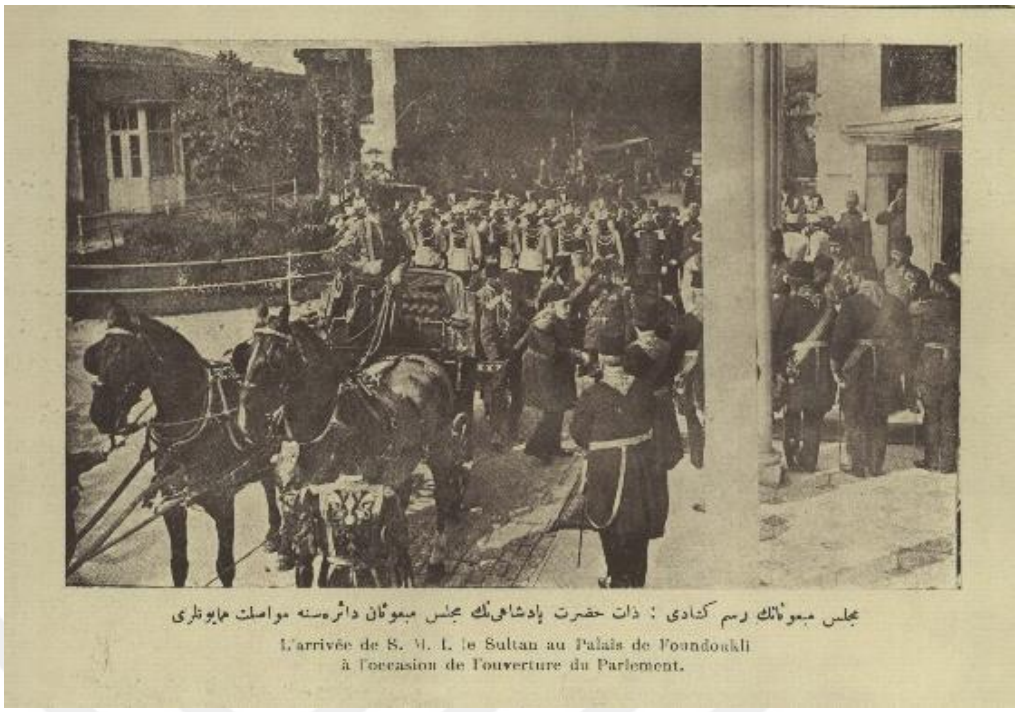


Figure 3.3.10. Phébus, Commencement of the third session of the Ottoman Parliament - H. M. the Sultan exiting the parliament building, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1016 cover, 11 Teşrinisani 1326 (24 November 1910), MK



مجلس مبعوثانك رسم كشادى : ذات حضرت پادشاهيلك مجلس مبعوثان دائرهسنه مواصلت هايونلرى

L'arrivée de S. M. I. le Sultan au Palais de Foundoukli
à l'occasion de l'ouverture du Parlement.

Figure 3.3.11. Unknown Photographer, Arrival of H. I. M. the Sultan at the Palace of Fındıklı for the commencement of the parliament, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1198 p.21, 8 Mayıs 1330 (21 May 1914), MK



مجلس ملى دائرهسنده عودت همايونه

مجلس مليمزك مراسم كشادى اثناسنده : ١ مايس ، ١٣٣٠

Figure 3.3.12. Unknown Photographer, The imperial procession leaving the parliament, *Şehbal*, n.97 p.2, 15 Mayıs 1330 (28 May 1914), UBDC



Figure 3.3.13. Kenan Bey, the return of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan from the military school, *Resimli Kitab*, n.12 p.1192, Eylül 1325 (September-October 1909), HTU



Figure 3.3.14. Kenan Bey, The return of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan from the military school, *Resimli Kitab*, n.12 p.1197, Eylül 1325 (September-October 1909), HTU



ذات شاهانه بكلربكی باغچه‌سنه داخل اولیور

Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan au moment de son entrée dans le parc du palais de Beylerbey.

Figure 3.3.15. Sébah & Joaillier, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan entering the grounds of the Beylerbeyi Palace, *Şehbal*, n.22 p.430, 15 Haziran 1326 (28 June 1910), UBDC



ذات شاهانه «شهبال»ك فوطوغراف مأمورینه ایکنجی بر رسم دها آلماسنی اراده بیوریور

Sa Majesté s'arrête et ordonne le photographe du «Chehbal» de prendre un second cliché

Figure 3.3.16. Sébah & Joaillier, His Majesty stops and orders the photographer of Şehbal to capture another shot, *Şehbal*, n.22 p.430, 15 Haziran 1326 (28 June 1910), UBDC



عودت همایونده: سرایدن جیقیلیرکن
Le départ – Sa Majesté sortant du palais.

Figure 3.3.17. Sébah & Joaillier, The departure - His majesty leaving the palace, *Şehbal*, n.22 p.432, 15 Haziran 1326 (28 June 1910), UBDC



Photo: Sébah & Joaillier

فوطو: سباح و ژوایيه

ذات شاهانه، مسافرلرینی سلامله اوجونده طولاشیرکن
Le départ – Sa Majesté fait un tour pour saluer une dernière fois ses convives.

Figure 3.3.18. Sébah & Joaillier, The departure - His Majesty makes a turn to greet his guests one last time, *Şehbal*, n.22 p.432, 15 Haziran 1326 (28 June 1910), UBDC



Figure 3.3.19. Sigmund Weinberg, The departure of the sovereign for the naval parade of July 4, 1909, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.946 cover, 9 Temmuz 1325 (22 July 1909), MK

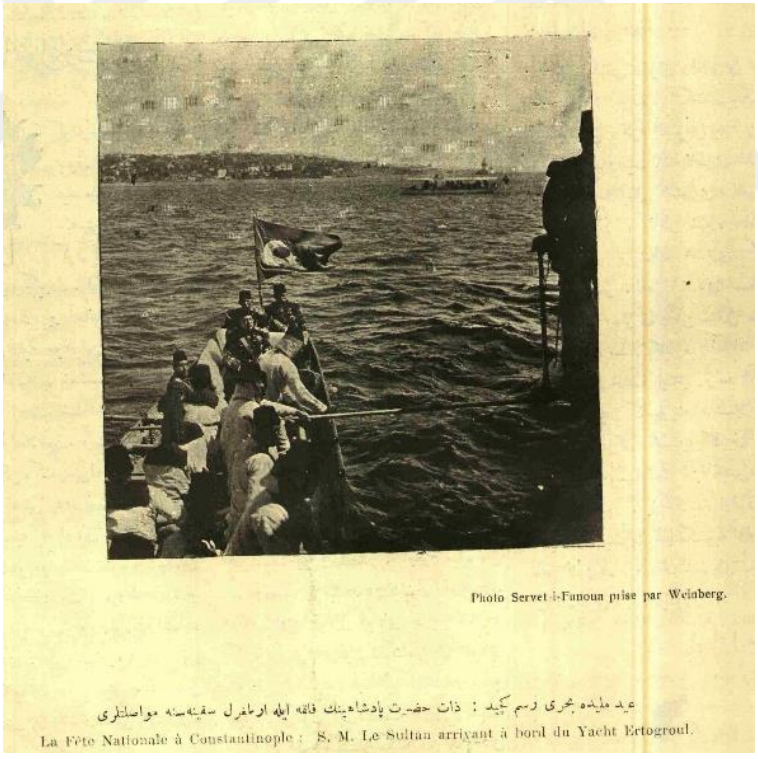


Figure 3.3.20. Sigmund Weinberg, National celebration in İstanbul: H. M. the Sultan arrives aboard the Yacht Ertuğrul, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.999 cover, 15 Temmuz 1326 (28 July 1910), MK

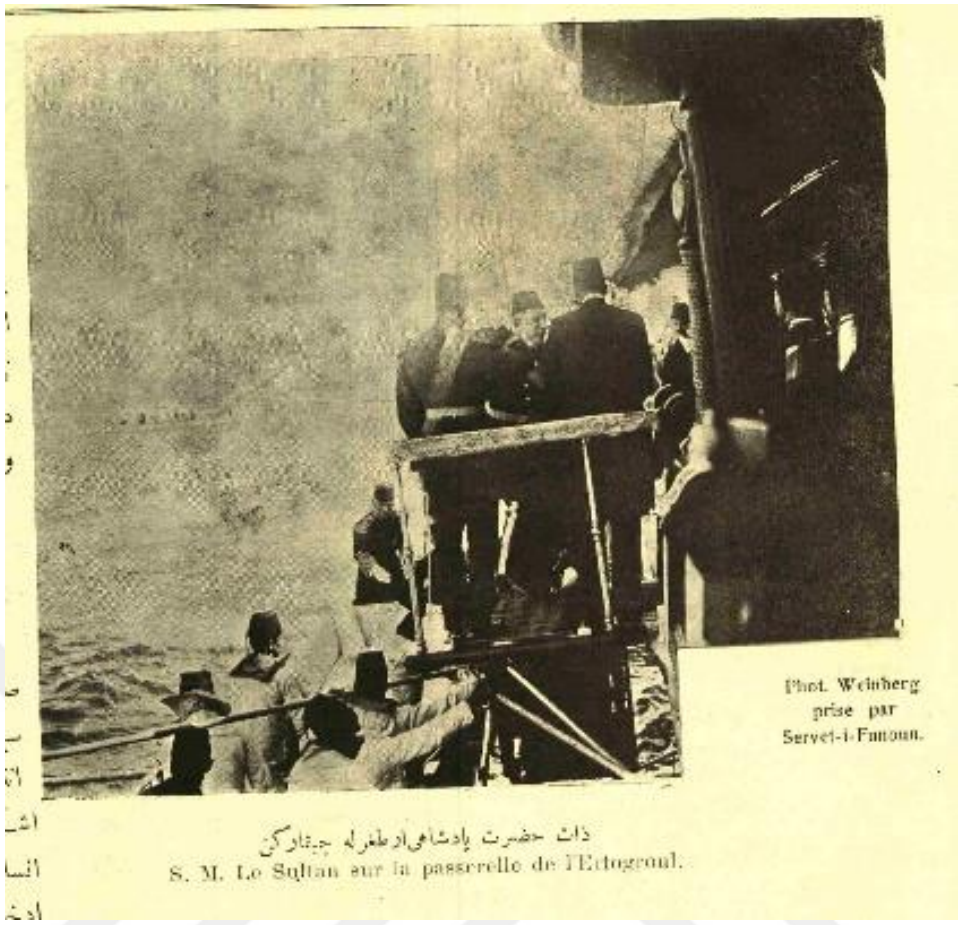


Figure 3.3.21. Sigmund Weinberg, H. M. the Sultan on the bridge of Ertuğrul, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.999 p. 168, 15 Temmuz 1326 (28 July 1910), MK

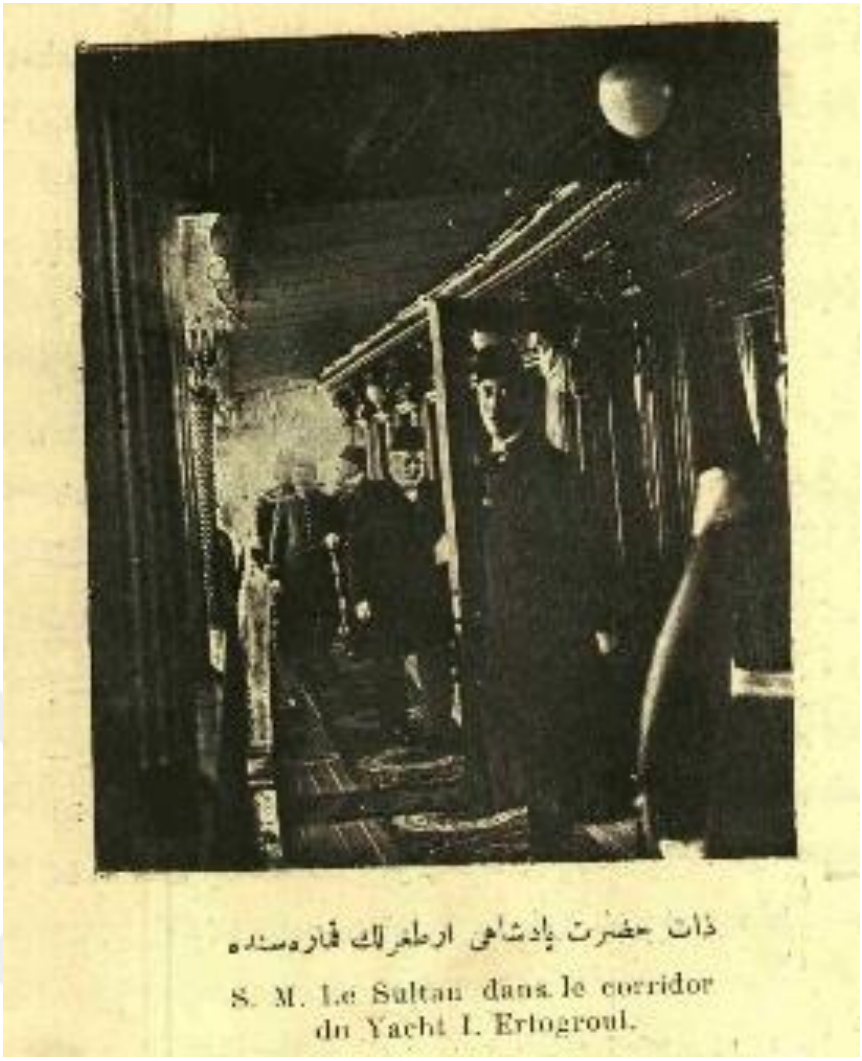


Figure 3.3.22. Sigmund Weinberg, H. M. the Sultan in the corridor of the Yacht Ertuğrul, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.999 p. 169, 15 Temmuz 1326 (28 July 1910), MK

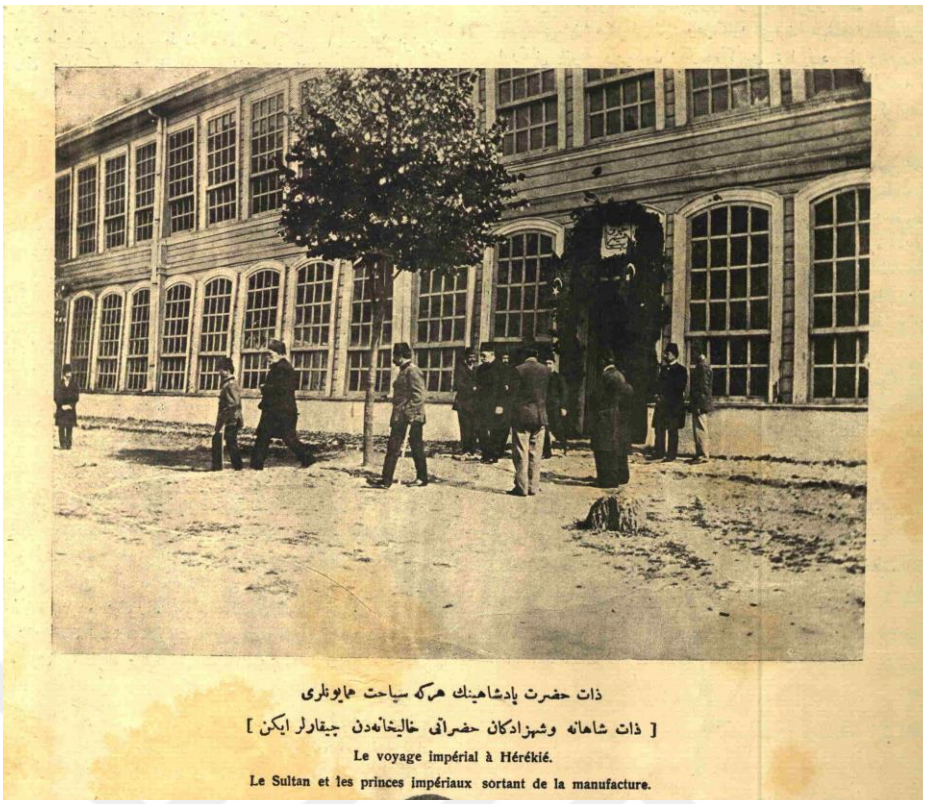


Figure 3.4.1. Unknown Photographer, The Imperial voyage to Hereke – the Sultan and the imperial princes exiting the factory, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.942 cover, 11 Haziran 1325 (24 June 1909), MK



Figure 3.4.2. Unknown Photographer, The Sultan's visit to Hereke - His Majesty visiting the factories, *Şehbal*, n.7 p.130, 1 Temmuz 1325 (14 July 1909), UBDC



پادشاه توجاه حضرتلری هرکه‌یی تشریفلرنده قماش فابریقه‌سندن عودتلری
Le retour de S. M. I. le Sultan de Hérèké

Figure 3.4.3. Unknown Photographer, The return of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan from Hereke, *Resimli Kitab*, n.9 p.943, Haziran 1325 (June-July 1909), HTU



ذات حضرت پادشاهینك هرکه‌یه سیاحت همایونلری
Le voyage impérial à Hérèké

Figure 3.4.4. Unknown Photographer, The Imperial voyage to Hereke, *Resimli Kitab*, n.9 p.943, Haziran 1325 (June-July 1909), HTU



Figure 3.4.5. Unknown Photographer, The return of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan from Hereke, *Resimli Kitab*, n.9 p.946, Haziran 1325 (June-July 1909), HTU

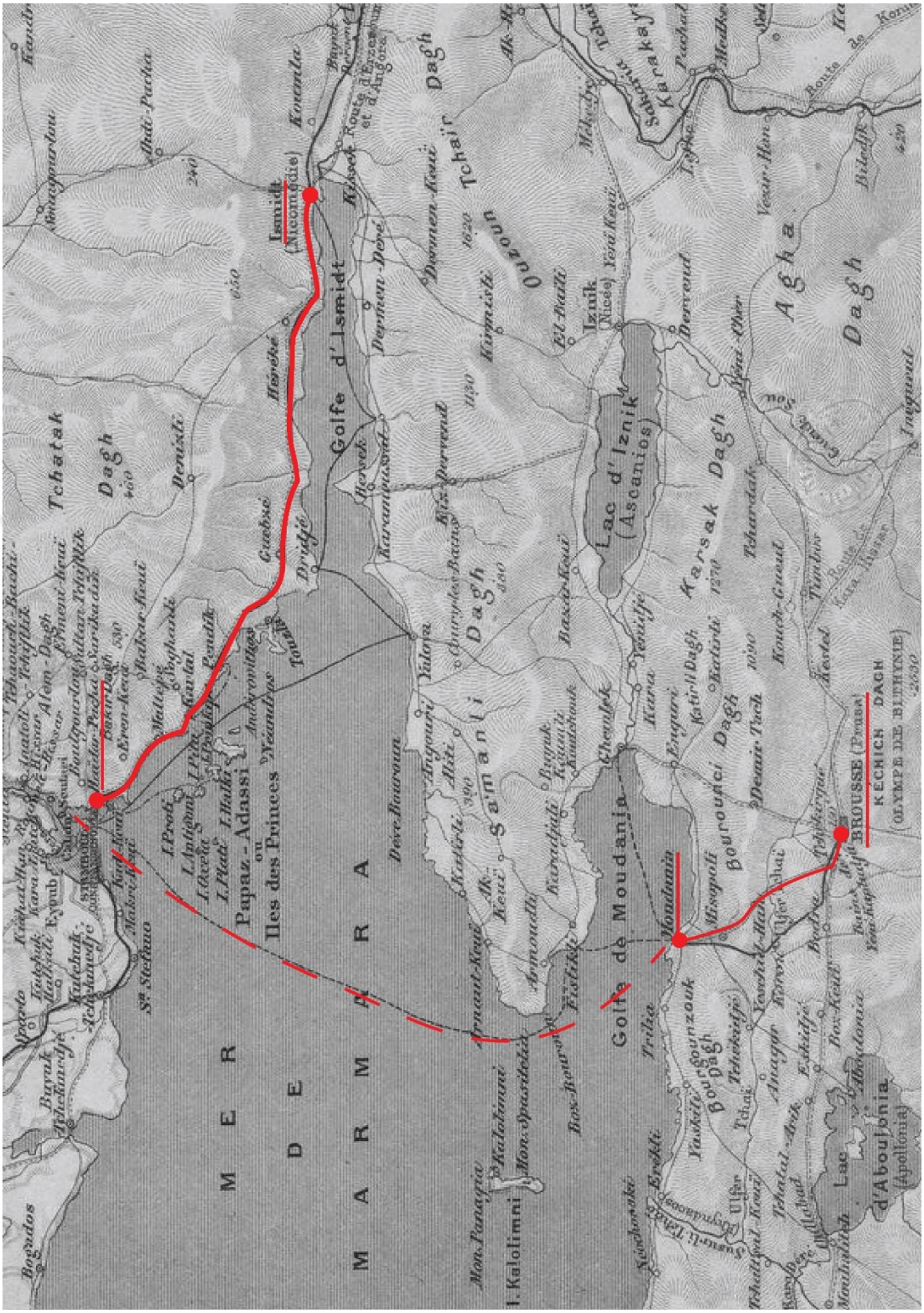
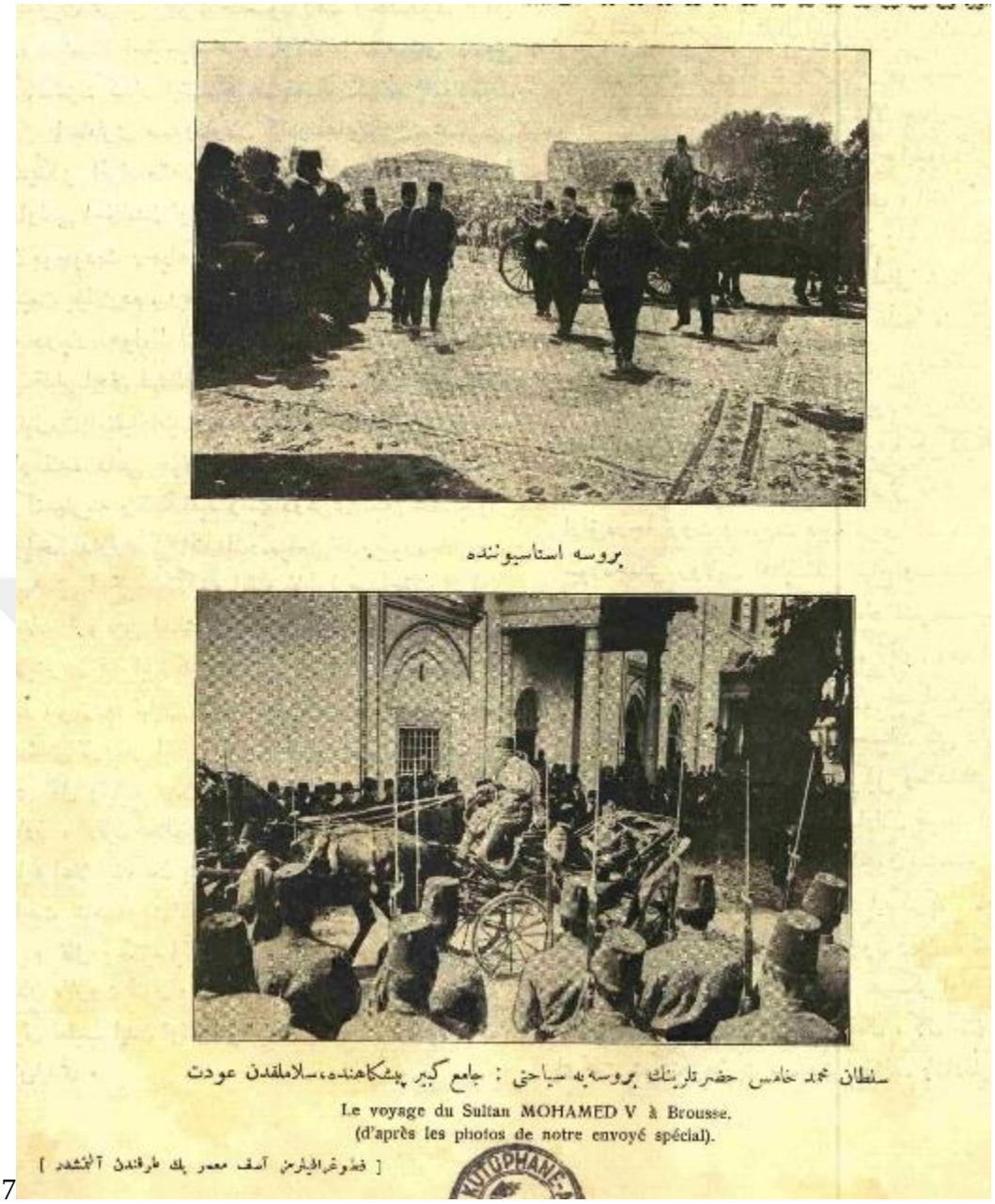


Figure 3.4.6. Map showing the routes of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's trips to Bursa and İzmit, Map by H. R. Thuillier, *Environs de Constantinople* (Hachette, 1916), BnF, https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb40746766t.public.



بروسه استاسیونده

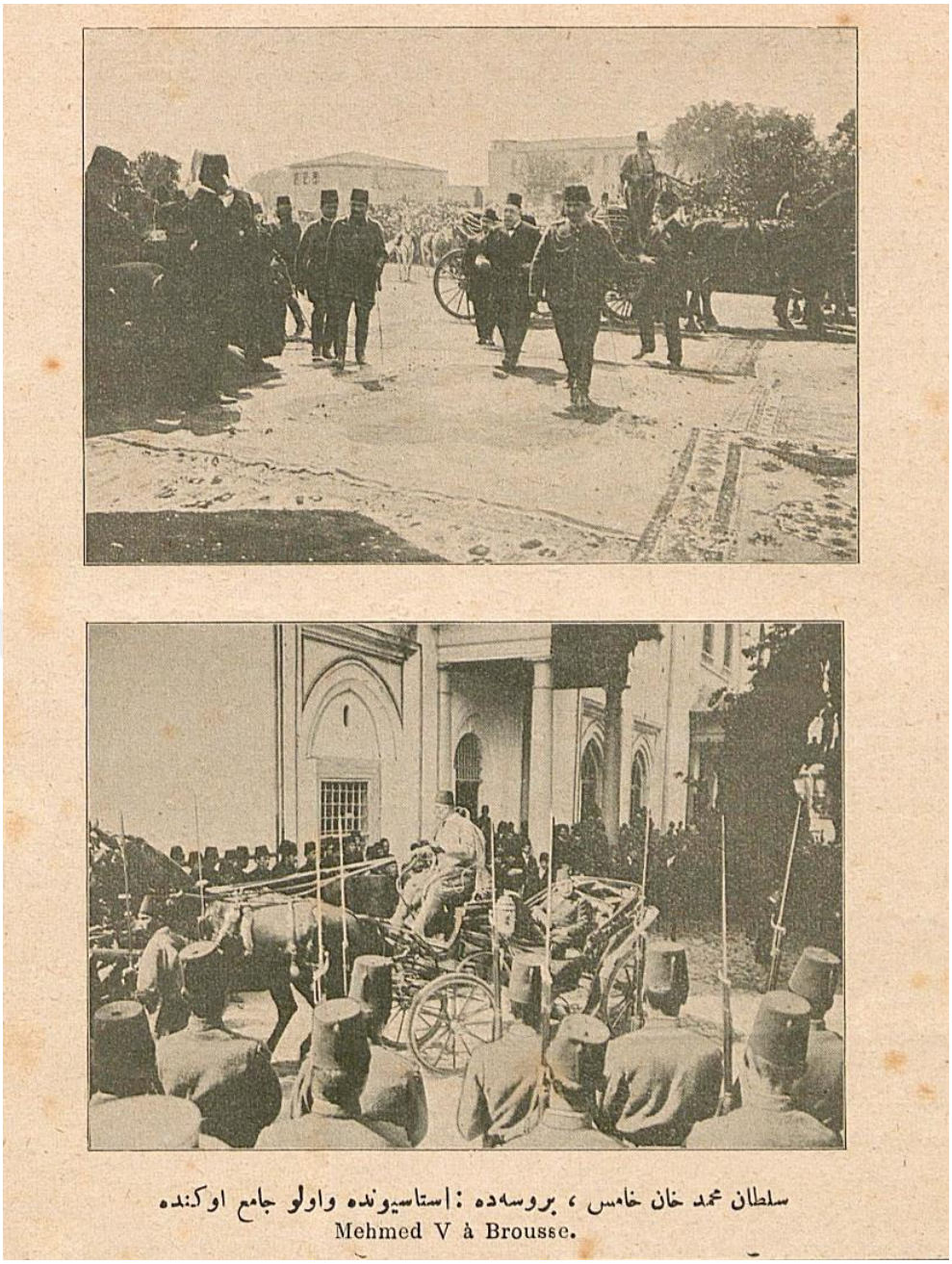
سلطان محمد خامس حضرتلرینك بروسه‌یه سیاحتی : جامع کبیر پیشکاهنده، سلاملدن عودت

Le voyage du Sultan MOHAMED V à Brousse.
(d'après les photos de notre envoyé spécial).

[فطوغرافلرمز آصف معمر بك طرفندن آلنمشدر]

7

Figure 3.4.7. Asaf Muammer Bey, The Bursa trip of Sultan Mehmed V, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.954 cover, 3 Eylül 1325 (16 September 1909), MK



سلطان محمد خان خامس ، بروسه‌ده : استاسیوندہ واولو جامع اوکنده
Mehmed V à Brousse.

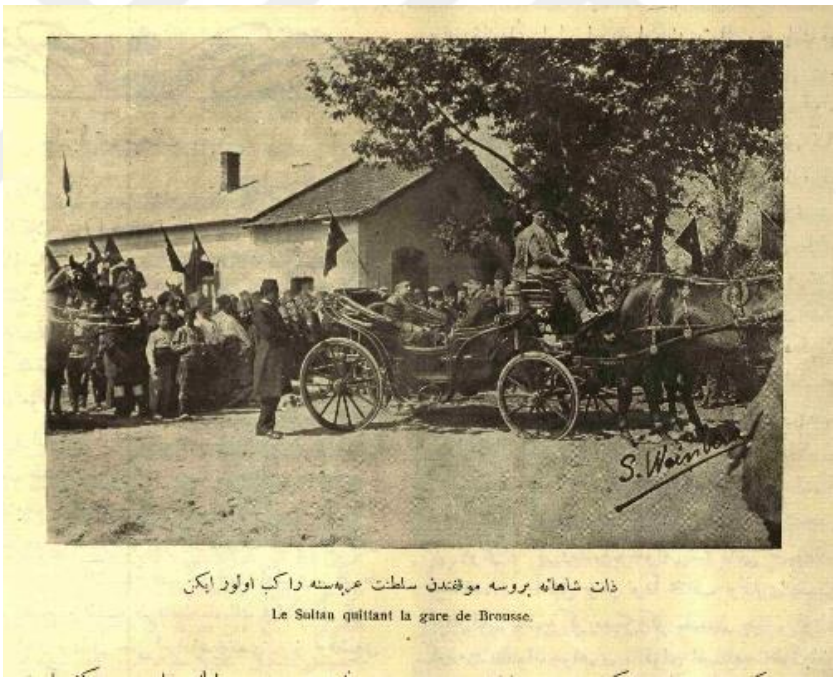
Figure 3.4.8. Asaf Muammer Bey, Mehmed V in Bursa, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1401 p.371, 11 Temmuz 1334 (11 July 1918), SALT



سلطان محمد خان حضرتلری بروسه سیاحتنده : ذات شاهانه و ولی عهد حضرتلری و معیت ملوکانه

Le Sultan MAHOMED V à Brousse : Le Souverain et Sa Suite Impériale.

Figure 3.4.9. Sigmund Weinberg, Sultan Mehmed V at Bursa: the sovereign in his imperial suite, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.954 p.276, 3 Eylül 1325 (16 September 1909), MK



ذات شاهانه بروسه موقفندن سلطنت عربه‌سنه راکب اولور ایکن

Le Sultan quittant la gare de Brousse.

Figure 3.4.10. Sigmund Weinberg, The Sultan leaving the Bursa train station, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.954 p.284, 3 Eylül 1325 (16 September 1909), MK



Figure 3.4.11. Sigmund Weinberg, The Sultan in front of the Grand Mosque of Bursa, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.954 p.285, 3 Eylül 1325 (16 September 1909), MK



Figure 3.4.12. Sigmund Weinberg, Sultan Mehmet V in İzmit, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.961 p.392, 22 Teşrinievvel 1325 (4 November 1909), MK



Figure 3.4.13. Sigmund Weinberg Photographer, Mehmed V in İzmit, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1401 p.371, 11 Temmuz 1334 (11 July 1918), SALT



اذمید یوللرنده موکب همایون
Le cortège Impérial à Izmidt.

Figure 3.4.14. Sigmund Weinberg, The Imperial procession in İzmit, *Şehbal*, n.15 p.293, 1 Teşrinisani 1325 (14 November 1909), UBDC



اذمیده آرابا ایله دخول
A Izmidt. — La voiture Imperiale entrent dans la ville.

Figure 3.4.15. Unknown Photographer, In İzmit - The Imperial carriage enters the city, *Şehbal*, n.15 p.293, 1 Teşrinisani 1325 (14 November 1909), UBDC



اذمید قصر همایونده آرابه‌یه بینرکن

Sa Majesté en train de monter en voiture devant le Kiosque d'Izmid:.

Figure 3.4.16. Unknown Photographer, His majesty getting into a car in front of the İzmit Kiosk, *Şehbal*, n.15 p.293, 1 Teşrinisani 1325 (14 November 1909), UBDC

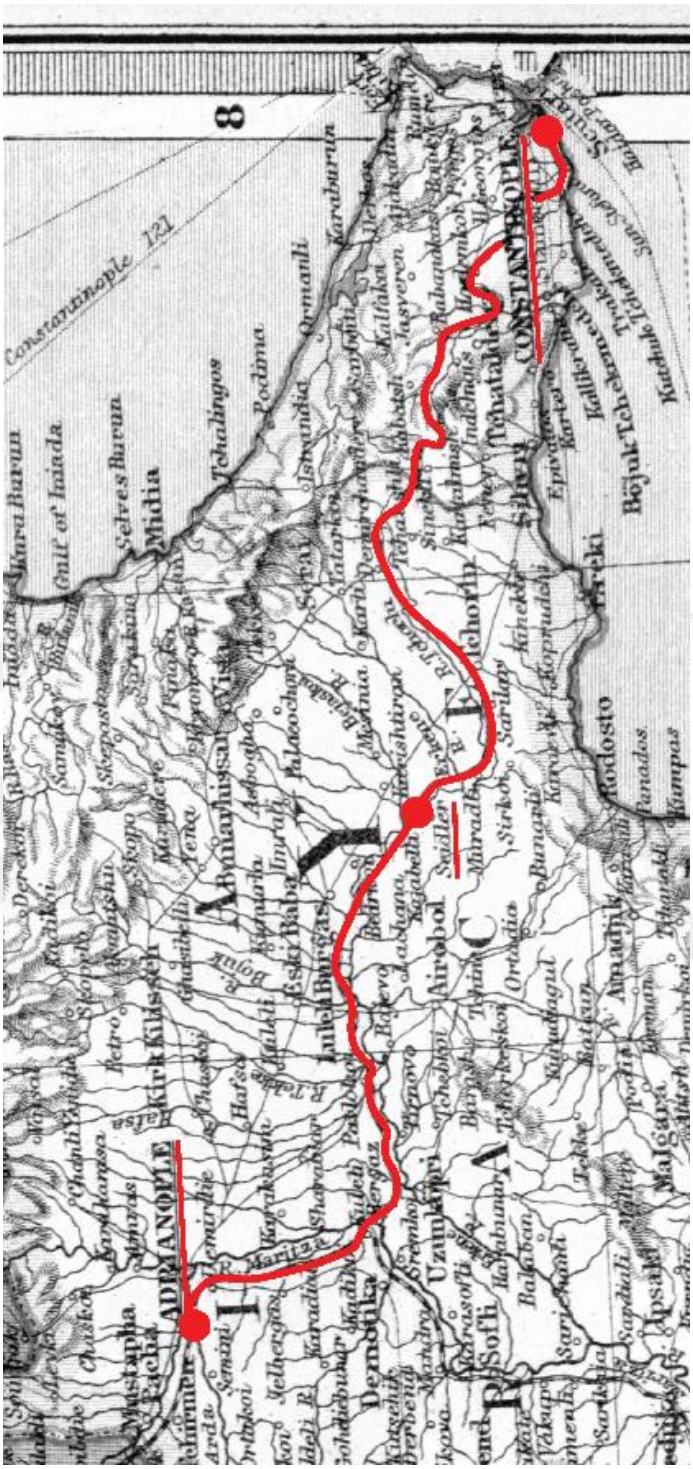


Figure 3.4.17. Map showing the route of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's trip to Seyyidler and Edirne, *Turkey in Europe and the Balkans*, The Harmsworth Atlas and Gazetteer (London: Carmelite House, 1910), University of Alabama Maps, http://alabamamaps.ua.edu.



Figure 3.4.18. Sébah, H. I. M. the Sultan getting off the train at Seyyidler, *Resimli Kitab*, n.25 p.5, Teşrinievvel 1326 (September-October 1910), HTU

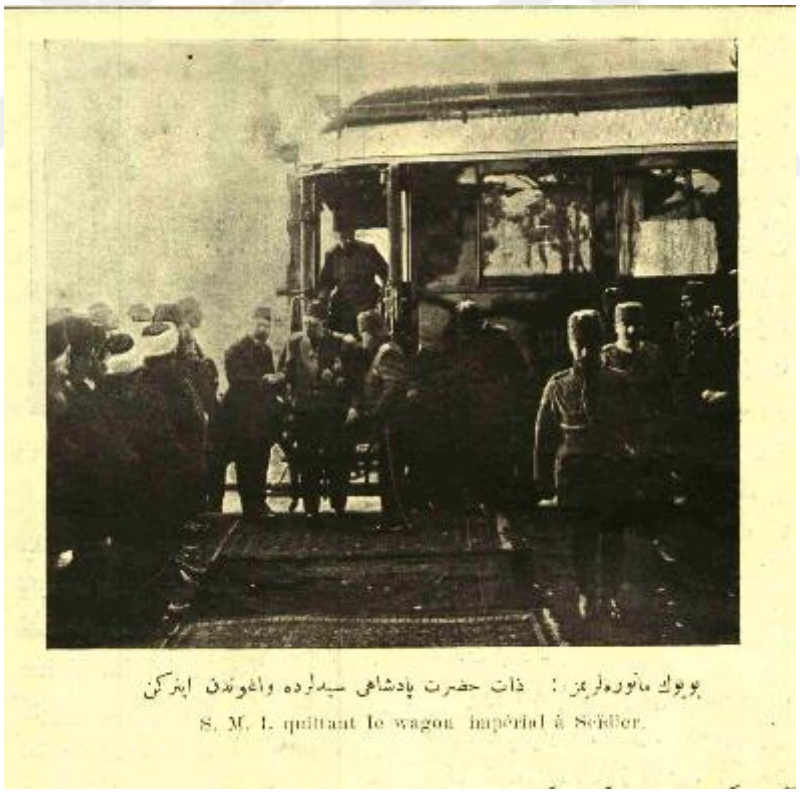


Figure 3.4.19. Sébah, H. I. M. exiting the imperial vagon in Seyyidler, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1013 p.416, 21 Teşrinievvel 1326 (3 November 1910), MK



Figure 3.4.20. Sébah, H. I. M. the Sultan leaving the station to go his tent, *Resimli Kitab*, n.25 p.6, Teşrinievvel 1326 (September-October 1910), HTU



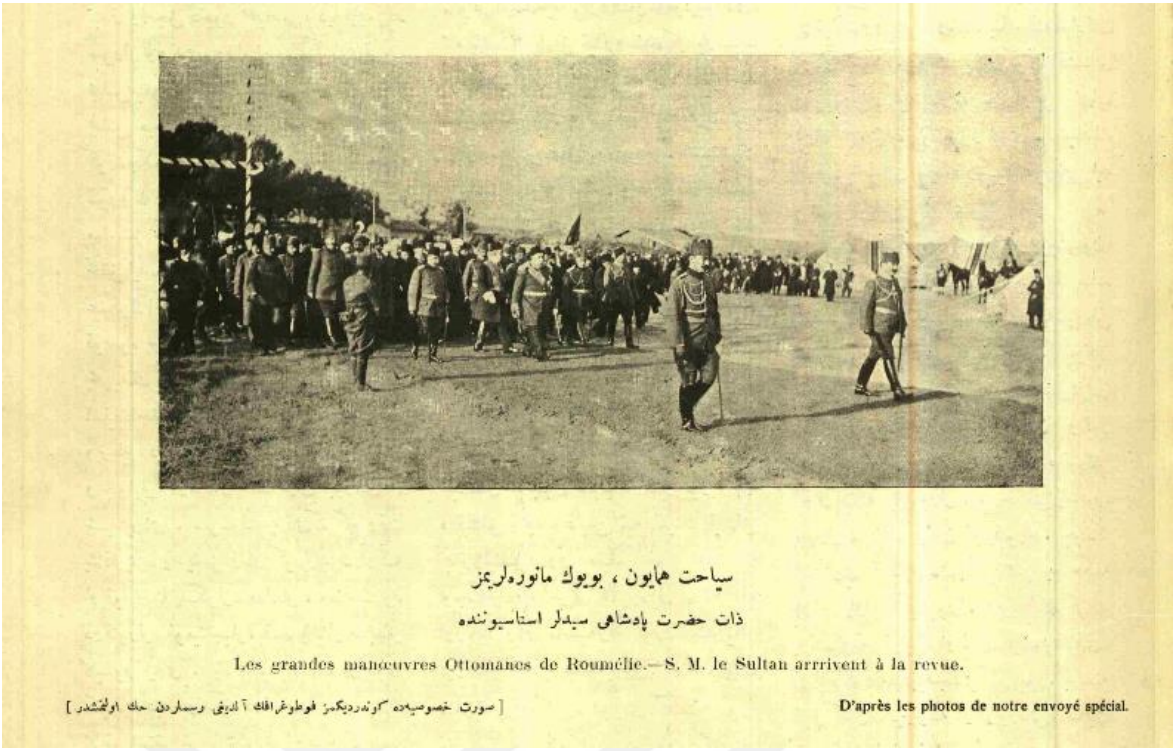
Figure 3.4.21. Sébah, The Sultan on the maneuver field, *Şehbal*, n.30 p.109, 15 Teşrinisani 1326 (28 November 1910), UBDC



ذات شاهانه سیدلر استاسیونده واغوندن اینرکن

Le Sultan à Seïdler en sortant du Wagon Impérial

Figure 3.4.22. Unknown Photographer, The Sultan at Seyyidler leaving the train, *Şehbal*, n.30 p.109, 15 Teşrinisani 1326 (28 November 1910), UBDC



سیاحت همایون ، بویوك مانوره‌لریمز

ذات حضرت پادشاهی سیدلر استاسیوننده

Les grandes manœuvres Ottomanes de Roumélie.—S. M. le Sultan arrrivent à la revue.

[صورت خصوصیه‌ده کوندردیکمز فوطوغرافلك آلدیغی رسملردن حك اولنمشدر]

D'après les photos de notre envoyé spécial.

Figure 3.4.23. Unknown Photographer, The grand maneuvres of the Ottomans in Rumeli – H. I. M. the Sultan arrives at the parade, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1013 cover, 21 Teşrinievvel 1326 (3 November 1910), MK



خاقان مغفوره عائد خاطرات : سلطان محمد خان خامس، ادرنه مانوره‌لرنده، سیدلرستاسیوننده

Feu le Sultan Mehmed V à Andrinople

Figure 3.4.24. Unknown Photographer, Sultan Mehmed V in Edirne, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1401 p.364, 11 Temmuz 1334 (11 July 1918, SALT



Figure 3.4.25. Sébah, The Sultan entering the Imperial tent, *Şehbal*, n.30 p.109, 15 Teşrinisani 1326 (28 November 1910), UBDC



Figure 3.4.26. Sébah, The Imperial tent at Seyyidler, *Resimli Kitab*, n.25 p.7, Teşrinievvel 1326 (September-October 1910), HTU



Figure 3.4.27. Sébah, His Majesty leaving the tent to return on the field, *Şehbal*, n.30 p.111, 15 Teşrinisani 1326 (28 November 1910), UBDC



Figure 3.4.28. Sébah & Joaillier, His Majesty on the procession field, *Şehbal*, n.30 p.111, 15 Teşrinisani 1326 (28 November 1910), UBDC



ادرنه‌ده جمعه سلاملغنده ذات شاهانه‌لك سلطان سليم جامع شريفنه مواصلتلرى
Arrivée de S. M. I le Sultan à la Mosquée " Sultan Sélim " pour la céremonie de Sélamlik à Andrinople.

Figure 3.4.29. Sébah & Joaillier, Arrival of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan at the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne for the Selamlık ceremony, *Resimli Kitab*, n.25 p.17, Teşrinievvel 1326 (September-October 1910), HTU



PHOTO: SÉBAH & JOAILLIER
فوطو: سباح وژوآيه
ذات شاهانه‌لك جامع شريفه مواصلتلرى
L'arrivée de Sa Majesté à la mosquée

Figure 3.4.30. Sébah & Joaillier, Arrival of His Majesty at the mosque, *Şehbal*, n.30 p.117, 15 Teşrinisani 1326 (28 November 1910), UBDC



Figure 3.4.31. Sébah & Joaillier, The departure, *Şehbal*, n.30 p.118, 15 Teşrinisani 1326 (28 November 1910), UBDC

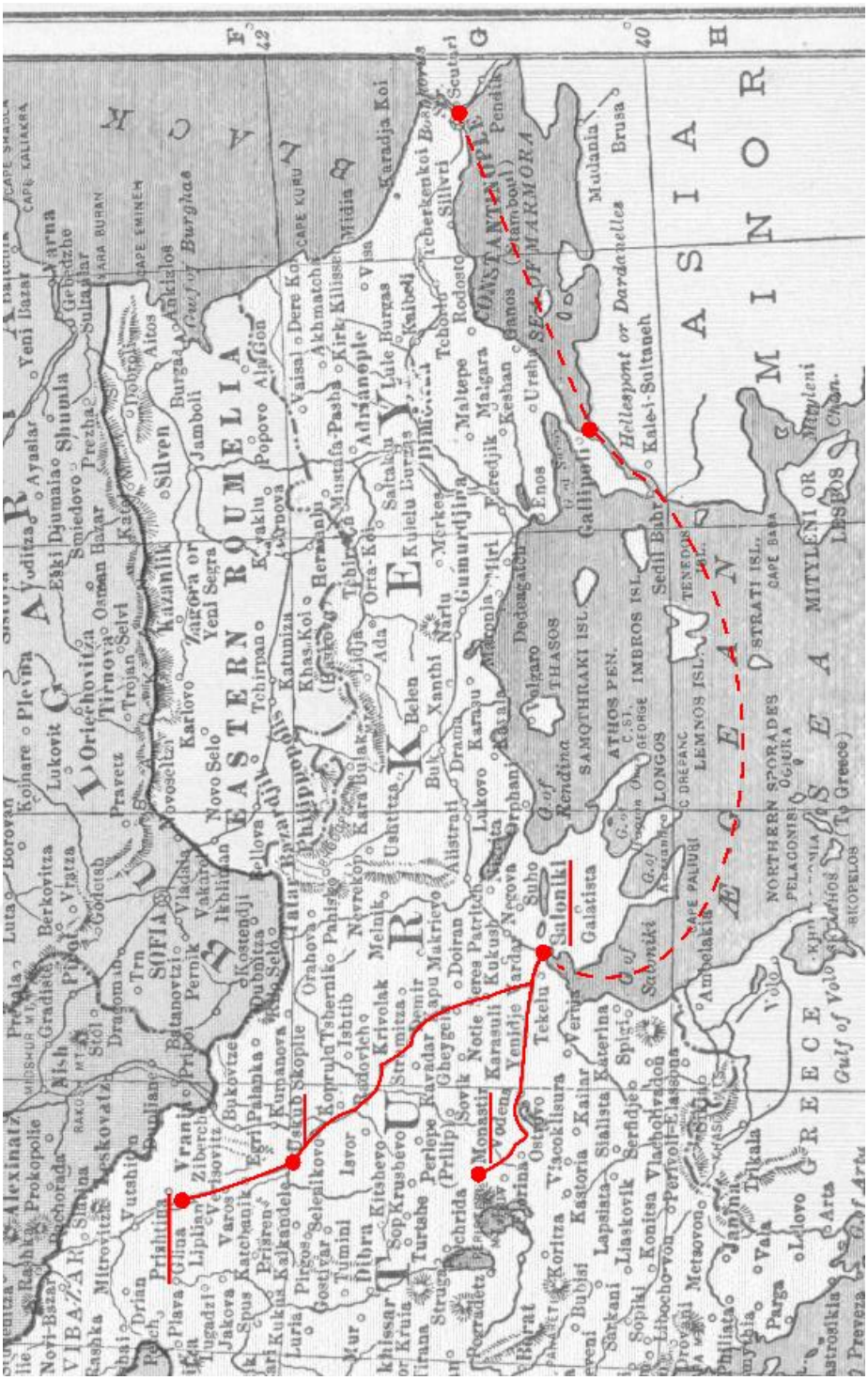


Figure 3.4.32. Map showing the routes of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's Rumelia trip, Map by E. G. Ravenstein, *Roumania, Servia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and European Turkey*, The New Census Atlas of the World (Chicago: The Reilly and Britton Company, 1911), University of Alabama Maps, http://alabamamaps.ua.edu



Figure 3.4.33. Unknown Photographer, The Imperial Voyage to Rumelia - Arrival of the Sultan at the selanik docks, Resimli Kitab, n. 30 p. 445, Mayıs 1327 (May-June 1911), HTU

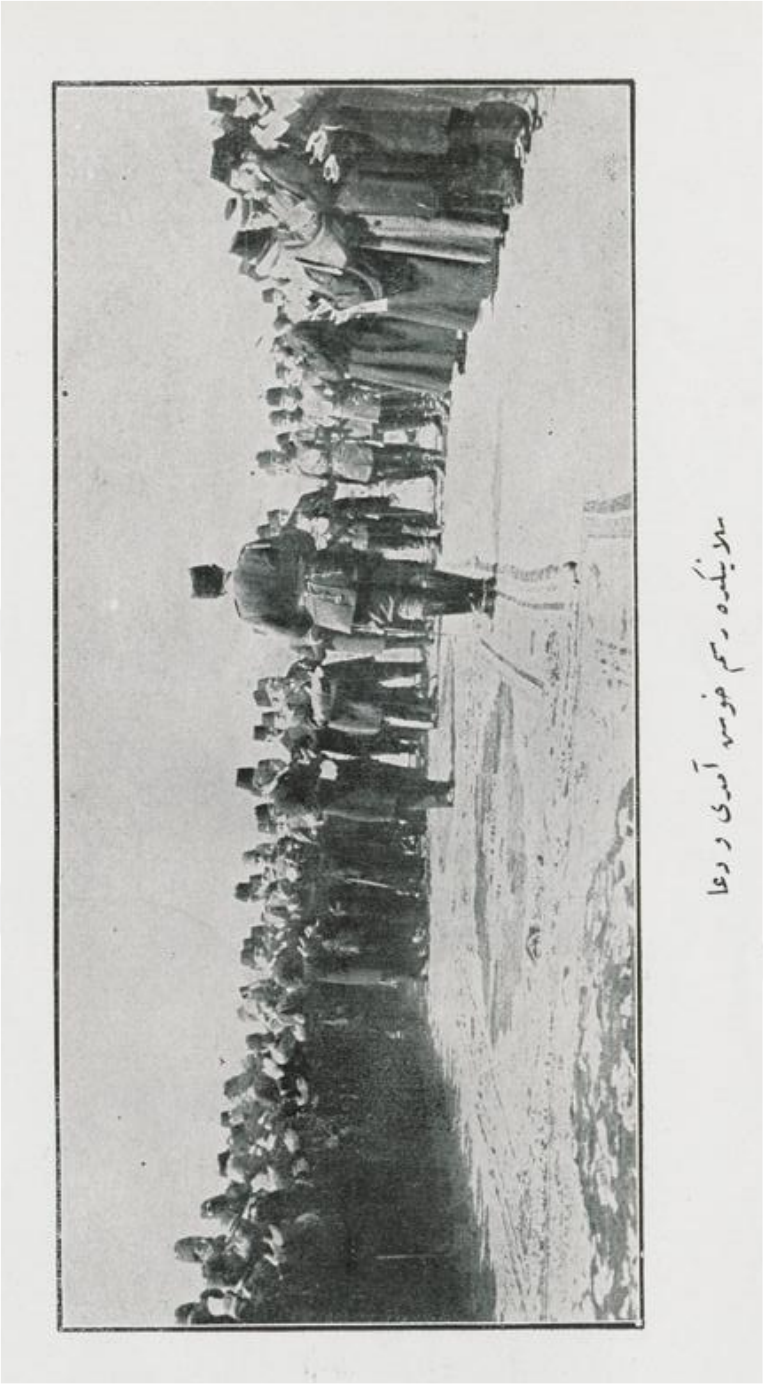


Figure 3.4.34. Unknown Photographer, Welcoming the Sultan to Thessaloniki and prayer, Şehbal, n. 41 p. 336, 15 Temmuz 1327 (28 July 1911), UBDC



Figure 3.4.35. Sigmund Weinberg, The Sultan landing at Thessaloniki, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1045 p.105, 3 Haziran 1327 (16 June 1911), MK



Figure 3.4.36. Sigmund Weinberg, Mehmed V in Thessaloniki, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1401 p.369, 11 Temmuz 1334 (11 July 1918), SALT



Figure 3.4.37. Sigmund Weinberg, The Sultan leaving the Hagia Sophia Mosque of Thessaloniki, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1046 cover, 9 Haziran 1327 (22 June 1911), MK



Figure 3.4.38. Hilal-Selanik, H. I. M. the Sultan returning from the Hagia Sophia Mosque, *Resimli Kitab*, n.30 p.468, Mayıs 1327 (May-June 1911), HTU



Figure 3.4.39. Unknown Photographer, H. I. M. the Sultan returning from the Hagia Sophia Mosque, *Resimli Kitab*, n.30 p.469, Mayıs 1327 (May-June 1911), HTU



Figure 3.4.40. Unknown Photographer, His Majesty in Thessaloniki – Friday prayers at the Hagia Sophia Mosque, *Şehbal*, n.41 p.335, 15 Temmuz 1327 (28 July 1911), UBDC



Figure 3.4.41. Unknown Photographer, H. I. M. the Sultan in the imperial tent after the ceremony for the foundation of the commemorative monument, *Resimli Kitab*, n.30 p.473, Mayıs 1327 (May-June 1911), HTU

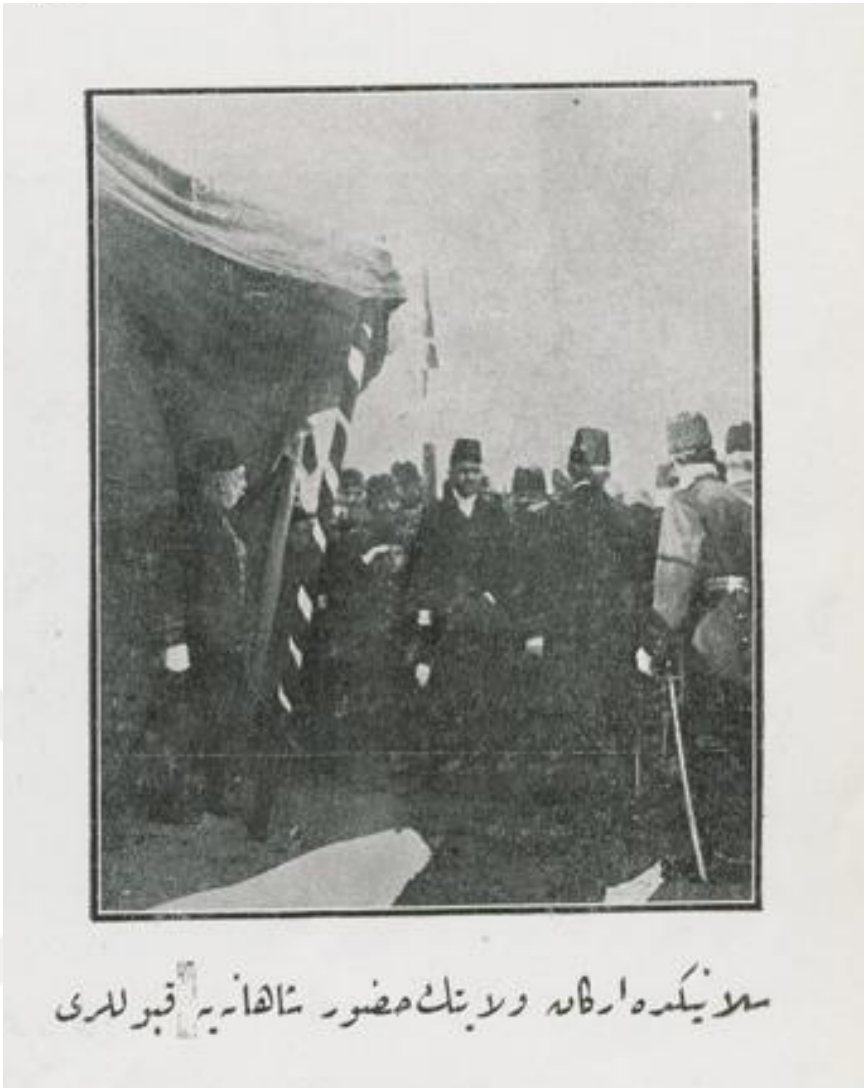


Figure 3.4.42. Unknown Photographer, His Majesty receiving the senior officers of the province, *Şehbal*, n.41 p.336, 15 Temmuz 1327 (28 July 1911), UBDC



سلانیکده قیشله میدانده سیاحت همایون خاطره‌سی اولق اوزره انشا اولنه‌جق
آبده تعلقاتك وضع اساس رسمی اجرا بیورمق اوزره شوکتمآب افندمزك
تمل محلی تشریفلری (Photo: Apollon) قوطو : آپوللون

Arrivée du Sultan à la Place de la Caserne pour poser la premiere pierre du monument commémoratif de la visite impériale à Salonique.

Figure 3.4.43. Apollon, The Sultan's arrival at the Barracks to place the first stone of the commemorative monument of the imperial visit, *Resimli Kitab*, n.30 p.472, Mayıs 1327 (May-June 1911), HTU



ذات شاهانه ارکانه ولایتده کزمکه حیفارکن

Figure 3.4.44. Apollon, His Majesty going on an outing with the senior officers of the province, *Şehbal*, n.41 p.337, 15 Temmuz 1327 (28 July 1911), UBDC



ذات حضرت پادشاهینك سلانیکده فیلله همایونی تشریفلرنده داثره اوکنده ارکان وامرای عسکریه طرفندن صورت استقبالری
Visite du Sultan à la Caserne.

Figure 3.4.45. Unknown Photographer, Visit of the Sultan to the Barracks, *Resimli Kitab*, n.30 p.470, Mayıs 1327 (May-June 1911), HTU



Figure 3.4.46. Unknown Photographer, Return of the imperial ceremony from the barracks, *Resimli Kitab*, n.30 p.471, Mayıs 1327 (May-June 1911), HTU



Figure 3.4.47. Unknown Photographer, The procession in Thessaloniki – His Majesty resturning from the barracks, *Şehbal*, n.41 p.335, 15 Temmuz 1327 (28 July 1911), UBDC



Figure 3.4.48. Unknown Photographer, H. I. M. the Sultan gets off his car in the Selanik train station to go to Skopje, *Resimli Kitab*, n.30 p.497, Mayıs 1327 (May-June 1911), HTU

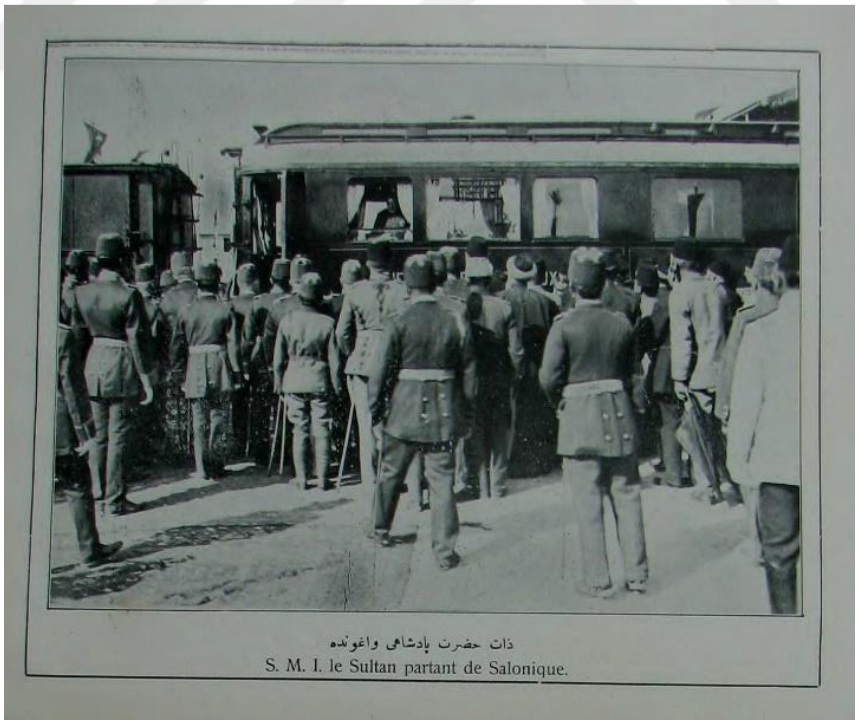


Figure 3.4.49. Unknown Photographer, H. I. M. the Sultan leaves Thessaloniki, *Resimli Kitab*, n.30 p.498, Mayıs 1327 (May-June 1911), HTU



Figure 3.4.50. Unknown Photographer, H. I. M. the Sultan greets the crowd assembled at the station on the date of imperial departure, *Resimli Kitab*, n.30 p.499, Mayıs 1327 (May-June 1911), HTU



Figure 3.4.51. Apollon, H. I. M. the Sultan at Kosovo, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1047 p.153, 16 Haziran 1327 (29 June 1911), MK



Figure 3.4.52. Apollon, Mehmed V in Kosovo, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1401 p.369, 11 Temmuz 1334 (11 July 1918), SALT



Figure 3.4.53. Unknown Photographer, Arrival of H. I. M. the Sultan at Kosovo to attend the friday prayers and visit where his august ancestor Sultan Murad was killed, *Resimli Kitab*, n.30 p.517, Mayıs 1327 (May-June 1911), HTU



Figure 3.4.54. Unknown Photographer, Setting of the first stone of the Medrese at Pristina, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1048 p.177, 23 Haziran 1327 (6 July 1911), MK



Figure 3.4.55. Unknown Photographer, Sultan Mehmed V in Pristina, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1401 p.365, 11 Temmuz 1334 (11 July 1918), SALT

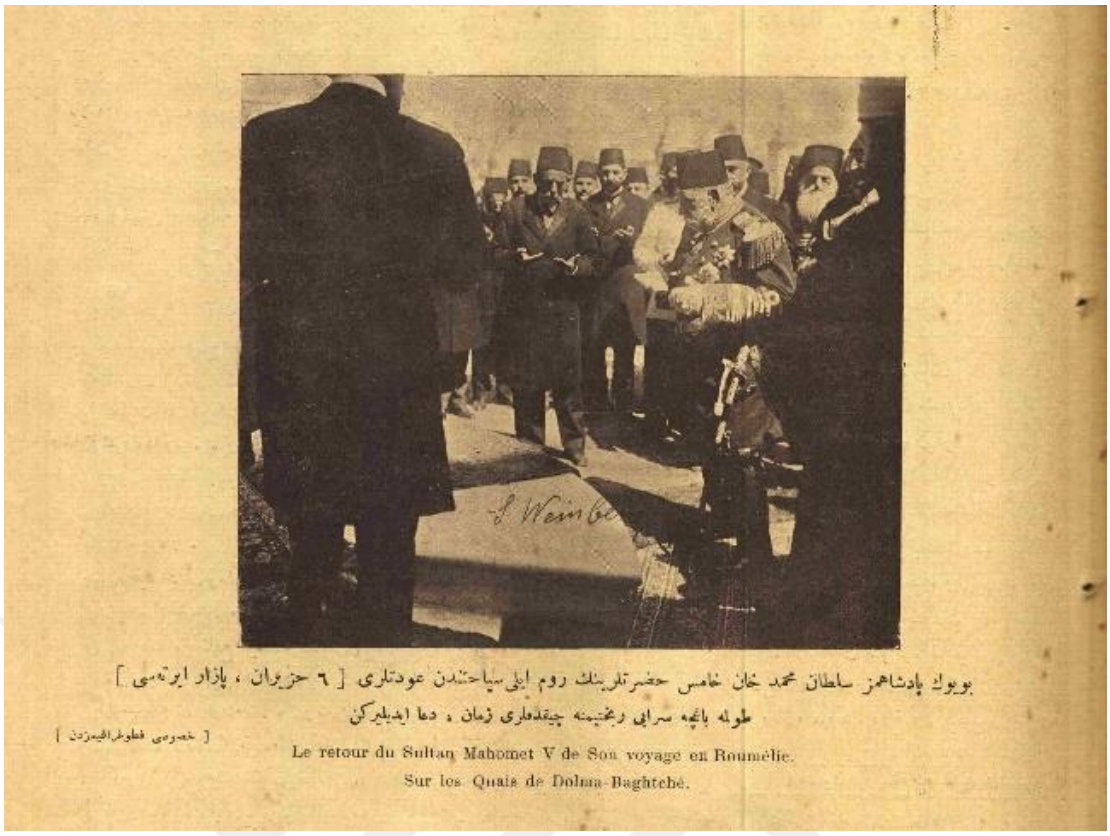


Figure 3.4.56. Sigmund Weinberg, The return of Sultan Mehmed V from his Rumelia trip on the pier of the Dolmabahçe, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1048 cover, 23 Haziran 1327 (6 July 1911), MK



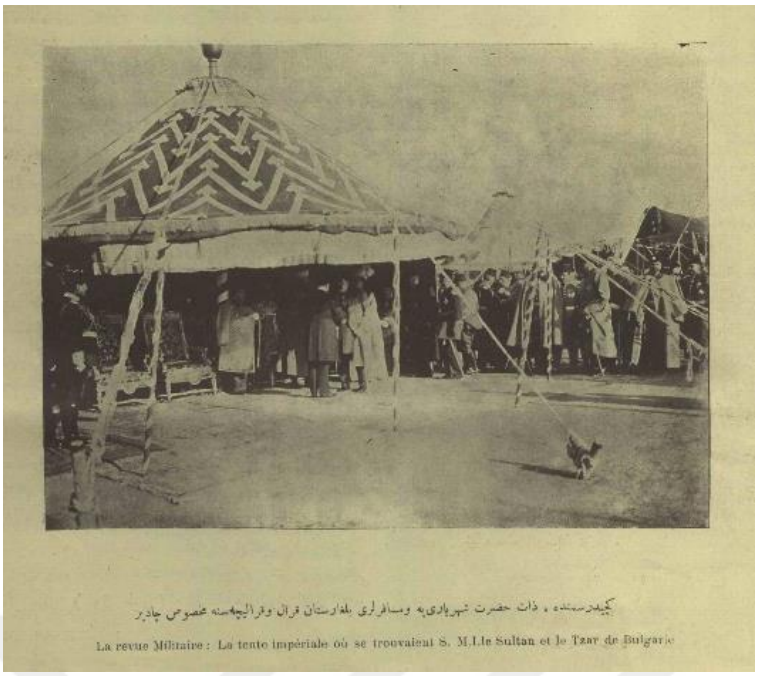
3.5.1. Sigmund Weinberg, The Sultan and King Ferdinand going to the Imperial Yacht, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.981 p.296, 11 Mart 1326 (24 March 1910), MK



3.5.2. Sigmund Weinberg, The Queen of Bulgaria taking the arm of H. M. the Sultan, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.982 p.308, 17 Mart 1326 (30 March 1910), MK



3.5.3. Sigmund Weinberg, H. M. the Sultan leaving the station, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.982 p.308, 17 Mart 1326 (30 March 1910), MK



3.5.4. Sigmund Weinberg, The military parade: The imperial tent where H. I. M. the Sultan and the King of Bulgaria are, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.982 cover, 17 Mart 1326 (30 March 1910), MK



3.5.5. Unknown Photographer, An meeting between the Sultan and the King of Bulgaria with a parade of the Ottoman army, *Resimli Kitab*, n.18 p.468, Mart 1326 (March-April 1910), HTU



3.5.6 Sigmund Weinberg, Arrival of the Sultan at the Sirkeci train station, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.983 p.328, 25 Mart 1326 (7 April 1910), MK



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3.5.7. Unknown Photographer, Arrival of King Peter at Sirkeci, *Resimli Kitab*, n.19 p.539, Nisan 1326 (April-May 1910), HTU



قرال پیه‌ر حضرتلرینی استقبال ایچك اوزره سركه‌جی اسكله‌سنده ذات حضرت پادشاهی ایله
ولی‌عهد حضرتلرینك چادرده انتظارلری (فوطو: صباح وژوالیه)

S. M. I. le Sultan et S. A. le Prince Héritier attendant dans leur tente à Sirkédji le Roi de Serbie.

3.5.8. Sébah & Joaillier, H. I. M. the Sultan and the Crown Prince in their tent in Sirkeci with the King of Serbia, *Resimli Kitab*, n.19 p.538, Nisan 1326 (April-May 1910), HTU



(فوطو : صباح وژواليه)
ذات حضرت پادشاهی ایله قرال حضرتلرینك طوله باغچه سرای همایونله كیتمك اوزره
سركه‌جه‌ده‌كی چادردن چیقه‌رق سكودلی واپورینه عزیمتلری

Le Roi de Serbie et S. M. I. le Sultan Sortant de la tente pour se rendre à bord du yacht "Seuqutli" au Palais de "Dolma-Bagtché"

3.5.9. Sébah & Joaillier, The King of Serbia and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan leaving the tent to board the Yach "Söğütlü" to the Dolmabahçe Palace, *Resimli Kitab*, n.19 p.540, Nisan 1326 (April-May 1910), HTU



ذات شاهانه ایله صرب قرالی یانزده یانه یانه کیدرکن
Leurs Majestés côte à côte.

3.5.10. Sébah & Joaillier, Their majesties side by side, *Şehbal*, n.21 p.411, 1 Haziran 1326 (14 June 1910), UBDC



ذات حضرت شهریاری ایله مسافر خاصلرینك سرکجی استاسیونندن واپوره بینمك ایچون اسکله یه حرکتلری

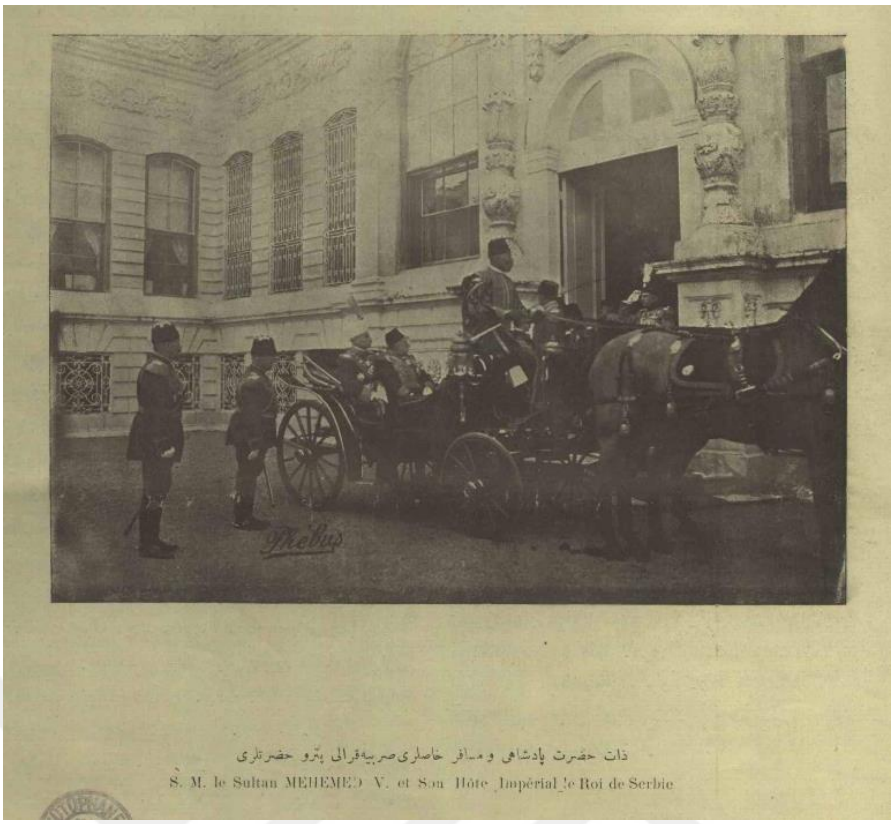
3.5.11. Sigmund Weinberg, H. M. the Sultan and the king walking from the train station to the pier to take a boat, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.983 p.329, 25 Mart 1326 (7 April 1910), MK



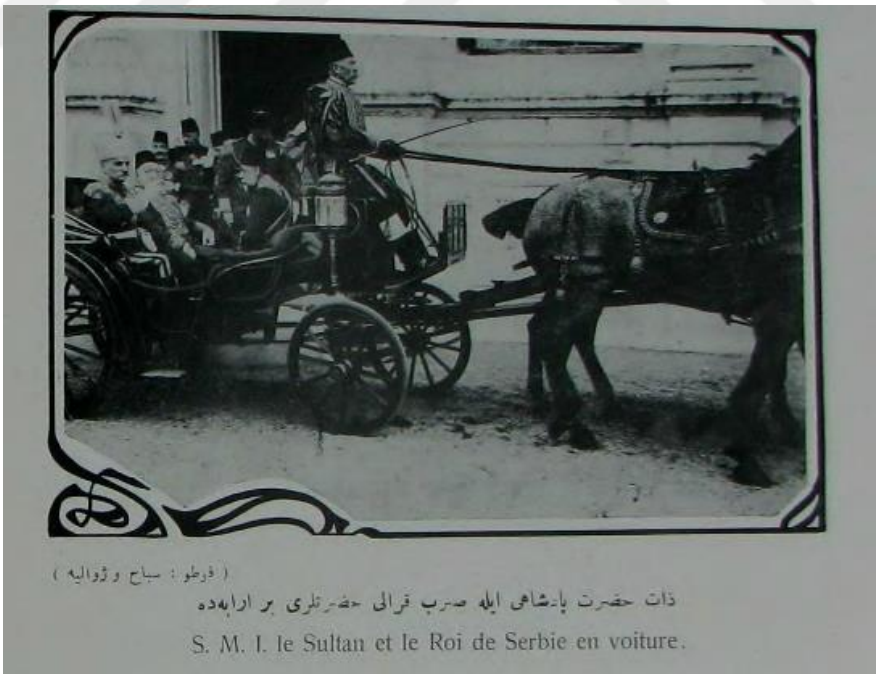
3.5.12. Sébah & Joaillier, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan and the King of Serbia getting into a car to go to the palace of "Merasim," *Resimli Kitab*, n.19 p.541, Nisan 1326 (April-May 1910), HTU



3.5.13. Sébah & Joaillier, King Peter of Serbia and His Majesty the Sultan, *Şehbal*, n.21 p.411, 1 Haziran 1326 (14 June 1910), UBDC



3.5.14. Phébus, H. M. Sultan Mehmed V and his imperial guest the King of Serbia, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.983 cover, 20 Mart 1326 (2 April 1910), MK



3.5.15. Sébah & Joaillier, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan and the King of Serbia in the car, *Resimli Kitab*, n.19 p.542, Nisan 1326 (April-May 1910), HTU



3.5.16. Sébah & Joaillier, The arrival of the Sultan and the King at Hürriyet-i Ebediye Tepesi, *Resimli Kitab*, n.19 p.545, Nisan 1326 (April-May 1910), HTU



3.5.17. Sigmund Weinberg, The foreign military attachés presented to the King of Serbia, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.985 p.307, 8 Nisan 1326 (21 April 1910), MK



3.5.18. Sigmund Weinberg, H. M. the Sultan and the King of Serbia at the military maneuvers, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.985 p.306, 8 Nisan 1326 (21 April 1910), MK



ذات حضرت پادشاهی وآلمانیا ایمپراطوری ایکنجی ویلهلم حضرتلری، سرکه‌جی ستاسیونده
[صاحب امتیاز ومدیرعزك خصوصی فوطوغرافیسندن]
L'arrivée du Kaiser à Constantinople : Les deux souverains sur le perron de la gare. (Photo de notre Directeur.)

3.5.19. Unknown Photographer, Arrival of the Kaiser in İstanbul: the two sovereigns on the train platform, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1323 p.126, 17 Teşrin-i Evvel 1333 (17 October 1917), SALT



ایمپراطور ایکنجی ویلهلم حضرتلرینك سرکه‌جی‌یه مواصلتنده : ذات شاهانه ، صدراعظم طلعت پاشا ، شیخ‌الاسلام موسی کاظم افندی ، باش قوماندان وکیلی وحربیه ناظری انور پاشا وخدیو مصر عباس حلمی پاشا حضراتی طرفندن استقبال
Souvenir de l'arrivée de S. M. Guillaume II à Constantinople. Les présentations en gare de Sirkédji.

3.5.20. Unknown Artist, The arrival of H. M. Wilhelm II at İstanbul - the meeting at the Sirkeci train station, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1367 p.236, 15 Teşrinisani 1333 (15 November 1917), SALT



3.5.21. Unknown Artist, The arrival of H. M. Wilhelm II at İstanbul - the meeting at the Sirkeci train station, *Servet-i Fünun*, n.1400 p.348, 5 Temmuz 1334 (5 July 1918), SALT



3.6.1. Unknown Photographer, Funeral Ceremony Album, 4 Temmuz 1334 (4 July 1918), National Palaces Collection, from *Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*



3.6.2. Unknown Photographer, Funeral Ceremony Album, 4 Temmuz 1334 (4 July 1918), National Palaces Collection, from *Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*



3.6.3. Unknown Photographer, Funeral Ceremony Album, 4 Temmuz 1334 (4 July 1918), National Palaces Collection, from *Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*



3.6.4. Unknown Photographer, Funeral Ceremony Album, 4 Temmuz 1334 (4 July 1918), National Palaces Collection, from *Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*



3.6.5. Unknown Photographer, Funeral Ceremony Album, 4 Temmuz 1334 (4 July 1918), National Palaces Collection, from *Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*



3.6.6. Unknown Photographer, Funeral Ceremony Album, 4 Temmuz 1334 (4 July 1918), National Palaces Collection, *Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*



3.6.7. Unknown Photographer, Funeral Ceremony Album, 4 Temmuz 1334 (4 July 1918), National Palaces Collection, from *Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*



3.6.8. Unknown Photographer, Funeral Ceremony Album, 4 Temmuz 1334 (4 July 1918), National Palaces Collection, from *Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*



3.6.9. Unknown Photographer, Funeral Ceremony Album, 4 Temmuz 1334 (4 July 1918), National Palaces Collection, from *Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*



3.6.10. Unknown Photographer, Funeral Ceremony Album, 4 Temmuz 1334 (4 July 1918), National Palaces Collection, from *Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*



3.6.11. Unknown Photographer, Funeral Ceremony Album, 4 Temmuz 1334 (4 July 1918), National Palaces Collection, from *Sultan V. Mehmed Reşad ve Dönemi Fotoğraf Albümü*

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APPENDIX



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