INTO THE WILD: OTTOMAN PHOTOGRAPHIC EXCURSIONS TO LIBYA

AT THE TURN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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INTO THE WILD: OTTOMAN PHOTOGRAPHIC EXCURSIONS TO LIBYA

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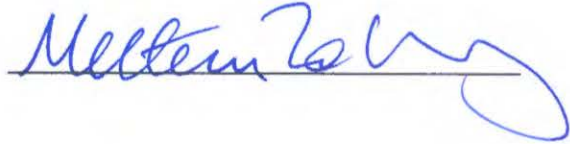
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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Günseli Gürel, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;

- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;

- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

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ABSTRACT

Into the Wild: Ottoman Photographic Excursions to Libya

at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

This study investigates the Ottoman center's conceptions and representations of the periphery, at the turn of the twentieth century as reflected in the representation of Libyan provinces of the empire.

The main sources used in this study are the illustrated travelogues of two Ottoman officers posted to Libyan provinces. The first of these is Azmzâde Sadık El-Müeyyed's travelogue, published in 1896 and entitled "Travel in the Great Desert of Sahara," about his travels in 1895. The second is Cami Baykurt's, "From Tripoli to the Great Desert of Sahara", which was published in 1910 and detailed his travels in 1906-1907.

The theoretical framework of the study is orientalism and the Ottoman Empire's appropriation of orientalist discourse and practices. In its effort to be rigorously historical and contextual this study is based on a number of comparisons. Starting with comparing European colonial policies, concepts with Ottoman Empire's colonialist inspired policies and concepts adopted by the state in Libyan provinces and in the light of these comparisons the Ottoman officers' representations are compared with European orientalist discourse and representational conventions. The authors' renditions of Libya were related to the social and political context of the Libyan provinces in particular and the Ottoman Empire in general, thus their accounts give insights about these. The representations of the authors are also

compared with each other, for their conceptions and representations do not monolithically reinforce the official imperial view, but also complicate it.

The main argument of this study is that the representation of the Libyan provinces by these authors was inscribed in the orientalist discourse. Rather than challenging and opposing European orientalist constructs, the Ottoman authors ideological constructs about Libyan and peripheral subjects of the provinces were much more parallel to the former. However this does not mean that the Ottoman actors' representations were mere copies of European constructs. The Ottomans used the discursive and visual frameworks of orientalist representation, which was effective in the establishment of European colonial hegemony over the Orient, for their own purposes and agendas. In this way the Ottomans representations constitute an example of the complex process of the appropriation and multiplication of the orientalism in different contexts. The methodological discussions about the usefulness of photographs in further fracturing and complicating the eurocentric discourse of orientalism is central to the study.

ÖZET

Vahşiye Doğru: Yirminci Yüzyıl Dönümünde Libya'ya Osmanlı

Fotoğrafik Gezintileri

Bu çalışma yirminci yüzyılın dönümünde Osmanlı merkezinin çepere bakışı ve temsilini Libya eyaletlerindeki yansıması üzerinden incelemektedir.

İncelemede kullanılan ana kaynaklar Libya eyaletlerine tayin edilen iki Osmanlı subayının resimli seyahatnameleridir. Bunlardan ilki Azmzâde Sadık El-Müeyyed'in 1986 yılında basılan ve 1895 yılındaki seyahatlerini anlatan *Afrika Sahrâ-ı Kebir'inde Seyahat*, isimli eseridir. İkincisi ise Cami Baykurt'un 1910 yılında basılan ve 1906-1907 yıllarındaki seyahatleriyle alakalı, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru* seyahatnamesidir.

Oryantalizm ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu tarafından oryantalist söylemlerin ve pratiklerin benimsemesi ve kullanılması çalışmanın teorik çerçevesini oluşturmaktadır. Son derece titizlikle tarihsel ve bağlamsal olma amacı güden çalışma çeşitli karşılaştırmalara dayanmaktadır. Avrupa kolonyal uygulmaları ve kavramları ile Osmanlı devletinin Avrupa kolonyal idarelerinden esinlenerek Libya'da uyguladığı politikalar ve benimsediği kavramları karşılaştırarak başlanmakta ve bu karşılaştırmalar ışığında Osmanlı subaylarının betimlemeleri Avrupalı güçler tarafından benimsenen oryantalist söylemler ve konvansyonel temsil şekilleriyle karşılaştırılmaktadır. Yazarların Libya'yı temsilleri Libya ve genel olarak Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun sosyal ve politik bağlamıyla alakalıdır ve bu bağlamlarla ilgili bilgi vermektedir. Yazarların temsil şekilleri aynı zamanda birbirleriyle de

karşılaştırılmaktadır, çünkü onların kavrayış ve temsil şekilleri sadece yekpare ve homojen bir şekilde resmi emperyal görüşü desteklemez, aynı zamanda bu görüşle çelişir ve onu çetrefillileştirir.

Bu çalışmanın ana savı Libya eyaletleri bu Osmanlı yazarları tarafından orientalist söylem ve temsil şekilleriyle örgütlenmiş bir şekilde temsil edilmiş olduğudur. Osmanlı yazarlarının Libya eyaletlerinin arazi, kentsel morfoloji ve etnografi bakımından ideolojik kurguları Avrupa oryantalist kurgularına direnmekten çok paralelikler sergilemişlerdir. Bu Osmanlı aktörlerinin temsillerinin Avrupalı aktörleri kopya ettikleri anlamına gelmemektedir. Bu benzerlik daha ziyade Osmanlılar'ın Avrupalılar'ın Doğu'da oluşturdukları kolonyal hegemonya ile oldukça alakalı olan söylemsel ve görsel temsil biçimlerini kendi amaçları için kulladıklarını gösterir. Böylelikle Osmanlılar'ın temsilleri oryantalizmin farklı bağlamlarda benimsenmesi ve içselleştirilimesine bir örnek teşkil eder. Fotoğrafların oryantalizmin Avrupa merkezli anlatısını daha karmaşıklaştırmak ve çetrefilileştirme açısından önemiyle ilgili metodolojik tartışmalar bu çalışmanın merkezindedir.

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undergraduate education in the Department of Sociology. She was a huge source of inspiration even when pursuing an academic career was the last thing on my mind. Meltem Toksöz was kind enough to let me audit a number of her classes through which I learned a lot regarding late Ottoman history. The propensity towards intellectual history in the thesis is just one aspect of her inspiration on me. Above all I am extremely grateful to her for teaching me to think outside of the box. Her approach to Ottoman history will be my keystone for my future development as a scholar.

Many graduate students spend long hours in their schools' libraries, I was no exception. I want to thank to the kind staff of Boğaziçi University Library who are doing their best to provide a proper studying environment for the students. I also want to mention that the staff of Taksim Atatürk Library Rare Collection Department, which has a major collection of late Ottoman periodicals, ably helped my research. I also like to thank Budak Kayabek for his generous help in the archival documents and James Kiger and Jessenia Chapman for their editorial contributions.

I understood once again how lucky I am to be surrounded by such wonderful friends. I feel blessed to have my dear friends Hande Erman, Ceyhan Özbek, Ece Bayrak and Ece Kırmacı in my life who have became my extended family over the years. They have always been by my side and saved me from a couple of nervous breakdowns throughout this research with their joy, love and irreplaceable company. Many thanks are also due to Birrin Pakman for being a true friend and a shoulder to cry on. I am grateful to Kerem Tınaz who became my prudence, devoted much time and effort to help me whenever I need.

Last but not least, I owe my deepest gratitude to my parents, Canan and Atilla Gürel who have always been my safe haven. I want to thank them for exposing me their areas of interest, be that through books, movies or the then exhausting excursions, which shaped my own interests. Most of all I want to thank them for supporting my desire to pursue an academic career in history unconditionally. I would like to dedicate this study to the memory of my one of a kind father and my wonder woman mother who is my biggest blessing in life.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

I had a long journey of my own in writing this thesis about two Ottoman officers,

Cami Baykurt and Sadık el-Müeyyed's long and challenging journeys in the Sahara.

How I ended up writing about travelogues written on Ottoman Libya evades me now

but I better understand the meaning of the idiom "it is not about the destination, it is

about the journey to get there" which I always thought is a little cliché. However I

learned a lot from every stage of this thesis and what it takes to finish a big project.

The seeds of the thesis are planted in the joint seminar organized by Ahmet

Ersoy in the framework of the Getty Foundation Connecting Art Histories Initiative,

"Distant Exposures: Photography Beyond the West", which investigated cross-

cultural encounters and practices of photographic representation in the Ottoman

Empire, Iran and India. Thanks to professor Ersoy, I was introduced to the field by

distinguished professors Ahmet Ersoy, Ali Behdad and Christopher Pinney. My

decision to write my master's thesis on photography, which I hardly ever knew

anything about before, took shape in this seminar. Reinforcing my enthusiasm, my

advisor Ahmet Ersoy generously shared an Ottoman photography manual, *Fenn-i*

Fotoğraf, which was written by Sadık el-Müeyyed. I read the manual and thirty more

alike ones in the hope of getting a sense of the ways in which the Ottoman conceived

photography, which I thought might be related to their aesthetic and visual

perception. I was motivated by the argument of the eminent art historian Irene

Winter about the historical contingency of aesthetic perception.[1] In her critical

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[1] Irene Winter, "Defining 'Aesthetics' for Non-Western Studies: The Case of Ancient Mesopotamia,"
in Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey (eds), *Art History, Aesthetics, Visual Studies* (Williamstown,
2002): 3-28.

attempt to dismantle the dominance of Western value systems imprinted by the

Kantian notion of "disinterested contemplation", Winter defined aesthetics as the

"state of being affected" which was informed in small part by context and use that

are, however, tended to be overlooked when this specifically modern European

conception is taken as the standard to evaluate against artworks and objects of

different contexts. I thought the theoretical manuals could provide me with a

framework to understand new forms of visuality, the "Ottoman eyes[2]" so to speak, in

the late Ottoman domain. I now understand that I missed the weight of Winter's

argument laid in its rigorously historical and contextual aspect, at the time. Existing

cultural and artistic practices and concepts certainly effected the changing modes of

visuality, however these were rather "mediated through a particular historical

context" in which certain practices and uses of photography developed.[3] These

practices and uses, which, through comparative historical and contextual research,

could lead to distinct articulations, but also to shared conceptions and overlapping

practices and uses. And in fact it is quite hard to distinguish, as would be explained

further below, indigenous and European practices, especially in the late Ottoman

Istanbul, which had distinctively plural social, cultural and political life where

different cultures meet and interact at times in unequal terms.

 Also the Ottoman photography manuals directed me to practice, these were

much more concerned with informing the amateur about practical application of the

medium. The connection between photography and travel a prominent form of use,

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[2]Adopted from Judith Mara Gutman's term, *Through Indian Eyes* (New York: Oxford University Press: International Center of Photography, 1982). Her explanation for Indian photographic practices received by many as culturally essentialist.

[3]Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: the social life of Indian photographs* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 96.

was provided by Sadık Bey. When I started reading his manual, I knew nothing about him, so I made a basic search on him to see if he had any more publications on photography. He did not have any more on photography, but he had a travelogue about Africa. I devoured Sadık Bey's "Travel in the Great Desert of Sahara"[4] (*Afrika Sahrâ-ı Kebir'inde Seyahat*), like it was an adventure novel imagining him as an Ottoman Indiana Jones. I realized that there were more illustrated travelogues as such to the peripheries of the empire and beyond, one from Cami Baykurt, which is also analyzed in this thesis, "From Tripoli to the Great Desert of Sahara[5]" (*Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*). Besides these two on Ottoman Libya, focusing on the authors' experiences in the Sahara, I read Mehmed Mihri's, "Travelogue of Sudan[6]" (*Sudan Seyahatnamesi*) published in 1910 about his travels in 1909 and, Doctor Hasan Kadri's "Yemen and Its Life[7]" (*Yemen ve Hayatı*), published in 1912.

Initially I wrote a draft investigating about the representation of the distant periphery through using these four travelogues. The arguments in that draft which was about Libya, Yemen and Sudan were too broadly put, therefore, considering the time limitation, I decided to particularize my focus to Ottoman Libya and be as historicized and contextualized as possible. With increasing European imperial rivalry for holding colonies in Africa, Libya became the last remaining territory of

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[4] Azmzâde Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat* (Istanbul: Âlem Matbaası Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı, 1314/ 1896) accessed from: Atatürk University Seyfettin Özege archive. http://kutuphane.atauni.edu.tr/yordambt/yordam.php?-ac=arama&demirbas=0106347

[5] Cami Baykut, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru,* abb. Yüksel Kanar (Istanbul: Özgü Yayınları, 2011).

[6] Mehmed Mihri, *Sudan Seyahatnamesi*, (Istanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şurekası Matbaacılık San'atı Şirketi, 1326/1910).

[7] Hasan Kadri, *Yemen ve Hayatı* (Dersaâdet: Kader Matbaası, 1328/1912).

the Ottoman Empire in Africa. Its position, as we shall see in the next chapter, was in no way secure, the Libyan provinces were subject to European imperialist and colonialist expansion. Among the historical conditions, which marked and in a way necessitated their travels to the last remaining Ottoman provinces in Africa was colonialism and imperialism. In fact the historical context of their travels were not just marked by European imperialist and colonialist practices but also, as recent research increasingly show, Ottoman Empire's colonialist and orientalist inspired practices in Libya. "The construction of the colonial order" as Timothy Mitchell stated "is related to the elaboration of modern forms of representation and knowledge."[8] Edward Said examines this relationship between knowledge production and dissemination and European colonial hegemony in his seminal work, *Orientalism.*

1.1 Orientalism and beyond

In Orientalism, Edward Said explains the workings of the system of knowledge as a "set of historical generalizations," which was, to him, "a way of coming to terms with the Orient."[9] Paralleling the rising political, economic and scholarly interest with the peoples and cultures of a certain geography, Said argues that the Orient increasingly occupied an important place in the imagination of another group, the Europeans, for whom this imaginary entity proved to be a fecund ground for

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[8] Timothy Mitchell, "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order," in D. Preziosi ed., *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology* (Oxford and New York, 1998), 455.

[9] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1979, c1978), 1.

projecting dreams, fantasies and nostalgias.[10] More importantly he argued, the Orient

was considered in European discourses "as a surrogate and even underground self"

and by providing Europe with its necessary 'Other' as such, played a crucial part in

the process of creating a so-called "Western" identity.[11] For Said, an epistemological

authority derived from the ideological presumptions that the "Other" was essentiality

different from and inferior to the "West" led to a self-claimed right to represent,

evaluate, improve and act on those that were relegated to inferior positions.

Following Said's groundbreaking work, it is now widely accepted that

"culture," as Ali Behdad states, is "a productive site where a plurality of interests are

articulated and brought into contact with the kinds of military, economic and

political strategies that produce a complex system of domination."[12] In light of Said's

work, many canonical literary texts were re-examined from a critical perspective of

ideology and science, while ethnographic and anthropologic studies, pictorial

representations, architectural appropriations and exhibitions began to be regarded as

not very neutral and benevolent.[13] The following passage from Timothy Mitchell

summarizes the defining features of orientalist representation, and in that sense,

could be useful to quote at length:

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[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid., 3.

[12] Ali Behdad, *Belated travelers: orientalism in the age of colonial dissolution* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1994), 5.

[13] See for instance, Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-century Art and Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989) 33-59;Nicholas Tromans, Rana Kabbani ed., *The lure of the East: British orientalist painting* (London: Tate, 2008); Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: how anthropology makes its object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); Talal Asad, *Anthropology & the colonial encounter* (New York: Humanities Press, 1973); Behdad, *Belated travelers*, 1994.

...It is understood as the product of unchanging racial or cultural essences; these essential characteristics are in each case the polar opposite of the West (passive rather than rational, chaotic rather than ordered); and the Oriental opposite or Other is, therefore, marked by a series of fundamental absences (of movement, reason, order, meaning and so on). In terms of these three features-essentialism, otherness, and absence- the colonial world can be mastered, and colonial mastery will, in turn, reinscribe and reinforce these defining features.[14]

Having said that, this delineation is more of a general framework than a schema that would homogenize or circumscribe all forms of Orientalist production. For the cross-cultural relations between different groups are so diverse and complex, that they could not be addressed through certain formulas and generalizations. In fact Said himself was widely criticized for arguing that ideological and essentialist preconceptions have pervaded cultural productions of the "Occident" throughout the history -irrespective of time and space peculiarities- regarding the "Orient." Ironically, he was accused of falling into a similar kind of reductionist "Occidentalism" and reproducing the same kind of essentialism that he had set out to demolish.[15]

In the "Afterword" in of 1995 edition of *Orientalism*, written mostly in response to those criticisms, Said laments the reception of his book as an anti-Western manifestation and maintains that he was attempting to reveal the mechanisms and processes of a "historical experience" tinted by power relations, whereby difference was reinforced by hostility and stimulated by imperial control.[16]

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[14] Mitchell, "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order," 455.

[15] For critiques to Said's Orientalism see for instance, Sadik Jalal al-Azm, "Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse,", Orientalism: A Reader, ed. A.L. Macfie (Edinburgh, 2000): 217-238; James Clifford, "On Orientalism," in *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* (Cambridge, Mass,1988), pp. 255-276; Lisa Lowe, *Critical terrains: French and British orientalisms* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

[16] Said, "Afterword", *Orientalism*, 1995. See also his *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993).

Its shortcomings and ahistoricism notwithstanding, I believe Said's book should be given credit for the partisan venture that it is, which paved the way to applying the Foucaldian notion of discourse to the cultural sphere. To Said, "without examining Orientalism as a discourse, one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period."[17]

Over the years, there has been a growing line of research that tries to further criticize, contextualize and fracture these processes of unequal cultural encounters from various perspectives. As these attempts have been attesting to, orientalist and imperialist relations which were marked by asymmetrical power, were much more complex and nuanced than the singlehanded domination of the "West" over the "Rest," as conventional accounts would have it. Rather than regarding cultural interactions as a closed system deterministically limited to the frame of "domination" and "resistance," in the vein post-Saidian cultural studies, I maintain in this study that approaching those interactions as a conceptual framework that signifies different forms of "alterity" provides a much more productive way of thinking.[18] As such, a relational understanding, Ali Behdad suggests in *Belated Travellers* can effectively inhabit many in-between layers, with the late Ottoman case constituting one such

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[17] Said, *Orientalism*, 3.

[18] For instance, Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *October,* vol. 28 (Spring, 1984): 125-133. Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist thought and the colonial world: a derivative discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993, c1986 [1995 printing]. Lisa Lowe, *Critical terrains: French and British orientalisms* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991). Ali Behdad, *Belated travelers: orientalism in the age of colonial dissolution* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1994.) Ahmet Ersoy, *Architecture and Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary* (Ashgate, 2015).

layer.[19] The Ottoman imperial center's methods of approaching the periphery in the late Ottoman Empire, as Selim Deringil and Ussama Makdisi have observed, were comparable to European colonialist and imperialist practices.[20] In what follows, I will briefly mention the peculiar form taken by Ottoman imperialist and colonialist practices, with reference to the work of Deringil, Makdisi and Ahmet Ersoy, in particular, in order to historicize and contextualize Ottoman officials' representations.

1.2 Ottoman orientalist and imperialist experience

"In the age of Western-dominated modernity," Makdisi states, "every nation creates its own Orient."[21] According to Deringil, the Ottomans invited "'their own' subalterns into history" in trying to reject the "subaltern role" themselves, in that sense, as a "survival" strategy, to keep the empire together in the context of intense imperial rivalry.[22]

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[19]For examples of the myriad forms of orientalisms, Milica Bakic-Hayden, "Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia," *Slavic Review* 54 (1995); Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York, 1997).

[20] Selim Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery': The Late Ottoman Empire and the Post-Colonial Debate," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, v. 45, 3 (April, 2003): 311-342. Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," *The American Historical Review*, v. 107, 3 (June, 2002): 768-796. See also Ahmet Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary: Reconfiguring the Architectural Past in a Modernizing Empire* (Ashgate, 2015). Jens Hanssen, "Practices of Integration: Center-Periphery Relations in the Ottoman Empire", *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the late Ottoman Empire*, in Jens Hanssen, Thomas Phillip, and Stefan Weber ed. (Beirut, 2002). Thomas Kuehn, *Empire, Islam, and Politics of Difference: Ottoman Rule in Yemen, 1849-1919* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011).

[21] Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," 768.

[22] Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism," 312.

In the Ottoman case, as elsewhere, the processes of orientalism and imperialism were closely related to the modernization experience, which the empire had been undergoing through since at least the late eighteenth century. Modernity is, as Sanjay Subrahmanyam states, "historically a global and conjectural phenomenon – not a virus that spreads from one place to another."[23] For Carol Gluck who extensivelystudied the common processes of modernity, it is a "condition, historically produced over three centuries around the globe" that, while not being "unitary or universal…possesses commonalities across time and space, however differently it is experienced in different places."[24] As significant as the commonalities of the processes, it is her assertion that "the process of becoming modern is almost always a matter of trial and error, with constant improvisation for different purposes and cross-purposes."[25]

Scholars of Ottoman history have increasingly argued that the process of modernization in the Ottoman Empire was much more complex and multi-faceted than conventional accounts have explained with regards to its imitation of and dependency on the West. The Ottomans had also gone through their share of "trial and error," for "rather than being a thoroughly orchestrated program of reform, the Tanzimat" in Ersoy's words, "comprised a complex set of pragmatic measures and negotiations, crafted in response to myriad local exigencies, as well as to international politics and pressure."[26] Over the years, there have been a number of

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[23] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Hearing Voices: Vignettes of Early Modernity in South Asia, 1400–1750," *Daedalus* 127, no. 3 (September 1998): 99–100 quoted in Carol Gluck, "The End of Elsewhere: Writing Modernity Now", *The American Historical Review* (2011), 116, 677.

[24] Gluck, "The End of Elsewhere", 676.

[25] Ibid., 683

[26] Ersoy, "Introduction", *Architecture and Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary*, 11.

revisionist works on modern Ottoman history that have, on one hand, have reclaimed the late Ottoman period from the historiographical dead-end of the "decline" paradigm,[27] and on the other hand, have shown that processes of change in the empire were more gradual and self-reflexive than previously believed.[28] "The cumulative impact of military, economic, and administrative challenges at the end of the eighteenth century," Şükrü Hanioğlu writes, "obliged the rulers of the empire to come to terms with the imperative of reform."[29] The need to reform and reorganize has increasingly been expressed by growing numbers of state elite and intellectuals.[30]

Amidst the continuities there were many significant legal, institutional and administrative transformations during the *Tanzimat* reform period that in many ways, constitute a "rupture."[31] Throughout the century, administrative, political, military

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[27] The "decline" paradigm that informed Turkish national historiography depicts history following the Classical Age of Suleyman as a continuous process of "decline." This had important and long-lasting implications for scholarship on Ottoman history. As many eminent scholars have shown, this discourse of "decline" was, in part, the Ottomans' own doing for purposes of social and political criticism.

Cemal Kafadar, "The Myth of the Golden Age: Ottoman Historical Consciousness in the Post-Süleymânic Era," *Süleyman the Second and His Time,* ed. Cemal Kafadar and Halil İnalcık (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1993): 45-57. Douglas Howard, "Ottoman Historiography and the Literature of 'Decline' of the 16th and 17th centuries", *Journal of Asian Studies*, 22:1 (1988): 52-77. Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[28] For "early-modern" transformations Rifa'at 'Ali Abou-EI-Haj, *The Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991). Shirine Hamadeh, "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the "Inevitable" Question of Westernization," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* vol.63 (1), (March, 2004): 32-51. Accessed: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4127991. Shirine Hamadeh, "History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the "Lands of Rum," *Muqarnas* vol.24 (2007): 185-197. Accessed: http://www.jstor.org/stable/25482459

[29] Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press c2008), 42.

[30]Ibid.

[31] Ahmet Ersoy, "Osman Hamdi Bey and the Historiophile Mood: Orientalist Vision and the Romantic Sense of the Past in Late Ottoman Culture," *The Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism,* ed. Reina Lewis, Mary Roberts, and Zeynep inankur(Istanbul, 2011), 146.

and economic reforms were envisioned, which brought about significant sociopolitical and cultural changes.[32] Although certainly authoritarian, in Sultan Abdülhamid II's despotic regime, which is oftentimes labeled as "reactionary," reforms continued with specific emphasis on forming an efficient imperial administrative system.[33] While the modernizing state proceeding with its reforms, Deringil argued that its right to do so was increasingly being challenged.[34] In fact, Deringil suggested, the modernizing Ottoman state faced constant challenges, both internal and international, to its legitimacy.[35] In addition to a variety of nationalist claims that constituted a major and constant challenge for the late empire, internal crisis was also related to the processes of modernization. Hanioğlu posits that what the "nationalist narrative portrays [as] the struggle of an oppressed people to liberate themselves," could also be considered "a struggle between the imperial drive to centralize and a variety of centrifugal forces."[36] The state was, as Deringil writes, "permeating levels of society it had never reached before, making unprecedented demands on its people" in order to extend its control, leading to distress among different groups in the empire.[37]

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[32] Halil İnalcık, Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu ed., *Tanzimat: değişim sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, c2006); Roderic Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1963); Selim Deringil, *The well-protected domains: ideology and the legitimation of power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 1999). Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton University Press, 2008). Donald Quataert, "The Age of Reforms, 1812-1914," *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, Volume II, 1600-1900,* ed. Halil İnlacık&Donald Quataert(Cambridge, 1997). Kemal Karpat, "The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789- 1908," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 3, no. 3 (1972): pp. 243-81.

[33] Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 125.

[34] Deringil, *The well-protected domains*, 1999.

[35]Ibid.

[36] Şükrü Hanioğlu, "Introduction", *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 3.

[37] Deringil, *The well-protected domains*, 9.

The Ottoman modernization project, as Makdisi argued, aimed to create a more homogenous and centralized empire with "different ethnic groups, different religious communities, different regions, and above all, different stages of progress within a unified Ottoman modernity."[38] In this framework the peripheral subjects of the Libyan provinces "which had hitherto been considered marginal and left more or less to their own devices" were also subjected to the attention of the modernizing and centralizing imperial center.[39] As we would reflect on throughout the thesis, the integration of these marginal groups to the Ottoman political system increasingly became important for the Ottoman rulers.

To Makdisi, the Ottoman center's orientalist practices, at the same time, relied on "inclusion" and "exclusion."[40] Similarly the major issue regarding these provinces throughout the 19th century according to Thomas Kuehn was, finding a balance between "integration" and "distinction."[41] Thomas Kuehn's concepts of "integration" and "distinction" are comparable to Makdisi's interpretation. The Ottoman Empire's colonialist and imperialist inspired rule in Yemen, Kuehn argued, differed from British colonial rule in India that relied on formalizing separation between the colonizers and colonized, instead "the boundaries of difference were less sharply drawn" and the Ottoman center emphasized integration more in the official discourse.[42] He related this attitude to the "concern that such explicit fashion might

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[38] Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," 779.

[39] Deringil, *The well-protected domains*, 69

[40] Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," 795.

[41] Kuehn, *Empire, Islam, and Politics of Difference,* 4.

[42] Thomas Kuehn, "An Imperial Borderland as Colony: Knowledge Production and the Elaboration of Difference in Ottoman Yemen, 1872-1918," *The MIT ElectronicJournal of Middle East Studies* 3 (Spring 2003), pp. 5-17; "Shaping and Reshaping Colonial Ottomanism: Contesting Boundaries of Difference and Integration in Ottoman Yemen, 1872-1919", *Comparative Studies of South Asia,*

undermine the legitimacy of Ottoman rule especially in the Arab provinces where it

had rested to an important degree on the claim to protect the local people against the

imperialist expansion and colonialism of the European powers."[43] The Ottoman rule

in Libya rested on the similar claim of protecting their fellow Muslims from the yoke

of European colonialism.[44] Engin Deniz Akarlı emphasized that religious association

was regarded by the imperial center as crucial mediator for Ottoman rule in the

province.[45] With the empire's diminishing political and military power, the political

power of Islam for promoting unity with the locals has been increasingly resorted to

against the threats from European imperial powers over the province, which would

be explained in the next chapter.[46]

The use of religion to promote allegiance to the empire in this historical

context was not so conservative or traditional, but rather, in line with what Deringil

explains as an "institution of a secular foundation for a state ideology...through the

use of Islamic vocabulary."[47] Also it was in line with the larger process of fabricating

a collective identity that could unite the multiple groups to keep the integrity of the

empire. "In a multi-national empire, crumbling most dangerously on its Christian

periphery," Hanioğlu writes, "Islam potentially represented a last line of defense

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Africa and the Middle East, vol. 27, no. 2 (2007), p.315-331; see also his book *Empire, Islam, and Politics of Difference: Ottoman Rule in Yemen, 1849-1919*, 2011.

[43]Kuehn, "Shaping and Reshaping Colonial Ottomanism: Contesting Boundaries of Difference and Integration in Ottoman Yemen, 1872-1919," 318.

[44] Deringil, They Live in a State of Nomadism," 323-324. See also Le Gall, "*Pashas, Bedouins and notables : Ottoman administration in Tripoli and Benghazi, 1881-1902",* (PhD diss., Princeton, 1986).

[45] Engin Deniz Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)", *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History V*: *The Ottomans and Africa,*ed. Sinan Kuneralp, Selim Deringil (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1990): 75-86.

[46] Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery'," 342.

[47] Deringil, *The Well-protected domains*, 14.

against the corrosive effects of nationalism."[48] Compared to the emphasis on syncretism in the official discourse during earlier periods, in the Hamidian era, the Islamic components of the diverse and multilayered Ottoman identity became the main deposits from which references were drawn to construct imagined identities. This partially resulted from territorial losses in the Balkans, after which, Muslims became the majority of the population.[49]

While the religious connection was regarded as useful in efforts to extend Ottoman influence in the region, it also had important implications on the articulation and representation of "difference" between the imperial center and the periphery, which would reinforce the imperial right to rule in the province. As authors mentioned above have all remarked, in their many ways, because the Ottomans had certain points of identification with their "others" based on common religion, a distinction between "self" and "other" could not be suggested in categorical, essentialist terms.[50] It was suggested instead, as Deringil and Makdisi argued, in civilizational terms. The temporal aspect in orientalist discourse that relied on what Johannes Fabian called "denial of co-evalness" proved to be useful for promoting and reinforcing the extension of imperial control over the peripheral subjects that the imperial elite considered as representing their pre-modern, archaic state.[51] For the modernizing Ottoman Empire the geographical distance between the imperial capital and these distant territories in Africa and Arabia also connoted a

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[48] Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 142.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery'"; Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism" ; Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary*, 2015.

[51] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: how anthropology makes its object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983). Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism" ; Ersoy, Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary, 2015, 24.

temporal one.[52] In fact, according to Makdisi, "through their efforts to study, discipline and improve imperial subjects" the Ottoman modernizers had created "a notion of the pre-modern within the empire in a manner akin to the way European colonial administrators represented their colonial subjects."[53] Makdisi further argues that this temporal notion has reciprocally reinforced the modernization project.[54] The establishment of modern state mechanisms were justified by the imperial center as necessary to breach the gap between the modern Ottoman center and the backwards peripheries.[55] In other words, the centralization efforts of the state that was already trying to establish a more direct rule in these provinces as of the mid-19th century were justified through the temporal belatedness of these parts of the empire, which the modernization project intended to close.[56] On one hand, the Ottoman center's discourse posited that through the measures of the modern state, the temporal gap between the center and peripheries would be breached.[57] On the other hand, the claim of "inclusion," was perhaps more rhetorical than actual, because the imperial right to rule over these provinces necessitated maintaining civilizational superiority.

Furthermore, as Deringil's, Makdisi's and Ersoy's works demonstrate, during the later decades of the 19th century Orientalism was appropriated by the Ottoman's for the diverse purposes and enlisted for the task of imperial representation and self-fashioning, so much that it had, in Ersoy's words, "become part and parcel of the

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[52] Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," 771.

[53] Ibid., 769.

[54] Ibid., 769.

[55] Ibid., 771-772.

[56] Ibid., 771

[57]Ibid.

habitus of Ottoman modernity"[58] Deringil shows in his analysis of the imperial

image-making project that the late Ottoman ruling elite was preoccupied with

generating and disseminating the image of a rooted, yet modern imperial power

proceeding resolutely on the path of "progress" to replace the negative, "exoticist,"

Orientalist representations that were prevalent among European powers.[59] On one

hand, the official strategy of representation was constructed in ways that would

emphasize the modernity of the empire, while on the other the hand, the "exotic" was

dislodged and entrusted to the "marginals" of the empire and the peripheries.[60]

Orientalist practices of representation were molded with already existing

inequalities and forms of distinction. However, this "molding" of "the terms of the

other"[61] with more traditional ones used for representing the domestic "Others" in

the empire, in a way, achieved a "new kind of familiarity,"[62] instead of subverting or

replacing the European orientalist constructs. The efforts of Ottoman authorities to

rectify European representations of the "Orient" and present an image the former

believed to be more appropriate was, as both Makdisi and Ersoy point out, not aimed

at a total subversion of European representation and imagination, but rather at

carving out a space for the Ottoman state in the privileged European center.[63] Their

representation of the Arab periphery, likewise, Makdisi argues, entailed "explicit

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[58] Ersoy, "Osman Hamdi Bey and the Historiophile Mood: Orientalist Vision and the Romantic Sense of the Past in Late Ottoman Culture," 145.

[59] Deringil, *The well-protected domains*.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Zahid Chaudhary, *Afterimage of empire: photography in nineteenth-century India* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 123.

[62] Ibid., 125.

[63] Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," 770; Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary*, 2015, 73-74.

resistance to, but also implicit acceptance of" European representations.[64] Their

promotion of an image of a modern empire was intended to establish Ottoman

modernity as parallel with, rather than inferior to Europe.[65]

[64] Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," 768

[65] Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," 770; Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary*, 73-74.

1.3 Travel literature and Ottoman orientalism

As mentioned in the previous section, in recent years, there has been growing scholarship on Ottoman perceptions and representations of the "Orient", which, as Deringil suggests, carve out a theoretical space for re-instating the late Ottoman Empire into the "world historiographical map" of comparative studies on colonialism and imperialism.[66] Stemming from this, modern Ottoman travel literature has increasingly fallen under scholarly interest. Until recently Ottoman travel literature has not been subjected to serious scholarly analysis, there were preliminary attempts at classification. A special issue of the journal Türk Dili called "Gezi Özel Sayı" was dedicated to Ottoman travel literature and was useful for identifying and introducing source material.[67] Also, another article used in a similar introductory manner, called "Seyahatnâme," appeared in *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi, Devirler, İsimler, Eserler, Terimler*.[68]

Significant attempts at suggesting the worth of Ottoman travel literature for scholarly analysis in general and re-evaluating the travel literature within this comparative world-historiographical framework were taken, particularly from Carter Findley's, Christoph Herzog's and Raul Motika's, Edhem Eldem's articles and Can Veyselgil's MA thesis.[69] Herzog & Motika are concerned with what they call the

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[66] Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery'," 315.

[67] "Seyahatname" *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Andiklopedisi Devirler, Isimler, Eserler, Terimler*, vol.7 (Istanbul, 1990),

[68] "Gezi Özel Sayı", *Türk Dili*, 27 (1973), 457-726.

[69] Carter Vaughn Findley, "An Ottoman Occidentalist in Europe: Ahmed Midhat Meets Madame Gülnar, 1889", *The American Historical Review*, vol. 101, no. 1 (Feb., 1998), pp: 15-49. Christoph Herzog&Motika, Raul, "Orientalism 'alla Turca': Late 19th/ Early 20th Century Ottoman Voyages into the Muslim 'Outback'", *Die Welt des Islams, New Series*, Vol. 40, Issue 2; Christoph Herzog, *Ottoman Travels and Travel Accounts from an Earlier Age of Globalization* (Jul., 2000), pp. 139-

Muslim "outback," an expansive region comprised of Caucasia, Central Asia, India, Saharan and Sub-Saharan Africa, Sudan, Ethiopia and the Volga-Ural region.[70] Their motive is "to demonstrate the value of modern Ottoman travel literature as a source for the study of Ottoman intellectual life, as well as for an analysis of cultural encounters between Ottomans and Muslims of the Ottoman orbit facing European expansion."[71] However, their article gave more weight to the motivations for travel and codifying Ottoman the travel genre than to defining "*Alla Turca*", in their term "Orientalism *Alla Turca*". Pointing to this problem in his master's thesis, Veyselgil is concerned with a systematic comparison between Ottoman and European perceptions and conceptions of non-European geography through tropes and discursive modalities. Edhem Eldem's critical note on Osman Hamdi's appropriation of orientalist tropes in multi-dimentional ways in three occasions where he was "exposed to a similar vision of the East" contingent to the historical conditions has been informative in this thesis and in that sense will be discuss further in the next chapter.[72]

Late Ottoman travelogues, especially illustrated ones, require further scholarly attention. The Herzog&Motika and Veyselgil have largely engaged with the narratives and their resonances on orientalist and post-colonial debate and did not

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195. Christoph Herzog, "19th-Century Baghdad Through Ottoman Eyes", *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Jens Hanssen et al. (Beirut, 2002): 311-328; Edhem Eldem, "An Ottoman Traveler to the Orient: Osman Hamdi Bey", *Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism*, ed. Zeynep İnankur, Reina Lewis and Mary Roberts (Istanbul: Pera Müzesi; Seattle WA: distributed by University of Washington Press, 2011): 169-181; Can Veyselgil, "The Ottoman Empire and 'The Rest of the World': Late Ottoman First Person Narratives Regarding the Ottoman Perceptions on the Non-European World and the Ottoman Periphery" (MA Thesis, Sabancı University, 2012).

[70] Herzog&Motika, "Orientalism 'alla Turca'," 140-141

[71] Ibid., 141.

[72]Eldem, "An Ottoman Traveler to the Orient: Osman Hamdi Bey," 170.

so much take the visual images into account. Edhem Eldem assigned a much more

prominent role to the imagery in Osman Hamdi Bey's travel accounts and use the

text and images relationally in the limited space of the article. Elizabeth Edwards

suggests, in *Raw Histories* which has a number of methodological insights

articulated through case studies, photographs can be used in historical research in

two ways, "forensic" and "submerged."[73] The "forensic" reading of photographs for

historical research is concerned with the documentary evidence of the "content in

terms of 'reality'" for descriptive purposes, while the "submerged" is "traced through

refiguring histories that gather around and enmesh images."[74] Edwards explains that

the category of "submerged" involved "those possibilities that the image implies,

perhaps through absences within the image, suggesting a historical counterpoint to

the forensic."[75]

In his critical attempt Eldem is not only concerned with the descriptive

qualities of the imagery, the category of "forensic" in Edwards' delineation, but also

with that of the "submerged", the possibilities that the imagery in Osman Hamdi's

travel accounts imply about his specific experience in the 'Orient.' The "submerged"

reading of the images could not only suggest a counterpoint to the "forensic"

reading, but also to the text. In this thesis that is concerned with the late Ottoman

travelling officers representations of the Libyan periphery, I try to attend both text

and imagery in the travelogues through a specifically "submerged" reading of the

imagery. Through this investigation, I hope to tap into the critical potential of

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[73]Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: photographs, anthropology and museums* (Oxford; New York; Berg, 2006, c2001), 87.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Ibid.

photography. Taking the medium itself as producing "moments of crisis"[76],

Christopher Pinney argues that the potential ability of photographs to disturb the neat

assumptions and presuppositions of conventional historiographies is related to the

'"protean' nature of photographic technology."[77] In order to properly understand

Pinney's argument that photographs cannot be totally controlled related in so small

part to the ontological peculiarities of the medium, its technical base, one must turn

to his reference point Roland Barthes. In *Camera Lucida*, in which late Barthes was

driven by an ontological desire to learn "what Photography was 'in itself'" argued

that as with other forms of visual imagery, photographs are culturally constructed on

the level of what he called studium, which stirred "a kind of general interest."[78] For

him, the studium is related to the "photographer's intentions" and functions assigned

to the image. However, in a photograph, something accidental can slip into, or

"punctuate," the field of stadium, triggering personal interpretations known as the

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[76]Pinney's stance is critical to the post-modernist perspective that only take photography as an apparatus that reflected relations of power. John Tagg represents an extreme in this respect. Following Foucault's seminal work on knowledge and power, Tagg takes photography as "always and only a construction of discursive power." This now much cited paragraph well exemplifies his view and post-modernist perspective: "Photography as such has no identity. Its status as a technology varies with the power relations, which invest it. Its nature as a practice depends on the institutions and agents, which define it and set it to work. Its function as a mode of cultural production is tied to definite conditions of existence, and its products are meaningful and legible only within the particular currencies they have. Its history has not unity. It is a flickering across a field of institutional spaces. It is this field we must study, not photography as such." John Tagg, *The Burden of representation: essays on photographies and histories* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 68. For concise review on debates and theories on photography see Sabine T. Kriebel, "Theories of Photography: A Short History," in James Elkins (ed.) *Photography Theory* (New York and London, 2007): 3-49. Like Pinney Geoffrey Batchen also takes into account the ontological specifities of the medium of photography rather than considering it as secondary of social and political forces see his *Burning with desire: the conception of photography* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1999). Their stance is inspired by Roland Barthes' ontological and epistemological exploration of photography in *Camera Lucida: reflections on photography,* trans. Richard Howard, (New York, 1982). I also refer to the debates and theories of photography in the second chapter when I discuss the Ottoman conception and practice of photography. More bibliographical information can be found in the footnotes 328, 330-331, 337.

[77] Christopher Pinney, *The Coming of Photography in India* (London: British Library, 2008), 3.

[78] Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 26.

punctum, which sort of "pricks" the viewer for Barthes.[79] It is in this sense that

Pinney, in his quest following Barthes' to delineate the "disturbance" of

photography, argues that although "photographs are necessarily contrived and reflect

the culture that produces them" since they are so "complexly textured artifacts," they

cannot be totally controlled.[80] This is because "no photograph is so successful that it

filters out the random entirely."[81] For that reason, a "certain indeterminacy resides at

the heart of photographic index,"[82] that "tiny spark of contingency"[83] that inheres in

the photograph, making it subject to a multiplicity of receptions. In fact, many

writers from diverse disciplinary backgrounds since Barthes have emphasized the

impossibility of assigning fixed and closed meanings to a photograph, for it

continues to assume new ones with the changing contexts of viewing from different

audiences, changing technologies and uses of photographs.[84] This potential

multiplicity can be, according to Elizabeth Edwards, useful in opening up "critical

spaces" in historical analysis.[85] It is in this sense that, following Pinney and Edwards,

I think photographs are useful in attending to -in vein of post-Saidian cultural studies

that try to further fracture the dynamics of cultural encounters- the representation of

difference by modernizing Ottomans for various needs and purposes.

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[79] Ibid., 26.

[80] Christopher Pinney, "Introduction", P*hotography's other histories*, Christopher Pinney and Nicolas Peterson ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 7

[81] Ibid.

[82] Chaudhary, *Afterimage of Empire*, 52.

[83] Pinney, *The Coming of Photography in India*, 5.

[84] Aside from Elizabeth Edwards and Christopher Pinney, Deborah Poole also subscribe to this view, see her, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton, 1997).

[85] Edwards, *Raw histories: photographs, anthropology and museums* (Oxford [UK]; New York: Berg, 2006, c2001), 7.

1.4 Photography in the late Ottoman Empire

At the same time, with my research that investigates the complexities of cultural encounters in the late Ottoman context through illustrated travel accounts featuring photographs, I also hope to contribute to studies on late Ottoman visual culture. In recent years, there has been a growing line of research from an interdisciplinary perspective focusing on the history of photography in different contexts.[86] Through historicized and contextualized analysis, these researches have increasingly shown that instead of being self-evidently emerged in the "West" and disseminated to the "Rest," photography was radically new everywhere, entailing constant improvisations and adjustments.[87]

In recent years there has been a growing interest for the subject of photography in the late Ottoman domain. The descriptive surveys on European and non-European photographers active in the Ottoman Empire and Middle East by Bahattin Öztuncay and Engin Özendes are invaluable for extensive comparative and theoretical analysis.[88] The potential benefits of studying social and cultural

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[86]See for instance, Christopher Pinney, *The Coming of Photography in India* (London: British Library, 2008). See also his *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photographs* (London, 1997). Ali Behdad, "Sevruguin: Orientalist or Orienteur?" *Sevruguin and the Persian Image: Photographs of Iran, 1870-1930*, (Seattle, 1999). Zahid R. Chaudhary, *Afterimage of Empire: Photography in Nineteenth-Century India* (Minneapolis, 2012). The essays in *Photography's other histories*, ed. Christopher Pinney and Nicholas Peterson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing race and place*, ed. Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D.Sampson (London; New York: Routledge, 2004); Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, *Photographs objects histories: on the materiality of images* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004 (2010 printing);

[87] Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Visual Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1982). Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning With Desire: The Conception of Photography* (Cambridge, 1997); Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton, 1997).

[88] Bahaattin Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople: Pioneers, studios and Artists from 19th century İstanbul,* (İstanbul: Aygaz, 2003); Bahattin Öztuncay, *Hatıra-i uhuvvet: portre fotoğrafların cazibesi, 1846-1950*, (İstanbul: Aygaz, 2005); Engin Özendes, *From Sabâh & Joaillier to Foto*

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transformations through the lens of this "fluid and revolutionary medium", as Pinney

calls it, also excited the attention of scholars' of Ottoman history. Sultan Abdülhamid

II's extensive utilization of photography for self-representation, in line with the

historical context of refabricating novel imperial image to reinforce imperial

legitimacy, has recently attracted scholarly attention, after his famous gift albums

containing thousands of images of various aspects of the empirewere rediscovered in

the archives of the British Library and the American Library of Congress.[89] A recent

publication edited by Behdad and Luke Gartlan is a significant contribution focusing

on the social, cultural and political aspects of photography in the Middle East.[90] The

publication is attentive to the "intertextual and intervisual relationship between

photographic, literary and historical representations of the Middle East."[91]

One of the editors of this book, Ali Behdad who had important contributions

for photography in the late Qajar era, some of his assumptions and analytical tools

could be appropriated for the Ottoman context as well, as they bear certain

similarities.[92] In his theoretical essay in this publication he suggests to view

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*Sabâh: Orientalism in Photography (*İstanbul: YKY, 1999); Bahattin Öztuncay, *James Robertson: pioneer of photography in the Ottoman Empire* (Beyoglu, Istanbul: Eren, 1992); Engin Özendes, *Abdullah Frerés, Ottoman Court Photographers*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Publications, 1998).

[89] Carney E.S. Gavin, *Imperial Self-Portrait: The Ottoman Empire as Revealed in the Sultan Abdul-Hamid II's Photographic Albums* (Cambridge, 1989). Muhammad Isa Waley, "Images of the Ottoman Empire: The Photograph Albums Presented by Sultan Abdülhamid II," *The Electronic British Library Journal* accessed from: [http://www.bl.uk/eblj/1991articles/article9.html] (1991): 111-127. The catalog of Sultan Abdülhamid Albums is digitalized and can be accessed from http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/ahii/The collection can be found in Istanbul University Library Rare Collection (Istanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi).

[90] Ali Behdad&Luke Gartlan ed., *Photography's Orientalism* (Los Angeles, California: Getty Publications, 2013).

[91] Behdad&Gartlan, "Introduction" in *Photography's Orientalism* 5.

[92] Ali Behdad, "Sevruguin: Orientalist or Orienteur?" *Sevruguin and the Persian Image: Photographs of Iran, 1870-1930*, (Seattle, 1997). Ali Behdad, "The Power-Ful Art of Qajar Photography: Orientalism and (Self)- Orientalizing in Nineteenth-Century Iran," *Iranian Studies* 34, No: 114 (2001): 141- 151. Ali Behdad, "The Orientalist Photograph" *Photography's Orientalism: new essays*

orientalism as "a particular system of ideas, aesthetic expressions, and intellectual practices internalized by "Orientals," rather than as "a unilateral artistic, intellectual and political force" and to engage in a "plural" reading of photographs.[93]This suggestion of engaging in a "plural" reading of photographs is significant intervention into a certain strand of research on photography in Middle East, stemming from cultural studies, that has been influenced by post-structuralist thought. This kind of post-structuralist view also has reflections on studies on Ottoman photography suffering from a kind of "either/or" approach of designating whether or not certain images and photographers were "Orientalist."[94] Behdad argued that this dichotomous interpretation often leads to the interpretation of "local" practices as either "imitation" or "resistance" to the dominant Western gaze.[95] This sort of local vs. foreign dichotomy, whereby the local approach was categorized as resistance to domination, and as such, valorized, Behdad argues, fall under another kind of essentialism, while trying to breach one. Ahmet Ersoy similarly elaborates in his book that as opposed to this kind of post-structuralist thinking which, in its uncritical engagement with cultural diversity, falls into the essentializing discourses and binary oppositions that it sets out to demolish valorizes local practices anachronistically as "resistance," "speaking-back," was really not an option for or it

on colonial representation, ed. Ali Behdad&Luke Gartlan (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2013): 12-34.

[93] Behdad, "The Orientalist Photograph", 14-15.

[94] For a portrayal of indigenous practices as resistance to Orientalist discourse See, Michelle Woodward, "Between Orientalist Cliches and Images of Modernization: Photographic Practice in Late Ottoman Era," _History of Photography,_ Vol. 27, no. 4, (2003): 363-374; Wendy M. K. Shaw, "Ottoman Photography of the Late Nineteenth Century: An Innocent Modernism?" _History of Photography_ 33, no: 1 (February, 2009): 80-93; Mary Roberts, _Intimate Outsiders: The Harem in Ottoman and Orientalist Art and Travel Literature_ (Durham, NC, 2007).

[95] Behdad, "Sevruguin: Orientalist or Orienteur?"; Behdad, "The Power-Ful Art of Qajar Photography: Orientalism and (Self)- Orientalizing in Nineteenth-Century Iran,"; Behdad, "The Orientalist Photograph".

had the risk of not speaking at all.[96] Instead Behdad suggests a relational

understanding for studies on photography in late Qajar era Iran, in particular and

Middle East in general, which could also be appropriated for the Ottoman context, as

well, where we can not automatically assume a photographer's work as resisting

Orientalist or colonialist discourses, or articulating an indigenous "response" to

European constructs, just because the person was "local."[97] We know now that, in

the Ottoman case where multiple forms of belonging were possible, identity was

something more permeable – not fixed, but dynamic and malleable.[98] In fact, the

works local photographers working in the Ottoman context were quite comparable to

foreign photographers.

"Since its very inception," Behdad writes, "photography was intertwined with

Europe's Orientalist vision" and "colonial interests."[99] Following the famous call of

Dominique François Arago to enlist this new medium, which was described as

"infinitely more accurate as any painting by human hands" by Edgar Allan Poe,

many on scientific expeditions have poured into the "Orient."[100] Scientific and

commercial interests merged in photographs of the Middle East. Photographers such

as Maxime Du Camp and Felice Beato, who were on scientific expeditions or official

missions, sold their photographs to the European and local public, who sought for

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[96] Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary*, 27.

[97] Behdad, "Sevruguin: Orientalist or Orienteur?"; Behdad, "The Power-Ful Art of Qajar Photography: Orientalism and (Self)- Orientalizing in Nineteenth-Century Iran"; Ersoy, *Architecture and Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary*, 27.

[98] See for instance, Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State (*Berkley, Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1995).

[99] Behdad, "The Power-Ful Art of Qajar Photography: Orientalism and (Self) Orientalizing in Nineteenth-Century Iran," 2001, 143.

[100] Behdad, "Sevruguin: Orientalist or Orienteur?" 1997, 82.

photographic representations of different lands, peoples and cultures. Local photographers such as Pascal Sébah and Abdullah Fréres in the Ottoman Empire, Antoin Sevreguin in Iran and Lala Deen Dayal in India, wanted to partake in this highly lucrative business.[101]

Building on Behdad and Ersoy's views, I argue in this thesis that the representations of the late Ottoman officers to Libya, to the distant margins of the empire were also inscribed in orientalism. I try to show in this thesis that these illustrated travelogues of the Ottoman authors Cami Bey (Baykurt) and Sadık el-Müeyyed could be considered as "auto-ethnographic" texts, in Mary Louise Pratt's terms, in which the concepts, ideological tools and representational strategies constructed to ensure the persistence of Western hegemony over the "Orient" were selectively appropriated and deployed by the Ottoman authors for their purposes.[102] In this thesis that I consider the representations of the authors as "auto-ethnography" and conventions of orientalism as the studium for the images I try rigorously historicize and contextualize their representations in order to suggest some uses and purposes, which I think might have undergirded the authors' representations. The representations of Ottoman authors Sadık el-Müeyyed and Cami Bey were inscribed in orientalist practices. However theirs was not a passive imitation of European rhetorics, discursive and visual conventions and practices. In my opinion the authors

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[101] Ali Behdad, "Sevruguin: Orientalist or Orienteur?" in *Sevruguin and the Persian Image: Photographs of Iran, 1870-1930*, (Seattle, 1997); Ayshe Erdogdu, "Picturing Alterity: Representational Strategies in Victorian Type Photographs of Ottoman Men," in *Colonialist Photography: Imag (in) ing Race and Place,* Eleanor Hight and Gary Sampson ed. (London, 2002); Chaudhary, "Armor and Aesthesis: the Picturesque in Difference," *Afterimage of Empire*, 107-153. Pinney, "Indian Eyes", *Camera Indica*.

[102] The term "auto-ethnography" is defined by Pratt as colonized subjects' self-representation in colonizers' terms. Marie Louise Pratt, *Imperial eyes: travel writing and transculturation* (London: New York: Routledge, 2008), 10.

used orientalist framworks for their diverse purposes and needs, which I explain throughout the thesis. Sadık Bey and Cami Bey's views aboıt Ottoman Libya and the Ottoman imperial rule in Libya contradicted as much as they overlapped with each other. Thus their appropriation was not monolithic. Concordantly my concern is not only to show how their representations were interlaced with European orientalist examples but also attend to their complex and diverse purposes and to show, in this way, how their compex and diverse appropriations complicated orientalism. In doing so I investigate how local discourses and agendas further complicate and fracture orientalism.

I believe that the complexity in their representations was very much related to the social and political context of Libya in particular and late Ottoman Empire in general as well as the personality and ideological inclinations of the authors. The complexity of their appropriation of orientalist tropes and frameworks got even more complicated by the fact that they included photographs in their accounts. I argue throughout the thesis that the authors tried to manipulate the images they took or selected to represent the land, urban space and ethnography of Ottoman Libya according to their beliefs and views. These beliefs and views about the country and the people were quite in line with social Darwinism in particular and evolutionary and biologically inspired discourses in social sciences in general, which coalesced with orientalism well. The authors Cami Bey and Sadık Bey, not only projected their these views to the subjects of their representations, but also to the Ottomans for other purposes such suggesting a connection with the Ottoman Empire and local peripheral subjects or for criticizing the efficiency of Ottoman rule in Libya. They tried to project their diverse views to the photographs, however this was not an easy task, because of the technical specifities of the medium photographs cannot be totally

controlled and some element external, the *punctum* that "tiny spark of contingency" can always slip into the frame. Moreover the meaning and interpretation of photographs are subject to change according to the context of production, consumption and viewing. To a certain extent this is true for all forms of visual images, yet photographs are prone to recoding and re-inscribing more than other forms and methods of visual representation, which is actually their value for critical historical research. What I am trying to say is that the representations of authors, which became complicated through their variegated concerns, agendas and circumstances got even more complex with the agency of photographs.

1.5 A note on the sources

As I mentioned I use two illustrated travelogues about Ottoman Libya written by two Ottoman officers, which are "Travel in the Great Desert of Sahara" (*Afrika Sahrâ-ı Kebir'inde Seyahat*), written by el-Müeyyed about his travels in 1895 and published in 1896; and "From Tripoli to the Great Desert of Sahara" (*Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*), written by Cami Baykurt about his travels in 1906-1907 and published in 1910. The digitalized copies of both manuscripts can be found in ÖZEGE archive online. Also both books are recently transliterated. I read the Ottoman manuscript of Sadık el-Müeyyed's *Afrika Sahrâ-yı Kebir'inde Seyahat,* because frankly I did not know that it was transliterated at the time. I read the transliterated form of Cami Baykurt's *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru,* I examined the images from the original travelogue published in 1910, because the

images in the transliteration are more ambiguous. Some of the images are clearly later additions for the transliterated edition. They already do not match with the 1910 publication. In Cami Bey's case, I also used the book, "Life in Last Ottoman Africa: desert people, exiles and Young Turks[103]" (*Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda hayat: çöl insanları, sürgünler ve Jön Türkler*), where Arı İnan put together Cami Bey's memoirs, parts of his journals, official correspondence when he was in Ghat with the governor of Fezzan. The book also has various photographs taken by Cami Bey throughout his life. The parts containing his journals and official correspondence was particularly helpful.

1.6 Chapter outline

The two chapters that follow the introduction provide preliminary information to properly attend to the representations of the authors starting with the third chapter. The next chapter focuses on the authors' background and the historical context of Ottoman Libya, at the time the authors were there. Both the authors' backgrounds and historical context, I think, had implications on the representations of the authors. The third chapter is about the practice of traveling and writing travel accounts in the late Ottoman Empire. The relationship between travel and photography is central to the investigations in this chapter. This relationship will be examined on in comparison with travel accounts in *Servet-i Fünun*, as to be a prominent example of illustrated journals. I emphasize the growing relation between travelling and

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[103] Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda hayat: çöl insanları, sürgünler ve Jön Türkler*, comp. Arı İnan, ed. Emre Yalçın (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2009).

photography in this chapter. The increasing numbers of periodicals, which increasingly contain are illustrated travel accounts also investigated in this part, with a specific reference to image-text relationship in these media in comparison with the illustrated books of the Ottoman officers.

I turn to the representations of the authors in chapter three. The description of both authors followed a course of landscape they traversed, cities they have been to and ethnographic depiction of local groups. I follow their lead in attending to their representation from focus on landscape, urban space and ethnography respectively from chapter three to chapter five. In these chapters I start with a brief overview of the policies and concepts adopted by Ottoman imperial center in its Libyan provinces. Then I focus on the reflections of these in the authors' representations. In focusing on the authors' representations in terms of landscape, urban space and ethnography I try to attend to not only their similarities and differences with European representations, but also their similarities and differences from each other.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND OF AUTHORS AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Ottoman travelers investigated in this thesis went to the last remaining territory of the Ottoman Empire during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were dispatched by official orders. In 1895, Sadık el-Müeyyed was charged with inspecting the sub-province of Benghazi (Cyrenaica), which comprised of the eastern part of Ottoman Libya. Visiting the leader of Sanusi Order, Sheikh Muhammad al-Mahdi (d.1902), the leader of a Sufi brotherhood influential in North Africa called Sanussiya, was central to his mission.[104] Cami Bey in 1905 was posted as governor to small town of Ghat while he was in the province of Tripoli as an exile.[105] His post was related to the increase in French incursions in the hinterland of Tripoli which was a major source of conflict between Ottoman and French governments.[106] Cami Bey described his mission as "protecting" Azgar Tuaregs against harassments from French colonial forces.[107] France was trying to from Algeria and its West African colonies, Senegal and Guinea, towards the Sudan.[108]

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[104] Michel Le Gall, "The Ottoman Government and the Sanusiyya: A Reapraisal," *Journal of Middle East Studies* 21 (1989), 95.

[105] In his memoirs that he wrote later in 1945, he mentioned that after graduating from the Royal Military Academy in 1896, suspected of his affiliation to the Young Turk oppositional movement, he was immediately sent to the province of Tripoli. Cami Baykurt *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat: Çöl İnsanları, Sürgünler ve Jön Türkler,* comp. Arı İnan, ed. Emre Yalçın (İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, 2009).

[106] Cami Baykurt, "Ekler, Muhâberât-ı Resmîyye Defteri 27 Temmuz 1906-28 Ağustos 1908)," *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat: Çöl İnsanları, Sürgünler ve Jön Türkler,* edited by Arı İnan (İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, 2009). Cami Baykurt, "Ek", *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 199. Abdurrahman Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti* (Erzurum: Atürk Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1970), 145-148.

[107] Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 199.

[108] Abdurrahman Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti 1858-1911* (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 1970), 88-96.See also F.A.K. Yasamee "The Ottoman Empire, The Sudan and

Both Sadık Bey and Cami Bey's travels to Tripoli took place under official orders to places marked by intense political contestations. In that sense, the experiences of the authors in the distant margins of the empire can perhaps be likened to the famous painter-bureaucrat-archeologist Osman Hamdi Bey's bureaucratic post to Baghdad in 1869-71, which as Edhem Eldem analyzed was the politically motivated "*moment*" among the "three different *moments* in time and space" in which he "was exposed to a similar vision of the East."[109] At this specific time and place, Eldem argues, political, idealist and patriotic concerns had effected Osman Hamdi's conception and representation of the locals.[110] This political and idealist stance where he used Orientalist discourse to represent the local people, Eldem remarked, is considered by Ussama Makdisi and others as Osman Hamdi Bey's "single and consistent" attitude towards the peripheral subjects of the empire that represented the 'East' of the empire.[111] Based on his excavations of the Royal Necropolis of Sidon and his contribution to the *Elbise-i Osmaniyye* Album, Osman Hamdi Bey formed an important case study for Makdisi in defining the "quasi-colonial relationship" between the center and the periphery" that he called Ottoman Orientalism, which he regarded as the reflection of "a specifically Turkish sensibility as the dominant element of a westernized Islamic Ottoman nationalism."[112] Eldem has objections for Makdisi's take on Osman Hamdi as a "textbook Orientalist" in

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the Red Sea Coast 1883-1889", *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History V*, (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1990).

[109] Edhem Eldem, "An Ottoman Traveler to the Orient: Osman Hamdi Bey", *Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism*, ed. Zeynep İnankur, Reina Lewis and Mary Roberts (Istanbul: Pera Müzesi; Seattle WA: distributed by University of Washington Press, 2011), 170.

[110]Ibid. 170.

[111]Ibid., 169-170.

[112] Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," 783-787.

two points.[113] First he argued that although "an obvious patriotic inclination seems to have tipped the balance against the Arabs, Bedouins" which could make him an excellent example for Makdisi's model of Ottoman Orientalism in its anti-Arab and pro-Turkish dimension" this French-educated super-westernized Ottoman elite's "civilizing mission" was not only directed to the corrupt Arabs and unruly Bedouins, but to "a much wider spectrum" of Orientals, who failed to uphold Western standards.[114] For Eldem, Osman Hamdi's Baghdad experience reflected the feelings and ambitions of a young man fresh out of Paris, who believed in the need to for – and probably the possibility of- "civilizing" the system, from the administrators down to the nomadic tribes, and from the inhabitants of Baghdad to the middling classes of the Empire."[115] As he showed, the Ottoman officials except for his role model Midhat Paşa and Ottoman society except for his family were not immune to Osman Hamdi's Orientalist discourse at this specific *moment* of his travels to the Orient.[116]

Eldem also pointed out that this "strongly political and idealist" Baghdad years, that "probably come closest to Makdisi's definition of Ottoman Orientalism largely due to the political dimension that dominated his concerns at that point in his life and career" was, in effect, only one among the "three different *moments* in time and space" where he was "exposed to a similar vision of the East."[117] And these distinctive *moments*, he showed, led to "the emergence of a slightly different

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[113]Eldem, "An Ottoman Traveler to the Orient: Osman Hamdi Bey," 170.

[114]Ibid., 172

[115]Ibid., 173.

[116]Ibid., 172

[117] Ibid., 170.

discourse at each point."[118] Questioning the validity of taking this one "attitude to represent a consistent and conscious ideological construct" Eldem, instead highlighted the circumstantial aspect of Orientalist representation that has often been missed.[119] Following his suggestion that "the same individual could show different attitudes towards the Orient, depending on the circumstances in which the actual events took place and/or were narrated"[120] I argue in this thesis that the distinctive ways in which last remaining Ottoman province in North Africa was represented by these two Ottoman officials were equally circumstantial. Their representations have exhibited similarities with each other and also with European colonial actors. The Ottoman authors basically shared "the cultural divide that separated the authors from their "fellow" Ottomans of the area" that, for Eldem, "put them in a position very similar to that of European travelers, down to some of the most typical clichés and expectations of Western travel literature."[121] As mentioned in the introduction, some of the Ottoman imperial center's policies to rule in North Africa were inspired by European colonialism while the center's stance towards the peripheral subjects of the empire were comparable to with the European colonialist powers. However there was a major difference between the Ottoman and European cases that should be emphasized from the start. The Ottoman Empire adopted a colonialist and imperialist

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[118] These moments were, Osman Hamdi Bey's bureaucratic post in Baghdad in 1869-71, his travel to South-Eastern Anatolia in 1883 to the summit of Mount Nimrud more specifically in order to claim the tumulus of Antiochus of Commagene. The last one involved his nostalgic revisiting between 1892-96 of his first experience in Baghdad, in the form of conversations with Rudolf Lindau who has written five stories based on these conversations. Ibid., 169-181.

[119] For instance, Eldem explained that the second *moment*, necessitated by an archeological survey in Mount Nimrud in 1883, where "Osman Hamdi had no mission to fulfill, no war to fight, no rebellion to quell, no pasha to follow, no father to impress," resulted with "much calmer narrative, dominated by curiosity, a desire to observe, and a certain quest for exoticism." Ibid., 169.

[120] Ibid., 170.

[121] Ibid., 173

inspired rule in Libya- as in Arab provinces- however, it did not have institutional and military infrastructure that backed European colonialism. The absence institutional and military reinforcement has, as we would see, implicated the Ottoman government's policies in North Africa. Moreover just as the confidence about its power reinforced European powers' sense of superiority and, as Said argued the certainty of the European ideological constructs about the Orient, this political uncertainty and insecurity for the fortunes of the state in the Ottoman case might have implications on the Ottoman notion of superiority and ideological constructs.[122]

However not only the attitudes of Ottoman officers and European colonialist in North Africa varied, the Ottoman authors' attitudes and representations of have also slightly changed. I think the changes in representation might be related to the authors' background and the distinctive conditions under which they have been to the place. So in order to properly attend to Sadık el-Müeyyed and Cami Bey's representations in the ensuing chapters, I try to historicize and contextualize Ottoman Libya at the time that the authors were there. I also refer to some aspects of the social background and ideological conditioning of the authors that I think, might have effected their representations. While this chapter examines on the background of the authors and the historical context of the province, the subsequent chapter focuses on the form, the illustrated travelogue, that Sadık el-Müeyyed and Cami Baykurt preferred to represent their experience in the province through focusing on their voyage in the Sahara Desert. I would reflect on the interrelated practices of and discourses about traveling, travel writing and photography in the next chapter.

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[122] Said, *Orientalism*; Mitchell, "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order," 455-456; Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient", *The politics of vision: essays on nineteenth-century art and society* (New York: Harper&Row, c1989): 33-59.

2.1 A few remarks on the background of the authors Sadık el-Müeyyed and Cami Baykurt

In terms of social background, Sadık Bey was the son of an important family in Damascus; Cami Bey the was son of a *paşa*. Sadık Bey was a member of the famous Azmzade family in Damascus; his father was Salih Ezdeşîr el-Müeyyed from the notables of Damascus.[123] Sadık Bey was born in 1858.[124] Almost twenty years younger than Sadık Bey, Cami Bey, or Abdülkaadir Bin Mehmed Münir as he was known until his commander Marshall Recep Paşa in Tripoli gave him the name "Cami", was born in 1877 in Istanbul.[125] His father Mehmed Münir Paşa was a high-ranking officer in the military.[126]

A significant commonality between these two imperial officials, who decided to write their travels to the distant periphery, was that they both graduated from Imperial Military Academy, albeit with a difference of approximately 15 years. Sadık Bey was graduated in 1883.[127] After completing primary education, Cami Bey continued his education in Soğukçeşme Askeri *Rüşdiye Mektebi*, Kuleli *İdadi* and

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[123] İdris Bostan, "Giriş", Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ'yı Kebirinde Seyahat: bir Osmanlı zabitinin büyük Sahrâ'da seyahati*, haz. H.Bostan, N. Omaç (Istanbul: Çamlıca Basın Yayın, 2010), xii. For more on the Azmzade family see, Shimon Shamir, *The Azm walis of Syria (1724-1785): the period of dynastic succession in the government of the walayahs Damascus, Sidon and Tripoli* (PhD Diss., Princeton University, 1961); Linda Schatkowski-Schilcher, *Families in Politics: Damascene Factions and Estates of the 18th and 19th Centuries*, (Stuttgart, 1985), 30. For an analysis of the urban notables in Arab provinces, Christoph K. Neumann, "Ottoman Provincial Towns from the Eighteenth to the Nineteenth Century: A Re-Assessment of their place in the transformation of the Empire", *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Phillip and Stefan Weber (Beirut, 2002): 131-144.

[124] İdris Bostan, "Giriş", *Afrika Sahrâ'yı Kebirinde Seyahat: bir Osmanlı zabitinin büyük Sahrâ'da seyahati*, xii.

[125] Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat,* pp. xi.

[126] Ibid.

[127] İdris Bostan, "Giriş", *Afrika Sahrâ'yı Kebirinde Seyahat*, xiii.

graduated from Royal Military Academy in 1896.[128] The Military Academy is

important for providing a scientific viewpoint and for the appointment of officials.

The Imperial Military Academy, established in 1834, was related to the

efforts of raising military officers and civil bureaucrats trained in modern western

scientific method, which has been quite central to the reform policies of the

modernizing state. According to Fatma Müge Göçek the establishment of institutions

giving western style education resulted from a combination of external challenges,

military defeats and internal challenges from influential households from the capital

and provinces.[129] Starting with Naval Engineering School (*Mühendishâne-i Bahrî-I*

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[128] Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat,* 2009, pp. xi

[129] Reinforcing the central authority, was a focal point of the reform process and in this framework the sultans and the imperial elite tried to curtail the influence of local notables. Before the reform period, the households in the capital and provinces were centers for training officials for the state. During the nineteenth century the sultan and the imperial elite required new personnel for the application of the *Tanzimat* reforms whose loyalty laid with the state not with a household. Likewise, Sultan Mahmud II's detrimental move against the Janissary Army in 1826, a major challenge to the sultans authority, was not only motivated by modernizing the obsolete military forces, but also by reinforcing the central authority. Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 68. See also, Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 28-30, 60-65. Şerif Mardin, "Centre Periphery Relations: A Key to Turkish Politics?," *Daedalus* (1973) pp. 169-90. Donald Quataert, "The 19th Century," *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 54-74. Carter Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman Empire : the Sublime Porte, 1789-1922* (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, c1980); Carter V. Findley, *Ottoman civil officialdom: a social history* (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, c1989). For the relations between contending forces in the provinces and the center in eighteenth century see, Ariel Salzman, "Measures of Empire: Tax Farmers and the Ottoman Ancien Regime, 1695-1807" (PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 1995) pp. 1-57. Bruce McGowan, "The Age of the Ayans, 1699-1812," *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, Volume II, 1600-1900*, Halil ed. İnalcık&Donal Quartaert (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 639-679. Stanford J.Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III 1789-1807* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971), 283-328.

However a bureaucratic elite emerged as a side-effect of the policies aimed at binding Janissaries and local notables to the imperial center. While the bureaucratic reforms were directed to replace the patrimonial system in government services with a more rational system, Carter Findley argued that the new practice sort of co-existed with the old with the "Ottoman statesmen behaving like an enlarged version of a patrimonial household faction, or a set of factions." Carter Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman Empire : the Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, 166. Hanioğlu also argued that the policies directed to traditional political forces disturbed the balance of power which not only reinforced the sultan's authority but also the "buergeoning bureaucracy". Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 60. See also Karpat, "The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789- 1908," 255.

Hümâyûn) in 1773, almost all the first modern educational institutions founded by the state was for raising military professionals.[130] The Naval Engineering School was followed by in 1795 Engineering School for Armed Forces (*Mühendishâne-i Berrî-i Hümâyûn*) Military Medical School (*Tıbhâne-i Âmire*) in 1826 and as mentioned above, Imperial Military (War) Academy (*Mekteb-i Ulûm-i Harbiyye*) in 1834.[131] Through establishing institutions that would provide western style military training, the reforming sultans beginning with Sultan Selim III, hoped to reverse the pattern of defeats and territorial losses.[132] In line with the efforts to raise competent and loyal officials for the state, the schools for producing military professionals were followed by schools that would raise civil personnel such as *Darülmaarif* in 1849, School of Civil Administration (*Mekteb-i Mülkiye*) in 1849 and the prestigious Galatasaray Lycée (*Mekteb-i Sultani*) in 1868.[133]

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[130] The only exception to a number of military schools being Bâb-ı Âlî Tercüme Odası (Translation Office of the Sublime Porte) established in 1821. Selçuk Akşin Somel noted that this institution may not be an educational institution in the formal sense, but it was emphasized by Carter Findley as the "first educational body witin the Ottoman Empire, where civil Muslim government officials were not educated within the framework of religion." Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline* (Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 2001), 21. See also, Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman Empire*, 133. See also, Bayram Kodaman&Abdullah Saydam, "Tanzimat Devri Eğitim Sistemi", *150. Yılında Tanzimat*, ed. Hakkı Dursun Yıldız (Ankara : Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992), 475-476, 488-490.

[131] Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire*, 21. See also, Osman Ergin, *İstanbul mektepleri ve ilim, terbiye, ve san'at müesseseleri dolayısıyle Türkiye maarif tarihi* vol.3-4 (Istanbul: Eser Neşriyat ve Dağıtım, 1977). Stanford J.Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III 1789-1807* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press): 138-167.

[132] Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* , 103-104. Shaw, "Part III: The "New Order" of Selim III", *Between Old and New*, 71-180; Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Osmanlı Bilim ve Eğitim Anlayışı", *150. Yılında Tanzimat*, ed. Hakkı Dursun Yıldız (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992), 347-354.

[133] Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman Empire*, 159. See also his *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History*, 131-172; Ali Çankaya, *Yeni Mülkiye târihi ve mülkiyeliler (Mülkiye şeref kitabı): son asır Türk târihinin önemli olayları ile birlikde: (Atîk) Mekteb-i Fünûn-ı Mülkiyye, Mekteb-i Mülkiyye-i Şâhâne, Mekteb-i Mülkiyye, Mülkiye Mektebi, Siyasal Bilgiler Okulu, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi târihi* (Ankara: S.B.F., 1968/1969-1970/197).

2.2 Scientific viewpoint

Modern mathematics and geometry lessons as well as natural sciences, chemistry, geography and topography were taught to students in the Military Academy where the authors' have graduated.[134] According to Şerif Mardin, the modern institutions of higher education such as Imperial Military Academy, School of Civil Administration, and Imperial Medical Academy were channels for the modern scientific ideas could spread.[135] For him, the scientific viewpoint provided by these schools could be considered as "positivism" in its most general sense in nineteenth century to point to a "popularized European scienticism" and materialism for governing laws of nature as well as economy.[136] This scientific viewpoint is important because as we would see modern knowledge was one of the most important constituents of distinction between the Ottoman officers and peripheral subjects. The clashes between educated Ottoman official and superstitious locals formed a prevalent topic for both authors.

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[134]Ergin, *Türkiye maarif tarihi* Vol 1-2**,** 434-436. İhsanoğlu, "Osmanlı Bilim ve Eğitim Anlayışı," 351-352.

[135] Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri 1895-1908* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası yayınları, 1964), 22. See also Ergin, *Maarif Tarihi* Vol.3-4. Şükrü M. Hanioğlu, "Ideological Roots of the Young Turks", The Young Turks in Opposition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Göçek, *Rise of Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire*; Roderic Davison, "Westernized education in Ottoman Turkey," *The Middle East Journal* (Summer, 1962): 289-301. Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Kırım Savaşı, Islahat Fermanı ve Osmanlı Eğitim Düzeninde Dönüşümler," *Savaştan Barışa: 150. Yıldönümünde Kırım Savaşı ve Paris Antlaşması(1853-1856),* ed. Feridun Emecen (Istanbul: Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, Tarih Araştırma Merkezi, 2007).

[136] Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri*, 23. Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 94. See also Ekmelleddin İhsanoğlu, "Osmanlı Bilim ve Eğitim Anlayışı" *150. Yılında Tanzimat*, Hakkı Dursun Yıldız ed. (Ankara : Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992) : 335-395, 395-439.

In fact Cami Bey and Sadık Bey's association of science, albeit in its popular and practical incarnation, with 'progress' as well as was quite in line with the intellectual currents prevalent in the late Ottoman domain.[137] Throughout the modernization period, according to Hanioğlu, "science" was the catch phrase of European supremacy to the extent that for some groups in the society, the concept of "modern science" began to replace the "authority of religious constructs in traditional Ottoman thought."[138] In order to point to the growing importance of science among intellectuals Hanioğlu claimed that the words "progress" (*terakkiyat*) and "civilization" (*temeddün*) perhaps became the most widely used in public discourse in every aspect of life.[139] From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, he argued, science increasingly became the key to modern "civilization" and "progress" for Ottoman intellectuals."[140] He added, of course, not everyone was as radical as Beşir Fuad who "committed suicide and took notes up to the point of losing consciousness in order to prove that life is merely a materialistic event" still the belief in the necessity of acquiring modern knowledge to regenerate Ottoman state and society was prevalent among Ottoman intelligentsia, from mid-nineteenth century onwards.[141]

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[137]For an analysis of dominant intellectual perspectives in the late Ottoman Empire see Hanioğlu, "Ideological Roots of the Young Turks", *Young Turks in Opposition*; See also Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi* (Istanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1981), 6-25. Şerif Mardin, *Continuity and Change in the Ideas of Young Turks* (Istanbul: Robert College, 1969); *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri*; *Yeni Osmanlı düşüncesinin doğuşu*, trans. Mümtaz'er Türköne, Fahri Una (Istanbul: İletişim, 1996). Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma* (Bilgi Yayınları: Ankara, 1973). Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 19-20.

[138] Hanioğlu, "Ideological Roots of the Young Turks", *Young Turks in Opposition*, 10-11.

[139] Ibid., 12.

[140] Ibid., 16.

[141] Ibid., 14-16.

The science, which was much, appealing to Ottoman intellectuals, for Hanioğlu, had a "biological-materialist and Darwinist" orientation, with the "progress" they aspired to having a materialist aspect.[142]Hanioğlu argued that materialist ideas more specifically "German Vulgarmaterialismus" explained by him as a blend of "materialism, scienticism, and Social Darwinism" gained virulence among many Ottoman intellectuals during the latter part of the nineteenth century.[143] Both Hanioğlu and Mardin emphasized that materialist inspired ideas were especially favored among students and graduates of new imperial academies.[144] Furthermore, Selçuk Akşin Somel argued that the organization of public education into phases -as primary *ibtidâî*, secondary *rüşdiyye* and *idâdî*, and colleges -also had important implications among the graduates of public schools.[145] Invoking Michel Foucault's conceptualization, he explained that "the organization of the process of educational development" as phases that "constitut[ed] a 'general process' of education led to the emergence of the notion of 'linear time' leading to a final point of development."[146] For him, this might be the reason the reason why successive generation of graduates of public schools had a positive conception of the "notions of evolution and progress", both in material and intellectual senses.[147]

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[142] Hanioğlu, "Ideological Roots of the Young Turks", *Young Turks in Opposition*, 12.

[143] Ibid., 32. See also Atilla Doğan, *Osmanlı Aydınları ve Sosyal Darwinizm* (Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006)

[144] Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* 142. Mardin, *Jön Türklerin siyasi fikirleri.*

[145]Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire*, 7.

[146]Ibid.

[147]Ibid.

For Sadık Bey, the Bedouin were "savage" (*vahşi*) or "half-savage" (*nîm-vahşi*) and for Cami Bey, the Tuareg "remain in an unchanging state of savagery and nomadism from prehistoric ages" (*bu güne kadar ezmine-i kable't-târihiyyedeki hâl-i vahşet ve bedâvette kalmışlardır*).[148] In representing the Bedouins in the province of Tripoli as "backwards" and in the earlier stages of 'civilization', both Sadık el-Müeyyed and Cami Bey might have been informed by the social Darwinists theories and popular scientificist ideas prevalent in the empire.

Abdullah Cevdet - one of the four founders of the "nucleus for an opposition committee" in 1889 under the name of Ottoman Union Society (*İttihad-i Osmanî Cemiyeti*)- with whom Cami Bey's path had crossed paths with in Fizan in 1896 could form an important link in Cami Bey's case. Abdullah Cevdet, as Mardin and Hanioğlu both noted, was deeply affected by materialist and social Darwinist theories especially through the works of Ludwig Büchner and Gustave Le [149] He has translated parts of Büchner and Le Bon's works into Turkish.[150] Cami Bey described Abdullah Cevdet as a materialist non-believer who tried to introduce social

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[148] Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat*, 1896, 72. Cami Baykut, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 114.

[149] Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri*, 168-169, 177. Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 205-207. See also, Şükrü M. Hanioğlu, *Bir siyasal düşünür olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi* (Istanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat 1981).

[150] Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 18. The following examples are from the endnote 121 of Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 1995, p. 18. Abdullah Cevdet's, *Fizyolociya-yi Tefekkiir: Mehazimm Esasi C[K]raft und Staff ttnvAnh Kitabm Tefekkur Eahsidir* (Istanbul, 1308 [1890]). Hanioğlu indicated that this was the translation of a chapter from *Ludwig Büchner's, Kraft und Staff: Empirisch-natur- philosophische Studien (Frankfurt am Main, 1858). Cevdet also summarized Ludwig Büchner's Natur und Geist: Gesprache zweier Freunde uber Aen Materialismus und uber die realphilosophischen Fragen der Gegemvart* (Frankfurt am Main, 1857). The summary was Goril (Ma'muret-el-Aziz, 1311 [1893]). In A[bdullah] Cevdet, "Herkes Iciin Kimya," *Musavver Cihan,* no. 4 [Sep- tember 23, 1891], Cevdet tried to convey the biological materialist ideas quite simply for the Ottoman public to understand. He was inspired by Büchner and Felix Isnard in this method to inform the public. Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi*, 12-19.

Darwinism to the Ottoman group in Fizan.[151] Of course there were other reasons and more traditional points of references for the authors to represent the local people 'primitive' and 'savage' as such, which would be discussed later in chapter six.

2.3 Photography in the military schools

According to Bahattin Öztuncay photography was being taught in the military schools including the Military Academy as of 1860s.[152] The archival documents do not refer exact dates for the establishment of photography studios in military institutions.[153] However judging from the documents that mention the officers and teachers affiliated to the photography studios in Imperial Military Academy, Naval Engineering School and Engineering School for Armed Forces, there were photography studios in these institutions. The first mention of a working studio with a commissioner was in 1876 which is concerned with the studio in Royal Artillery (*Tophane-i Amire*) and one Lieutenant Commander İhsan Bey working in this studio.[154] These documents are mostly about giving rewards to the officials and teachers or for charging them with official missions.[155] Major Ali Sami and lieutenant Mehmed Ali Efendis, for instance, were two such military officers charged

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[151] Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, 21

[152] Bahattin Öztuncay, *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları: 19. Yüzyıl Istanbulunda fotoğraf: Öncüler, stüdyolar, sanatçılar 1* (Istanbul: AYGAZ, 2003), 335.

[153] With the exception of a document dating from 17 Cemazeyilahir 1309 (18 January 1892) concerning the construction of a studio in *Hendese-i Mülkiye Mektebi*.

[154] MF.MKT 425/18.

[155] BOA İ.TAL 78/44, 94/32, İ.TAL 119/91, İ.DH 838/67419

to take photographs of imperial monuments in the province of Bursa.[156] 7 of these documents that discuss the rewards and assignments, are the photographers or photography instructors of Military Academy and 6 are about *Erkan-ı Harbiyye-i Umumiyye Dairesi*.[157] Öztuncay also mentioned that some of these graduates from military schools have taught photography lessons in these schools such as Bahriyeli Ali Sami Bey in Naval Engineering School.[158] Five of the eight documents regarding the Military Academy are concerned with the school's photography instructor, Rıfat Efendi.[159]

Cami Bey and Sadık Bey might have learned photography during their years in the Academy. However neither the authors mention in any of their publications where they learned photography, nor any other indications of where and when they learned the practice. And it should also be added that the first reference to the instructor, Rıfat Efendi or any other instructor for that matter, is in 1893, which may cast an even bigger doubt on Sadık Bey's case, since he was already graduated at that time. So without further details this assumption could not go beyond an educated guess. What could be more certainly argued, however, is that the military educational institutions became an important channel of photography training. Öztuncay mentioned some graduates of the military schools such as Lieutenant Hüsnü, Üsküdarlı Ali Sami, Bahriyeli Ali Sami, Lieutenant Sadullah İzzet, Miralay Ali Rıza and Hüseyin Zekai, who have actively engaged with photography after finishing the

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[156] BOA DH.MKT. 1685/119, 1697/11, 1759/88.

[157] BOA BEO 587/43959, İ.TAL. 19/14, BOA BEO 1230/92191, BEO 831/62259, İ.ML. 29/87, İ.TAL. 147/67, İ.TAL. 19/14, İ.TAL 37/15, İ.TAL. 187/27, İ.DH.. 934/73994, İ.DH.. 838/67419, İ.DH.. 925/73366, İ.DH.. 934/73994.

[158] Bahattin Öztuncay, *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları 1*, 335.

[159] BOA BEO 1230/92191, BEO 831/62259, İ.ML. 29/87, İ.TAL. 147/67, İ.TAL. 19/14.

schools.[160] Among them Lieutenant Hüsnü, Bahriyeli Ali Sami has written practical manuals on photography.[161] As for Sadullah İzzet, he wrote technical books on photography as well as its application in topography.[162] Our Sadık el-Müeyyed has also translated a photography manual, most probably from French, called *Fenn-i Fotoğraf*.[163] These manuals, which provided practical knowledge for prospective practioners could constitute a significant channel for learning photography.[164] Similarly, article series on practical application of photography appeared in major journals of the time such as *Servet-I Fünun, Malumat, Hadika, Hazine-i Fünun, Maarif, Mecmua-i Fünun, Mir'at-ı Alem, Musavver Cihan.*

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[160] Bahattin Öztuncay, *Dersaadet'in Fotoğrafçıları 1*, 335; Engin Özendes, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Fotoğrafçılık 1839-1923* (Istanbul: YEM Yayın, 1995)

[161] Lieutenant Hüsnü wrote *Risale-i Fotoğrafya* in 1871, Bahriyeli Ali Sami wrote *Mebad-i Usul-i Fotoğrafya* in 1892.

[162] Lieutenant Sadullah İzzet published a series *Kimya-i Fotoğrafi, Fotoğrafin Tatbikat-ı Sınayiesi, Amel-i Fotoğrafya Rehberi, Muhit-i Fünun-i Fotoğrafya and Fotoğraf-i Fen-i Menazir* which was specifically related to photography's application in topographical surveys. The last book was directed to military engineers. Sadullah Bey also wanted to issue a monthly journal on photography, called *Fotografi*. It seems that he was granted the right, but I do not know whether he did publish the journal and if so for how long, because I did not come across with such a journal in any of the archives that I have examined for photography manuals and journals. BOA ZB. 363/56.

[163] The manuscript is in Istanbul Üniversitesi, Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, TY.4364. The manuscript is undated and does not contain publishing details. However the record of the presentation of the book is in the archive which ida dated 6 Rebîülâhir 1327 (27 April 1909) Y..EE.. 143/37.

[164] A list of Ottoman photographic manuals can be found in Özendes, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Fotoğrafçılık 1839-1923*, 313-314.

2.4 Offcial posts of Sadık el-Müeyyed and Cami Baykurt to Libya

Established earlier in the century, the modern educational institutions were reinforced during Sultan Aldülhamid II's reign, for whom, the schools were important for raising bureaucrats and officers.[165] At the same time, Selçuk Akşin Somel argued that the emphasis on religion for political ends during the Hamidian regime did not lead to the adoption of an Islamic curriculum.[166] It could be argued, for Somel that the "utilization of Islam remained mainly within the realm of political utility and formality" while "practical and bureaucratic needs" continued so as the "modernist tendencies" in education.[167]

Being graduated from these schools more and more became the prerequisite for assuming administrative and military duties within the empire.[168] The higher education system was not only aimed at producing officials for the modern state, but also producing "loyal and competent state elite" as Deringil wrote, "which would be thoroughly imbued with the values of the center."[169] For Mardin, as well, Sultan Abdülhamid wished to bind the officials within the empire, to himself, loyalty to the sultan became an important tenet for appointment.[170] In order to do that, Hanioğlu

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[165] Hanioğlu,*Young Turks in Opposition*, 21-22, 25. François Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, trans. Ali Berktay (Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2006), 290-293. Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 94-95.

[166]Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908*, 2001, 167; See also Ergin, *Maarif Tarihi* for cirricular content.

[167]Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908,* 167.

[168] Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri* 1895-1908, 41.

[169]Deringil, *Well-protected Domains*, 96. See also Göçek, *Rise of Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire*, 68. See also, Findley, "Restoring Political Balance: The First Constitutional Period and Return to Sultanic Dominance", *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman Empire : the Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, 221-287.

[170] Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri 1895-1908*, 41.

argued, Abdülhamid tried to emphasize that the high-ranking officials and bureaucrats owed their position to him.[171] However for Hanioğlu, this does not mean that the sultan aimed to subvert the process of rationalization of administration propelled with *Tanzimat* reforms, and a return to *pre-Tanzimat* arrangements of patrimonial system involving chains of patronage relations, instead, Abdülhamid wished to be "the single patrimonial leader, ruling with the help of a rational bureaucracy."[172] The increase in "descriptions of personal loyalty" replacing the impersonal style -the norm in the earlier periods of *Tanzimat*- was considered by Hanioğlu as an indication for this changing relationship between the sultan and officials.[173]

Both graduates of Royal Military Academy and became military officers, however, Sadık Bey and Cami Bey had distinct career paths that led both of them to the province of Tripoli at a certain point in their lives. Within the "neopatrimonial" relations, Sadık el-Müeyyed could rose to the rank of *paşa* in 1899 and became a lieutenant general in 1907, yet was dismissed after the Young Turk Revolution in 14 September 1908 (17 Şaban 1326).[174] It seems that Sultan Abdülhamid especially entrusted Sadık Bey with diplomatic missions. Besides visiting Sheikh Sanusi twice, he was among the commission to Germany for the coronation of crown prince Wilhelm II in 15th of June 1888 and in the same year also accompanied tsar's

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[171] Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 24.

[172] Hanioğlu,*The Young Turks in Opposition*, 24. Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, 296. For the pre-Tanzimat patrimonial relations see footnote 129.

[173] Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 25. See also Ali Akyıldız, "Tanzimat Döneminde Belgelerin Şekil, Dil ve Muhteva Yönünden geçirdiği Bazı Değişiklikler", *Tanzimat: değişim sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, ed. Halil İnalcık, Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012, c2008): 405-420.

[174] İdris Bostan, "Giriş", *Afrika Sahrâ'yı Kebirinde Seyahat*, xxii.

brother, Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich, his wife Grand Duchess Elizabeth Feodorovna and the duke's brother Paul Alexandrovich on their journey to Jerusalem.[175] Müeyyed also led an imperial delegation to Ethiopia, sent by Abdülhamid II in 1904.[176] Cengiz Orhonlu stated that Emperor Menelik II (1889-1913) has sent a commission to Sultan Abdülhamid in 1896, in order to request Ethiopian Christians to be granted same rights in Jerusalem as other Christian states' subjects.[177] In response to Menelik's delegation to the sultan, an Ottoman one led by Sadık Bey's was sent to Addis Ababa, to visit Emperor Menelik and discuss the state of Muslims in Ethiopia.[178] When he returned, after three months, he offered a report to the Sultan and wrote a travelogue on Ethiopia, as well.[179] In line with this, upon Sadık Bey's proposals in his return, the expanses the renovation of existing mosques in Ethiopia and construction of a new mosque in the capital were assumed by the Ottoman state, 4.000 liras were sent for these purposes.[180]

According to Erik Zürcher, despite his efforts, Sultan Abdülhamid was not quite successful in securing the loyalty of a younger generation of bureaucrats, the products of his "expanded educational institutions."[181] Zürcher argued that for the young students of imperial academies, liberalism and constitutional ideas along with

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[175] Ibid., xiv.

[176] Ibid., xxi.

[177] Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun güney siyaseti: Habeş Eyaleti* (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1974), 164.

[178] Ibid., 164.

[179] Sadık-el Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi* (Istanbul: İkdam Matbaası, 1322 (1904)); Özege 6528. İdris Bostan, "Giriş", *Afrika Sahrâ'yı Kebirinde Seyahat*, xxi.

[180] Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun güney siyaseti*, 166. Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, comp. Mustafa Baydemir, ed. Serkan Özburun (Istanbul: Kaknüs yayınları, 1999), 173-174.

[181] Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: a modern history* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris: Distributed by St. Martin's Press, c1998), 90. See also, Göçek, *Rise of Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire*, 73-86.

"scientific" materialism were quite attractive while "Ottoman patriotism of Young

Ottomans" the earlier generation of critical figures, were informative.[182] The

opportunity to rise in bureaucratic ranks for these young men, most notably the

Young Turks, within the "neopatrimonial" relations promoted by the sultan.[183]

According to Hanioğlu, this was a major source of distress among the students and

graduates from western-style educational establishments, which, in turn, made the

Young Turk opposition appealing for them.[184]

Within the same appointment system, while Sadık Bey advanced in military

ranks until the Young Turk Revolution, Cami Bey was sent to exile to Fezzan in

Tripolitania in 1896, and after the Revolution and opening of the parliament he

resigned from his military duties and became the deputy of Fezzan.[185] In the memoirs

he later published, Cami Bey recalled that in Fezzan, he was surrounded by many

exiles like himself who were, in one way or another, opposed to state authority, or

rather, Sultan Abdülhamid himself.[186] Cami Bey regarded himself as belonging to

this oppositional movement, which consisted of a loosely connected group of

officials, soldiers and doctors; the products of the newly established state institutions

for higher education.[187] As Şerif Mardin explains in his extensive studies on the late

Ottoman intellectual environment, oppositional stances to governance in the last

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[182] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 90.

[183] Hanioğlu, *Young Turks in Opposition*, 25-26. Feroz Ahmad, *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*, trans. Yavuz Alogan (Istanbul: Doruk Yayınevi, 2002), 51.

[184] Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 1995, 17, 25.

[185] Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat,* 2009, xii, 4.

[186]Ibid.,15.

[187] Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 213. Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri1895-1908*, 1964. See also Erik J. Zürcher, *The young Turk legacy and nation building : from the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey* (London ; New York : I. B. Tauris ; New York : Distributed in the United States exclusively by Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

decades of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century up until the

Young Turk takeover took the form of common enmity towards the sultan.[188] These

people, as Mardin demonstrates, were a complex and diverse group connected,

perhaps more than anything else, by their shared dissatisfaction with the sultan.[189]

The group in Fezzan was equally diverse. For example, it included Doctor Abdullah,

a materialist non-believer who tried to make everyone read Darwin as well as Haci

Raşid Bey, the sheikh of the exiles (*sürgünler şeyhi*), and Naili Efendi, who was

affiliated with the Nakşibendi order.[190]

In any event, things have not miraculously got better for Cami, or for the

empire for that matter with the Young Turk Revolution in 1908. The Young Turk

Revolution of 1908 certainly benefited from a deeply ingrained anxiety, especially in

certain groups suffering from Abdülhamid's authoritarian measures.[191] These

expectations coupled with the restoration of the constitution and re-opening of the

parliament, which might have led to the rhapsodic reception of the Revolution in the

public.[192] The revolution that embodied these concerns in turn, gave rise to many

expectations from diverse segments of society. Despite their best efforts to contrast

themselves with Sultan Abdülhamid, Young Turk policies paralleled those of Sultan

Abdülhamid in many areas with the Young Turk acquisition of power not bringing

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[188] Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri*. Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*. For the Young Turk movement see also, Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks: The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics 1908-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969). Sina Akşin, *Jön Türkler ve İttihat ve Terakki* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1987).

[189] Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri*; Zürcher, "The Young Turk Era in Turkish History, 1908-50", *Turkey: A Modern History*, 97-215.

[190] Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, 18-22. Hanioğlu, *Young Turks in Opposition,* 71.

[191] Şükrü Hanioğlu, "The Second Constitutional Period, 1908-1918," *Turkey in the Modern World,* ed. Reşat Kasaba(Cambridge, UK: New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 66.

[192] Ibid.

significant relief to society and the extensive libertarian and reformist discourses that marked the pre-coup period proved more rhetorical than actual.[193] This might be in part because, as Hanioğlu argued, the multi-factional Young Turk movement had indeed undergone a series of transformations "involving its ideology, its leadership, the ethnic origins of its leaders, and its membership" between its emergences in the late 1880s and the Revolution of 1908.[194] The Revolution was actually an undertaking of the Unionist Officers of the Third (Macedonian) and Second (Thracian) Army which was quite different from the student movement prompted by materialist and scienticist ideas and unified through their share distress for the sultan that Cami Bey was affiliated with, in the Military Academy, before he was sent to Fezzan.[195] Hanioğlu claimed that because scholars of late Ottoman history have often misses the nuances in the organization of the movement and the Committee of Union and Progress, this led them to ascribe the movement with a constant nationist identity.[196]

The uprising in 16 April 1909 in the capital –the famous 31 Mart Vakası which is stigmatized to this day as a reactionary uprising in contrast to the progressive Revolution- in which involved several disenchanted groups with the new regime, mainly liberal opposition led by the followers of Prens Sabahattin and lower *ulema*, was a major challenge for the Committee's authority.[197] After the counterrevolution was suppressed by the "Action Army" (Hareket Ordusu) formed

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[193]Ibid. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 104-116.

[194] Hanioğlu, *Young Turks in Opposition*, 4.

[195] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 93

[196] Hanioğlu, *Young Turks in Opposition,* 4.

[197] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 100.

through propaganda promulgated by the CUP leaders that fled to Macedonia, from the ranks of Third and Second Armies and reinforced by volunteers, a series of laws was envisaged to reinforce central authority curtail individual and social freedoms and implement censorship of the press.[198]

Distressed from the rising political tensions and growing authoritarian attitude of the CUP Cami Bey withdrew his affiliation with the CUP and continued his political career independently.[199] With the benefit of hindsight, of course, Cami Bey commented in his memoirs on the stance of Young Turks opposition, seeing it as having been sustained by their shared contempt the sultan, he remarked: "We thought once we overthrow Abdülhamid's regime the rest is easy."[200] Yet it turned out not to be that easy after all. The province of Tripoli, for instance, which Cami Bey wrote about, was lost to Italy in 1912.

2.5 Ottoman Libya at the time of Sadık el-Müeyyed and Cami Baykurt's posts

The specific historical context of the Province of Tripoli at the times of their posts is equally if not more informative in the authors' representations. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries" as Michel Le Gall wrote, "the Ottoman government had enjoyed a comparative advantage over the European states vis-a-vis Africa: for one thing, it represented a power whose religion-Islam- was that of much of North and West Africa; for another, it commanded outposts along the Mediterranean coastline

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[198] Ibid., 105.

[199] Cami Baykurt, *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat,* 2009, pp. xii.

[200] "bir kere Abdülhamid idaresini yıkalım da ötesi kolay diyorduk" Ibid., 36.

from which it might have extended its rule inland."[201] The Ottomans conquered most

of the Mediterranean coastline during the sixteenth century and this gave them a

"string of naval bases in North Africa."[202]During the eighteenth century, in Tripoli

and Tunis local janissary families -Qaramanlis in Tripoli and Husaynids in Tunis-

contested Ottoman state's dominion in these outposts and enjoyed relative

independence for about a century.[203]

In 1830 French invaded Algeria, revealing the ambiguous status of the

Ottoman Empire in North Africa.[204] Abdurrahman Çaycı argued that after French

conquest of Algeria, the Ottoman Empire intended to establish its direct rule in both

Tunisia and Tripoli, because the statesmen worried that what happened to Algeria

could be repeated in Tripoli and Tunisia, as well.[205] The French invasion of Tunisia

in 1881 proved the Ottomans' concerns right. Similarly Michel Le Gall thought that

the Ottoman's reconquest of Tripolitania in 1835 was, in part, a response to French

invasion of Algeria.[206]

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[201] Michel Le Gall, "A New Ottoman Outlook on Africa: Note on Turn of the Century Literature," *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History V*, ed. Sinan Kuneralp (Istanbul: The ISIS Press, 1990), 136; see also, in the same volume Abderrahman El-Mudden, "The Sharif and the Padishah: Some Remarks on Moroccan-Ottoman Relations in the 16th century" 27-35. Andrew Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier* (Chicago, 1978); Samih İlter, *Şimali Afrika'da Türkler*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: 1934).

[202] Le Gall, "A New Ottoman Outlook on Africa: Note on Turn of the Century Literature", 136.

[203] Ibid. For a comparison of Libyan and Tunusian policies see, Lisa S. Anderson, *State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1830-1980* (Princeton, 1986). Also see, C.R. Pennell *Piracy and Diplomacy in Seventeenth Century North Africa*, *The Journal of Thomas Baker, English Consul in Tripoli 1677-1685* (London, 1984). And his, "The Ottoman Empire in North Africa: A Question of Degree-Tripoli in the Seventeenth Century" Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History V, ed. Sinan Kuneralp (Istanbul: The ISSI Press, 1990): 35-57.

[204] Le Gall, "A New Ottoman Outlook on Africa: Note on Turn of the Century Literature," 136.

[205]Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti*, 9. Lisa Anderson, "Nineteenth Century Reform in Ottoman Libya", *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* 16, (1984), 325-327. Kemal Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 258-259.

[206] Le Gall, "A New Ottoman Outlook on Africa: Note on Turn of the Century Literature", 137.

For Lisa Anderson the establishment of direct rule in Ottoman Libya was also related to the larger centralization policies of the Ottoman state.[207] As state-society relations have increasingly been reorganized within the empire in the framework of modernization, Libya has received its share from efforts for extending control.[208] With the administrative reform both Tripoli and Benghazi became *vilayet*, however later Benghazi was turned into a *sanjak* in 1860s.[209] The Ottoman state pursued settlement and urbanization policies, because, Anderson argued, Ottoman statesmen believed that "fixed settlement was conducive to the social and economic development" and hence "essential to the Empire's rejuvenation."[210] In fact as Georgeon mentioned the imperial center's settlement policy was not only directed to Libya but also on nomadic groups in various parts of Anatolia, Balkans and Arabia.[211]

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[207] Roderic Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* (Princeton: 1963), 147. Anderson, "Nineteenth Century Reform in Ottoman Libya", 329.

[208] Lisa Anderson, *The state and social transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1830-1980*, 8, 54. See also her, "Nineteenth Century Reform in Ottoman Libya", 326-327. See also, Michel Le Gall, "*Pashas, Bedouins and notables: Ottoman administration in Tripoli and Benghazi, 1881-1902*" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University 1986). For a comparable process about Yemen, see, Kuehn, *Empire, Islam, and politics of difference : Ottoman rule in Yemen, 1849-1919*; also about Jordan see, Eugene L. Rogan, Frontiers of the State in the late Ottoman Empire (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[209] Benghazi was later made a vilayet in 1879, yet in 1888 it was returned to its status as *sanjak*. Anderson, "Nineteenth Century Reform in Ottoman Libya", 330-331.

[210] Anderson, "Nineteenth Century Reform in Ottoman Libya", 329-331. Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, 309.

[211] Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, 309. See for instance, Eugene Rogan, "Settlement: colonization, the application of the 1858 Land Law and their fiscal consequences", *Frontiers of the State in the late Ottoman Empire*, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press 2002), 70-95; Meltem Toksöz, "Spatial and Temporal Dynamics: Nomads and Settlers", *Nomads, migrants and cotton in the eastern Mediterranean: the making of the Adana-Mersin region 1850-1908* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010): 19-40; Andrew Goldon Gould, "Pasha and Brigands: Ottoman Provincial Reform and its impact on the Nomadic Tribes of Southern Anatolia, 1840-1885" (PhD Dissertation, Los Angeles, University of California, 1973); Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun İskan Siyaseti ve Aşiretleri İskan Teşebbüsü* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi), and his "Fırka-ı İslahiye ve Yapmış Olduğu İskan", *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, 37 (1973): 1-19. Norman Lewis, *Nomads and Settlers in Syria and Jordan, 1800-1980* (Cambridge, 1987); William

The invasion of Tunis by France in 1881 and occupation of Egypt by Britain in 1882 have further implicated the attitude of the Ottoman Empire towards Tripoli and inner parts of Africa.[212] Libya was the connection of Istanbul with south Sahara, Central Africa that also constituted the first line of defense to Red Sea and ultimately to Hijaz, which was of utmost importance to the policies constructed around caliphate.[213] Italy has also developed an interest for Tripoli after growing French and British expansion Africa and Middle East.[214] In fact Ottomans tried to defend Libya against both France, and Italy.[215]Engin Deniz Akarlı showed that reports dating from 1882 from Tripoli was warning the imperial center against the southward expansion of French troops that were chasing Tunusian tribes resisting occupation.[216]The Tunisian tribes escaping from French aggression were transgressing the already fluid

Ochenswald, *Religion, Society and the State in Arabia: The Hijaz under Ottoman Control, 1840-1908* (Columbus, 1984); Paul Dresch, *Tribes, Governemtn and History in Yemen* (Clarendon Press, 1989); The settlement policies of the state predated the Tanzimat period. Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, 309; Jeremy Johns, "The Longue Durée: State and Settlement Strategies in Southern Transjordan across the Islamic Centuries," *Village, Steppe and State: The Social Origins of Modern Jordan*, ed. Eugene L. Rogan and Tariq Tell (London; New York: British Academic Press, 1994), 23-31; Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretleri İskan Teşebbüsü, 1691-1696* (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1963).

[212] Engin Deniz Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)", *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History* V, (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1990), 76. Karpat, *Politicization of Islam*, 258-259. See also Selim Deringil, "Les Ottomans et le Partage de l'Afrique 1880-1900)", *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History V,* (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1990): 121-133; Michel Le Gall, "Ottoman Reaction to the European 'Scramble for Africa': The Defense of the Hinterland of Tripolitaine and Cyrenaica", *Asian and African Studies* 24 (1990): 109-35. R.Robinson and J.Gallagher with A.Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: the Climax of Imperialism*, (Garden City, N.Y., 1968); R.Oliver and A.Atmore, *Africa since 1800* (Cambridge, 1967).

[213] For the political and symbolic prominence of Hijaz in the framework of Pan-Islamist ideology see Karpat, "The Harameyin, the Caliphate and the British Search for an Arab Caliph", *Politicization of Islam,* 241-257. Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains,* 56-63.

[214] Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)", 76. A.J.P. Taylor,"International Relations," *The New Cambridge Modern History*, XI, 553-554. Karpat, *Politicization of Islam*, 208, 264, 274. Le Gall, "Ottoman Reaction".

[215] Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)," 76. See also, Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti*. Kemal Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*, 258-259.

[216] Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)," 76.

boundaries between Tunis and Tripoli.[217] Akarlı mentioned that the Ottoman

authorities felt uneasy for the French to use this as an excuse to intervene into

Tripolitania.[218] And Çaycı showed that France was interested in expanding the

hinterland of their colonies in Senegal and Algeria towards Central Africa and the

Sudan in order to unite these territories.[219] Britain was not against French expansion

in the Chad basin in exchange for consolidating its acquisition of Cyprus.[220]

However, Akarlı argued, British invasion of Egypt in 1882 shattered the "British-

French *entente*" which has changed the winds for the benefit of Italy.[221] While

France would back Italy's occupation of Tripoli in exchange for consolidating her

rule in Tunis, Britain, preferred "a pliable Italy than a hostile France to be her

neighbor in Egypt", thus she also supported Italian ambitions.[222]

Hanioğlu also argued that Sultan Abdülhamid's Pan-Islamist policy

complemented the abovementioned precautions in international affairs.[223] Although

Sultan Abdülhamid did not construct the theme of caliphate, he significantly invested

in it in both international and internal politics.[224] Georgeon argued that the theme of

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[217] Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)," 76. Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, 2006, 217. Karpat, *Politicization of Islam*, 260.

[218] Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)," 76.

[219] Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti,* 1970 88-96.

[220] Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)", 1990, 76.

[221] Ibid 76-77. For the crises over Egypt see, F.A.K. Yasamee, *Ottoman Diplomacy: Abdülhamid II and the Great Powers 1878-1888* (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1996), 87-100; Selim Deringil, "The Ottoman Response to the Egyptian Crisis of 1881-1882", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 24 (January 1988); and also his "The Residual Imperial Mentality" and the 'Urabi Paşa Uprising in Egypt: Ottoman Reactions to Arab Nationalism', *Studies on Turkish-Arab Relations* , I, (1986). Karpat, *Politicization of Islam*, 216-221.

[222] Ibid., 77.

[223]Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of Late Ottoman Empire*, 130.

[224] The concept of caliphate has not been prominently emphasized until the late eighteenth century. See, Suraiya Faroqhi, Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans (London, 1994). With the

caliphate was an ideological response to the increasing territorial losses, which

enabled the sultan to keep his claim in places such as Egypt and Tunis.[225] Sultan

Abdülhamid also tried to use Pan-Islamist propaganda as a destabilizing factor in

European colonies in Middle East and India that comprised of largely Muslim

populations.[226].

Also Deringil explained that in line with Ottoman statesmen' preoccupation

with preventing further disintegration of the empire, 'preservation of the "status

quo"' became central to Hamidian foreign policy.[227] In the "absence of military

force" he further argued, the Ottoman statesmen increasingly referred to international

laws and Ottoman Empire's rights secured in the Treaty of London in 1841 and

Treaty of Paris in 1856 and Berlin Congress in 1878.[228] With the London and Paris

Treaties, Ottoman Empire recognized as a legitimate member of the Concert of

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increasing territorial losses in land where Muslims lived, the concept gained prominence. The Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, signed after a devastating war with Russia in 1774, which led to the loss of Crimea, the Ottoman sultan could only retain spiritual right over the Muslim people in Crimea. The spiritual connection became increasingly foregrounded as more territories with predominantly Muslim populations were lost in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Georgeon, Sultan Abdülhamid, 2006, 225. Deringil, *The Well-protected domains*, 44-47. Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*, 68-890, 155-183.Albert Hourani, *A History of Arab Peoples* (London, 1991), 280.

[225]Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, 228.

[226] According Georgeon, European colonial powers were quite threatened by the potential effects of Abdülhamid's Pan-Islamist propaganda Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, 242-244. Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of Late Ottoman Empire,* 130. See also, Jacon M. Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islam, Ideology and Organization* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990). See also Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, 239-245. Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of Late Ottoman Empire,* 130. Kemal Karpat, "Ottoman-European Relations and Islamism", *The Politicization of Islam*, 208-223. Azmi Özcan, *Pan-islamizm: Osmanlı Devleti, Hindistan Müslümanları ve İngiltere* (1877-1914) (Istanbul: İSAM Yayınları, 1992). Ceasar E. Farah, "Reassessing Sultan Abdülhamid's Islamic Policy", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 14, 1995-1996, p. 191-212.

[227] Selim Deringil, "Some Comments on the Concept of Legitimacy in the Foreign Policy of Abdulhamid II" *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History I*, Sinan Kuneralp ed. (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1987), 98.

[228] Ibid., 98-99. Roderic H. Davison, "The Ottoman Empireand the Congress of Berlin", *Die Politik der Grossmachte und die Probleme der Modernisierung in Südosteuropa in der zweiten Halfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, (Wiesbaden, 1982), 205-224.

Europe.[229] Accordingly as Deringil showed the concerns of the Ottoman state elite against rising European threats for the Ottoman province of Tripoli, were mounted when they realized that the international agreements were not so much binding when it came to Africa, after the Berlin Africa Conference in 1884.[230]

2.6 The "Scramble for Africa"

Selim Deringil mentioned a memorandum prepared by Imperial Private Secretary Süreyya Paşa, in 1891 where the Paşa specifically expressed his concern that the "European state have embarked upon a partitioning (*mukaseme*) of Africa" in which "the Sublime State has a share...and any delay now in the clear defense of our share and rights will prove impossible to recover in the future."[231] He was clearly referring to the accelerated rivalry over colonizing Africa between European imperial powers, known as the "scramble for Africa."[232] And by the Ottoman Empire's share in the 'scramble' he meant the Libyan provinces.

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[229] Selim Deringil, "Some Comments on the Concept of Legitimacy in the Foreign Policy of Abdulhamid II", 98. For how international legislation became an important "legitimation mechanism " of the late Ottoman Empire see also Deringil, *Well-protected domains*.

[230] Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism," 323.

[231] Imperial Private Secretary Süreyya Paşa, quoted from, Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism," 324.

[232] Ibid 323-324. On the "scramble for Africa" see, Robinson and Gallagher with A.Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: the Climax of Imperialism*, 1968. Robin Brooke-Smith, *The Scramble for Africa* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1987); Thomas Pakenham, *The scramble for Africa, 1876-1912* (London: BCA, 1991); M.E. Chamberlain, *The Scramble for Africa* 3rd edition (Routledge, 1994).

As Süreyya Paşa pointed to the "scramble for Africa" indeed accelerated after the Berlin Africa Conference of 1884, peaking in 1890s. The Ottoman Empire was among the signatory states in the Conference. The focal point of the Conference was supposed to be the issue of Congo, however as M.E. Chamberlain mentioned, 'the new occupations' in Africa as well.[233] Ironically, the rivalry in partitioning Africa between major European imperial powers accelerated after the Berlin Africa Conference that was organized to settle the bitter competition in Africa, which oftentimes led to international crises. For Chamberlain, the Conference ended up "lay[ing] down the rules which the 'Scramble' for Africa was conducted…"[234]

The rules of the 'Scramble' were laid down in a contradictory manner. On the one hand the possessions of the signatory states, Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, the United States of America, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Sweden, Norway and Ottoman Empire in Africa were articulated and their rights secured. On the other hand, the idea of "effective occupation" was adopted in the Conference, which obliged the states to assert their "effective" presence in the lands that they claimed.[235] The latter principle in a way negated the former highlighting the historical rights and ancient precedence of signatory states. This negation served particularly to Britain and France, which hoped to abrogate the remaining claims of former imperialist powers, Spain and Portugal as well as the

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[233] M.E. Chamberlain, *The Scramble for Africa* 3rd edition (Routledge, 1994), 101. For the documents about the Berlin Africa Conference and the "scramble for Africa" see also, Robin Brooke-Smith, *Documents and Debates: The Scramble for Africa* (London; Hong Kong: MacMillan Education Ltd., 1987).

[234]Ibid.

[235]Ibid.

Ottoman Empire in parts.[236] The idea of "effective occupation" would also be useful

for Germany and Italy, renown as the latecomers to the imperial rivalry, to acquire

colonies in Africa.

Süreyya Paşa, like many Ottoman bureaucrats and Sultan Abdülhamid II, was

worried because, as Deringil showed, in 1890s they understood that the international

agreements did not have much of a binding when it came to colonization of

Africa.[237] As it increasingly became clear that the international agreements would not

suffice to defend the empire's "share and rights" in Africa, the Ottoman Empire,

according to Deringil, developed a colonialist inspired policy for Libyan.[238] Deringil

argued that the Ottomans assumed a European colonialist inspired stance towards

peripheral subjects as a "survival" strategy, "to stake a legitimate claim to existence

in an increasingly hostile world…"[239] As Deringil showed Sultan Abdülhamid

himself has ordered a memorandum regarding the future development of the

province.[240] Deringil interpreted this memorandum of thirty-two articles as "'a

project of modernity" for a distant land as envisaged by the highest power'", which

could also provide a glimpse of the 'colonial project' as envisioned by the late

Ottomans."[241]

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[236]Ibid., 100-101.

[237] Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism," 323.

[238] Ibid. For the colonialist inspired policies of the Ottoman Empire see also, Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, 313-317.

[239] Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery," 341.

[240] Ibid., 319.

[241] Ibid.

While trying to maximize their maneuvering space in international relations, Sultan Abdülhamid and the Ottoman state elite also intended to strengthen the empire' position in the province.[242] A series of reforms were envisioned in order to strengthen the empire' position in the province and, as Akarlı stated, "render Libya self-sufficient enough to hold its own against an attack until help was sent."[243] According to Deringil and Akarlı Ottoman authorities believed that these reforms were as important as constituting garrisons in the Tripolitania hinterland to stake their claim in the region.[244] Deringil also mentioned that Osman Nuri Paşa, the long time governor of Hijaz and Yemen, who thought provincial reform was quite crucial "for the survival and flourishing of any state" in the provinces.[245] And for him the reforms should focus on: "establishment of administrative and political divisions", "the construction of government buildings and military establishments which would reflect the glory of the state", the formation of law courts, "the spread of education and the procurement of progress in the trades and professions", "increase in revenues", "building of roads."[246] The Ottoman government enhanced public services, undertook administrative reforms, invested in education, in no small part, for connecting the center and this distant periphery.[247]

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[242] Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)," 76.

[243] Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)," 78; Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery'", 318-321; Lisa Anderson, "Nineteenth Century Reform in Ottoman Libya", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 16, (1984): 325-348. Michel Le Gall, "*Pashas, Bedouins and notables : Ottoman administration in Tripoli and Benghazi, 1881-1902"* (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University 1986)

[244] Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery'"; Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)."

[245] Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism," 327.

[246] Ibid., 327.

[247] Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)."

The Ottoman government was very much preoccupied integrating the local people to the Ottoman political system. Because, Kemal Karpat argued, the conditions after 1882 was quite different from the mid century and that implicated the policies developed by Sultan Abdülhamid II.[248] He argued, while Abdülhamid's predecessors, who did not face a concerted European threat over the province, tried to assertively establish Ottoman presence, Abdülhamid's policy devised after 1882, relied on winning over the local population, especially the leaders to reinforce Ottoman influence in the Sahara and Central Africa.[249] Because, knowing that the state did not have the necessary the military and financial means to strengthen its position in the province, the Ottoman statesmen understood their only alternative against a possible attack from European imperial powers was establishing military forces from the local population.[250] "Given the absence or the incapacity of the transport ships in the Maritime Arsenal" as Grand Vizier Said Paşa revealingly put forth in 1902, " we cannot even send troops there between now and the breaking out of the war."[251]

Deringil mentioned that the local notables and sheikhs who had considerable influence over the local people were considered as quite significant for the state's purpose in Libya.[252] I think F.A.K. Yasamee's interpretation of Ottoman Empire's presence in Arab provinces as "theoretically a territorial state upheld by a centralized

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[248] Karpat, *Politicization of Islam*, 258, 261.

[249] Ibid., 259. See also Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism," 319.

[250] Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism," 323; Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, 218. Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)," 78; Karpat, *Politicization of Islam*, 258.

[251] Said Paşa's memoirs quoted from Engin Deniz Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)," 82.

[252] Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism," 318.

bureaucracy and a standing army" which "in practice depended upon the support of local men of influence who might easily be tempted to shift their allegiance to rival sources of patronage"[253] equally hold for African provinces. The local notables were to be integrated to the Ottoman system through tax incentives and distributing ranks.[254] Distributing ranks and gifts to the sheikhs and local notables was a significant part of the Ottoman state's policies in the province of Tripoli.[255] The Kuloğlus, descendants of local janissary forces, and Qaramanli, family, based in Trablusgarb and used to rule the province were appointed to important positions in the provincial administration.[256] For instance, a member of the Qaramanli family, Hassuna Pasha worked as the mayor of the city of Trablusgarb for thirty years.[257] Some influential families, especially in Cyrenaica were affiliated with the Sanusiyyah, an orthodox-revivalist brotherhood established in 1840s in Cyrenaica[258], which proved to be useful, according to Anderson, to obtain positions in the provincial administration.[259]

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[253] F.A.K. Yasamee, "The Ottoman Empire, The Sudan and the Red Sea Coast," 89.

[254] Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, 218; Anderson, "Nineteenth Century Reform in Ottoman Libya," 335-336.

[255] Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)," 79; Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism," 323. For a comparative case in Lebanon see, Engin Deniz Akarlı, "Confessionalism, Notables and Administrative Positions", *The Long Peace: Ottoman Lebanon 1861-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993): 147-163.

[256] Ibid. For more on Kuloğlus see, Ahmet Kavas, "Kuzey Afrika'da Bir Osmanlı Nesli: Kuloğulları", *Journal of Ottoman Studies* XXI, (Istanbul, 2001): 31-68.

[257] Anderson, "Nineteenth Century Reform in Ottoman Libya", 335.

[258] For more on Sanusiyyah see, E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica* (Oxford, 1949); Nicola Ziadeh, *Sanūsīyah: A Study of a Revivalist Movement in Islam* (Leiden, 1958); B.G. Martin, *Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth-Century Africa* (Cambridge, 1976); Ahmad Sidqi, *Al-Harakat al-Sanusiyah, Nashatika wa Namuwwuha fi'l-Qarn al-Tasi Ashar* (Cairo, 1967). Ali Abdullatif Ahmida, *The making of modern Libya: state formation, colonization , and resistance, 1830-1932* (Albany: State University of New York Press, c1994), 85-89.

[259] Anderson, "Nineteenth Century Reform in Ottoman Libya," 336.

After 1882, the Ottoman government began to develop a new interest in the Sanusi Order and tried to forge an alliance with them against European powers.[260] The sheikhs of the Sanusi Order which had significant effect on the Bedouins, tried to be convinced to influence the tribes for Ottoman interests in the region.[261] As many scholars noted the Ottoman-Sanusi alliance was indeed significant for the continuation of the Ottoman interests in the region. Deringil explained the order has been significant for the cause of extending Ottoman influence in the region, similar to European missionary activities, by informing the public through religion.[262]Deringil showed that the sheikhs of the order were seen as "bearers of civilization to the tribes" by the imperial center who were "ultimately working in favor of the center."[263]For him the "civilizing mission" the Order had assumed on the behalf of the state had clear religious overtones and aimed at promoting familiarization with and attachment to the Ottoman Sultan, who was also the caliph of Islam and, in that sense, promoted an imagined attachment with the state and its

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[260] Karpat, *Politicization of Islam*, 261. Michel Le Gall, "The Ottoman Government and The Sanusiyya: A Reapraisal" in *Journal of Middle East Studies* 21 (1989), 94; Le Gall's article is a detailed analysis of Ottoman-Sanusi relations in 1880s. See also her Ph.D. Dissertation, Pashas, Bedouins and Notables: Ottoman Administration in Tripoli and Benghazi, 1881-1902 (Princeton, 1986). For Ottoman-Sanusi relations see also, Karpat, *Politicization of Islam*, 261-264. Ahmida, *The making of modern Libya,* 89-98. Hayrettin Yücesoy, *Senusilik, Sufi bir İhya Hareketi* (Istanbul, 1985).

[261] Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism," 322.

[262] Deringil explains the importance of the sheikhs' intermediary as follows: "The Sanusi sheikhs were seen by Istanbul as bearers of civilization to the tribes, ultimately working in favor of the center. The sheikhs were said to "train (the tribesmen) in religious morals and, as much as is at all possible, abate their savagery. The leaders of the dervishes were constantly, "evoking the Caliph's name and making it clear to the "tribes that he was their master." The sheikhs were also instrumental in resolving frequent violent disputes among the Bedouin, "because of their savage state this is bound to happen." It was of the utmost importance that the sheikhs be cultivated and kept happy since, "it is well known that the foreigners, through their machinations and intrigues, are working on the tribes, to cause them to revert to their savage state so that they can lure them over to their side." Ibid., 323. See also Karpat, *Politicization of Islam*, 261-265.

[263] Ibid., 321.

interests.[264] Deringil also showed that in order to enlist the help of the sheikhs the Ottoman bureaucrats thought they should be "cultivated and kept happy."[265] Sadık Bey's travel to Kufra, to recently moved headquarters of the order, in 1895 was one such occasion of "cultivating the Sanusi." He would visit the leader of the Sanusi Order, Seyyid Muhammed el-Mehdi and present him the gifts from sultan.

Also many scholars such as Karpat and Akarlı associated the local resistance against Italian invasion in 1912 with earlier that made, in Akarlı's words, "Italians pay a high price for their dreams of a colonial power" with the Sanusi Order's alliance with the Ottoman Empire.[266] However even as Karpat argued, "Ultimately, the Sanusiyya became, under the Ottoman auspices, the catalyst of the alliance between the urban *ulema*, the tribes, and the trading oasis dwellers."[267] For Le Gall, there are still many aspects Ottoman-Sanusi relations waiting to be uncovered. She suggests that the Ottoman-Sanusi cooperation in Libya was far more complex than conventional accounts have it and until at least the 1880s, both parties had approached each other with distrust.[268] We would see in the ensuing chapters that the Ottoman Sanusi relations were not without contradictions, and these contradictions were based mainly on land use and tax collection.

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[264] Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism," 322; Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)," 77-79.

[265] Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)," 79; Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism," 323.

[266] Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)," 79.

[267] Karpat, *Politicization of Islam*, 261. A revisionist analysis of Ottoman-Sanusi relations is provided by Michel Le Gall, "The Ottoman Government and The Sanusiyya: A Reapraisal" in Journal of Middle East Studies 21 (1989), 91-106.

[268] Le Gall, "The Ottoman Government and The Sanusiyya." For a similar view see, Yücesoy, *Senusilik, Sufi bir İhya Hareketi*, 197-99; Ahmida, *The making of modern Libya,* 90.

2.7 The Ottoman-French conflict over the hinterland of Libya

As mentioned before, the 'scramble for Africa' increased after the Berlin Africa Conference of 1884, peaking in 1890s.[269] The way in which the "Principle of hinterland" was established in Berlin Africa Conference of 1884 had important implications for the acceleration of the "scramble."[270] An extended conception of hinterland was assumed in this conference, which gave rights to the states in the hinterland of the coastal regions that they ruled.[271]

Çaycı showed that France, Italy and Britain have opened up a series of negotiations about the situation in Africa.[272] From 1890s onwards, France was trying to expand the hinterland of her colonies in Senegal and Algeria towards Central Africa and the Sudan in order to unite these territories.[273] She focused on the Chad basin, located south to the province, for this purpose.[274] France and Britain had a bilateral treaty in 1890 regarding their territories in Central Africa in which the extension of the hinterland of Algeria to Niger River was accepted.[275] After this

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[269] Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism," 323.

[270] Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti,* 82.

[271] Ibid., 82.

[272] Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)," 80. Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti,* 82.

[273] Ibid., 88-96. See also Yashamee, *Ottoman diplomacy: Abdülhamid II and the freat Powers, 1878-1888,* 112-118. For a contemporary view on the French policies to penetrate into Central Africa see, Augustin Bernard et Napoléon Lacroix, *La pénetration saharienne, 1830-1906* (Alger: 1906).

[274] Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti*, 83. Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, 217. See also Dennis D. Cordell, "The Savanna Belt of North-Central Africa", *History of Central Africa* Vol.1, David and Phyyllis M. Martin ed. (New York, 1983): 30-74. Jean Ferrandi, *Le Centre-Africain français: Tchad, Borkou, Ennedi; leur conquete* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1930). See also Çaycı's bibliography, which contains the list of documents in French and Ottoman archives about the issue.

[275] Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti*, 83.

agreement French activities in the Chad basin have increased.[276] Deringil mentioned that in response to the 1890 British-French accord, Sultan Abdülhamid ordered a map of southern Libya and a report indicating Ottoman Empire's rights in the hinterland, based on the definition of hinterland in Berlin Conference, of the province of Tripoli that extended across the Sahara Desert to Bornu.[277] Çaycı showed that both Britain and France agreed on the Ottoman Empire's rights in Libya however after the Fachoda incident[278] another agreement between the two parties in 1899 envisioned the division of Libya hinterland from Congo to Tripoli, between them.[279] With this agreement, Britain could consolidate her position in Upper Nile Valley in return for agreeing to leave the area north and east of Lake Chad to France.[280]

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[276] Ibid., 83.

[277] Ibid., 84. Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism," 321. Karpat, *Politicization of Islam*, 274-275. Michel Le Gall,"Ottoman Reaction to the European 'Scramble for Africa': The Defense of the Hinterland of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica," *Asian and African Studies* 24 (1990): 109-35.See also Edward Hertslet ed. *The Map of Africa by Treaty,* Vol. 2 2nd rev. Ed. (London, 1999), 470-71.

[278] The Fachoda incident was connected to both the problem of Egypt and Italy's defeat in Ethiopia. France did not approve Britain's occupation of Egypt. While Britain was still occupied with Mahdist opposiiton in Sudan which made her threatened about her position in Egypt, France attacked Fachoda in Upper Nile Valley, hoping to force Britain for a settlement of Egypt in this way. Germany would back England in a potential war, so France could not risk a naval battle and evacuated Fachoda. Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti,* 100. Also see Yasamee, "The Ottoman Empire, The Sudan and the Red Sea Coast", 101.

[279] Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti,* 100-103. For the French-British Accord in 1899 see also, Edward Hertslet ed., *The Map of Africa by Treaty*, Vol. II, pp-796-97.

[280] Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti,* 100-101.

From the perspective of the Ottoman state the Anglo-French Accord of 1899 that left the areas in north and east of the Lake Chad to France was a clear transgression of the legal provisions of the Berlin Africa Conference, on the basis of "ancient precedent and the Principle of Hinterland."[281] However a potential French-Italian alliance for Libya was alarming for the Porte which hoped to secure French support against a possible Italian attack on Tripoli.[282] Çaycı argued that because Italian invasion of Libya was a far greater than the hinterland problem and the Ottoman bureaucrats, perhaps not wanting to alienate French, pushed the latter into the background for the sake of the former.[283] However as the Porte heard about the agreement in 1902 between France and Italy by which France gave her support to Italy for invading Libya, it decided to foreground the hinterland issue once again.[284] Ottoman bureaucrats proposals for re-opening diplomatic discussions about the issue of Libyan hinterland did not make a significant impact on the part of the French authorities for whom the Kawar and Bornu area was quite significant for uniting French territories in Central and North Africa.[285] The developments in the international politics were alarming for the Ottomans, as Akarlı argued, who had formerly benefited from mainly Britain and France's conflicts over Egypt.[286]

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[281] Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism," 321. Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti,* 105-106.

[282] Ibid., 116.

[283] Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti,* 116.

[284] Ibid., 127.

[285] Ibid., 130-131.

[286] Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)," 80.

As French threat especially in Kawar increased and the hopes for a diplomatic settlement of the hinterland issue decreased, the Ottoman statesmen considered the alternatives of dispatching soldiers and officials without annoying European powers.[287] Also, as mentioned before, the state did not have the military means to establish garrisons in the Sahara, in the first place. Çaycı showed that the government in Istanbul decided that the most efficient and less costly way to do that was to send a number of military and civil officials graduated from imperial academies and proficient in local language.[288] Cami Bey was one such military officer based in Fezzan, he was sent to the city of Ghat in 1906. A significant part of the mission of these officials would be convincing tribal leaders, the rulers of Waday and Kawar to declare their allegiance to Ottoman Empire.[289] In line with this purpose the Porte ordered the provincial administration in Tripoli to present gifts, robes (hil'at) and flags to the rulers of Waday and Kawar and leaders of the Tuareg.[290] At the same time, French colonialists also tried to influence Tuareg tribes at times with coercion and at times through consent.[291] Around 1904 the leader of the Hoggar Tuaregs, Musa ag Amastan has declared his allegiance to French colonial administration.[292]

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[287] Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti,* , 134.

[288] Ibid.

[289]Ibid.

[290] Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti,* 134.

[291]Ibid., 140-141.

[292]Ibid., 141.

In 1905 French forces temporarily occupied Janet and Bilma that nevertheless showed France had serious intentions to occupy the areas left to them in 1899 Accord.[293] Moreover if France could occupy Bilma and Janet this would be a huge blow to Kawar-Ghat-Ghademis trade route leading to Sudan.[294] The provincial administration knew that if the trade routes passing from Ghat and Ghademis would be diverted to Algeria and Tunisia, these merchant towns would lose all their significance, which would be detrimental to the economy of the province.[295] The provincial government decided to locate a garrison each to Janet and Bilma to secure trade routes.[296] Cami Bey was posted as district governor to Ghat in 1906. His mission was to "protect" Tuareg tribes that were living in lands under Ottoman jurisdiction against French harassments, which in effect involved coopting Tuareg tribes. Before moving on to the representations of Cami Bey and Sadık Bey's regarding their experiences in the Libyan provinces, I think a brief incursion into the notions of travel and writing and visualizing travel is worth digressing for in the next chapter.

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[293] Le Gall, "Ottoman Outlook on Africa", 145. Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti,* 145.

[294] Ibid., 145.

[295] Ibid., 146.

[296] Ibid., 146.

CHAPTER 3

TRAVEL WRITING AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRAVEL AND
PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the invasion of Tunis by France in 1881 and

occupation of Egypt by Britain in 1882 have significantly altered the attitude of the

Ottoman Empire towards Tripoli. Parallel to the rising importance of the province for

Ottoman Empire's interests in Africa, Herzog&Motika mentioned that the province

of Tripoli and the state's policies in the province did indeed became "a regular topic

in the capital beginning with 1880s."[297] Apart from the dispatches and reports poured

to the Porte, accounts and articles written on Tripoli have indeed increased.[298] The

underlying theme in these accounts, according to Gall, was the significance of

Tripoli as the "gateway to Africa" which was full of natural resources and

commercial opportunities for the benefit of the Ottoman Empire, might indicate that

Tripoli and the partitioning of Africa and the Sublime Porte's shares in this

partitioning figured prominently in public debates.[299]

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[297] Herzog&Motika, "Orientalism 'alla Turca'", 168.

[298] The list of documents in Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi regarding Tripoli, Benghazi and the Sahara could be found in the bibliography of Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti*, 209. See also, Le Gall, "A New Ottoman Outlook on Africa: Note on Turn of the Century Literature", 141. In addition to Sadık el-Müeyyed and Cami Bey's travel books, Le Gall referred to 3 more books written about the province during the 1880s: a monograph called "Tripoli and Benghazi: Center for the Great Sahara and Sudan" written by Ömer Subhi, a former major to the Chief of Staff in 1889/90 and another one written by Yüzbaşı Ali who was lieutenant in the Chief of Staff *Concerning Tripoli, Benghazi, and the Fezzan: Parts of Ottoman Africa* in 1884. Ömer Subhi, *Trablus Garb ve Bingazi ile Sahrâ-i kebir ve Sudan merkezi* (Istanbul, 1307 AH). Yüzbaşı Ali, *Afrika-i Osmaniden Trablus Garb ve Bingazi ve Fizan kıtalarına dair*, MS Istanbul University, TY 5002. From the footnotes in Le Gall, 141-142. Later than these there is also one by Mehmed Nuri&Mahmud Naci, *Trablusgarb* (Istanbul: Tercüman-ı Hakikat Matbaası, 1330/1911).

[299]Le Gall, "A New Ottoman Outlook on Africa: Note on Turn of the Century Literature", 142.

In her analysis on the relations between imperialism and travel literature, Marie Louise Pratt argued that:

> Travel books...gave European reading publics a sense of ownership, entitlement and familiarity with respect to the distant parts of the world that were being explored, invaded, invested in, and colonized...They created a sense of curiosity, excitement, adventure, and even moral fervor about European expansionism. They were...one of the key instruments that made people "at home" in Europe feel part of a planetary project; a key instrument, in other words, in creating the "domestic subject" of empire.[300]

Following Partt's delineation, I argue that Cami Bey and Sadık Bey's travel books in the Ottoman context could be considered as similar to that of European travel literature, which by giving the "reading public a sense of ownership, entitlement, and familiarity", engaged in a productive relationship with Ottoman imperialist and colonialist ambitions in the North African province.[301]

Cami Bey specifically mentioned in the introduction that his motivation for writing the account was to "draw the attention of our enterprising, energetic and self-confident youth to this poor, neglected, isolated province which is far away from the support of the fatherland and needs an intelligent, active and devoted administration more than other Ottoman provinces."[302] He said he wanted to inform the public about the province which "for Istanbulis has long had as horrible a reputation as scary and dark dungeon cells in the ground floors of inquisition jails and old castles of

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[300] Marie Louise Pratt, *Imperial eyes: travel writing and transculturation* (London: New York: Routledge, 2008), 3. See also David Spurr, *The rhetoric of empire: colonial discourse in journalism, travel writing, and imperial administration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993). Behdad, *Belated Travelers*. Billie Melman, "Orientalism, Travel, Gender", *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918: Sexuality, Religion and Work* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995): 25-56. Chris Bongie, *Exotic memories: literature, colonialism, and the fin de siéecle* (Satnford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1991).

[301] Pratt, *Imperial eyes*, 3.

[302] Herzog&Motika, "Orientalism 'alla Turca'", 167.

medieval princes...which the old administration considered as places of exile, are a wide area that all Ottomans have to carefully investigate nowadays."[303] Why? Because it was the "last Ottoman Sancak" in North Africa which had "huge arable lands."[304] In addition to economic prospects that could be obtained from the province, keeping the "the last remaining Ottoman foothold in Africa" against "an increasingly hostile world", as Deringil argued, also became a matter of imperial prestige.[305] Sadık Bey was not as discrete about his intentions for writing the travelogue. What he was more specific about throughout the narrative is, however, local people's affinity and high esteem for the Ottoman sultan-caliph. In the context of rising anxieties for the future of the last remaining province of the empire in Africa, I think, Sadık Bey's remarks about the local's respect for the sultan could be considered as an effort to promote familiarity and create a sense of connection between the Ottoman public and the distant periphery. Furthermore, I think Sadık Bey might have also concerned with instigating national pride and promote attachment of the subjects to the state and the sultan. In the part where he described the difficulties of Saharan journey, he remarked that all of them were compensated with bearing the Ottoman flag to these distant parts of the world:

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[303] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 6.

[304] Ibid.

[305] Selim Deringil highlighted the importance of Tripoli of being the last remaining territory of Ottoman Empire in North Africa. I am using his delineation because I think it embodies the symbolical as well as political significance of Ottoman Libya. Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery'", 318-319.

The accomplished Ottoman officers accompanied me, the pathfinders in our caravan exhilarate us with pride, while all my comrades, companions, Bedouins and everyone in our company congratulate me for enjoying the sheer happiness of being the very first one to reach this side of the great desert under the high shadow of the Caliphate. In turn, I congratulated them for having attained the same happiness. All of us were filled happiness with this highest honor. Thinking that our Ottoman flags would reach all the way to Kufra, we forgot all the fatigue of the journey within the mood of pride that lifted our spirit while watching their flaps as a sun of success.[306]

I also think that the two photographs that marked the beginning and end of Sadık Bey's journey to the desert, both were remarked as ceremonious occasions are in line with the kind of propagandist concerns of the travelogue (Figures 1-2). The scenes selected to be photographed to represent the departure and arrival of el-Müeyyed's convoy does not seem like ordinary group pictures. The photographs represented, as the caption specifies, a ceremonious event marked by the recital of the prayers for the sultan. The images showed el-Müeyyed mounted on his horse, indicating the direction of travel, stern and prepared to overcome the nature, as would be expected from a proud Ottoman officer who embodied the mighty empire.

Figure 1. "Departure from Benghazi (*Bingazi'den hareket*)," Azmzâde Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat* (Istanbul: Âlem Matbaası Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı, 1314/ 1896), 73.

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[306] Azmzâde Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyaha,* 45.

بنغازىيه مواصلت

Figure 2. "Return to Benghazi (*Bingazi'ye muvasalat*)," Azmzâde Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat* (Istanbul: Âlem Matbaası Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı, 1314/ 1896), 117.

Sadık Bey and Cami Bey's travelogues should be considered in line with other Ottoman writers' who increasingly associated travel with knowledge production necessary for economic and political ends.[307] According to them Ahmed Midhat was one of them who expressed his views in his preface to one Mehmed Emin's travelogue called *Istanbul'dan Asya-yı Vusta'ya Seyahat:*

> Have we perhaps fallen so far behind economically because we have no desire to travel and thus do not know the conditions of other countries...until now we [i.e. Ottomans] did not attach the necessary significance to the subject of political gains. During the centuries of new discoveries, hundreds of ships and thousands of discoverers spread from England, from the Netherlands, from Portugal, from Spain, from France, from Swedish Norway to all the far-flung places of the globe and succeeded in making discoveries that doubled the size of the known world. Some, like England, became the masters of people outnumbering the population of their own nations by a factor of seven or eight and amassed huge and immeasurable fortunes.[308]

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[307] Herzog&Motika, "Orientalism 'alla Turca'", 149.

[308] Ahmed Midhat's Preface to Mehmed Emin, *Istanbul'dan Asya-yı Vusta'ya Seyahat* (Istanbul: Kırk Anbar Matbaası, 1878/79). Herzog&Motika mentioned that the travel account was first serialized in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* in 23 episodes in numbers 138-163 (15 Zilhicce 1295-14 Muharrem 1296). Ahmed Midhat's preface appeared in number 138 and 139. Midhat's preface p.6-7 quoted in Herzog&Motika, "Orientalism 'alla Turca'", 143.

As Herzog&Motika argued, a number of Ottoman authors who wrote travelogues also keen to emphasize this connection between traveling and economic and political appropriation.[309] Similar to Ahmed Midhat, Mehmed Mihri -who travelled to inner Sudan with khedivian prince Yusuf Kemal for a hunting trip in 1909 and published a travelogue called *Sudan Seyahatnamesi* about this trip- remarked in the introduction the connection with European colonialism and geographical explorations. He emphasized this connection from the beginning in describing his travelogue:

> ...this travelogue is about an important country neighboring the illustrious Egyptian Khedivate, about a region which, if we had been vigilant in time, would have, we must assume, been conquered by the Ottomans as a colony (*müstemleke*), it is about the vast region of the Sudan...[310]

"We Orientals" should be ashamed of ourselves, Mihri commented, further in the introduction, while European travelers did not leave any unexplored site on earth and benefited from this modern activity very much, as manifest by their various colonial possessions.[311] Associating knowledge produced and disseminated about other places and peoples directly with colonial power, Mihri maintained this activity was of utmost importance, indeed connected to "patriotic zeal and love for the nation," even a "religious obligation" for the Ottomans as much as Europeans.[312] Likewise as the opening statement in his account would suggest, Doctor Hasan Kadri who wrote a travelogue about Yemen, had a distinctively clear conception about this productivity between knowledge and power: "Neither an individual nor a government could rule

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[309] Ibid., 194.

[310] Mehmed Mihri, *Sudan Seyahatnamesi* (Istanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve şürekası, 1326/1909-1910), 4 quoted from Herzog&Motika, "Orientalism 'alla Turca'," 153.

[311] Herzog&Motika, "Orientalism 'alla Turca'", 153.

[312] Herzog&Motika, "Orientalism 'alla Turca'," 153.

over a land whose peculiarities are unknown to them and among people whose lives they did not read."[313] Both Sadık Bey and Cami Bey were quite generous about describing geography, local flora and fauna, trade, natural resources, people's lifestyles and habitation and traditions than the details about their posts. As Le Gall mentioned, Sadık Bey did not give many details about the focal point of his travels, the political exchange between himself and the Sanusi Sheikh al-Mahdi.[314] In the last part of the travelogue where he departed from the format of the rest of the book, he gave information about lifestyles, economic activities and traditions of Tebu and Tuareg tribes.[315] And then he continues with a regional description of Bornu-Waday-Sudan area with a specific emphasis on Kawar salt flats and its importance for the trans-Saharan trade.[316] Sadık Bey also indicated Waday as a potential ally for the Porte in the Sahara and recounted a number of anecdotes to back his proposal.[317]

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[313] "Ne bir ferd, ne bir hükümet havasını tanımadığı toprak üzerinde hayatını okumadığı kavm arasında payidar olamaz." Front cover of Hasan Kadri, *Yemen ve Hayatı* (Istanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1328/1912).

[314] Le Gall, "Ottoman Outlook on Africa", 144.

[315] Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat*, 78-83.

[316] Ibid., 101-102.

[317] "It is enough to note one or two stories that I heard from respected merchants who frequently visited Waday in person in order to recount the commitment and reverence of the ruler of Waday for the Caliph, His Holiness, just like the other governments in Sudan. In Waday, the mother of the ruler has her own maids and servants....A few years ago, a merchant who was an Ottoman subject were robbed by three black persons in Waday. The ruler saw this incident by chance while he was watching that part of the city with binoculars from his high castle, got very angry and intervened immediately. His wares were returned to the man from Benghazi and he was given numerous gifts for compensation. When it comes to the black persons, although they dared to do this deed after getting drunk from drinking *boza* and they said that all three were in the service of the ruler's own mother, he ordered their execution by hanging on a tree in the place of incident. The ruler's mother intervened and asked a pardon for her servants. But the ruler stated that the person battered by the black persons was a subject of the Ottoman sultan and caliph, said that his mother should have been grateful for not sharing their fate and implemented the execution." Ibid., 104-105, 107.

In Cami Bey's case, although the knowledge produced and disseminated about the people, their social, cultural and political systems was presented by him as if obtained only for scientific reasons or simply out of curiosity, it was valuable for the political and economic purposes of the state and might have been utilized in ways that would ensure the persistence of Ottoman hegemony over the indigenous population. However, these connections were scarcely mentioned in his travelogue.

3.1 Photographs as surrogates for and souvenirs of travel

During the latter part of the nineteenth century the means and conditions of travel has significantly enhanced. The infrastructural developments such as establishing railway lines and regular steamship services have increased the number of travelers to the Orient.[318] Many Ottoman authors commented on how these modern means of transportation significantly facilitated traveling. For instance Mehmed Ziya Bey who wrote a travelogue from Bursa to Konya during his post as an inspector of education remarked on this issue: "Through the railway those who would travel to Konya these days would have great a facilitation and aid…"[319]

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[318]See for instance, Derek Gregory, "Scripting Egypt: Orientalism and the cultures of travel", *Writes of passage: reading travel writing,* ed. James Duncan, Derek Gregory (London; New York: Routledge, 1999): 114-150; Michael Hayes, "Photography and the emergence of the Pacific cruise, *Colonialist photography: imag(in)ing race and place*, ed. Eleanor M. Hight, Gary D. Sampson (London; New York: Routledge, 2004). P. Brendon, *Thomas Cook: 150 years of popular tourism* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1991); James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European tourism, literature and the ways to 'culture' 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Hans Magnus Enzensburger, "A theory of tourism," *New German Critique* 68, (1996).117-35. Lynn Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A history of leisure travel 1750-1915* (New York: Morrow, 1997). Behdad, "From Travelogue to Tourist Guide: The Orientalist as Sightseer," *Belated Travelers*, 35-52.

[319]Mehmed Ziya (İhtifalci), *Bursa'dan Konya'ya seyahat* (Istanbul: Kırkambar yayınları, 2009), 13.

The relation between travel and photography has also increasingly mentioned in the photography manuals written or translated by Ottoman authors. Ahmed İhsan, the famous journalist and founder of *Servet-i Fünun*, also wrote a practical photography manual called *The New Method of Photography* (*Nev Usûl Fotoğraf)* in 1889 (1306).[320] Emphasizing photography's utilization in travel he referred to European practices, he wrote in the introduction of the book:

> All those travelers traverse various countries and wilderness and contemplate about what they saw. They all have a camera. Take instantaneous pictures of their observations we may not be exaggerating if we say that every traveler has a camera hanging on their necks…[321]

Although the number of travelers has increased, Herzog&Motika showed that Midhat also remarked on the value of travelogues, as "a kind of surrogate for traveling"[322] for those Ottomans who could not travel. For Midhat they could at least obtain some knowledge through reading the experiences of those who did:

> If we ourselves do not find the opportunity to travel throughout the world and see the wonders and curiosities (*acaib ve garaib*), can we not at least partake in the pleasures by reading the works of those who managed to travel...As it is perfectly possible in Europe the abundance of travel literature today comes close to that of novels. Their readers take so much pleasure in and learn so much from these travelogues that it is as if they had accompanied the voyagers themselves.[323]

If one could not travel to distinct lands, Midhat claimed, at least one could read about others' who did. Perhaps, seeing others' experiences could be even better. As Carol Armstrong showed, for Francis Frith, famous traveling photographer to Middle East

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[320] Ahmed İhsan, *Nev Usûl Fotoğraf* (Istanbul: Cemal Efendi Matbaası 1306/1889), 9.

[321] Ibid.

[322] Herzog&Motika, "Orientalism 'alla Turca'", 151.

[323] Ahmed Midhat's preface, 19, 20 quoted in Herzog&Motika, "Orientalism 'alla Turca'", 148.

and India, who produced illustrated travel books and fictional novels, illustrated travel books were the most approximate experience to an "actual travel."[324]Perhaps the famous journalist Ahmed İhsan had a similar conception in mind when he described that through his photographically illustrated account on Alemdağı -a famous recreational site nearby Istanbul- the audience would be able to spectate at the photographs while they were reading the account.[325]

Jülide Aker argued that because of "the widely shared assumption of the transparency of photographic representation, the perceived interchangeability of image and real-world subject" photographs of places, Middle East in her analysis, operated both as "surrogates for" and "souvenirs of" travel for distinct viewers.[326] While Ahmed İhsan referred to the value of photographs as surrogate for travel, Ragıb Bey, who wrote the photography manual called *Practical Photography Manual* (*Amelî Fotoğrafya Risalesi*), highlighted the value of photographs as souvenirs of travel. He indicated his motivation for writing a manual as such is to instruct the Ottomans interested in photography about this pleasant and useful activity so that they could "take pictures of the countries they have been to, places they have traveled and adorn their travelogues with such beautiful souvenirs."[327]

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[324] Francis Frith, *Egypt, and Palestine Photographed and Described,* quoted in Carol Armstrong, *Scenes in a Library: Reading the Photograph in the Book, 1843-1875* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998), 286.

[325] "İşte şu sayede hem nazarınızın ma'tûf bulundugu makale-i cevelâniyeyi okuyorsunuz hem gazetemizin sahâifi meyanına giren Alemdağı resimlerini temâşâ eyliyorsunuz." "Alemdağı'nda Bir Cevelân" *Servet-i Fünun*, no: 222, p.211 (1 Haziran 1311/13 June 1895).

[326] Jülide Aker, "Sight-Seeing: Photography ofthe Middle East and Its Audiences," *Harvard University Art Museums Gallery Series* 30 (8 December 2000-22 April 2001), 2. See also, Chaudhary, "Introduction", *Afterimage of Empire*. Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir,the Collection (*Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press Books, 1993).

[327] Ragıb, *Ameli Fotoğrafya Risalesi* (Istanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1889, 4.

Both uses were related to the contemporary conception of photographs as transparent pieces of reality.[328] During the nineteenth century photography was largely conceived as "transparent and true" whose pictorial qualities "understood accordingly, to have been derived not from conventions of illustration or from the photographer's unfettered imagination but from physical facts about the world as it appeared before the camera at the time of exposure.[329] This conception of the photograph as an unmediated form of representing natural world undergirded its extensive utilization for documenting places and people.[330] Of course, the assertion

[328]For an overview of the conception of photography especially in the emerging years see, Sabine T. Kriebel, "Theories of Photography: A Short History," *Photography Theory,* ed. James Elkins(New York and London, 2007): 3-49. Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning with desire: the conception of photography* (Cambridge, Mass. : The MIT Press, 1999).Graham Clarke, "What Is a Photograph?," *The Photograph* (Oxford, 1997): 11-25. See also Alan Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning" in Thinking Photography, ed. Victor Burgin (London, 1982). For examples about contemporary conception see, "Part One: The Early Nineteenth Century, Part Two: Victorian Debates", *Classic Essays on Photography,* ed. Alan   Trachtenberg (New Haven, CT: Leete's Island Books, c1980).

[329] Joel Snyder, "Territorial Photography", *Landscape and Power*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c2002), 181. See also, James Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 16-17.

[330]Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 17. See also, Rosalind Krauss, "Photography's discursive spaces: Landscape/View", *Art Journal* 43, (4): 311-319. For examples of the evidential potential of photography and its utilization in increasing number of surveys about land, architecture and people see for instance, Elizabeth Edwards, The *Camera as Historian: Amateur Photographers and Historical Imagination, 1885-1918* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2012), especially 4, 55 and Chapter 3: "Unblushing Realism: Practices of Evidence, Style, and Archive" 79-122; M. Christine Boyer, "La Mission Héliographique: Architectural Photography, Collective Memory and the Patrimony of France, 1851", *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, ed. Joan M. Schwartz, James R. Ryan (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003): 21-54; John Falconer, "Pattern of Photographic Surveys: Joseph Lawton in Ceylon", *Traces of India: photography, architecture, and the politics of representation, 1850-1900*, ed. Maria Antonella Pelizzari (Montréal: Canada Centre for Architecture; New Haven: Yale Center for British Art: Yale University Press c2003): 154-174, also his "A Passion for Documentation: Architecture and Ethnography, *India through the lens: photography 1840-1911*, edited by Vidya Dehejla with contributions by Charles Allen …[et al.] (Washington, D.C. : Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution in association with Mapin Pub., Ahmedabad and Prestel, Munich, New York, c2000, [2006 printing]): 69-119; *The People of India: a Series of Photographic Illustrations with Descriptive Letterpress, of the Races and Tribes of Hindustan*, ed. J.Forbes Watson and John William Kaye, originally published under the authority of the Government of India, and Reproduced by Order of the Secretary of State for India in Council (London: India Museum, 1868-75, 8 vols.). For this project see also John Falconer, " A Pure Labour of Love": a Publishing History of the People of India',

of this "evidential force" was by no means naive and in fact, required, as many researches emphasized, a complex set of discursive and political operations and negotiations through which the conventional set of arguments, concepts, uses and desires were attached to photography.[331] The "reality effect" of photography, as Barthes proposes, is not only undergirded by the specific mechanical processes involved in the medium, but also by the "social expectations" attributed to it.[332] This means that the contemporary belief that photographs were unconventional and transparent pieces of 'reality' had important implications for their interpretation.[333]

Looking at a number of treaties written on photography as "how-to" manuals, articles in periodicals, which include again instructions for the dilettante (*heveskar*) and information about the medium Ahmet Ersoy argued in the Ottoman context, as well, the eulogical remarks on the "truth" claim for the photographs as the "best

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Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place, ed. by Eleanor M. Hight and Gary P. Sampson (London: Routledge, 2002): 51-82.

[331] Edwards, *The Camera as Historian*, 16. For debates about the nature and status of photography see, Kriebel, "Theories of Photography: A Short History," 3-49. For a brilliant discussion on the ontological and epistemological specifities of photography see, Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: reflections on photography,* trans. Richard Howard, (New York, 1982). For the viewpoint that take photographs as indexical traces of the referent see also, Susan Sontag, *On photography* (New York, 1977); Rosalind Krauss, "Notes on the Index: Seventies Art in America", *October* 3 (Spring 1977): 68–81 and "Notes on the Index: Seventies Art in America, Part 2", *October* 4 (Autumn 1977): 58–67. Christopher Pinney, *The coming of photography in India* (London: The British Library, 2008). For the post-modernist viewpoint that focus on the social and cultural construction of photographs see, Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning", 1982. John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (London: MacMillan Education, 1988); Victor Burgin, "Introdcution" in *Thinking Photography* (London: MacMillan, 1982); Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Introduction", *Photography At the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices* (University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

[332] Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, c1980, 2010, 4. See also, Elizabeth Edwards, "Introduction", *Anthropology and photography, 1860-1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, 1982), 8.

[333] Ibid. Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 1997, 19.

evidence" predominated.[334] According to a number of Ottomans reflecting on photography, it had enormous benefits for virtually every aspect of modern life from art and science to industry, history and the kind of sport-like recreational activities good for health and body.[335] The scope of application for photography was indeed extensive, however similar to Zahid Chaudhary remarked for the Indian context, these are not "functional differences insofar as they do not alter the phenomenological meanings of photographic practice" for they reinforce the "indexical rhetoric."[336] According a number of scholars such as Roland Barthes and Rosalind Krauss, the relationship between a photograph and its subject is one of contiguity.[337] The term "index" was used by the semiotician Charles Pierce for delineating a sign that is physically connected to its referent like a footprint.[338] For Pierce 'index' refers "to the Object that it denotes by virtue of being really affected by that Object", having 'association by contiguity' with the referent, it is different

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[334] Ahmet Ersoy, "Camdaki Hafıza: Ahmed Rasim, Fotoğraf ve Zaman" e-skop (16.05.2015), 3. Ahmed Rasim provided a notable contrast to this view, for an extensive analysis of an article Rasim wrote in *Servet-i Fünun* evaluating his performative experience in the photographer's studio see the same article by Ersoy.

[335] "Fotoğrafçılık" *Servet-i Fünun*, no: 222, p.215-216 (1 Haziran 1311/ 13 Haziran 1895).

[336] Chaudhary, *Afterimage of Empire,* 2012, 136.

[337] Barthes, *Camera Lucida,*4. See also Zahid Chaudhary's discussion of photographic meaning in "Death and the Rhetoric of Photography: X Marks the Spot" in his *Afterimage of Empire*, 37-70. Many post-modern critiques of the history of photography such as Tagg think that taking photography as index is to "naively" accept or rather ask the viewer to believe in the truth of what is represented in the photograph. Against the post-modernist view that deprecates the conception of photography as index, Pinney argues for the validity of the index. He thinks the claim of post-modernist views is just erroneous, because they "fail to discriminate between the photograph as a record of what was placed in the camera and the (completely different) question of whether what was placed in front of the camera was the appropriate matter to place there." See Pinney, *The Coming of Photography in India*, 3-5.

[338] Kriebel, "Theories of Photography: A Short History," 27; Pinney, *The coming of photography in India,* 3. See also Charles S. Pierce, "Logic as Semiotic: The Theory of Signs', *Philosophical Writings of Pierce*, ed. Justus Buchler (New York: Dover, 1955 [1940]).

than icon or symbol, the other elements in Pierce's system.[339] "The Photograph" wrote Barthes "always carries its referent with itself" and argued that what is distinguished when looking at a photograph is the referent, not the photograph itself.[340] A number of theorists have assumed the term "index" in writing about photographs. A photograph for Susan Sontag, for instance, is, "a trace, something directly stenciled of the real; like a footprint or a death mask" that have "material vestiges of their subject."[341] Similarly Rosalind Krauss who thinks "the photograph is…genetically distinct from painting or sculpture or drawing" writes, "photography is an imprint or transfer off the real; it is a photochemically processed trace causally connected to that thing in the world to which it refers in a manner parallel to that of fingerprints or footprints or the rings of water that cold glasses leave on tables."[342] Taking into account the changes in photographic meaning with changing contexts of viewing Krauss also refers to Roman Jacobson's term "shifter" for photographs. In Krauss' interpretation, although the meaning of the photograph-as-shifter changes, referentiality and indexicality, remains.[343]

Furthermore the books might have provided the readers a sense of more complete journey than single images, because of the juxtaposition of image and text.[344] According to Armstrong, the popularity and the lure of photographically

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[339]Pierce, *Philosophical Writings of Pierce*, 108.

[340] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 4-5.

[341]Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990), 154.

[342]Rosalind Krauss, *The Originality of Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: The MIT Press, 1986), 110.

[343] Kriebel, "Theories of Photography: A Short History," 27. Krauss, "Notes on the Index: Part 1," 203; "Notes on the Index: Part II," 212.

[344]See Carol Armstrong's analysis on the illustrated books, "Photographed and Described: Traveling in the Footsteps of Francis Frith" in *Scenes in a Library : Reading the Photograph in the Book, 1843-1875* (Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press, 1998): 277-360.

illustrated travel accounts laid in the juxtaposition of image and text with the latter orienting the interpretation of the former.[345] For instance his readers would approach the Benghazi port with Cami Bey and after a quick passage in the walled city, they would embark on the desert journey to Ghat, through the sweeping desert landscape interspersed with oases that provided a little relief for the traveler (Figures 3-7). On their way to Ghat they would first pass by Fizan and then from Murzuq and finally would reach to the town of Ghat that is located in the southeastern extreme of Tripolitania (Figures 8-10). Except for a few images that showed his meetings with locals, Cami Bey is not included in the imagery, which might have made it easer for the readers to reconfigure their own journeys, while his textual descriptions could enable them to better imagine the place.

طرابلس غرب بلده‌سی ولیمانی

Figure 3. "The town of Trablus Garb and its port (*Trablus Garb Beldesi ve Limanı*)," Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet (Istanbul): Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910), 5a.

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[345] Armstrong, *Scenes in a Library*, 280.

Figure 4. "Trablus Garb [The New Gate] (*Trablus Garb Bab-ül cedîd*)" Fizan
Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı
Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet (Istanbul): Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910)
12b.

Figure 5. "Trablus Garb (a street inside the city wallas) (*Trablus Garb [dâhil-I
surda bir sokak*]")" Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru:
Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan
Matba'ası, 1326/1910) p.17a.

Figure 6. Hanns Vischer, "While the crew is passing the dunes (*Kafile kum tepelerini aşarken*)" *Fizan Mebusu Cami, Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet (Istanbul): Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) 21a.

Figure 7. Springs, Fizan Meb'ûsuCami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet (Istanbul): Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) p.64b.

<div dir="rtl">مرزق بلده‌سنك جنوب قسمی</div>

Figure 8. "The southern part of the town of Murzuq (*Murzuk beldesinin cenub kısmı*)," Fizan Meb'ûsuCami,*Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet (Istanbul): Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) p.101a.

<div dir="rtl">غات بلده‌سی</div>

Figure 9. "The town of Ghat (*Gat beldesi*)", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet (Istanbul): Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) p.133a.

Figure 10. "The panorama of the town of Ghat," Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet (Istanbul): Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) p.140b.

The journalist, Ahmed İhsan was far more discrete about his reasons for preparing an illustrated travel account the readers of *Servet-i Fünun*. He considered both pen and camera as essential objects for his Alemdağı journey: "I prepared the plates, put them in the bag and place the diary nearby."[346] While the plates would capture various scenes in the forest on it sensitized surface, Ahmed İhsan announced, he would write down his observations to his diary.[347] And in this way, the readers could both spectate at the images while reading the account, which would, perhaps enable them to better imagine the author's experience as their own. He referred the presence of his diary that he took notes on during the journey, along with the camera because

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[346] Ahmed İhsan, "Alemdağı'nda Bir Cevelan", *Servet-i Fünun*, no:222, p. 210 (1 Haziran 1311/13 June 1895).

[347]Ibid.

both have reinforced the claim of "immediate record.[348] Photographs and his notes in this travel, both souvenirs for İhsan of this trip, perhaps, at the same time, envisaged as "surrogate for" the audience, who did not go there. For the readers who happened to go to Alemdağı İhsan's photographs could function as souvenirs reminding them of their experience (Figures 11-12). Furthermore Ahmed İhsan integrated specific comments how and why certain places were photographed.[349] In this way his account not only provided a virtual travel experience but also with the experience of photographing, perhaps.[350]

[348] Armstrong, *Scenes in a Library*, 288.

[349] Ahmed İhsan, "Alemdağı'nda Bir Cevelan", *Servet-i Fünun*, no: 222, p. 210

[350] Carol Armstrong, *Scenes in a Library*, 288
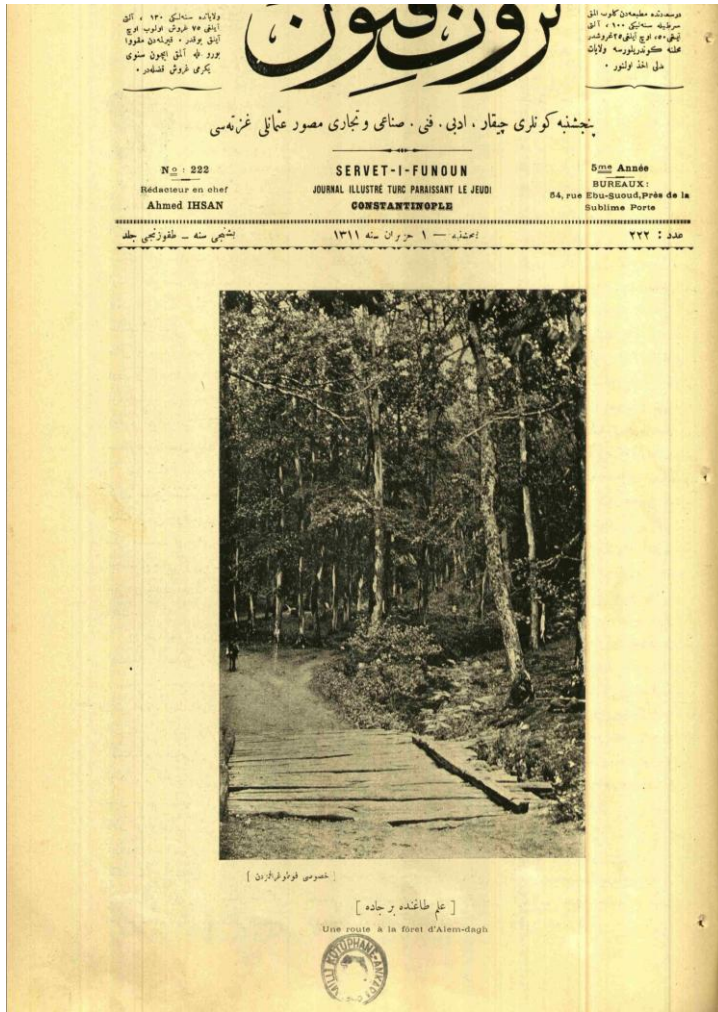
Figure 11. "From personal photographs: A journey to Alemdağı (*Hususi fotoğraflardan: Alemdağı'nda bir cevelân*)", *Servet-i Fünun*, no: 222 (1 Haziran 1311/13 June 1895).

[خصوصی فوطوغرافزدن] [علم طاغنده مال قیوسی قوروسی]

Une vuc de la fôret d'Alem-Dagh, d'aprés une phot. de notre dirècteur

Figure 12. "From personal photographs: a groove in Alemdağı (*Hususi fotoğraflarımızdan: Alemdağı'nda koru*)", *Servet-i Fünun* no: 224, p.244 (15 Haziran 1311/ 27 June 1895).

3.2 Technical developments in publishing

As Ahmed İhsan's account mentioned above attested to aside from illustrated travel books the Ottoman readers were also exposed to travel accounts and images through a number of periodicals such as *Servet-i Fünun*, *Malumat* and *Şehbal*. Ahmed İhsan recalled in his memoirs on publishing industry how he envied, Mahmud Sadık Bey who published a journal called *Mir'at-ı Âlem* when he was in Mülkiye.[351] According to him, Mahmud Sadık Bey's journal, *Mir'at-ı Âlem* was distinguished from other journals in late 1880s by its illustrations which were, he told, engravings that Mahmud Sadık Bey acquired from an Armenian illustrated newspaper published by Protestant Americans, most probably missionaries.[352]

In 1891, Ahmed İhsan went to Europe to investigate the printing and illustrating technologies.[353] He told that he made some arrangements with firms in Paris and Vienna, he would send the firm in Vienna the photographs which would be engraved there and sent back to Istanbul where Ahmed İhsan and his collaborators would print them on specific papers from Paris.[354] It is also interesting to note that in his memoirs Ahmed İhsan mentioned that he thought of writing an illustrated travel book about his travels in Europe upon his return in order to cover the expanses for

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[351] Ahmed İhsan (Tokgöz), *Matbuat hatıralarım*, ed. Alpay Kabacalı (Istanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 1993), 33.

[352] Ibid., 56

[353] Ibid., 54-56.

[354] Ibid., 56

the trip.[355] He managed to produce this book, *Avrupa'da Ne Gördüm*, and published parts of it in *Servet-i Fünun*.[356]

The proliferation of photography, the expansion of the usage of photographic imagery, and the half-tone process used for printing images in books and periodicals were in no small part related to technical advancements. Carol Armstrong explained the importance of halftone processing for the process of printing texts and images together had important implications both for books for periodicals.[357] As Armstrong mentioned before the advent of halftone processing much more complicated.[358] "What was possible with the halftone process that had not been possible before" she stated, "was the introduction of the photographic reproduction into the printing press such that text and photographs could be printed together and the photograph could be a feature of the mass publication."[359]

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[355] Ibid.

[356] Not only travelogues but also novels and books such as Halid Ziya's Aşk-ı Memnu were both published as a book and in *Servet-i Fünun* in series.

[357] Armstrong, *Scenes in a Library*, 1998, 423. On this issue, see also, Frances Terpak&Peter Louis Bonfitto, "Transferring Antiquity to Ink: Ruins from the Americas to Asia Minor and the Development of Photolithography", *Camera Ottomana: Photography and Modernity in the Ottoman Empire 1840-1914*, ed. Zeynpe Çelik, Edhem Eldem (Istanbul: Koç University Publications, 2015), p. 20-66..

[358] Ibid., 423.

[359] Ibid., 423.

3.3 Technological aspect of the medium of photography's proliferation

Another important technical change that mattered for the extension of the number of illustrated journals and books in the late empire was related to photography. Through a rather rapid series of developments and changes, photography, which had previously been reserved for the wealthy elite, became much more widespread.[360] Daguerre's and Talbot's initial photographic processes fostered excitement perhaps more for their prospective possibilities than achievements and articulations, because they resulted in long exposure times and poor image quality in terms of detail.[361] The contribution of later developments involving the collodion processes on the proliferation of the medium was only partial because the operating process was still inefficient and demanded professional knowledge of chemistry.[362] Still, this was a significant advancement from the earlier Daguerreotype process, and thus, captured the attention of Ottoman commenters. Ragıp Bey, reflected on this technological shift as paving the way for extensive appropriation, by eliminating the hardships and restrictions that characterized the practice in earlier days:

> Until very recently aspirants for photography were rather few. Because the method of operation was extremely inconvenient and long, previously multi-colored bottles surrounded photographers, like alchemists of Middle Ages. Now the aspirant can operate with one or two chemicals...[363]

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[360] Elizabeth Edwards, *The Camera as Historian: Amateur Photographers and Historical Imagination, 1885-1918* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2012), 5. See also, Clarke, "What Is a Photograph?," *The Photograph,* 11-25; Robert Hirsch, *Photographic possibilities: the expressive use of equipment, ideas, materials, and processes* (Amsterdam; Boston: Focal Press/Elsevier, 2009); Robert Hirsch, *Seizing the light: a social history of photography* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, c2009).

[361] Pinney, *The Coming of Photograhy in India*, 9.

[362] Clarke, "What Is a Photograph?", 17.

[363] Ragıb, *Ameli Fotoğrafya Risalesi* (Istanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1889), 3-4.

The dry plate technique signaled the end of the era of the need to prepare solutions to render the plates light sensitive and able to be projected upon; the period of pre-prepared photographic equipment was on the way.[364] In a rather short period of time, the collodion process was made obsolete by the silver-gelatin plate, which was replaced by the celluloid film produced by Kodak camera manufacturer, George Eastman.[365] The camera and lenses also adjusted to the surface of projection. Hand-held cameras that were progressively becoming smaller and cheaper, eventually culminating in the appearance of the famous Kodak in 1888 and Brownie in 1900 increasingly replaced the handcrafted, wooden brass cameras that were large, expensive and difficult to carry.[366] The advantage of the new technology was well captured by the company's famous catch phrase: "You press the button, we do the rest."[367]

According to Sadık Bey, a small, mobile camera was necessary for his trip to the Sahara Desert. In the introduction, he announces his imperial mission to Africa and immediately mentions his desire to find a suitable hand-held camera:

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[364]Clarke, "What Is a Photograph?," 17.

[365]Ibid., 17-18.

[366] "Photography was potentially open to everyone; it had become the most mobile and the most available of visual forms. Photographs and cameras could, literally, be carried around in the pocket. In less than sixty years, then, the photograph had changed from being the privileged domain of its early progenitors to being one of the most accessible and accepted means of visual representation. It was the ultimate democratic art form, at once sanctioning everything and everyone with potential significance-for everything and everyone could now be photographed and given status-and allowing everyone to produce photographs and construct an individual view of their world and particular histories"Clarke, "What Is a Photograph? ," 18.

[367]Clarke, "What Is a Photograph?," 18.

> I wished to obtain a camera for this expedition very much. However there was not time to search for one, as I want one that is easy to operate and resistant to heat. Then I realized that a friend of mine who reside in Haydarpaşa had a perfectly efficient machine as such.[368]

El-Müeyyed's interest in photography was such that he also translated a technical and practical manual for taking photographs.[369] He believed that a camera would be useful to him in his travels during his mission and as he had developed an interest for photography and had become acquainted with the practice, he wanted an easily operable camera suited to the extreme desert heat.[370] He thought that glass-plates that would crack and easily be damaged in high temperatures; therefore, he borrowed a camera that worked with celluloid film.[371]

The images in illustrated journals provided by traveling journalists such as Ahmed İhsan and Mehmed Tevfik and their works were very much related to the technical developments mentioned above. Ahmed İhsan referred in the article series called, "Discussion on Photography" ("Fotoğraf Musahabesi") that the instantaneous photographs which either accompanied the articles or presented in a detached way under the title "Our Pictures" ("Resimlerimiz") were produced with a Kodak camera.[372] Because the Kodaks were easily operable and mobile, İhsan recommended it to his readers who were interested in photography.[373] This series that appeared in *Servet-i Fünun* was a significant channel that provided a forum for

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[368] Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat*, 2.

[369] The only known copy of Sadık el-Müeyyed's *Fenn-i Fotoğraf* is in Istanbul Üniversitesi Rare Books Collection, NEKTY04364. The book is undated and the publishing information is missing.

[370] Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat*, , 2.

[371] Ibid. For the effects of climatic conditions and "technomaterial" aspect works of photographers active in colonial India see Pinney, *The Coming of Photography in India*, 22-32.

[372] "Fotoğrafçılık", *Servet-i Fünun*, no 227, p.299 (6 Temmuz 1311/ 18 Temmuz 1895).

[373] Ibid.

public debate about photography in the absence of Photography Clubs in the European or colonial contexts or journals specified on photography.[374] Ahmed İhsan introduced the series as a public forum where practical information on the medium were provided to the hobbyists who, in turn, could send their questions, comments and also photographs to the journal.[375] Readers were encouraged to send their photographs to *Servet-i Fünun* to be published in the journal.[376] In the subsequent issues the output from amateurs interested in photography began to appear (Figures 13-15). The readers also sent their letters that contained their questions about the different methods of application, two readers even send their own chemical mixture that they wanted Ahmed İhsan and his colleague Said Bey, director of Industrial School in Sultanahmet, to try and promote.[377] Another way that the readers could participate into the visual program of the journals was competitions organized by journals.

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[374] Lieutenant Sadullah İzzet Bey, a graduate of Royal Military Academy, who has written and translated practical books on photography as well as one that discussed photography's use in topography, has applied for a license to publish a monthly photography journal called "Fotografi" and granted with the right to do so, the outcome is not known to me. I did not encounter such a journal in any of the major archives that contained periodicals, Atatürk Library, ÖZEGE, Milli Kütüphane.

"Fotoğraf Musahabesi", *Servet-i Fünun*, nos: 222, 227, 232, 237 (1 Haziran 1311/13 June 1895, 6 Temmuz 1311/ 18 Temmuz 1895, 10 August 1311/22 August 1895, 14 September 1311/ 26 September 1895).

[375] "Fotoğrafçılık", *Servet-i Fünun*, no: 222, p.215 (1 Haziran 1311/13 June 1895).

[376] Ibid.

[377] Fotoğraf Muhasebesi, *Servet-i Fünun,* no: 237, s.39 (14 September 1311/ 26 September 1895).

Figure 13. "Scenes from photography dilettantes: a view from Baltalimanı (*Fotoğraf heveskârânı manzaraları: Baltalimanından bir bakış*)", *Servet-i Fünun*, no: 237, p. 37 (14 September 1311/ 26 September 1895).

[فوطوغراف هوسكارانى آثارى : صمان قايغى]

Les photographies des amateurs turcs, une chaloupe à paille.

Figure 14. "From photography dilettantes: straw caicque (*Fotoğraf heveskârânı âsârı: saman kayığı*)" *Servet-i Fünun*, no: 232, p. 373 (10 Ağustos 1311/22 August 1895).

The attending letter of the picture:

İstinye, 15 June 311 (27 June 1895)

I was glad to read that Servet-i Fünun would start a photography section. Your humble servant is also interested in photography. I am producing pictures of 9x12 format. I am only interested in landscape. I am sending you two of my humblest products. One of them shos a small boat that passes from out village in the morning outside of the Bosphorus and the other a straw caicque that came to out pier last week. Maybe because they are my works but I really liked them. I really appreciate if you would be willing to display them to the readers of Servet-i Fünun.

[فوطوغراف هوسكاراني منظرهلري: بر فقير]

Un pauvre.
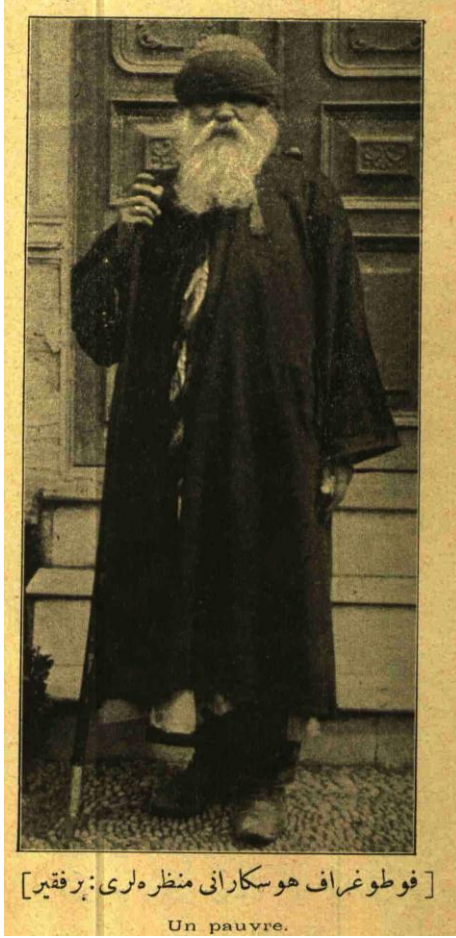
Figure 15. "Scenes from photography dilettantes: a poor (*Fotoğraf heveskârânı manzaraları: bir fakir*)", *Servet-i Fünun*, no: 237, p. 36 (14 September 1311/ 26 September 1895).

The letter explaining this picture:

Samatya, 11 August

I am sending you the picture of a poor. I think his outfit is really noteworthy and spectacular. The picture that I made is not bad. For his cloth is seen elaborately. If you would like it you could include it in the journal. If you don't enjoy it you could choose to slough it off.

M.Rüstem

3.4 Image-text relationship

Photographs increasingly became an integral part of *Servet-i Fünun* such that there emerged a section called "Our instantaneous photograph" ("Enstantanelerimiz") or just "Our pictures" ("Resimlerimiz"). This section consisted of various detached photographs, at times arranged in collages (Figures 16-17). The collages were quite diverse ranging from images of landscape, monuments, buildings, ethnographic or professional groups, means of transportation. A short article, usually located at the back of the issue explained what the images showed, where they have taken and how they were taken and processed. In his article on Ahmet Rasim's performative relationship with his portrait, Ahmet Ersoy argued that these detached photographs could be comparable to Ahmet Rasim's visually charged *Şehir Mektubları* in the same journal where he described quotidian scenes and impression from the street and daily life of the capital.[378]

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[378] Ahmet Ersoy, "Camdaki Hafıza: Ahmed Rasim, Fotoğraf ve Zaman" e-skop (16.05.2015).
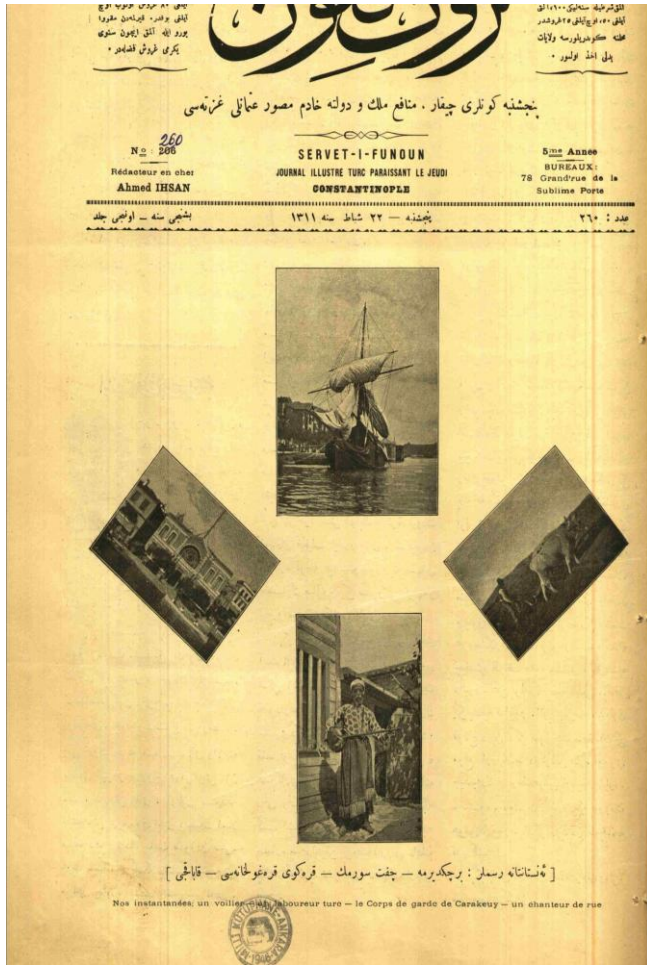
Figure 16. "Instantaneous pictures (*Enstantane resimler*)," *Servet-i Fünun* no: 260 (22 Şubat 1311/ 5 March 1896).
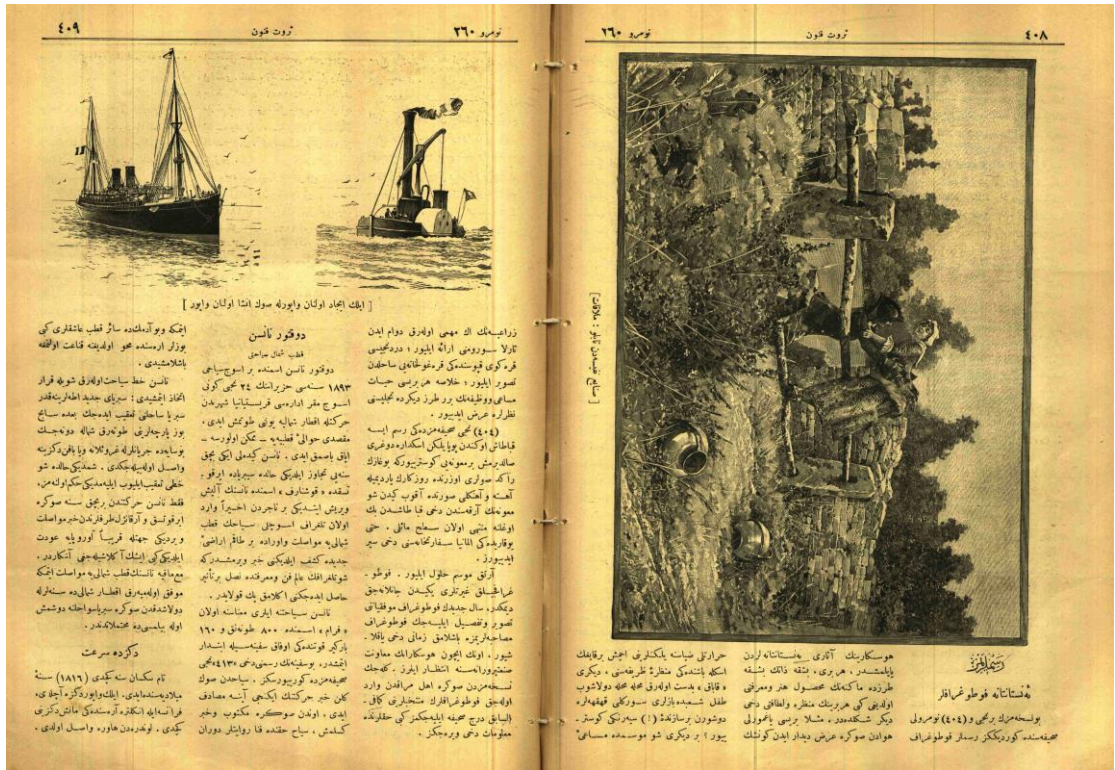
Figure 17. "Pictures: Instantaneous Photographs (*Resimler: Enstantane Fotoğraflar*)", *Servet-i Fünun*, no: 260, p. 408 (22 Şubat 1311/ 5 March 1896).

Although neither the narrative was as visually charged as Ahmed Rasim's "Şehir Mektubları", nor the photographs detached as such in the snapshots section, the visual images in the travel accounts in Servet-I Fünun have increasingly gained prominence as well. Of course, it is hard to make assumptions based on comparing limited numbers of travel books and journal articles, however, it seems to me that the illustrated travel accounts in *Servet-i Fünun* engage more reflexively with the photographs than travel books that I investigate. An article called, "Illustrated Letter from Bursa" (Bursa'dan Musavver Mektub") that appeared in 1896 is an extreme example that sort of reversed the conventional image-text relationship that undergirded the previous examples (Figure 18).[379] According to Carol Armstrong,

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[379] "Bursa'dan Musavver Mektub (Lettre de Brousse)", *Servet-i Fünun*, no: 267, s. 100-101 (11 Nisan 1312/23 April 1896).

the conventional practice in travel books was based on images following the text.[380]
In Ahmed İhsan's Alemdağı journey as well as Sadık Bey and Cami Bey's books
image-text relationship in this conventional form that Armstrong has explained. The
images illustrated the places they have been to try describe in their accounts.
However this practice was reversed[381] in this illustrated letter in which the author
seems to be motivated by describing the city through the means of photography only,
without providing the attending description. The article is in fact comprised of seven
instantaneous shots and their explanations. This author also mentioned that he carried
a camera, a small Kodak (*poket Kodak*), in fact he told that he only had an umbrella
and the Kodak for this trip, with him.[382] The author did not describe the places where
he has been to during the trip, he simply mentioned that he went to this and that place
and that the audience would already see these places in the images. The text is full of
remarks like "Here, you in the picture", "as you would see for yourselves in the
picture", since the audience could see the boat, the view of Istanbul bay, the large
avenue in Bursa, the tomb of Karagöz, perhaps he tried to imply there is no need for
description.[383] For the scene of departure from Istanbul, for instance, he just wrote: "I
was looking back at the city, the scene you also would also see in the image."[384]
Similarly he claimed to display the very scene he was looking at, in a coffeehouse in
Mudanya, while he was drinking his coffee and smoking his cigarette.[385] Although

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[380] Armstrong, *Scenes in a Library*, 284-287.

[381] For an analysis of the reversal of conventional organization see Carol Armstrong's analysis of Francis Frith's *Egypt and Palestine Photographed and Described,* 284-332.

[382] "Bursa'dan Musavver Mektub", *Servet-i Fünun*, no: 267, s. 100

[383] Ibid.,100-101.

[384] Ibid., 100

[385] Ibid., 100

he may not have seen it as an encroachment to photography's indexicality, he still

needed to specify at least basic knowledge about the photographs, what were they

about, because otherwise the viewers might be completely lost.

Figure 18. "Bursa'dan Musavver Mektub (Lettre de Brousse, accompagnée de 7 instantanées)," *Servet-i Fünun*, no: 267, p. 100-101 (11 Nisan 1312/23 April 1896).

It seems that at this stage one should avoid the temptation of arriving

overgeneralization regarding image text relationship between travel books and

periodicals based on limited number of comparisons. However it seems like a

promising area for further research, which might foreclose distinctive reading

practices in the late Ottoman Empire. For now, it may be better to focus on a

prevalent use shared by authors of the travel books and travel accounts in *Servet-i*

Fünun based on the relation between photography and authority of representation.

3.5 Photography-presence-authority

The image-text combination in travel books and accounts in *Servet-i Fünun* on the hand provided a substitute for travel. Both the account on Alemdağı journey and the illustrated letter from Bursa in *Servet-i Fünun* have specifically directed the audiences' attention to the images. The intention of these authors might be to suggest to the audience that you could also see everything I saw. However this also implied a distinction between the authors and the audience, a distinction based on the first hand and second hand experiences. The audience could at best appropriate the authors' experience for themselves which makes them circumscribed by the latter's choices. The authors were distinguished from the readers by a simple fact that the former actually went to those places while the latter did not.

As both Pratt and Behdad, argued that distinction based on lived experience was an important constituent of authority for the representations of the authors.[386] As the authenticity and authority of representation derived from the notion of presence, the verification of the authenticity of the writer's travel and written experience was of prime concern for these types of media. Photographs have significantly contributed to their authority based on actual, first-hand experience, because photographs, according to Barthes were related to "presence" above all else. In photography Barthes noted, "I can never deny that *the thing has been there.*"[387] This was perhaps the most widespread use by the Ottoman travelers at the time, because amidst all the uncertainties and multiplicity of meaning, what is certain about

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[386]Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*; Behdad, *Belated Travelers*.

[387]Barthes, *Camera Lucida,* 76.

photography is its assertion of *presence.*[388] Recall in the Alemdağı journey, for instance, the author mentioned the presence of both camera and the notebook in order to perhaps suggest that the narrative and photographs were results of his first hand experience. If only these statements and the photographs from the trip was not enough, a group of men, perhaps the author and his companions were represented in the images (Figure 12). Their depiction in the photographs reinforced the authenticity of the picture and their experience as well.

That Sadık Bey borrowed hand-held mobile camera from a friend that he thought would be suitable for his mission, is already mentioned. However, to his surprise, he could not find suitable camera film (pelikul) in Istanbul and had to take his chances in Izmir, when his boat to Chania stopped there. To his disappointment, the boat did not dock in Izmir; thus, he could not acquire the necessary film. It was also impossible to find it in Chania.[389] El-Müeyyed did not stop there; he had his camera sent to Malta for the film to be inserted.[390] He hoped that the process would be done while he was still in Jalo occupied with the preparations and would be sent to him in time.[391] Although it was specifically mentioned in an advertisement that appeared in Servet-i Fünun introducing Sadık Bey's travelogue, that Sadık Bey did all the sketches and photographs in the travelogue, I have some reservations about the subject.[392] First of all, it is unclear whether the camera sent to Malatya caught up with him on time in Jalo or not. I thought that considering his extensive efforts to

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[388]Ibid., 80, 87.

[389]Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat*, 4.

[390]Ibid., 12.

[391] Ibid., 12

[392]*Servet-i Fünun*, no 389, p.388 (Istanbul: Alem Matbaası, Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekası, 13 Agustos 1314/25 Ağustos 1898).

provide a camera for travel, he would have at least mentioned in passing whether or not he acquired a camera. Also, the majority of the photographs featured in the travelogue seem to take in and around Benghazi. Sadık Bey indicated that someone interested in photography came to the ceremony given in honor of the commencement of the journey into the Saharan Desert and took a photograph to commemorate the departure (Figure 1).[393] At the end of the travelogue, the photograph of the arrival in Benghazi was also incorporated, so as to mark the successful end of the long, arduous journey (Figure 2). From this, I received the impression that contrary to the claims of *Servet-i Fünun,* el-Müeyyed may not have taken the images in his travelogue. Yet, being so interested in photography so as to translate a photographic manual, he was aware of the potential for his travelogue, and perhaps, at least tried to imply the sense of travel through these departure and arrival scenes. Sadık Bey might have wanted to certify his presence in the African desert.

The images in Cami Bey's travelogue that represented the desert journey while with the attending text gave an impression of the desert trip to his readers, suggested the authenticity of his journey through desert. Different scenes from the journey were integrated into the travelogue to represent the stages the group's progression through the desert, such as the image of the caravan passing a dune or the image of their camps (Figures 6, 19-20) The image showing the tent in Cami Bey's travelogue, alone in the midst of the desert reminiscent of Malinoswki's famous tent image locating his presence among the Trobriands, indicating the unknown lying before

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[393] Bingazi'nin haricinde yarım sâ'at mesâfede vakı' olub kafilenin mahal-i tecemmü'i olmak üzere ta'yîn idilen 'âsakir-i şahane kışlasına müteveccihen o gün gündüz sâ'at altıya çaryek kala hareket eyledik. Fotoğrafa merâkı olan bir zat bizimle beraber geldi. Kafile heyʾet-i mecmû'asının resm-i vedâ'n fotoğrafını aldı. Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat*, 12.

him (Figure 21).[394] The well-known myth of Malinowski purports that with the

outbreak of the First World War, he was left on an island in Australia, and during

this internment, Pinney wrote "as an enemy alien he was forced to invent modern

anthropological fieldwork."[395] Just as Malinoswki's self-proclaimed authority

distinguished him from earlier generation's analytical division of labor, and in that

sense epitomized "scientific professional,"[396] Cami Bey distinguished himself on the

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[394]Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology*, 51.

[395] Perhaps no other major anthropological figure than Malinoswki has written on in the framework of revisionist debates in anthropology. Clifford Geertz, George Stocking, James Clifford and Michael Young have written about Malinowski's self-mythologizing experience in particular and the construction of disciplinary authority. See for instance, Clifford Geertz, "I-Witnessing: Malinowski's Children", *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (Stanford University Press, 1988): 73-101; George W. Stocking, Jr., "From Fieldwork to Functionalism: Malinowski and the Emergence of British Social Anthropology", *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology 1888-1951* (The University of Wisconsin press, 1995): 233-297; also by Stocking, "The Ethnographer's Magic: Fieldwork in British Anthropology from Tylor to Malinowski," *The Ethnographer's Magic and Other Essays in the History of Anthropology* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1992): 12-59; James Clifford, "On Ethnographic Self-Fashioning: Conrad and Malinowski", *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1988): 92-113.

[396] The authority of ethnographer qualified best to interpret different cultures was indeed gradually constructed throughout the nineteenth century. Anthropologist distinction as opposed to travelers, missionaries and administrators was by no means clear and had to be constructed. Pratt noted, for instance, that there were many common tropes between anthropologists' and earlier travelers, missionaries' accounts such as the opening scenes and initiation of the European figure to tribes. James Clifford and Marie Louise Pratt's works attest to the promoters of nascent discipline of anthropology strove towards distinguishing the discipline from earlier travelers and missionaries output. Marie Louise Pratt, "Fieldwork in Common Places" *Writing Culture*: *The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, James Clifford, George E. Marcus ed. (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1984): 27-50. James Clifford, "On Ethnographic Authority", *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1988): 21-54.

In the emerging years there was a division of labor between the men on the spot and theorist in Europe. The men on the spot were travelers, missionaries and colonial officials and these people provided the data for anthropological investigation. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the methodology of anthropological research changed. With the famous Cambridge Torres-Strait Expedition led by A.C. Haddon who was accompanied by W.H.R. Rivers, Charles Seligmann, McDougall, Myers and Anthony Wilkin, the fieldwork observation replaced the earlier division of labor. George Stocking and Elizabeth Edwards considered this expedition as a hallmark in the development of "British anthropology, a nascent form of the modern school of systematic, scientific, sociologically based fieldwork." Edwards further argued that early twentieth century witnessed the emergence of a sociological approach in anthropological research, which was marked by an evolutionist perspective in the nineteenth century. George W. Stocking Jr., "Center and Periphery: Armchair Anthropology, Missionary Ethnography, and Evolutionary Theory", *After Tylor: British*

basis of his extended time in the region. Since I have managed to examine them in the town, expedition, in their military camp, meadows, tents, in short in every phase of their lives and to penetrate into their souls asmuch as possible by continuously being in touch with them for two years, I willtry todraw a summary sketch that will give a general idea on this issue...[397]

غريان ايله مزده يننده (سوف جين مضافاتى)

Figure 19. Hanns Vischer, "Between Gharyan and Mizda (*Garyan ile Mizde arasında*)", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami,*Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ -yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet (Istanbul): Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) p.28.

Social Anthropology1888-1951 (The University of Wisconsin press, 1995): 15-46; George W. Stocking Jr., *The ethnographer's magic and other essays in the history of anthropology* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, c1992); Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: photographs, anthropology and museums* (Oxford [UK]; New York: Berg, 2006, c2001); Pinney, "The doubled history of photography and anthropology", *Photography and anthropology*.

[397] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 162-163.

Figure 20. "Inside Messak Valleys (*Messak Vadileri içinde*)", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet (Istanbul): Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) p.64b.
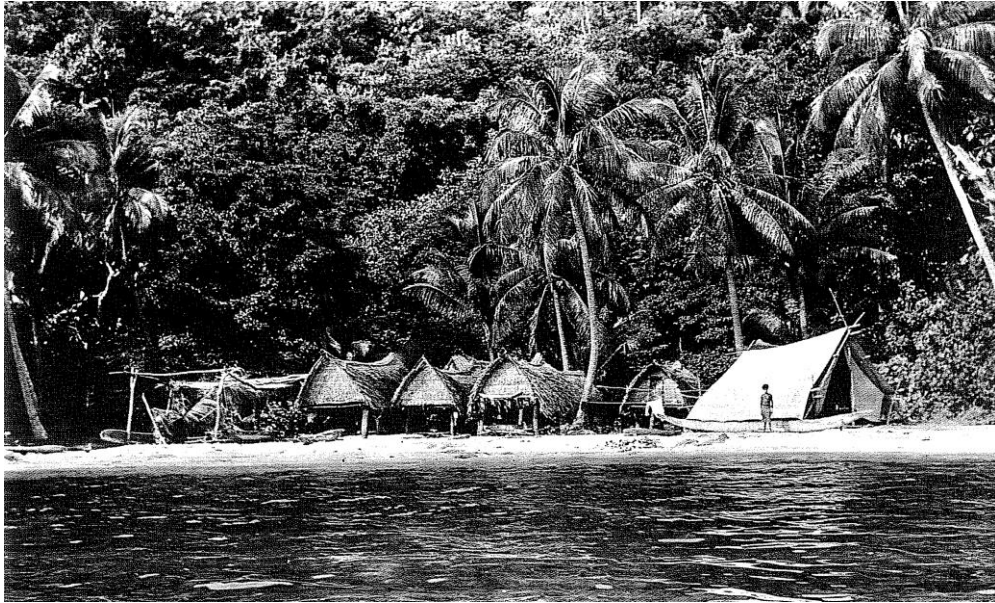
Figure 21. Bronislaw Malinowski, "The Ethnographer's Tent on the Beach of Nu'aasi" from Argonauts of the Western Pacific from Christopher Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology* (London: Reaktion 2011), 51.

This "epistemological mastery over the field of observation" as Behdad has explained reciprocally granted the subject with the 'authority to represent: "I know/ speak because I was there for a longtime."[398]Cami Bey also distinguished his experience from his audience as well as European travelers, on the basis of his extended time in Tripoli. He mentioned that because the Saharan explorer Duveyrier, has described the Tuareg tribes as "knights of the desert" (*Sahra şevaliyeleri*) the French had understand their misconception after a while, but they paid the price with a couple of wasted expeditions.[399]

His companion, Hanns Vischer, took some of the photographs in Cami Bey's travelogue. Sir Hanns Vischer was Swiss-born missionary and colonial educator working for the British Colonial Office in Nigeria and he accompanied Cami Bey in the Saharan journey.[400] Vischer published a travelogue in 1910 about their journey in the desert, titled "Across the Sahara From Tripoli to Bornu." That year, *Illustrated London News* printed his portrait amongst the "Great Explorers of the Moment."[401] In his travelogue, Vischer praised Cami Bey as "an excellent travelling companion and the best of friends, his presence often helped to give me glimpses of the more intimate life of the desert people, which is an otherwise closed book to the European travellers."[402] 'Almost the same, but not quite'[403] might have defined the way

[398]Behdad, *Belated Travelers*, 23.

[399] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 192; Henri Duveyrier's book on the Sahra, Henri Duveyrier, *La confrerie musulmane de Sidi Mohammed Ben Ali Es-Senousi el son domaine geographique* (Paris, 1886). For more on Duveyrier see, Le Gall, "The Ottoman Government and Sanussiya: A Reappraisal," 91-92.

[400]Clive Whitehead, *Colonial Educators: The British Indian and Colonial Education Service 1858-1983* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 106-107.

[401]Whitehead, *Colonial Educators*, 107.

[402]Hanns Vischer, *Across the Sahara From Tripoli to Bornu* (London, 1910), 27; quoted in Herzog&Motika, , "Orientalism 'alla Turca'," 168.

Vischer saw Cami Bey who probably associated himself more with his European companion than the "desert people." For one, the photographs taken by Vischer and by Cami Bey on landscape and on people, as well, are quite comparable. And as we would see, Cam Bey and Sadık Bey's views of the landscape and people of the desert, as well, in varying degrees are quite comparable with European authors. As mentioned before, the Ottoman authors, while also distinguishing themselves from European agents in some aspects, similar to subjects of European colonialist powers they positioned themselves superior and justified their presence in local lands as bringing the 'light of civilization.' In the ensuing chapters I try to reflect on the ways in which these Ottoman traveling officers construct their representation about the last remaining Ottoman territory in North Africa with respect to the specific historical context.

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[403]Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *October,* vol. 28 (Spring, 1984): 125-133.

CHAPTER 4

LANDSCAPE

4.1 The concept of "colony"

Deringil mentioned that it was in Berlin Africa Conference in 1884 that the Ottoman officials first referred to the provinces in Africa as colony (*müstemlekât*).[404] And as it increasingly became clear that the international agreements would not suffice to defend the empire's "share and rights" in Africa, the Ottoman Empire, Deringil showed, developed a colonialist inspired policy for Libyan to reinforce her claim.[405] While the Ottoman Empire, increasingly adopted, as Thomas Kuehn wrote, "a combination of elements of colonial domination"[406] especially after the Conference in order to survive, the reference of the concept and practice of colonization and the lands in Africa as colony also increased.

In 1890 Mehmed İzzed, one of the palace interpreters, translated the travelogue of the infamous Henry Morton Stanley.[407] According to Deringil, Mehmed İzzed's translation was an official project. In the introduction, Mehmed İzzed defined "the practice of 'colonialism'" as "one in which a civilized state sends its settlers out to lands where people still live in a state of nomadism and savagery,

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[404] Devlet-i Aliyye'nin Afrika'da vaki müstemlekâtı" Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism," 323.

[405] Ibid. For the colonialist inspired policies of the Ottoman Empire see also, Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, 313-317.

[406] Kuehn, *Empire, Islam, and politics of difference: Ottoman rule in Yemen, 1849-1919*, 3.

[407] Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism," 312.

developing these areas, and causing them to become a market for its goods."[408]

Mehmed İzzed also expressed that the correspondence of European notion of

"colony" was "*müstemlekât* ve *müsta'merât*" in Ottoman.[409] In 1910, Mehmed Mihri

who accompanied the khedivian Prince Yusuf Kemal on a hunting trip to the Sudan

referred to Sudan in his travelogue, as colony (*müstemleke*) or rather as

Herzog&Motika pointed to, a "potential colony."[410] He mentioned that if the

Ottoman state has been "enterprising" (*müteyakkız-âne*) in the past, the Sudan could

have very well became an Ottoman "müstemleke."[411] For Mehmed Mihri because the

Ottoman Empire could not be "enterprising" as such, European powers have

dominated and could benefit from the rich resources of the Sudan where only

"savage tribes" ("*kabâil-i vahşîyye*") lived.[412]

    Although Cami Bey does not use the concept of colony in defining the North

African provinces, his explanation in the introduction of his travelogue of European

expansionism in Africa as "the overflow of the surplus population of wealthy and

progressive Europe to vacant, unprotected parts of the world..."[413] is I think, quite

comparable to Mehmed İzzed's definition of the practice of colonialism in his

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[408]Mehmed izzed, *Yeni Afrika* (Istanbul: İstepan Matbaası, 1890), 3, quoted from Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism," 312.

[409]Mehmed izzed, *Yeni Afrika*, 3.

[410] Christoph Herzog and Raoul Motika, "Orientalism '*alla turca*': Late 19th/Early 20th Century Ottoman Voyages into the Muslim 'Outback,'" *Die Welt des Islams*, 40, no. 2 (July 2000): 153. For more on Mehmed Mihri's travelogue see, Can Veyselgil, *The Ottoman Empire and "The Rest of the World": Late Ottoman First Person Narratives Regarding the Ottoman Perceptions on the non European World and the Ottoman Peirphery* (Sabancı University MA Thesis, Istanbul, 2011). "Mehmed Mihri", Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi, Devirler, İsimler, Eserler, Terimler, (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1976), 210. "Mihri (Muhammed)" *Türk Ansiklopedisi* vol. 24 (Ankara, Maarif Matbaası, 1976), 153. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi "Sicil-i Ahval Defteri," no.109, p.313.

[411]Mihri, *Sudan Seyahatnamesi*, 1910, 4.

[412]Ibid 5.

[413] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 6.

officially prescribed project. Both authors comment on the situation regarding Africa as the spread and settlement of progressive Europe to uncivilized, unimproved lands to bring civilization which involved opening up new markets for the expansion of capitalism in Africa. And Mehmed Mihri implied since only "savage tribes" lived in the Sudan it would be appropriated by either by the Ottoman Empire or European powers. Therefore the crucial question for him was the nature of partitioning the Sudan.

The issue in the aforementioned French Ottoman conflicts over the domination of Sahara was also regarding the "partitioning of Africa" between two signatory states of the Berlin Conference, hence between two "civilized" states. In this conflict between Ottoman Empire and France, the French authorities claimed the region for France because it was 'empty' as it was not under the protection of any civilized state and the Ottoman responded on similar grounds. In 19[Th] May 1899, the Ottoman ambassador in Paris Münir Bey prepared a memorandum, addressing French Ministry of Foreign Affairs that opposed the legitimacy of the bilateral accord between France and England and claimed the Libya hinterland as the Sublime Porte has accepted it from Trablusgarb to Bornu.[414]

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[414]Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti*, 112; Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism," 321.

Münir Paşa not only based the Ottoman Empire's claim in the hinterland on international provisions but also to ancient precedence and the empire's activities in the area:

> Military expeditions, appointment of civil officials, judges and clergymen, regular caravans from Ottoman Libya to the region, that almost all the people in the area is Muslim and praying for the Sultan are only a few of the many proofs of the legitimate rights of the Sultan over Kanem-Bornu-Borku and Tibesti region…Hence these lands are not 'empty' lands that would be in the disposition of the occupants.[415]

The French Ministry responded by stating that Kanem-Bornu region could not be considered as among the hinterland of Libya.[416] In any case the region that France was exerting her claim the French Ministry propounded, was inhabited by 'primitive' tribes only:

> Until recently these regions were in an undeveloped state, which were not subject to any civilized state's rule. However in a few years, France's activities in the area [south of the province of Tripoli] increased, French corps circulated a major part of the area and asserted French rule… In the meantime, our agents did nowhere encounter any already existing or rivaling Turkish activities.[417]

The French authorities further invalidated Ottoman Empire's claim over the region south of Tripolitania on the ground that the latter did not effectively occupied the place. The criteria of "effective occupation" mentioned in the previous chapter, was rather ambiguous especially in frontier zones as such. Against French claims in the Sahara, the Ottoman authorities tried to indicate the empire's presence and maintain

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[415] The report of Paris ambassador Münir Bey's report in 19th of May 1899, protesting the 1899 Anglo-French Accord that gave rights to France over the Sahara Desert, the south of Tripolitainia, quoted in Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti,* 112.

[416] Ibid., 114.

[417] French response in 5th of June 1899 to Münir Paşa's memorandum in 19th May1899 regarding French activities in the hinterland of the empire's Libyan provinces. BOA H.A. 520. Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti,* 114.

its right in the Sahara, south to its Libyan provinces. However similar to French, the Ottomans also conceived that lands they occupied as "empty" and "unimproved." In this framework it is significant both Ottoman and French authorities disregarded local agency and conceived the lands that they chose to appropriate as "empty" which were, in effect, from the perspectives of the local inhabitants "lived as intensely humanized, saturated with local history and meaning…"[418]

Two common themes emerge from these examples about the Ottomans conceptions' of European colonial expansionism: that the lands conquered were 'empty' and colonial rule was progressive. In my opinion the Ottomans would not have an issue with Georges Deherme who justified the French colonialism in Africa by arguing that these resources belonged to "universal humanity" and those who could better use the resources could appropriate them for the development and progress of "mankind":

> The most important result of colonization is to increase world productivity. It is at the same time a great social force for progress. The earth belongs to humanity. It belongs to those who know best how to develop it, increase its wealth, and in the process augments it, beautify it and elevate humanity. Colonization is the propagation of the highest form of civilization yet conceived and realized, the perpetuation of the most talented race, the most progressive organization of humanity.[419]

Deherme clearly associates French colonial rule in Africa by "humanity" that "knows best how to develop" the land and natural resources not Africans who were oftentimes regarded as close to animal ancestry than mankind, even when they were considered under the title of "mankind" then various tribes of Africa were in the

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[418]Pratt, *Imperial Eyes,* 59.

[419] George Deherme, 1908, quoted in Alice L. Conklin, *A mission to civilize: the republican idea of empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, c1997), 77.

lowest possible stage of evolution. For the Ottoman authorities since the Libyan provinces were the empire's territories to modernize and develop these places were the Ottoman state's right and responsibility. In the rest of this chapter I reflect on Ottoman authors' reference of the European representational practice of "empty lands" and relate it to the specific Ottoman context.

4.2 The rhetoric of "empty lands"

Recent cultural critiques of modern European imperialism and colonialism put forth the expansion of European imperial powers was justified through colonialist discourse that regarded and represented the lands European imperialist rule would occupy as "empty."[420] The interiors of Africa, for instance, were "empty" according to European colonialist discourse, because only "primitive" and "savage" groups lived there who did not use the natural resources in their possession wisely to develop the lands.[421] In fact, the argument went, as the "primitive" state of the tribal people of Africa would not allow the improvement of land and natural resources, the right, and even moral obligation to modernize and improve the colonial landscapes fell onto European powers.[422]

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[420]See for instance, Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire,* 28-42; Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998).

[421] Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 2008, 60

[422]Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire,* 28-29.

The infamous explorer journalist Henry Morton Stanley[423] in his journey in 1871 that he embarked on to find the missionary David Livingstone describes the land near Lake Tanganyika as "wild" and "unpopulated":

> What a settlement one could have in this valley! See, it is broad enough to support a large population! Fancy a church spire rising where that tamarind rears its dark crown of foliage, and think how well a score or so of pretty cottages would look instead of those thorn clumps and gum tress! Fancy this lovely valley teeming with herds of cattle and fields of corn, spreading to the right and left of this stream! How much better would such a state become this valley, water than its present wild and deserted aspect![424]

"The eye scanning the prospects in the spatial sense" writes Pratt, "knows itself to be looking at prospects in the temporal sense-possibilities of a Euro-colonial future coded as resources to be developed, surpluses to be traded, towns to be built."[425] Both Pratt and Ryan argue that from the late 18th century onwards, the interior of Africa was regarded as offering "exciting prospects" for Europeans.[426] Following Pratt, W.T.J Mitchell also argued that the "prospect" is not solely coded in spatial terms, but also a temporal one entailing no less than "a projected future of 'development' and exploitation."[427]

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[423] Henry Morton Stanley was a British journalist and traveler. In 1871 he went to Africa to look for the missionary David Livingstone who led a pioneering expedition to inner Africa, Stanley worked for the Belgian King Leopold II and helped to expand the "Association Internationale Africaine" that King Leopold established in Congo. For more on Henry Morton Stanley's expeditions see, F. Driver, "Henry Morton Stanley and His Critics: Geography, Exploration and Empire", *Past and Present*, XXXIII (1991): 134-66. See also Ryan, Picturing Empire, 1997, 25, 74.

For more on Livingstone's Zambezi expedition see, Ryan, "Exploring the Darkness", *Picturing Empire*, 28-44. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 39.

[424] Henry Morton Stanley, *Stanley's Despatches to the New York Herald*, ed. Norman R. Bennet (Boston: Boston University Press, 1970), 75-76 quoted in Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire,* 30.

[425] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 59.

[426] Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 31.

[427] W.J.T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape", *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c2002), 17.

The Ottoman authors, Cami Bey and Sadık Bey also engaged in the discursive reproduction of lands they have trespassed during their Saharan journeys as 'empty', because they were "unimproved." For instance, the photographs in Cami Bey's travelogue that marked the itinerary of the group as indicating their presence in the desert which suggested authenticity of Cami Bey's representation, also, in a rather standard imperialist and colonialist manner represented the land as 'empty' of local agency, except for one or two Bedouins scattered over the land conferring it a certain quality of picturesqueness (Figures 6, 22-24). The sense of emptiness was reinforced in the image of the single tent against the landscape (Figure 24). Cami Bey indicated that the image belonged to his companion Mr. Vischer. The British colonial agent, Vischer's image is quite comparable with the subsequent image produced, I suppose, by Cami Bey and shows the camp of the crew in Mesak valleys backed by mountains (Figure 20). Cami Bey indicated that this valley in the picture was one the few fertile lands irrigated by underground waters.[428] Cami Bey's image and the image of his British companion serving British colonial rule in Niger that he also used in his travelogue might have indicated their presence in the 'empty' desert, parts of which were fit for developing agricultural production.

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[428] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 55.

وادی سوف جین

Figure 22. Hanns Vischer, "Vadi-i Sofa Cîn", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet (Istanbul): Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910), 28b

Figure 23. Two Bedouins in the desert, Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet (Istanbul): Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910), 60b

غريان ايله مزده پننده (سوف جين مسافاتی)

Figure 24. Hanns Vischer, "Between Gharyan and Mizda", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) p.28.

Cami Bey did not suggest that everywhere in the Sahara that they have passed was prosperous. They commented that many parts of the desert were barren and unfit for agricultural production. In fact the valleys and oases where plants grew of their own accord were rather rare in the middle of the mostly overwhelming desert. The "sublime" rock formations and mountain ranges extensively represented in Cami Bey's travelogue, such as "Hammâdetü'l-Hamra" and "The Formation of Sahra Mountains (*Sahrâ Cibâli'nin Tarz-ı Teşekkülü*)" could be considered significant in this respect (Figures 25-26). The image of the Sahra mountains, for instance, depicts rocky terrain in the foreground complemented by a sublime rock formation in the background (Figure 25). The other photograph is identified as showing the tabular (*hammâdde*), with sweeping, endless desert on one side and an impenetrable mountain range extending towards the horizon on the other side (Figure 26).

The landscape that emerged from these depictions was not very enticing or

welcoming. Cami Bey described these mountainous terrains as barren and desolate,

in fact he referred to one such terrain as "a huge lifeless sea", a "blinding

emptiness."[429]
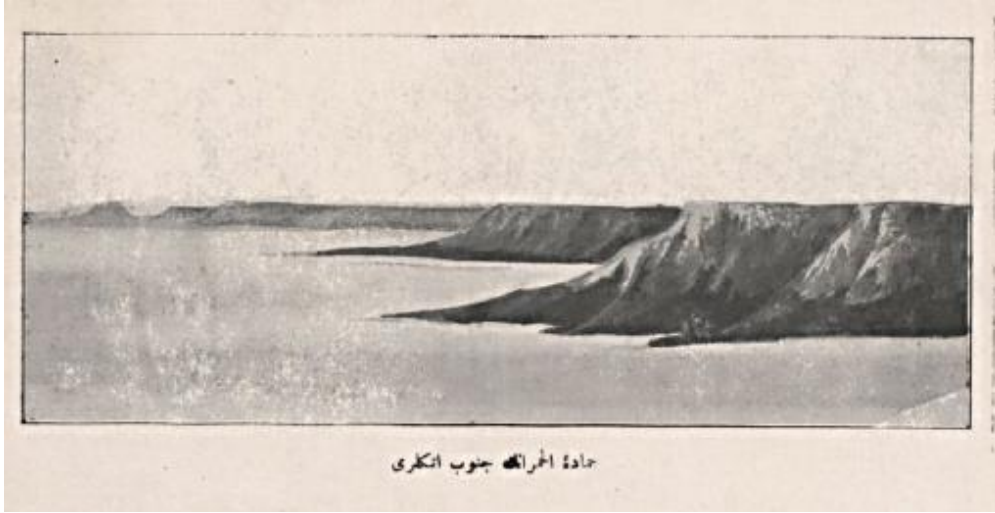
Figure 25. "Northern Sections of Hammâdetü'l-Hamra", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910), p.44b

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[429]Ibid., 32, 35, 38.

صحرا جبالنك طرز تشكلى

Figure 26. "The Formation of Sahra Mountains (*Sahrâ* Cibâli'nin Tarz-ı Teşekkülü)", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910), p.76b

However even in the desert there were fertile and prosperous (*münbit ve mahsuldâr*) oases. For the authors the arable lands in the desert were prosperous even by themselves and this should encourage some attention to these arable valleys in the Sahara, which could easily become significant sources of revenue for the economy of the province. Passing through Berka desert, Sadık Bey arrived at a place in the desert where land was benignly and fertile.[430] However such prosperous land that he noted, yielded crops at the rate of one to a hundred and even two hundred, was wasted in the hands of "local people who were probably the most incapable group for agriculture among the peoples of the world."[431]

Although Sadık Bey did not visualize the lands, he referred in some of the valleys that he passed during his journey that remained unattended could be improved further and this would significantly contribute to the economy that was seriously damaged from the French interventions to subvert trans-Saharan trade from Tripoli to Algiers:

> The soil of this terrain is very soft and strong. Wheat and barley are planted to very small part of it by Arabs. However it is said that this land gives product at a ratio of 1 to 100 only by rain water fertility, although not having any river and is being plowed without any reckless effort…Unfortunately the Arabs here do not know anything about agriculture. They even do not work at all! If immigrants are sent here, they are settled and wells are dug, absolutely high amount of product will be obtained.[432]

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[430]Ibid., 29-30.

[431]Ibid.

[432] Ibid., 14.

On his way to Ghat, Cami Bey indicated natural resources and relatively prosperous

lands suitable for agriculture. While passing Gharyan mountain chains, he mentioned

that he would stop by to take a look at the scene below that disclosed the most fertile

grounds in Tripolitania:

> Going up the hills which are named as "teniyye" by local people, Nefuse
> Mountain and the highest point of Gharyan mountain chain and to Gabes, Sirt
> bays…namely the backbone of fertile Northern part of Tripoli is reached. I
> will stop here for a while in order to watch the structure of this mountain
> chain, which has importance for the agricultural life of Tripoli, and the sloped
> surface of the two bays...[433]

When passing from the valley of Zemzem located on the road from Tripoli to Ghat,

Cami Beyused pictorial terms to transform the landscape views into "beautiful" and

"pleasant" pictures (*levha*):[434]

> When we passed Zemzem, green grasses and camel and sheep flocks there
> inside the valley's wide branches and arms made a beautiful picture. As a
> third plan of this heart stealer picture, Zemzem's northern cliffed   hillsides
> formed a split line as a red and a tremendous screen between the clear and
> blue July sky and the green valley seams.[435]

Cami Bey's description is comparable to what Pratt's analysis of European

exploration narratives. She argued that in European accounts of colonial exploration,

the "sight is seen as a painting and the description is ordered in terms of background,

foreground" with the "esthetic pleasure" of the sight constituting the "value and

significance of journey."[436] She explains that this implies possession and mastery

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[433]Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 25.

[434] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 201.

[435]Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 32.

[436] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 2008, 200.

over the place, and also a sense of a detached observer.[437] For her the fact that the landscape was represented in aesthetic terms and that the value of the scene is relegated to the pleasure of "seeing" conceals the complex relations of power that were closely connected to these representations.[438]

While verbally conjuring the valley as a "picture" that was, according to Marie Louise Pratt, an important gesture of imperialism and colonialism, Cami Bey also photographically represented such densely vegetated valleys. The photograph captioned "An Oasis in Fezzan (*Fizan'da Bir Vaha*)" depicts a scene of thick vegetation (Figure 27). The density of the foliage in the picture was reinforced with the trees reflected from water. This image might have been an example of the Fezzan valleys that he described as full of date trees.[439] Cami Bey mentioned that the date tree was a quite significant for the social and economical life of the Sahara.[440] It was not only an indispensible part of the local people's diet, but it could also be used for feeding animals and used as raw material for construction.[441] This image in Cami Bey's travelogue is reminiscent of the landscape views of David Livingstone's Zambezi expedition (Figures 28-29). David Livingstone embarked on an exploratory expedition to Zambezi between 1858-64 in order to extend commerce and Christianity, which "together marking the beginning of civilization of Africa."[442] There was an amateur photographer-scientist in the expedition, John Kirk and he produced geographical and topographical views that naturalized, according to James

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[437]Ibid., 202.

[438] Ibid., 22, 26, 59-60. See also Behdad, *Belated Travelers*.

[439] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 78-79.

[440]Ibid., 79.

[441]Ibid., 79-80.

[442] Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 30-32.

Ryan, Livingstone's colonial vision.[443] The photograph called 'Lupata July 13th 1859' that Kirk has made referred to the established iconography of Africa as 'dark' continent (Figure 29). The iconography of dense foliage has long been associated with savagery and barbarism.[444] From the 19th century onwards, as Ryan writes, "[w]hile the African landscape was represented as disorderly, even threatening, it was also presented as a colonial prospect, where wildness could be taken for unruly fertility and could be read as blank space for improvement."[445] In this context, he argued these two views might have signified prolific, albeit "untamed" landscape, quite opportune for colonial appropriation.[446]

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[443]Ibid., 36.

[444]Ibid 42, See also, Christopher Pinney, "Underneath the banyan tree: William Crooke and photographic deciptions of caste", *Anthropology and photography, 1860-1920*,ed. Elizabeth Edwards (New Haven: Yale University Press in assocation with the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, 1992). David Bunn, "'Our wattled cot': mercantile and domestic space in Thomas Pringle's African landscapes" , *Landscape and Power*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press , c2002): 127-173; Jonathan Bordo, 'Picture and Witness at the Site of the Wilderness', *Landscape and Power*, W.J.T. Mitchell ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press , c2002): 291-315.

[445]Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 42.

[446]Ibid., 42.

فزانده بر واحه

Figure 27. "A Valley in Fezzan (*Fizan'da bir vaha*)", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan* Sahrâ-*yı Kebir'e Dogru:* Sahrâ *Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) p.49b.

Figure 28. John Kirk, "Senna?July 1859", reproduced from James Ryan, *Picturing empire: photography and the visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 39.

Figure 29. John Kirk, "Lupata July 13th 1859", reproduced from James Ryan, *Picturing empire: photography and the visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 38.

However, whether a photograph would signify prosperity of the "untamed" land attractive for prospective settlement or the dangers of the unknown was by no means prescribed. The attending textual descriptions work to delimit and orient the meaning of the images. In the account that he wrote about this expedition Dr. Livingstone remarked "so much of this fair earth…unoccupied" and it was a shame that these lands were "not put to the benevolent purpose for which it was intended by its Maker."[447] According to Spurr, Livingstone was among the earliest figures providing a link between economic appropriation and moral, religious duty.[448]

Cami Bey reflected on the current state of Fezzan valleys, he mentioned that "these valuable trees that are the ornaments of the desert" were irrigated only when it rains which is already scarce in the desert environment.[449] For him the land remained 'empty' was three times more than the area cultivated.[450] According to him cultivation in the valleys of Tripoli could be increased through planting trees that would increase rain:

> For agricultural development in Tripoli, rather than building artesian wells that only have regionalbenefits or technically taking advantage of existing resources, forestation above water level should be ensured to increase rainfall. Wealth and prosperity that are running out can be increased through the forestation of the wide plateau between Tarhunah and Ufella and the exalted facets of mountains from Nalut to Misrata, which have been the homeland of billions of tree species, especially in the times of ancient Rome.[451]

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[447]David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London: 1857), 264, quoted in Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, 33.

[448]Ibid.

[449] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 79.

[450]Ibid.

[451]Ibid., 27.

The Ottoman authors' delineation of empty and prosperous lands for investment is comparable to that of European agents. But their situations have certain distinctions from the European observers based on the fact that Ottoman Empire has been ruling the Libyan province for at least half a century by the time the officers, Cami Bey and Sadık Bey were posted to the region. The Ottoman officers were not undertaking exploratory expeditions and marking sites for further colonization. Cami Bey, specially commented on this fact. In the introduction he mentioned Gerhard Rohlfs, the famous traveler, and his exploratory travels to Central Africa and the Sahara when these places were "covered with a veil of mystery."[452] However the emphasis in their representation for wise utilization of the land and natural resources might be related to the decrease in the revenues of the provincial economy. In this context, perhaps, even lands in the midst of the desert that have hitherto ignored became important. Thus these valleys attracted the attention of the Ottoman travelers who emphasized the potential benefits that could be obtained by developing these lands.

From the beginnings of the 1850s, French officials in Algeria have worked to divert the trans-Saharan trade routes consisting of luxury goods such as ivory, pearl and ostrich feathers that terminated in Trablus Garb. Because the shortest distance between the Sudan and Mediterranean passed from Libya and terminated in Trablusgarb.[453] According to Le Gall the suppression of slave trade, an important economic source for the province, in 1880s constrained the provincial economy, already seriously challenged by the French efforts to change and control the

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[452] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 7.

[453] Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti,* 22.

trans-Saharan trade.[454] And the imperial center, which declared bankruptcy in 1875 could not provide much help for the province.[455] Under these circumstances finding alternative sources of revenue became as important as reviving that trans-Saharan trade.[456] Cami Bey mentioned that the decline of Bornu trade had detrimental effects for Tripolitania.[457] The cities of Fezzan and Murzuq incomparably deteriorated, many people had to migrate to the cities of Trablusgarb, Benghazi and to Tunisia.[458] Cami Bey mentioned that for Fezzan district the decline in Bornu trade could be compensated with an increase in agricultural production in the fertile oases in Fezzan.[459]

However the government had to invest, for Cami Bey, in order to promote the agricultural production.[460]And for the development the aforementioned valley in Berka desert, Sadık Bey mentioned the need for opening up wells in order to increase agricultural production.[461] Moreover, upon his return Sadık el-Müeyyed prepared a report about the province of Benghazi and submitted it to the Porte. In this report he proposed that the Zuwaya tribesmen of Awjila-Jalu oases could be resettled to the prosperous valley in the Berka desert. He suggested this would be beneficial for a

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[454]Le Gall, "The Ottoman Government and The Sanusiyya: A Reapraisal," 99. For the decrease of slave trade in Benghazi and Tripoli see Ehud R. Toldan, *The Ottoman Slave Trade and Its Suppression* (Princeton, 1982), p. 224-48; for Africa in general see Bill Freund, *The Making of Contemporary Africa: The Development of African Society since 1800* (MacMillan Education, 1984), 59-76.

[455]Ibid.

[456]Le Gall, "The Ottoman Government and The Sanusiyya: A Reapraisal," 99.

[457] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 68.

[458] Ibid., 88-89.

[459] Ibid 73-74, 78-81.

[460]Ibid 68.

[461] Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat*, 15.

number of aspects.[462] Although he mentioned, the Awjila-Jalu oases had a date

garden with a considerable number of trees, other than that it was unfit for

agriculture.[463] In the report he wrote that the area was "prosperous" (*münbit ve*

mahsûldâr) and "empty" (*sekeneden ârî*).[464] If the government would envision the

resettlement of people of Awjila-Jalu oasis to the area in Berka who were then

initiated to agriculture it would be beneficial both sides.[465] In this way, he claimed,

not only a surplus land of the state would be developed but also the people of Awjila-

Jalu oases would be spared from their current poverty.[466]

Sadık Bey's main motivation for this suggestion that involved resettlement of

the Zuwaya tribesmen was, however, the collection of the tax arrears.[467] Sadık Bey

explained that the Zuwaya tribesmen controlled the trade routes between Kufra and

Waday and with the decline of the Saharan trade their income has also decreased.

According to Sadık Bey this was the main reason why the Zuwaya people were

having a hard time paying their taxes and had tax arrears.[468]

There was also an additional benefit of resettling Zuwaya tribesmen. As

Michel Le Gall showed the Ottoman provincial administration had recently

organized an armed campaign to the Zuwaya tribesmen living in Awjila-Jalu oases to

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[462] Sadık el-Müeyyed, "Ekler", *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat*, 2010, 197-199. Le Gall, "The Ottoman Government and The Sanusiyya: A Reapraisal," 98.

[463] Ibid., 199-200.

[464] Ibid., 199.

[465] Ibid., 199.

[466] Ibid., 200.

[467] Ibid., 200.

[468] Sadık el-Müeyyed, "Ekler", *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat*, 199.

collect taxes.[469] Le Gall described the Zuwaya as a powerful and influential tribe connected to the Sanusi Order, which controlled the trade routes between Kufra and Waday.[470] Ottoman forces subdued the Zuwaya who paid their taxes of six years arrear and in 1889 a new garrison was established in the oases of Awjila-Jalu.[471] In fact, the Ottoman provincial government under Haci Reşid Paşa had undertaken three major campaigns against the Bedouins regarding taxes, in 1882-1884, 1888-1891, and 1891-1894.[472]

In effect, the Ottoman state's need to increase the revenues of the province led to political confrontations. According to Le Gall the Sanusi Order played an important part in the taxation problems. LeGall explained that informed by Ottoman tradition regarding land use and a set of new Tanzimat practices, the Sublime Porte and provincial administration in Benghazi considered the majority of agricultural land in the province as *miri* (state owned) and thus belonged to the state.[473]

Sadık Bey also subscribed to this view that proposed that with regarding the resettlement of the Zuwaya tribesmen in Berka a piece of unused land of the state would be utilized and improved. According to the Ottoman imperial center's conception, the land could be used by the Bedouins under the condition that "they pay a tithe on the products of the land could not be sold or transferred permanently to any other authority or institution without government permission."[474] However some

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[469]Le Gall, "The Ottoman Government and The Sanusiyya: A Reapraisal," 100.

[470] Ibid., 100.

[471] Ibid.

[472] Ibid.

[473] Ibid., 98.

[474] Ibid.

Bedouins were transferring the lands disposed to them to the Sanusi order "by creating waqf (charitable endowments) in favor of Sanusi lodge" which was a transgression of the law from the perspective of the Ottoman state.[475] Le Gall explained, the Sanusi Order had a different conception on the status of these lands, drawing on Maliki jurists' records, the Order could claim that the land Ottoman state proclaimed as *miri* was in fact private property and thus could be transferable at will.[476] She further suggested that these differences in legal opinion began to matter more after the middle of 1875 when the state' need for financial resources even increased.[477]

In the abovementioned context, Hacı Reşid Paşa who has played an important role in the suppression of the revolt of Sheikh 'Abd al-Muttalib in Hijaz which gave him the "reputation for dealing sternly with single-minded sheikhs and recalcitrant Bedouins" appointed to the province to introduce new taxes and more efficient means to collect them from the Bedouin and the lands that the Bedouin has transferred to the Sanussiyya.[478] And he has organized aforementioned campaigns against the bedouins who did not pay their taxes.[479]

It is important to note that the conflicts between the provincial government and local bedouins did not figure in Sadık Bey's representation. He rather emphasized the potential benefits of relocating the tribesmen for them and for the improvement of the land. However Sadık Bey could have these recent events in mind

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[475] Ibid.

[476] Ibid.

[477] Ibid., 99.

[478] Ibid., 99.

[479] Ibid., 100.

when suggesting his proposal, which could have an additional advantage of further

hindering the tribesmen's connection with the Sanusi Order.

4.3 Were the Ottomans also wasting opportunities?

The fact that the Ottoman government has been ruling the provinces for some time

might also made them responsible for the 'underdevelopment' of the provinces. The

Ottoman Empire has been ruling the Libyan provinces for over half a decade by the

time the authors have been there. Because of this the empty and underdeveloped state

of the province was also its fault. Sadık Bey remarked in his report he prepared upon

his return to the capital that although Benghazi was under Ottoman jurisdiction from

1835 (1251) and there has been reform proposals which included ways to use the

resources wisely.[480] Although he did not specify what the proposals for wise use of

natural resources entailed, he mentioned that the majority of these proposals

remained as such.[481] He also added that the application of these proposals for

improving the land would be quite beneficial for the economy of the province.[482]

Cami Bey was more openly critical in the narrative. He associated the current state of

underdevelopment in the province with the Ottoman government's neglect. To be

sure, Cami Bey stated that the rules destructive for the province predated Ottoman

Empire; however, the latter did not make any contributions to the devastated state of

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[480] Sadık el-Müeyyed, "Ekler", *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat*, 2010, 201.

[481] Ibid.

[482] Ibid.,, 202.

Libya.[483] Referring to the Tarhunah valley as "one of the most bitter examples of the crime of neglect" Cami Bey commented the Ottoman state failed to develop this fertile valley:

> …with its valleys, is far away from development as one of the worst examples of ignorance crime. Roman ruins which are encountered in every step…Our current government style cannot even protect a few olive and almond trees from the tooth attacks of goat herds in this fertile area which used to be covered with wide olive groves and therefore discourages the public for new plantations and abandons this strong, fertile plain which expresses a happy green face from the past with its pile of ruins and long sets covered by an infertile curtain of sorrow and shows its lack of skill in life struggle to whole world.[484]

The Roman ruins in the landscape indicated for him, the former glories of the province. The trope of the former glory of by-gone civilizations and is used to reinforce the concept of contemporary "decline." Cami Bey's evaluation of the remains of former civilizations, Romans in his conception, was significant for showing the former state of development of, for instance the Nufud valley:

> Nufud valley, which still appears with a great many relics that remain standing, was once one of the most prosperous regions of Tripoli. This valley, with a great number of Roman wells, wide agricultural fields and grasslands, is still the most prosperous and inhabited among the other valleys.[485]

Cami Bey lamented the present ruined and derelict state of the area as opposed to the glorious civilizations of the past, which had developed sufficiently to extract maximum benefits from the land. These past glories, reflected in the remnants of these glorious civilizations, offered a stark contrast with the present 'decline':

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[483] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan* Sahrâ-*yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 60.

[484] Ibid., 58.

[485] Ibid., 63.

The traces of civilization on this plateau between the Tarhunah Mountain and the Bin Valed Valley, the fertility and fruitfulness of the soil, the width of the valley bed, the grace of the climate, the old prosperity in the time of Romans and its current desolation and ruin make for a sorrowful contradiction.[486]

The biggest failure of the Ottoman government, according to Cami Bey, was regarding the production of esparto grass. It was proposed in the memorandum that esparto grass that grew abundantly in the Tripoli hinterland should be cultivated as an export crop.[487] For Cami Bey cultivating esparto grass for export trade could really be useful for the provincial economy however the state could not promote it.[488] Not only the government could not reinforce the production of esparto grass but also it failed, Cami Bey told, to protect the existing source of esparto grass.[489]

To sum up both Cami Bey and Sadık Bey represented the lands they traveled through a prevalent discourse of 'empty' lands. They located "untamed" lands for agriculture in valleys and oases as sites of 'improvement.' With their representations, in Sadık Bey's case also with the report he prepared upon his return, they perhaps tried to attract the attention of the Ottoman government for investing in the province. The better utilization of resources, they suggested, would be beneficial for the economy of the province. In the meantime, for Cami Bey, I think, because Ottoman rule was neglecting the province the Ottoman state was missing its opportunities in Libya. On the one hand he suggested areas for further investment for development, on the other he did not hesitate to mention that the Ottoman government was not able

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[486]Ibid., 59.

[487] Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery'," 320; Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid,* 218.

[488] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan* Sahrâ-*yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 26.

[489] Ibid.

to develop the provinces like European colonial powers. I think the development projects envisioned by the European colonial powers in their colonies in Africa was the model for Cami Bey, as attested to his suggestion in the introduction. He considered the limits of Ottoman rule in the province as neglect on the part of the government, which could, according to him, lead to a possible European invasion of Libya. European imperialism constituted both the main threat for the Ottoman rule in Libya and the model for Ottoman development project in the province, in nowhere however the local agency were underlined as a significant political force having right over the lands they lived in the representations. In this sense the Ottoman authors' stance to local people could be comparable to European colonialism.

CHAPTER 5

URBAN SPACE

5.1 Reorganizing urban space in the Ottoman Empire

In the Ottoman Empire, as well as in Europe and its colonies, the 19th century was marked by intense changes in the physical outlook and organization of the space of major urban centers.[490] From very early on in the *Tanzimat* reform period, the Ottoman state elite was preoccupied with modernizing the urban fabric.[491] According

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[490]For studies on nineteenth century urbanism see for instance, Spiro Kostof, *The city shaped: urban patterns and meanigns through history* (London: Thames and Hudson, c1999); see also Spiro Kostof, *The city assembled: the elements of urban form through history* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1999); Jon A. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1003); Barry Bergdoll, *European architecture 1750-1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, c2000); on colonial landscapes see for instance, Swati Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny* (London: Routledge, 2005); William J. Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007); Peter Scriver and Prakash Vikramaditya ed., *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon* (London: Routledge, 2007); Zeynep Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1997); for studies that take the issue from a comparative perspective see among others, Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and forms of the social environment* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Leila Tarazi Fawaz and C.A. Bayly ed., *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Shane Ewen and Pierre-Yves Saunier ed., *Another Global City: Historical Explorations into the Transnational Municipal Moment, 1850-2000* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Joseph Nasr and Mercedes Volait ed., *Urbanism: Imported or Exported? Native Aspirations and Foreign Plans* (London: Academy Editions, 2003).

[491] Stefan Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine", *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, ed., Paul Dumont, François Georgeon (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları 1999), 2; see also, Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: portrait of an Ottoman city in the nineteenth century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye'nin Kent Planlama ve Kent Araştırmaları Tarihi Yazıları* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010), 47, 65. Gül, M. and R. Lamb, "Mapping, regularizing and modernizing Ottoman Istanbul: Aspects of the genesis of the 1839 development policy." *Urban History* 31(3) (2004): 420-436.

For Ottoman urbanism before nineteenth century see, Suraiya Faroqhi *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts and food production in an urban setting, 1520-1650* (Cambridge University Press, 1984); *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, ed. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters (Cambridge University Press, 1999); André Raymond, *Arab Cities in the Ottoman Period* (Variorum Collected Studies Series, Ashgate, 2002);

to Stefan Yerasimos, the appropriation of Ottoman ruling elite of European elements in urban reform was related to both aesthetic and political concerns.[492] In the sense that *Tanzimat* urban reforms intended to reinforce central state's penetration and control in urban life it was, Yeasimos argued, they were very much in line with the broader reforms.[493]

The Ottoman perspective on urban reform was influenced by a "scientific approach to urban planning," which was well embodied in the reflections of Mustafa Reşid Paşa, who was among the authors of the *Tanzimat* decree, in his famous letter from London.[494]Urban reform in Istanbul was formulated in successive regulations and codes between 1848 and 1882.[495] Moreover the *Tanzimat* regulation on the urban space promoted by the reformers in the name of "public good."[496] Preventing fires,

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Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: cultural encounter, imperial vision, and theconstruction of the Ottoman capital* (University Park, Pa. : Pennyslvania State University Press, c2009).

[492]Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine," 5.

[493]Ibid., 5-6.

[494] Mustafa Reşid Pasa, after observing major European capitals during his diplomatic mission, specifically argued for the necessity to replace wooden construction with *kargir* or masonry and the regularization of the street network. These would, according to him, be realized first by relying on foreign expertise, which would eventually be replaced by Ottoman subjects through sending them to Europe for education and establishing schools in Istanbul. Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 50-51; For Mustafa Reşid Paşa's letter see, M. Cavid Baysun, "Mustafa Reşid Paşa'nın Siyasi Yazıları", *Tarih Dergisi*, c. XI, 15 (1960), p. 124-127. See also, Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine," 3-4.

[495] "The 1848 Building Regulation proposed three types of streets: main avenues...of minimum 7.60 meters wide, ordinary avenues...6.00 meters wide; and other streets...4.50 meters wide. In 1863 two more categories were established; this time the widest arteries were envisioned as 11.50 meters, whereas the width of the fifth category still remained 4.50 meters. The 1882 Building Law, however, retained the five-category classification and the 11.50-meter width for the main streets, but increased the width of the fifth category from 4.50 meters to 7.60 meters. All regulations stressed the need to eliminate dead ends." The building heights in 1848 and 1863 were determined according to construction material allowing brick and stone buildings to be higher than timber ones. In 1882 regulation, building heights were specified as correlating with street widths. Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* 51.

[496]Ibid., 51.

ensuring public health and security dominated the official discourse about the regulations on street widths, building materials and heights of the building.[497] However "public control," as Spiro Kostof writes, "is exercised in the name of safety and circulation…and to give esthetic distinction and unity to the streetscape."[498] The Ottoman ambassador in Paris during 1806-1811, Abdürrahim Muhib Efendi noticed the relationship between urban reconfiguration projects in Paris and reinforcing the power of central state in his report where he wrote: "It is clear that they [European states] did not miss an opportunity to gain from the rules by saying that it would be for the public good."[499]

5.2 Reorganizing urban space in the provinces

Although Istanbul received urban reform earlier and, in some ways, more attention than other cities in the empire, provincial cities was nevertheless also subjected to the same push to regularize and transform the urban fabric.[500] In the framework of modernization, the Ottoman state attempted to establish modern infrastructure projects such as railroads and telegraph lines and implement urban reform in Arab

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[497] Ibid., 51-52. See also Sibel Zandi-Sayek, "Shaping the Waterfront: Public Works and the Public Good", *Ottoman Izmir: the rise of a cosmopolitan port, 1840-1880* (University of Minnesota press, 2012): 115-151.

[498] Kostof, *The city assembled*, 200.

[499] The script is in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, no: 1148, f.26, quoted in Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine," 5, footnote 11.

[500] Zeynep Çelik, *Empire, architecture, and the city: French-Ottoman encounters, 1830-1914* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, c2008), 80-81.

and North African provinces as well.[501] Similar to the imperial capital the reform on the urban space focused on regulating the streets, forming new areas for settlement, establishing infrastructural projects, constructing public buildings through which the rulers hoped to extend their control in the province that would in turn acquire a modern outlook. In fact the urban transformations in a number of cities were related to the broader efforts to enhance and affirm the state authority and control in these places.[502] According to Thomas Kuehn who analyzed the political implications of the transformations of the urban space of Yemen "construction projects…are seen [by the Ottoman imperial elite] as spatial practices that were aspects of inscribing Ottoman rule in urban space."[503] The Ottoman construction projects he further suggested were a significant part of the Ottoman "administrators conceptualized Ottoman rule" in Yemen as colonial-inspired.[504] Çelik also interprets Ottoman construction projects in North Africa as a reflection of the Ottoman state's engagement with a "comparable venture," to French imperialism in North Africa.[505]

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[501] See Çelik, *Empire, architecture, and the city,* especially Chapter 2: "Transforming the Urban Fabric"; The essays in the collected volume, *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Phillip and Stefan Weber (Beirut, 2002); Bernard Hourcade, "The Demography of Cities and the Expansion of Urban Space" and Gudrun Kramer, "Moving Out of Place: Minorities in Middle Eastern Urban Societies, 1800-1914", *The Urban Social History of the Middle East 1750-1950*, ed. Peter Sluglett (Syracuse University Press, 2008): 154-181, 182-223; Horst Kopp and Eugen Wirth, *Sanaa, Développpement et organisation de l'espace d'une ville arabe, traduit de l'Allemand par Blandine Blukacz-Louisfert et François Blukacz* (Aix-en-Provence, Sanaa 1994); Thomas Kuehn, "Ordering Urban Space in Ottoman Yemen, 1872-1914, *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire,* ed. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Phillip and Stefan Weber (Beirut, 2002): 329-347; Jens Hanssen, "'Your Beirut is on my Desk'; Ottomanizing Beirut under Abdulhamid (1878-1909)," *Projecting Beirut: Episodes of the Construction and Reconstruction of a Modern City*, ed. H.Sarkis and P.Rowe (London, 1998): 41-67.

[502] Yemen in particular, suggests a promising comparison for both Yemen and Libya were re-conquered by the Ottoman Empire during the mid-nineteenth century. For the political dimension of urban reform in Yemen see, Kuehn, "Ordering Urban Space in Ottoman Yemen, 1872-1914."

[503] Kuehn, "Ordering Urban Space in Ottoman Yemen, 1872-1914," 331.

[504] Ibid.

[505] Çelik, *Empire, architecture, and the city*, 165.

"The will to strengthen central control by modernizing the military infrastructure and improving the civil administration" Wolf-Dieter Lemke wrote, "found its architectural expression in newly constructed military and public buildings."[506] According to Çelik as well, using official buildings "to express political agendas"[507] was an important concern of the Ottoman authorities like the long time governor of Hijaz and Yemen, Osman Nuri Paşa, who emphasized "the construction of government buildings and military establishments, which would reflect the glory of the state," among his six articles regarding urban reform in the provinces.[508] With its immense size and regular layout, the barracks in Benghazi was such project expected to promote the message of Ottoman imperial grandeur for multiple audiences in the internal and external political context. In terms of impact on the urban environment, the immense size of the imposing architecture, as Çelik argued, was comparable to French examples in Algiers, for instance.[509] For the locals under Ottoman domination, the grandeur of the layout and articulation would be a symbol of the greatness of the Ottoman state that sought the continuation of its authority over the land and people. With military landmarks as such, the imperial center might have also intended to convey the message convey the message to the international audience that the place was under Ottoman jurisdiction.

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[506]Wolf-Dieter Lemke, "Ottoman Photography: Recording and Contributing to Modernity," *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Beirut, 2002), 242.

[507]Çelik, *Empire, architecture, and the city*, 165.

[508] Ibid.

[509] Ibid.

In the context of extending the imperial center's control in the Libyan

provinces, as well as that of Arabian provinces, modernization of the cityscape

intending to "improve overall communication"[510] would also be of much use for

promoting solidarity. As mentioned before, Ussama Makdisi argued that the Ottoman

imperial elite believed that there was a "developmental gap" between the center and

the peripheries. For Çelik, the modernization and regularization of the urban

environment was part of the effort to close this "developmental gap" between the

center and the peripheries.[511] Çelik mentioned that both Midhat Paşa and Ahmed

Cevdet Paşa emphasized the importance of reform in the provinces, which would

"create a new platform of social solidarity."[512]

"A modern infrastructure that would connect all corners of the Ottoman

Empire" was central to the modernization project of the empire because, as Çelik

stated, "[to] implement the programs on the broadest scale possible, the provinces

had to be fully integrated into an efficient network, and the drive for administrative

centralization necessitated linking them to the capital."[513] She further stated that

extending central state's control and facilitating military mobilization was the prime

motivations of these modern projects, which would be followed by economic

development.[514] By opening up and connecting places, they have created a sense of

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[510] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 51.

[511] Çelik, *Empire, architecture, and the city*, 16.

[512] Ibid., 16.

[513] Çelik, *Empire, Architecture, and the City*, 24-25. See also, Daniel R. Headrick, *Power over poeples: technology, environments, and Western imperialism, 1400 to present* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, c2010); Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

[514] Çelik, *Empire, Architecture, and the City*, 24. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History,* 82

imagined unity between the center and periphery while bringing distant places into the purview of state and capitalist expansion.[515] Constructing modern ports that would connect networks of land transportation to overseas networks and "developing the port-cities, which would act as outlets to the Mediterranean" as Çelik wrote, was an important part of "creating an integrated infrastructure system."[516] The aforementioned memorandum, which Deringil interpreted as a future development project also specified the construction of a modern harbor for the city of Trablusgarb, which, with its cafes, hotels, theaters, and the large promenade also constitute a modern façade for the city.[517] The proposal for developing the waterfront was related to economic prospects, however it might also endow the city, like in other projects of constructing modern ports in Salonia, Izmir and Alexandria, with a modern public space where social and cultural life of the city was concentrated.[518] The port would connect the city of Tripoli, the terminal point of trans-Saharan trade to the other ports within the empire and with different European ports.

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[515] Jeremy Foster, ""Capturing and Losing the 'Lie of the Land': Railway Photography and Colonial Nationalism in Early Twentieth-Century South Africa," *Picturing Place : Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, ed. Joan M. Schwartz and James R.Ryan (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 143.

[516] Çelik, *Empire, Architecture, and the City*, 45.

[517] Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery'," 320. For the emphasis on a need for a modern harbor in Ottoman documents and a 1884 plan of the construction stage see Çelik, *Empire, architecture, and the city*, 50-51.

[518]See for instance, Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*. Mark Mazower, "In the Frankish Style", *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews, 1430-1950* (London: Harper Perennial, 2005); Phillip Mansel, *Levant: splendor and catastrophe on the Mediterranean* (New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, c2011).

V. Hastaoğlu-Martinidis, "The Carthography of Harbor Construction in Eastern Mediterranean Cities", *Cities of the Mediterranean*, ed. Biray Kolluoğlu-Kırlı, Meltem Toksöz (London ; New York : I.B. Tauris ; New York : Distributed in the United States and Canada exclusively by Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) 78-99.

Establishing telegraph lines in the province that were specified in the memorandum were in line with the modern infrastructure projects of constructing modern ports and extending railroads.[519] In his report Sadık Bey also highlighted the need to extend the telegraph lines to the *sanjak* of Benghazi in order to firmly establish communication with different regions in the province as well as the center.[520] With enhanced communication, Sadık Bey suggested that the state authority would be reinforced. Telegraphy was an important instrument for the consolidation of British rule in the sub-continent, and especially crucial for the suppression of 1857 Sepoy Revolt in time before it could spread.[521]

As the Libyan provinces became important sites with increasing territorial losses they were increasingly subjected to urban reform and regulation. Although the urban regeneration of Tripoli was generally associated with Italian interventions after Italians took the city over in 1911, Çelik demonstrates that in fact, efforts to reform the physical environment of the city predated Italian invasion.[522] From the 1860s, various governors had tried to extend and restructure the city. According to Çelik, the governor Ali Rıza Paşa started with infrastructural development of the town,

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[519] Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery'," 319, footnote 38.

[520] Sadık el-Müeyyed, "Ekler", *Afrika Sahrâ-yı Kebirinde Seyahat*, 2010, 200.

[521] Pinney, *The Coming of Photography in India*, 105-106. According to Christopher Pinney, the contemporary British and Indian observers also aware of the significant role of telegraphy in the event. For instance, a mutineer on the way to execution shouted "the accursed string that strangles us!" indicating a telegraph line. See also Headrick, *The Tools of Empire*.

[522] Çelik, *Empire, architecture, and the city*, 103. For Italian interventions to the province see for instance, Mia Fuller, "Preservation and Self-Absorption: Italian Colonisation and the Walled City of Tripoli, Libya", *The Walled Arab City in Literature, Architecture, and History* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2001); Krystna von Henneberg, "Tripoli: Piazza Castello and the Making of a Fascist Colonial Capital", *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*, ed. Zeynep Çelik, Diane Favro, and Richard Ingersoll (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 135-50; Brian L. McLaren, *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya: An Ambivalent Modernism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006).

relying on French expertise.[523] Then he commissioned a map to Mazhar Bey and

began the construction of Suq Aziziye (Aziziye Avenue), which facilitated the

planned growth of the city.[524] Constructed with the funds of local notables, Suq

Aziziye was a "straight, arcaded artery with shops on two sides" and was described

as a "nucleus of further growth" in a report about the project that would relieve the

congested city center and gather shops in one location.[525]

Ahmed İzzed Pasha continued with the construction projects, especially in

the newly built Suq Aziziye area outside of the walls, including the Municipal

Hospital and Hamidiye market. However, the projects were completed during the

tenure of Ahmed Rasim Paşa.[526] Hafız Mehmed Paşa was renown for "introducing

municipal duties" to Tripoli.[527] He attempted to pave the avenues and focused on

expanding educational institutions. The Ottoman plans prepared in 1883 and 1909,

provided by Çelik show a radial street system for the area developed *extra muros*, or

outside of the city walls. This area was identified as the "new town of Trablusgarb"

and contained official buildings, commercial establishments and military barracks, as

well as a hospital in the south in the 1909 plan.[528] French traveler Edmond Bernet

describes this location as "a new quarter, whose wide and rectilinear streets are

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[523] Çelik, *Empire, architecture, and the city*. Çelik mentioned that Ali Rıza Paşa was born in Algeria in 1810 and fled to Istanbul with his family after the French occuopation. He was among the students sent to Europe to study military sciences by grand vizier, Mustafa Reşid Paşa. He spent eight years in France and attended the Ecole Militaire and the Ecole d'Application de Metz. After returning to Istanbul, he became a close associate of Sultan Abdülaziz.

[524] Ibid., 103.

[525] Ibid.

[526] Ibid.,, 104.

[527] Ibid.

[528] Ibid., 105.

defined by buildings with grand arcades."[529] The 1887 *salname* of the province indicated the contribution of the continuation of construction in this area to the development of the province.[530]

 Urban planning in the provinces was carried out on a much smaller scale than in the cases of Algeria or Tunisia, which had drastic effects for the ways in which the inhabitants experienced and imagined their cities. However according to Çelik, the Ottoman practices and prevalent concepts are comparable European practices and discourses.[531] According to Thomas Kuehn, as well, who analyzed the political implications of the transformations of the urban space of Yemen "construction projects…are seen [by the Ottoman imperial elite] as spatial practices that were aspects of inscribing Ottoman rule in urban space."[532] "These forms of ordering space" he further suggested were a significant part of the Ottoman the ways in which "administrators conceptualized Ottoman rule" in Yemen as colonial-inspired.[533]

 Çelik also pointed out that the dominant tendencies in Ottoman discourse regarding the urban space of Africa certainly bear resemblance to the prevalent themes in the ways in which European, French in particular, colonialist and imperialist discourse was articulated.[534] Of course neither the Ottoman nor the

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[529] Edmond Bernet, *En Tripolitaine* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1912) quoted in Çelik, *Empire, architecture, and the city*, 105.

[530] Trablusgarb Vilayeti Salnamesi (Tripoli: Vilayet Matbaası, 1805/1887), 124 quoted in Çelik, *Empire, architecture, and the city*, 105.

[531] Çelik, *Empire, architecture, and the city*, 247. See also Kuehn, "Ordering Urban Space in Ottoman Yemen, 1872-1914".

[532] Kuehn, "Ordering Urban Space in Ottoman Yemen, 1872-1914," 331.

[533] Ibid.

[534] Çelik, *Empire, architecture, and the city*, 247.

French practices and discourses were monolithic and uniform.[535] The imperial interventions to the physical environment of the colonies have been various and subject to change according to the historical context. For instance, both under French domination, the colonial development projects devised and implement in Algiers and Tunisia have differed. After the initial trials and errors of inserting large boulevards, streets and spacious plazas that had devastating implications on the urban environment in Algiers, a "dual-city" was envisioned for Tunisia.[536] The concept of "dual-city" is used to define such settlement patterns in the colonial landscape with the construction of new quarters adjacent to old town centers for European settler populations.[537] A dual structure supposedly protected the authentic indigenous settlement and preserved "its Oriental character," and did not touch "the picturesque décor of their ancient cores."[538] According to Paul Rabinow Algeria constituted "the first stage of colonial urbanism in North Africa…was characterized by destruction of existing urban structures and the creation of urban spaces based on French principles", however when Tunisia was invaded, the ideas of destructing local fabric was beginning to be replaced with an "appreciation of Arab art and urbanism."[539] He and Conklin argued that this was related to the shifting emphasis of French policies in North Africa from conquest to consolidation.[540]

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[535] Ibid.

[536] Ibid., 87.

[537] Ibid., 87.

[538] Rene Millet the designer general of Tunusia, quoted from Ibid., 95. See also Kostof, *The City Assembled,* 110-117; Paul Rabinow, "Techno-Cosmopolitanism: Governing Morroco", *French Modern: Norms and forms of the social environment* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 251-276.

[539] Rabinow, *French Modern*, 311.

[540] Ibid., 311; Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize*, 41.

In both cases however, as the infrastructure and urban regulation projects

were major symbols of 'progress' and 'development', they were justified by bringing

'development' and 'progress' while justifying the material and moral superiority of

the colonizers, hence right to undertake the 'burden' to bring 'progress.' French

colonial discourse, at the time, as Alice Conklin showed, put a particular emphasis

on the connectedness of material and moral progress. The specific "mission

civilizatrice" discourse under Third Republic, put a particular emphasis on

establishing infrastructure and regularizing urban space for the wise use of natural

resources (*mise en valour*) which -as reflected in the previous chapter with reference

to Georges Deherme's view- involved regarding the natural resources of the world as

belonging to humanity that could better use them.[541]

As these projects signified modernity, the Ottoman imperial center could also

justify the construction of railroads, telegraph lines and roads that could ensure the

persistence of imperial rule in the provinces, through the discourse of "civilizing

mission."[542] From the perspective of the center, the projects might have entailed

"bringing civilization" to the "backwards" periphery that would contribute to the

improvement and development of the provinces. In the official discourse the

modernization of the infrastructure and urban space in the Libyan provinces, as Çelik

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[541] The mission civilizatrice discourse was not formulated in the Third Republic, however the discourse gained a specific resonance with the new regime that tried to merge its "aggressive imperialism with its republican ideals." Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize*, 1. For the emphasis on infrastructure and public works in French colonial discourse see particularly, chapter 2: "Public Works and Public Health, Civilization, Technology, and Science (1902-1914): 38-72. See also, Margaret Maclane, "Railways and 'Development Imperialism' in French West Africa Before 1914", *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History* 18 (1991): 505-514; Lewis Pyenson, *Civilizing Mission: Exact Sciences and French Overseas Expansion, 1830-1940* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

[542] Conklin, "Public Works and Public Health, Civilization, Technology, and Science (1902-1914)," *A Mission to Civilize*, 38-72.

showed, were referred to as "works of civilization" and their implementation as introduction of "a state of order" and "rules of civilization" or "fruits of civilization."[543] The memorandum that specified the "project of modernity" for the Libyan provinces called for introducing public services in the capital of the province, Trablusgarb for the "convenience of the population and to demonstrate the fruits of civilization."[544] The *salname* of Trablusgarb referred to construction projects outside of the city walls as "developing" and "improving" the city with emphasis on "enlivening" the province.[545] It is also significant that the emphasis is almost always on "introducing" civilization, which implied that the Ottoman administration found the province in a wretched state after the re-conquest. This was mainly related to the periods before Ottoman rule was re-established. The implication of these arguments was that the Ottoman state established its rule in a place marked by destruction, which could only be overcame by outside intervention. I think the Ottoman authorities portrayal of Yemen's urban life that Thomas Kuehn has reflected on, as a reflection of "local decline and stagnation" which they contrasted with "Ottoman order and efficiency" could also be applicable for the portrayal of Libya by the Ottoman authorities.[546]

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[543] Çelik, *Empire, architecture, and the city*, 28; Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery'", 320; Kuehn, "Ordering Urban Space in Ottoman Yemen, 1872-1914."

[544] Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery'", 320.

[545] *Trablusgarb Vilayeti Salnamesi*, 124 quoted in Çelik, *Empire, architecture, and the city*, 105.

[546] Kuehn, "Ordering Urban Space in Ottoman Yemen, 1872-1914," 336.

I think it is also important to note that in fact the interventions for modernizing urban space in the capital and in the "core" regions, Anatolia and Thrace, and the peripheries, Libyan and Arab provinces were similar. In the imperial core these interventions were promoted through the discourse of "public good." In the peripheries like Libyan provinces, the urban interventions were oftentimes referred to a kind colonialist-inspired discourse.

Not only Ottoman and European practices and discourses of reordering space in North Africa were comparable, but also the ways in which urban space was represented in the travelogues of the Ottoman authors discussed in these thesis were comparable to European orientalist representations. As many researchers in diverse fields have been emphasizing the depictions of various colonial administrators, missionaries and travelers of the imagined geography called the 'Orient' were inscribed in the orientalist discourse in complex and multi-dimensional ways and different agents have used the representational practices and frameworks of orientalism for multiple and variegated purposes. In my opinion the Ottoman authors, Sadık and Cami Bey also used the prevalent frameworks of orientalist discourse in understanding and portraying the urban space of Libyan provinces. In the remaining part of this chapter I reflect on their representation of Libyan provinces in the hope of arriving at a nuanced understanding of the authors' appropriation of orientalist representational practices.

5.3 Urban space as a register of distinction

The authors Sadık Bey and Cami Bey reflected on the interventions of the state in the province as positive and progressive to the local ecosystem. In the authors' representations imperial interventions in townscapes were depicted as "progressive" measures in otherwise desolate and decrepit environments. The local architecture is conspicuously absent in Sadık el-Müeyyed's imagery. While the local buildings might not have been regarded as worthy of visualizing, the photograph of the imperial barracks in the city of Benghazi was incorporated among the few images of his travelogue (Figure 30). The image of the military barracks highlighted the Ottoman imperial presence in the province. Although not imposing as such the Benghazi barracks, the government also constructed one in the town of Ghat. Cami Bey included it in the imagery and reflected that this building was the only construction of the Ottoman government in the Sahara lately (Figure 31).[547] The construction of the military barracks in the town of Ghat was related to the French-Ottoman conflict over the domination of Sahara. As mentioned in the previous chapter Cami Bey was sent to the town as governor in the framework of this conflict. Although the conflict was the underlying cause of his mission in Ghat and his journeys in the Sahara, other than this image and the reference of the barracks, there was no indication of a conflict as such.

Wolf-Dieter Lemke regarded, as his abovementioned statement attested to, the military and public landmarks of the Ottoman state as a manifestation of presence and power of the modernizing state. He also showed that there are a vast number of

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[547] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan* Sahrâ-*yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 142.

photographs regarding the novel imperial landmarks such as military barracks, government halls, railway stations, hospitals, schools of the Ottoman Empire in the periphery dispersed in various archives.[548] As he and Çelik mentioned a substantial number of comparable photographs appeared in *Servet-i Fünun* and *Malumat*, provided from travelling journalists, local photographers and amateurs.[549] These photographs of public buildings and infrastructural projects, Wolf-Dieter Lemke argued, marked the modernizing and centralizing Ottoman Empire's presence. Edhem Eldem who also brought up this issue, in the catalogue of a recent exhibition concerned with situating photography into the Ottoman modernity project stated that "a new construction contributing to the modernization of the empire" such as government palaces, barracks, railroads, bridges and tunnels were integrated into the imagery of *Servet-i Fünun*.[550] He further stated that "as they illustrated the states ability to conquer the periphery" the government palaces enjoyed a specific

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[548] Wolf-Dieter Lemke, "Ottoman Photography: Recording and Contributing to Modernity." For an analysis of infrastructure photographs in the late Ottoman domain see, Zeynep Çelik, "Photographing Mundane Modernity", *Camera Ottomana: Photography and Modernity in the Ottoman Empire 1840-1914*, ed. Zeynep Çelik, Edhem Eldem (Istanbul: Koç University Publications, 2015), p.155-203, see especially 155-168.

[549] In the footnote 13 of his article "Ottoman Photography: Recording and Contributing to Modernity," Wolf-Dieter Lemke mentioned an unpublished conference paper by Paul Dumont, Propagande, positivisme et pédagogie, Le role de la photographie dans la presse illustrée Ottomane, L'exemple du "Servet-I Fünun" (Unpublished conference paper, Conference: Image, Functions and Languages, Istanbul 1999). See also Çelik, Empire, architecture, and the city, 2008, 19. Çelik mentioned that Servet-i Fünun, in particular, systematically incorporated reports on the construction activies of the state in Arab provinces such as the Hijaz railroad. Ahmed İhsan for instance traveled to Syria and Mehmed Tevfik to Iraq and wrote detailed accounts of their travels that were published with illustrations.

[550] Edhem Eldem, "Powerful Images-The Dissemination and Impact of Photography in the Ottoman Empire, 1870-1914", *Camera Ottomana: Photography and Modernity in the Ottoman Empire 1840-1914,* ed. Zeynep Çelik, Edhem Eldem (Istanbul: Koç University Publications, 2015), 135. However Eldem also questions the reception part of the images in illustrated journals such as Servet-i Fünun. For Eldem, its circulation rates might have allowed for a rather "limited and socially skewed impact."

popularity.[551] The representation of military barracks constructed in the periphery I think was undergirded by a similar concern.

Figure 30. "A barrack in Benghazi (Bingazi'de bir kışla),"Azmzâde Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat* (Istanbul: Âlem Matbaası Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı, 1314/ 1896), 65.

Figure 31. "The barracks of Ghat", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât (Dersa'âdet* : Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) p.149a.

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[551]Ibid.

The photograph of Benghazi barracks in Sadık Bey's representation might be in line with the examples in illustrated journals. Marking the Ottoman Empire's presence in the local landscape, the barracks constructed on the initiative of the sultan was referred to, by Sadık Bey as superior in terms of construction technique and materials than local structures. During his visit to the imperial barracks in Benghazi, Sadık Bey mentioned the building, which was constructed with the benefice of the Sultan, was built in an elegant style and had substantial in appearance in a most appropriate and wide spacious location.[552]

Sadık Bey's depiction of the building is comparable to a perspective-view drawing of the structure, which Çelik reproduced in her book and considered as likely to be produced as a presentation for the approval of the project (Figure 32).[553] According to her with its emphasis on the contrast between the "monumental and modern forms" of the massive building and the "irregular, delicately scaled, and whitewashed fabric of the 'indigenous' settlement'", the drawing expressed "imperial message behind architecture, reinforced by the depiction of the surroundings and the people, assembled from familiar Orientalist representations."[554] However, it is impossible to infer the Ottoman building's distinction from the local environment through the image only, because only the former are seen in the photograph. Thus Sadık Bey had to suggest such a contrast of the Ottoman building over the surrounding environment in the discourse.

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[552] Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat*, 6.

[553] Çelik, *Empire, architecture, and the city*, 250.

[554]Ibid.

Figure 32. Benhgazi Barracks, Zeynep Çelik, *Empire, architecture, and the city: French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830-1914* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, c2008), plate 33.

In integrating the picture of this building to his representation, Sadık Bey might have added another layer to the political impact of the imposing military barracks in Benghazi. With integrating this image of a structure "conveying a powerful message about powerful structure and control" Sadık Bey might have also intended to articulate and communicate the imperial enterprise of his patron Sultan Abdülhamid II to the audience at home in the hopes of inspiring national sentiment and attachment. In that sense it could be in line with the European practice of representing public monuments and construction activities in the colonies as progressive achievements that were related to reinforcing imperial legitimacy and rule in complex ways. Various European photographers under official orders for commercial motivations produced numerous images of imperial buildings and

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construction activities in different colonial contexts such as the travelling photographer-scientist, John Thomson who was affiliated with Royal Geographical Society. The photographs that he made in Hong Kong which were later published in his illustrated travelogue of his travels to China, for instance, focused on representing pubic buildings and civic monuments constructed by the British imperial rule in Hong Kong.[555] The structures constructed by the British Empire, Ryan argues, were often used to convey the message of colonial superiority.[556] He also noted that the interventions in the Hong Kong had significantly improved the health and wealth of local people.[557] Ryan explains that "to their makers and viewers, nineteenth-century photographs not only captured whole the realities of little known places and peoples" but also represented themselves engaged in "the work of civilizing" every part of the world.[558] I think Sadık Bey was concerned with reaffirming the Ottoman rule in the province and promoting the imperial image of Sultan Abdülhamid when integrating the picture of the barracks into the visual imagery of the travelogue, then comes the much more ambiguous question of reception. The reception side of imperial propaganda, as Edhem Eldem has mentioned is much more hard to evaluate than the production side in the Ottoman context. More details about publication of the travelogue and circulation of the image are certainly needed to make some inferences in this respect to make some inferences.

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[555]Ibid., 68.

[556]Ibid.

[557]Ibid.

[558]Ibid., 214-215.

Sadık Bey does not make inferences about the moral character of the people from make. However he emphasized the contrast between local environment and buildings of the Ottoman Empire. In Jalu, he mentioned that the "most splendid and mighty building is the government hall and the house nearby that is being used by the governor."[559] Describing houses in the towns of the desert in great detail, el-Müeyyed said that not only was the floor covered with sand, but they could also be demolished with "a strong kick" because the houses were not built with strong materials, they were built with mud, sandstone.[560] Also timber from coarse date trees was used as pillars.[561] The roofs of some houses were only covered with date tree branches and not with mud at all.[562] Sadık Bey described, in Jalu the scarcity of rain was regarded fortunate by the people, because at times of rain their houses dissolved.[563] Furthermore the buildings did not have many windows the ones that did have windows did have glasses.[564] For him, the "most splendid and mighty building is the government hall and the house nearby that is being used by the governor."[565] He mentioned that the streets in Jalu were covered with sand like the floors of the houses and it was impossible to walk with shoes there without submerging one's feet into the sand.[566]

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[559] Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat*, 36.

[560] Ibid., 35.

[561]Ibid.

[562]Ibid.

[563]Ibid., 36.

[564]Ibid.

[565]Ibid.

[566]Ibid., 37.

Çelik mentioned that government halls, hospitals and schools, military barracks formed complexes of new public buildings, often not integrated with the local fabric, and marking the presence and authority of the modern empire over the city.[567] In the small town of Murzuk, this complex was located in the north near new gate of Bâbü'ş-Şeria, the gate containing the *tugra* of Sultan Abdülmecid. This was another way of inscribing Ottoman presence in the city (Figure 33). Cami Bey mentioned that the part of the town containing official buildings was more regular and spacious than the other parts in the city.[568] Despite his reflections, the images of both gates, Bâbü'l-Kebir (the Old Gate) as well as Bâbü'ş-Şeria, containing the inscription of the *tugra* (Figures 33-34) that were taken from a distance do not look that different. Just like Sadık Bey emphasized the distinction of the area of Benghazi barracks within the city, Cami Bey also highlighted distinction of the part of the town that housed Ottoman structures from the other parts of Murzuq.

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[567] Çelik, *Empire, architecture, and the city*, 159.

[568] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 102.

صرزق ، باب الشريعه

Figure 33. "Murzuq Bâbü'ş-Şeria", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) 96.

صرزق سوری وباب الكبير مدخلی

Figure 34. "The city walls of Murzuq and the Big Gate (*Bab-el Kebir*)", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) p.92.

Cami Bey described the inferiority of local fabric in a comparable to manner to Sadık Bey. He mentioned that the houses in the town of Murzuq were covered with tree branches and would immediately melt down if it would rain.[569] The construction materials, he told, were not specifically produced for a specific structure and construction was undertaken with whatever materials at hand or people could find.[570] So, for him, there was not only any consistency between different structures in a street, but also between the elements of a single building like doors and windows.[571]

Government palaces were normally significant parts of these urban interventions. However the government palace in Ghat was irregular and discordant.[572] Cami Bey mentioned that the Ottoman government did not construct the government palace; it belonged to the Mahamid family of former local leaders of the town.[573] The use of existing local structures as official buildings was already a prevalent and long-lasting Ottoman, as well as British and French, practice especially in minor towns as such. To Hasan Kadri, for instance, it was a shame that, with the exception of the pleasant government house that would "enliven the whole town" in Sanaa, local administrators were relegated to the dark and dilapidated Yemeni houses.[574] Even their private residences resembled the houses of the Arabs.[575] Similar to Osman Nuri Paşa mentioned above, the physician for the Seventh Imperial

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[569] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 111.

[570] Ibid., 110.

[571] Ibid.

[572] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 106.

[573] Ibid.

[574] Hasan Kadri, *Yemen ve Hayatı*, 51-52. For more on the construction of specific structures for government buildings see, Kuehn, "Ordering Urban Space in Ottoman Yemen, 1872-1914," 342-345.

[575] Hasan Kadri, *Yemen ve Hayatı*, 51-52.

Army also emphasized the need to construct more imposing structures representing the glory of the empire. He related to the need to establish separate, distinct structures rather than using local structures to reasons of health and sanitation. The local buildings, he emphasized, "were not spacious enough" and "allowed for too little air circulation" which was harmful for Ottoman officials' health.[576] According to him their unhealthy living conditions had important implications for their material and moral backwardness and inferiority (*madden ve manen mertebe-i medeniyeden ıskat*).[577] He used this to justify his proposal for constructing proper buildings to house Ottoman officials.[578] According to Kuehn Kadri's reference was European colonialist view, which particularly gained currency as of 1890s that associated "local" and "colonial" with "unhealthy", "filthy."[579]

When describing the houses in the town of Ghat, Cami Bey emphasized that they had a depressing and gloomy effect.[580] Similar to Kadri he mainly criticized the local structures for their detrimental effects on health.[581] These depressing structures, he told, were representative of the whole North Africa.[582] According to Cami Bey, the urban groups in Fezzan, Ghat and Murzuq were not that different in terms, clothing, material culture, beliefs and morality from the nomadic Tuareg tribes who

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[576] Hasan Kadri quoted in Kuehn, "Ordering Urban Space in Ottoman Yemen, 1872-1914," 344.

[577] Hasan Kadri, *Yemen ve Hayatı*, 48.

[578] Kuehn, "Ordering Urban Space in Ottoman Yemen, 1872-1914," 344.

[579] Ibid. See also Conklin, "Public Works and Public Health: Civilization, Technology, and Science (1902-1914)," *A Mission to Civilize*, 38-72; Michelle Elizabeth Allen, *Cleansing the City: Sanitary Geographies in Victorian London* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008); Anthony D. King, *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World Economy* (London, New York, 1990); Claudia Agostoni, *Monuments of Progress: Modernization and Public Health in Mexico City, 1876-1910* (University of Calgary Press; Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2003).

[580] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 142.

[581] Ibid., 113, 142.

[582] Ibid.

lived in a state of utmost 'primitivity.'[583] And a traditional Ghat house was slightly better than the tents or thatched cottages of the Bedouins.[584] The typical Ghat house was shown in the image depicting the Tedrmet neighborhood. This neighborhood, which contained "small buildings, partially wracked and pierced walls", was the "token of extreme poverty and need" (Figure 35).[585] Again he told the structures in this neighborhood were typical examples of local construction.[586] So by implication, he might have extended the state of "poverty and need" to the whole province.

Figure 35. "Ghat, Tedrmet neighborhood(*Gat, Tedrmet mahallesi*)", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) p.145a

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[583]Ibid., 90-91, 147.

[584]Ibid., 90.

[585]Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 142.

[586]Ibid., 139.

Cami Bey's comments about the recently established Tûnin neighborhood are also interesting in this respect. He mentioned that this was a suburban settlement for the wealthy locals of Ghat and produced a photograph of the district (Figure 36).[587] Although he stated the newly established suburban settlement of Tûnin, for the wealthy locals, offered a relatively organized view with straight and wide streets, these details were nowhere to be found in the photograph, which depicted the district as a vast, empty space with a few buildings faintly visible in the far right. The houses in this neighborhood, Cami Bey added, were indistinguishable from the typical Ghat house, which did not subscribe to any method of construction.[588] His account was political, for the residents of this Tûnin suburb were problematic for the Ottoman state. Cami Bey mentions that the local notables (*ensar*) living in Tûnin were influential figures who had been enforcing their authority over Ghat and challenging Ottoman rule ever since.[589] Their claim of ruling the city might have interfered with Ottoman state's efforts extending its control, which perhaps resulted in the negative depiction of the Tûnin district.

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[587]Ibid., 142.

[588]Ibid., 143.

[589] Ibid., 147.

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Figure 36. Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, "Ghat Tunin district (*Gat Tunin karyesi*)," Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami*, Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910), 157b.

While local architecture was so irrational and primitive the urban environment was chaotic and congested, for Cami Bey, irregular streets lined with houses that did not follow any organizational principle. As the examples mentioned above attest to Sadık Bey also referred to deficiencies of local buildings, however he was rather discreet about the urban environment. The two photographs regarding Tripoli in Cami Bey's travelogue provide a claustrophobic depiction of the city *intra muros*,which was reinforced with the effect of light, especially the second image, which shows the inside of the walled city (Figures 37-38). The left side of the image is quite dark, with the light falling to the right, where a picturesque local figure sits on a doorstep before a dirty, dilapidated arched street.

Figure 37. "Trablusgarb (city walls inside the New Gat [Bab-el Cedid])", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910), 12b.

Figure 38. "Trablusgarb (*A street inside the city walls*)", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910), 17a.

About the city Cami Bey remarked aside from the waterfront and newly constructed

sites in the vicinity, the streets were narrow and disorderly in the areas of traditional

settlement:

> After passing from the relatively developed neighborhood extending along
> the waterfront, the old city which was comprised of its narrow streets,
> windowless, suffocating old buildings and reminiscent of the ancient walled
> cities is revealed.[590]

The image intended to be a panoramic depiction of the town of Ghat, was captioned

"The Town of Ghat (*Gat Beldesi*)," perhaps because of the angle and the use of light,

represents the town as if it were an excavation site (Figure 39). Ghat had narrow,

tortuous streets for Cami Bey, which made the hot weather even more unbearable.[591]

The conception and representation of the urban space of Libya as dilapidated and

disorganized, the attributes of "Orient" so to speak, is comparable to European

Orientalist representations such as the photograph of a street view in Algiers

immediately after the French occupation (Figure 40). This image is quite in line with

the conventional French conception of traditional Algiers town filled with "narrow

and tortuous streets where two mules could not pass side by side."[592]

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[590]Ibid., 10.

[591] Ibid., 141.

[592]Zeynep Çelik, "A Lingering Obsession: The Houses of Algiers in French Colonial Discourse",
Walls of Algiers: Narratives of the City through Text and Image, ed. Zeynep Çelik, Julia Clancy-
Smith, Frances Terpak (Published in association with the exhibition The Walls of Algiers: Narratives
of the City, Canada: J.Paul Getty Trust, 2009), 136.

 غات بلدہ‌سی (جبل طرفٮن اوزرٮدن پاٮاروما)

Figure 39. "The Town of Ghat", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910), 140b.

Figure 40. "A Street View" from Zeynep Çelik, "A Lingering Obsession: The Houses of Algiers in French Colonial Discourse", *Walls of Algiers: Narratives of the City through Text and Image*, Zeynep Çelik, Julia Clancy-Smith, Frances Terpak ed. (Published in association with the exhibition The Walls of Algiers: Narratives of the City, Canada: J.Paul Getty Trust, 2009), 145.

The street network and urban fabric of Algeria that had an undergirding logic and functional organization of its own, as Zeynep Çelik showed in her book about French colonial rule in Algeria, were from the perspective of French lacking any form of rational organization of urban space.[593] The dichotomous conception of Beaux Arts

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[593]Zeynep Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule* (University of California Press, 1997), 14.

trained architect, Pierre Trémaux, who investigated and documented the urban structure of Algiers after French occupation as a part of rigorous efforts of documenting the urban space as an initial step of urban restructuration, that the streets "in the Orient" were antithetical to "our streets, modern and straight" was a rather conventional one.[594] The physical space of the cities was not immune to ideological and metaphorical constructions in the nineteenth century context of cultural encounters marked by asymmetrical relations of power.[595] The notion of Oriental signified disorder, irregularity, chaos and disrepair, while the notion of European connoted the opposite qualities, modernity, order and regularity with respect to urban space in orientalist discourse. Although more often than these categorizations were more ideological and imaginary than actual, they nevertheless had a wide currency for diverse actors.

The aforementioned photographer John Thompson, visualizing his travels in China, paid a specific attention to photograph British settlements (Figure 41). In picturing the British enclave along the port in Shanghai Thompson mentioned the British quarters were equipped with the "civilization" that the Orient, referring to the walled city in his depiction, "lacked."[596] The British settlement along the waterfront offered an "instructive contrast to the condition of the Chinese walled city" where "native dwellings huddled together, as if pressed back to make way for the higher civilization that has planted a city in their midst."[597]

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[594] Çelik, "A Lingering Obsession", *Walls of Algiers*, 137-140.

[595]See for instance, Leila Tarazi Fawaz and C.A. Bayly ed., *Modernity and Culture: From the Meditteranean to the Indian Ocean* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002). Kostof, *The City Assembled*; Kostof, *The City Shaped*.

[596]Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 65.

[597] Ibid., 65, 67.

Figure 41. John Thompson,"Shanghai Bund in 1869," *Illustrations of China and Its People (1873-1874)* from James Ryan, *Picturing empire: photography and the visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 66.

Like Thompson distinguished European settlement in the landscape of traditional settlements, the Ottoman imperial imprints, newly established quarters where public buildings of the state clustered, were distinguished by the Ottoman authors from the local environment. By representing the Ottoman imperial imprints in Libyan provinces, as the only decent structures in the dilapidated, underdeveloped urban landscapes, I think the Ottoman authors used ideas about urbanism to articulate the distinction of Ottoman center that they were representative of from the periphery. As Homi Bhabba noted, "articulation of forms of difference" constituted a significant part of the colonialist discourse.[598]

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[598]Homi Bhabba, "The Other Question: Difference, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism," Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Culture, ed. Russel Ferguson, Martha Gever, Trinh T. Minh-ha, Cornel West (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 72; Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 16.

At the same time however, the fact that China was not a formal colony, albeit its legitimacy was seriously challenged, at the time of Thompson's travels is a significant nuance.[599] With the determined efforts of Britain, he asserted, China "will have been brought within the pale of that higher civilization whose existence it has so sedulously ignored"[600], thus he was indicating future colonial prospects for the British Empire in his representation. Libyan provinces, on the other hand, were already re-conquested and reintegrated into the empire at the time the Ottoman authors were in the province. Despite the fact that the Ottoman Empire established its direct rule in the province almost half a century before the Ottoman authors were there, their representation of the Ottoman position within the cities similar to that of Thompson for British Empire in China, as sites for imperial extension might indicate the limits and fragility of Ottoman presence in the province.

As in the case of the better utilization of lands mentioned in the previous chapter, the comparability of Ottoman authors' representations of a peripheral province that was part of the Ottoman Empire with the representation of a British author for prospective colonies brings criticism to mind. For as the province was a part of the empire, the Ottoman authorities could have thought modernizing the province was their responsibility. The criticism goes beyond mere implications in Cami Bey's representation. For him, the "chaos and heterogeneity" (*kargaşalık ve türdeşsizlik*) that defined the Orient, "our Orient" could also be found in the newly constructed areas, which had wide and spacious boulevards and regular buildings outside of the city walls in Trablusgarb.[601] In the next sentence, he states the problem

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[599]Ibid.

[600]Ibid.

[601] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 10, 12.

as contrast between the new and old constructions; the barracks and tents of the locals formed a significant contradiction, for him, with the new buildings that featured wide streets nearby.[602] In my opinion he took issue with the limited aspect of interventions. Similarly the Hamîde Avenue, the main artery in Murzuq, although better than other parts of the city, still an inferior reflection of modern urban cities, because of the interpenetration of modern and traditional elements.[603]

The emphasis on the inadequacy of Ottoman interventions in the urban environment of Libya in Cami Bey's representation could be considered in line with the critical opinions raised by European and Ottoman actors for the imperial capital. The Ottoman imperial capital was oftentimes criticized on similar grounds, that the attempts were remarked as partial with the capital failing to uphold the standards of modern industrialized cities in Europe, as a whole. Furthermore, the imperial capital was represented by European and local observers in "dualistic" terms. The turn of the century traveler Edmondo De Amicis, for instance, described his approach to "his beloved Istanbul" in a rather emotional manner that nevertheless exemplified the typical conception of European travelers to the city:

> To the right Galata, her foreground a forest of masts and flags; above Galata Pera, the imposing shapes of her European palaces outlined against the sky; in front, the bridge connecting the two banks, across which flow continually two opposite, many-hued streams of life; to the left, Stambul, scattered over her seven hills, each crowned with a gigantic mosque with its laden dome and gilded pinnacle…[604]

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[602]Ibid., 12.

[603]Ibid., 105.

[604] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 155.

Many European observers would agree with De Amicis that there were "two opposite…streams of life" in the imperial capital, Galata the "European quarters" where a distinctively modern life prevailed, and the "old-city" representative of an Oriental city, once glorious but now in decay.[605] Galata was distinguished by an English traveler, W.H. Hutton, as a "poor outpost of civilization" within a "city of dark ages."[606] Edmondo De Amicis also referred to Galata, "the quarter where are to be found the comforts and elegancies of life" as the "'West End' of the European colony."[607] Unlike the modernity of Galata, these travelers attributed qualities of pre-modernity -irregular, filthy, unpaved streets, buildings that were not constructed homogenously- to the rest of the city, which "remains, with all its changes, a city of the dark ages."[608]

The Ottoman state elite frequently worried that the Galata-Pera section, renown as the hub of the settlement of foreigners in Ottoman Empire and the rest of the imperial capital, was in a better state than rest of the city. Zeynep Çelik showed that in 1879 a memorandum, titled "Some Thoughts and Observations on the Run-Down State of Istanbul as Compared to the Built State of Galata and Pera" was prepared addressing Sultan Abdülhamid, which expressed the concerns troubling the ruling elite at the time:

> The difference between the city of Istanbul and Galata and Pera is very striking in both buildings and orderliness. For example, even though there are only three hundred *kargir* houses in Istanbul (most of them constructed in very simple ways), there are several thousands in Galata and Pera; most of these are valuable and the majority is ornamented. Many things that are

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[605]Ibid., 156.

[606] Ibid., 156.

[607]Ibid., 133.

[608]Ibid., 157.

regarded as signs of civilization and that exist even in the secondary and tertiary cities of Europe are present in Pera, but, for example, guest called hotels, which even the smallest countries must have, do not exist in Istanbul…In this age of civilization, the streets of Istanbul are still in the dark and people walk around lanterns as in China, whereas Galata and Pera are lighted with gas…The areas in Galata and Pera that were repeatedly burned down by big fires are today all built in *kargir*; there are no empty lots left. In contrast, in Istanbul many empty lots are observed in Cibali area, burned fifty years ago, and in Hocapaşa and Aksaray, burned later.[609]

The dichotomous conception where modernity connoted Europe was not reserved for the capital, other cities in the empire were conceived as such, especially port cities such as Izmir and Salonica that had a markedly plural environment. European travelers to the cities of İzmir and Salonica -which have been undergoing processes of urban restructuration ushered with projects aiming to construct modern ports with attending commercial and social facilities during the latter part of the century- contrasted the modernity of the waterfront with the inner parts of the city which they found in a state of destitute. The Salonica waterfront, for instance, "with its cafés, hawkers, inns and cinemas, its passers-by rigged out in those dreadful bowler hats is scarcely different from any European port in the Western Mediterranean" while "the interior of the city is disappointing and…evokes in one an irritated disillusionment" with its "suffocating streets, wretched wooden houses, leprous constructions, unmentionable cesspools."[610] Ottoman journalists in Salonica increasingly called for the necessary measures such as regularizing and widening the streets and providing municipal services to the city, which would give the city, as one of them wrote, "the physiognomy of a grand European city."[611] The condition of the urban environment

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[609]BOA, Yıldız, Kısım 18, Evrak 94/24, Zarf 94, Kutu 4, quoted in Ibid.

[610] Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts*, 193, 222.

[611] Ibid., 247.

of Izmir was also a favorite topic among European and Ottoman commentators.[612] In 1861, the "city offers a sad contrast" for a correspondent to the *Journal of Constantinople* commenting on the recently renewed parts in the city and their vicinities.[613]

After the reconstruction of the quays and regularization of the waterfront in 1869-76, the French geologist and traveler Louis de Launay who visited Izmir in 1887, evaluated the construction project as "a façade of European regularity tacked onto an Oriental confusion…"[614] He distinguished the modern quay from the interiors in terms of European vs. Oriental contradiction:

> We land on a beautiful majestic quay, built by the French Company. We are still in Europe. We pass through a narrow street and cross a first block of houses. We reach Parallel Street, then Frank Street, and Europe grows increasingly distant…the most beautiful houses, western-style stores disappear; we have changed countries.[615]

Of course, the relations and interactions between the capital's plural social and cultural groups or that of the port-cities mentioned, were much more complex than could be understood through such dichotomous conceptions. Nevertheless, the 'duality' of old and new was a prevalent mode in the depiction, by both Ottoman and

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[612]See Zandi-Sayek, "Ordering the Streets, Public Space and Urban Governance" , *Ottoman Izmir*, 75-114.

[613] The reconstruction of Frank quarters along the waterfront and Armenain quarters were undertaken in the aftermath of fires in 1834 and 1841 for the former and in 1845 for the latter. Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir*, 78-79. In Istanbul, the recurrent fires also, often provided the impetus for change and provided the opportunity to plan entire areas with a new grid plan. Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 52-67.

[614]Louise de Launay, *La turquie que l'on voit*, quoted in Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir,* 115.

[615]Ibid.

European actors who had distinct purposes and agendas.[616] In effect a more general comparison of modernity and pre-modernity is at work in these articulations above, where a modern "Europe" is pitted against backwards "Orient." For both the journalists in Salonica and Izmir and the bureaucrat producing the report above, like the European travelers, civilization and modernity was wide, spacious and clean streets laid in a grid pattern and municipal services which were the elements of modern European urbanism the Ottoman Empire was trying to appropriate for its purposes.[617] European cities, Paris in particular constituted the reference of modern city Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals like Şerafeddin Mağmumi, who reflected on the distinction of its wide and paved boulevards lined with trees on both sides from the narrow, congested and dirty streets of the capital.[618] For Mağmumi, chaotic layout and congestion were characteristically 'Oriental.'[619] Referring to the statement of some European travelers that "Europe ends and Orient starts, immediately after embarking on Sirkeci Station," Mağmumi rather thought, "Orient starts in the Genoa station."[620] He mentioned that Europeans had a hard time finding their ways in maze like street pattern of the city: "As I said it is very much reminiscent of the Orient."[621]

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[616]Şerif Mardin, "Super Westernization in urban life in the Ottoman Empire in the last Quarter of the nineteenth century" *Religion, society, and modernity in Turkey* (Syracuse, N.Y.:Syracuse University Press, 2006).

[617] Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine," 2.

[618]Şerafeddin Mağmumi, *Bir Osmanlı Doktorunun Seyahat Anıları: Avrupa Seyahat Hatıraları,* Nazım H.Polat, Harid Fedai eds (Istanbul: Boyut Kitapları, 2008), 46, 83-84.

[619]Ibid., 245.

[620]Ibid.

[621]Ibid.

Roughly speaking the connotations of 'European' as modern and progressive and 'Oriental' were the framework for the commentators in the examples mentioned above. While European travelers might have utilized the dichotomies of old and new, Western and Oriental to articulate their own superiority and progress or to cope up with unfamiliar terrain, the journalists mentioned above for Salonica and Izmir have used the orientalist tropes of chaos and filthiness, in order to, attract the attention of Ottoman authorities, anxious to "present" as Deringil argued, "a 'modern' appearance to the outside world", for implementing urban reform.[622] Cami Bey also expressed his critical views for the urban environment through the term "Oriental." For him the state's interventions could not fundamentally alter the "Oriental" character of the provinces. A possible intention for Cami Bey in criticizing the urban space as "Oriental" might be, similar to the journalists and bureaucrat mentioned above, to pressure the Ottoman government for the extension of the reforms. Equally possible is that he might have wanted to criticize Sultan Abdülhamid II's regime for neglecting the province.

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[622]Ibid., 76.

CHAPTER 6

ETHNOGRAPHY

6.1 The Ottoman imperial center's efforts for integrating peripheral subjects to the Ottoman political system

"As external pressure on the Ottoman Empire mounted from the second half of the century" as Deringil wrote, "the Ottoman center found itself obliged to squeeze manpower resources it had hitherto not tapped."[623] As I hinted at in the first chapter in the late nineteenth century historical context marked by the Ottoman Empire's decrease in military force and political power and a corresponding increase of interest on the part of the European imperial powers, namely Italy and France, for the empire's Libyan provinces. As we have been reflecting on in the previous chapters, the Ottoman state wanted to increase its revenues in the province through a colonialist inspired development project. As mentioned in introduction, similar to Yemen, as Thomas Kuehn's works attest to, where the Ottoman Empire's colonialist inspired policies relied on formalizing separation between the colonizers and colonized, the Ottoman rule in Libya was also much more concerned with integration than separation.[624]

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[623] Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery'," 311.

[624] Kuehn, "An Imperial Borderland as Colony: Knowledge Production and the Elaboration of Difference in Ottoman Yemen, 1872-1918", 5-17; "Shaping and Reshaping Colonial Ottomanism: Contesting Boundaries of Difference and Integration in Ottoman Yemen, 1872-1919," 315-331; see also his book *Empire, Islam, and Politics of Difference*.

The Ottoman imperial center's colonialist inspired policies and stance for the province not only involved increasing the revenues but also integrating the peripheral subjects of the province into the Ottoman political system. Because in the absence of military force, as eminent scholars like Deringil, Georgeon and Akarlı showed, Sultan Abdülhamid and the ruling elite understood that they need to rely on local forces and the loyalty of the subjects for keeping the Ottoman Empire's stake in Libya. "Given the absence or the incapacity of the transport ships in the Maritime Arsenal" as Grand Vizier Said Paşa revealingly put forth in 1902, " we cannot even send troops there between now and the breaking out of the war."[625] Deringil showed, the solution propounded in the aforementioned memorandum for the province prepared in 1890s was: "The winning of the affection of the local people so that in the event of external aggression, say from Italy, it will be possible to defend the province without recourse to the sending of troops from the centre."[626] Even if the Ottoman imperial center had the coercive means over the peripheral subjects, Deringil argued that Sultan Abdülhamid also understood brutal force by itself could no longer be effective in the long run, "the people had to be made believe in, or at least acquiesce to, the legitimation ideology of the ruling power."[627]

Education was an important means for promoting solidarity with local population and integrating them to the Ottoman political system. Deringil mentioned that the need to reform education was a common enough theme, which was constantly referred to by imperial elite and provincial administrators.[628]

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[625] Said Paşa's memoirs quoted from Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)," 82.

[626] Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery'," 319.

[627] Deringil, *The Well-protected domains*, 68.

[628] Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery'," 321.

Education was among the "six major priorities" of provincial reform of Osman Nuri Paşa who has served as governor in the provinces of Hicaz, Yemen and Aleppo for quite some time. For Osman Nuri, uneducated people "live in a state of wretched poverty and vileness."[629]Deringil showed that for Osman Nuri Paşa the ultimate goal of education was nothing less than "gradually bringing the nomad into the fold of civilization."[630] The objective of expanding provincial education, as Deringil and Selçuk Akşin Somel argued, was not only to "bring civilization" to the ignorant Bedouins as it often appeared in the archival documents, but also to secure the loyalty of tribes and integrate them into the Ottoman political system.[631]

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[629] Ibid., 327.

[630] Ibid., 324.

[631]Deringil, *The Well-protected domains*, 41, 93-111. Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908*, 205-240.

In line with the larger efforts to integrate the tribal populations in the empire to the imperial center the Imperial School for Tribes (*Aşiret Mektebi*) established in 1892.[632] This was a significant enterprise, "essentially an experiment in social engineering" Eugene Rogan argued, that "sought to foster an allegiance to the Ottoman state within one of the most alienated segments of its society: the empire's tribes." The children of tribal leaders from provinces of Syria, Aleppo, Baghdad, Basra, Mosul, Diyarbekir, Tripoli as well as the *sanjaks* of Benghazi and were brought to Istanbul to be educated at the special School for Tribes.[633] The incentive in founding this schools was to produce a tribal elite imbued with Ottoman culture and upon their return would spread Ottoman ideals to their fellow tribesmen.[634]

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[632] Eugene L. Rogan, "Aşiret Mektebi: Abdülhamid II's School for Tribes (1892-1907)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28 (1996), 83. Sultan Abdülhamid was personally interested in the establishment and program of the school. He ordered Osman Nuri Paşa to prepare a memorandum which he did in June 1892. The school opened rather quick in the 4th of October the same year, on the Prophet's birthday. An unused palace Esma Sultan Palace in Kabataş and five terrace houses near it were assigned to the school. The children of local tribal leaders between the ages of twelve and sixteen were aken to the school for a five year course of study. The course plan was a mixture of ibtidaî, rüşdiye and idadî levels. Teaching the boys Ottoman Turkish was an importnat corcern. The student who completed their education in this schools would finish their training in Mülkiye or Harbiye and then could return to their provinces as military or civil state officials. The school closed in 1907, for no clear reasons. Although Osman Ergin mentioned ithe school was closed because of a student rebellion for bad food, Rogan suggested two alternative reasons. One, the authorities might have found because of the low recruitment the results was not a match fort he expanses of keeping the school open. Alternatively, he suggested the extension of public education system in the Hamidian period more into the peripheries made the school unnecessary. See also Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türkiye maarif tarihi Vol 3-4*, 1180-1189; Alişan Akpınar, *Osmanlı Devletinde Aşiret Mektebi* (Istanbul 1977); Alişan Akpınar, Eugene Rogan ed., *Aşiret, mektep, devlet: Osmanlı Devleti'nde Aşiret Mektebi* (I

Istanbul: Aram, 2001); Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, 211-312; Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 101-104; Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline*, 238-240.

[633] Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline*, 12.

[634] Rogan, "Aşiret Mektebi," 83, 87; Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline*, 240; Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, 311-312.

According to Somel, the Hamidian regime sought to instill loyalty to the sultan and state through public education with public schools throughout the empire not just in the School for Tribes.[635] For Rogan as well, *Aşiret Mektebi* was "one the more ambitious Ottoman initiatives" of integration.[636]

As Deringil showed the memorandum for the province also highlighted the significance of building primary schools in the province.[637] Upon his return Sadık Bey also prepared a report, which emphasized the importance of reinforcing the recently established primary schools.[638] He also mentioned the plan for establishing an *askerî rüşdiye* in the *sanjak* of Benghazi and suggested that it would encourage the Bedouins for military service.[639] According to Bayram Kodaman, at the end of the Hamidian period, there was one *rüşdiye* in Benghazi.[640]

Referring to the problem enforcing conscription to nomadic Bedouins, Sadık Bey thought that local military officers who started their training in the *rüşdiye* might be more influential on the people.[641] Like Osman Nuri Paşa, for Sadık Bey also with the spread of education (*ulûm ve maârifin neşr u ta'mîmi*) the people would step in the "path of development and civilization" (*urbânın tarîk-ı ma'mûriyet ve*

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[635]Somel, "Introduction", *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline*.

[636]Rogan, "Aşiret Mektebi," 83; Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline*, 205-233; Deringil, *The Well-protected domains*, 68-84; Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, 309.

[637] Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism'," 321.

[638] Sadık el-Müeyyed, "Ekler", *Afrika Sahrâ-yı Kebirinde Seyahat*, 2010, 204.

[639]Ibid., 204-205.

[640]Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991), 103.

[641] Sadık el-Müeyyed, "Ekler", *Afrika Sahrâ-yı Kebirinde Seyahat*, 2010, 205.

medeniyete hatve-endâz-ı terakkî olacakları").[642] It seems that the Ottoman

statesmen always referred to the educational policies of the state as good for the local

people, for their own 'development', however as Somel has shown the educational

policies of the state were very much related to the imperial center's desire to

integrate these hitherto marginalized groups to the Ottoman political system as loyal

subjects of the sultan.[643]

The religious instructions for inculcating loyalty to the sultan formed an

important part of the students' education in the Tribal School and public schools that

began to be established towards in the province towards the end of the century.[644]

Deringil mentioned that the children in the Tribal School were assembled at the end

of each day and "instructed on the glory of the Islamic faith and the duty incumbent

on each Muslim to obey the sultan who was caliph of all Muslims."[645] In line with

the Hamidian Pan-Islamist policy of tapping into the potential of religion for

promoting solidarity, emphasis on common religion constituted an important part of

the Ottoman center's efforts to integrate the peripheral subjects.[646]

Throughout the nineteenth century Ottoman ruling elite and intellectuals

preoccupied with refabricating new collective visions of identity that would keep the

disparate subjects of the empire together and hence save the empire from

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[642] Ibid., 205.

[643] Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline*, 205-240; Deringil, *The Well-protected domains*, 40-41.

[644] Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline*, 238, 240; Deringil, *The Well-protected domains*, 103

[645] Deringil, *The Well-protected domains*, 103.

[646] Ibid., 315-316. Karpat, *Politicization of Islam,* 259.

disintegration and collapse.[647] Deringil showed that for the Ottoman sultan and the ruling elite, the bid to make Ottomans from nomads involved, in no small part, converting the "nominal Muslims" like the Bedouin to the "official faith" as defined by the center with the indisputable leadership of the Ottoman sultan-caliph.[648] Religious association was regarded as an important political asset by the Ottoman government in these places for curtailing European states' interference, as well as reinstating Ottoman rule. When Cami Bey complained the lack of resources and manpower in Ghat against French, governor Recep Paşa advised him to appeal for religious solidarity: "As you would be among a Muslim population in Ghat, even though the French have economic means, we are superior to them in terms of religious politics."[649]

6.2 The elements promoting distinction between the center and periphery

Kuehn also argued that in the case of Yemen, the "challenge" for the Ottoman rule was "demarcating the 'right' measure of difference" that would ensure the Ottoman authorities' right to rule in the province.[650] I think balancing difference and integration was an important preoccupation about the Ottoman rule in Libyan provinces, as well.

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[647]Deringil, *The Well-protected domains*, 20, 45.

[648]Ibid., 68.

[649] Recep Paşa to Cami Bey, 23 Ağustos 322/5 September 1906: "Siz Gat'ta İslamiyet havalisi ortasında bulunacağınıza göre Fransız'da servet mevcut ise de siyaset-i diyanetle biz onlara fâikiz." Cami Baykut , *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, 291.

[650]Ibid., 317.

Makdisi emphasized the "commonality", mainly based on religion, between the center and periphery was "implicitly and explicitly framed within a civilizational and temporal discourse that ultimately justified" the former's rule over the latter.[651] According to him, the Ottoman imperial center positioned itself as more advanced civilizationally, against the backwards subjects of the peripheries of the empire.[652] He further argued, as mentioned in the introduction, the Ottoman modernization project that has assumed a colonialist and imperialist aspect in the peripheries, premised on breaching this civilizational, developmental gap, which at the same time had a temporal dimension for him.[653] As Deringil showed the policies regarding the integration of the marginal populations was referred to by the Ottoman center as to "include them in the circle of civilization (*daire-i medeniyete idhal*") the Bedouins that still lived in a '"state of savagery and nomadism (*hal-i vahşet ve bedeviyyet*").[654] Because they were '"simple (*sade-dilan*)" people they were incapable of advancing on the path to progress, rather "civilization and progress *(temeddün ve terakki*)" should be brought to them.[655]

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[651]Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," 769

[652]Ibid.

[653]Ibid., 780.

[654] Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism'," 317; Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," 768-796; Şerif Mardin, "Center-Periphery as a Concept for the Study of Social Transformation", *Religion, Society and Modernity in Turkey* (Syracuse University Press, 2006): 298-315; Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline*, 12, 233.

[655] Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism'," 317.

The notion of "civilizing mission" that all European powers to varying

degrees in general and France in particular, invested in, provided the additional

moral argument for legitimizing colonial expansionism.[656] The assumption of French

superiority based on the belief that "they had triumphed over geography, climate and

disease to create new internal and external markets, and…overcome oppression and

supersitition" coupled with the corresponding assumption that the "colonial subjects

were too primitive to rule themselves, but were capable of being uplifted" Alice

Conklin argued, to form the specific French notion of *mission civilisatrice* that had

important implications for the attitude of French colonial administrators in West

Africa.[657] According to her development of natural and human resources of the

colonies were represented as bringing civilization to lands where 'primitivity' and

'savagery' prevailed in French colonial discourse during the late nineteenth

century.[658] The British colonial discourse similarly emphasized colonialism as the

responsibility, or rather "White Man's Burden" as in Ruyard Kipling's famous poem,

which was interpreted by scholars as an idealization of British imperialism in

Africa.[659] Kipling's poem was made up of seven stanzas, each starting with the line

"Take up the White Man's burden."[660] Perpetuating British colonialism's self-

proclaimed humanist goal to contribute to the world civilization and progress of

mankind, following the repetitive line in the second stanza he wrote: "To seek

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[656] Conklin, *A mission to civilize: the republican idea of empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930*, 1, 13.

[657]Ibid., 1.

[658]Ibid., 6.

[659]Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, 113-114.

[660]Ibid., 113.

another's profit, / And work another's gain."[661] Both the British and French colonialism represented, and perhaps also considered, colonization as "bringing civilization and progress" to the people who were unable to achieve progress by themselves.

Deringil argued that for the Ottoman imperial center, which considered the peripheral subjects like Bedouins of the Libyan deserts as "simple folk who cannot tell good from evil" yet capable of being "uplifted", especially the *French mission civilizatrice* discourse was an important reference.[662] "In the increasingly fierce competition with its European rivals" similar to Deringil, Thomas Kuehn argued "through institutions and practices of modern state" the Ottoman Empire felt the need to "uplift" the marginal communities "to the level of loyal and productive subjects…"[663]

Deringil also showed that "lenient and moderate means" (*vesait-i leyyine ve mutedile*) were preferable in approaching the "simple folk who cannot tell good from evil", the center oftentimes informed the officials on spot to resort to armed punishment only as last resort.[664] Because, he argued punitive expeditions were much more costly with less predictable outcomes.[665] For the armed campaigns could easily go out of control and turn out to be more severe than initially planned, which would be particularly harmful for the Ottoman state's objectives for reaching out these marginal groups. For as Deringil stated, "the state was in desperate need of a

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[661]Ibid.

[662] Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism'," 317.

[663]Kuehn, *Empire, Islam, and politics of difference*, 61.

[664]Ibid., 69.

[665]Ibid.

reliable population, it was simply not in a position to dismiss the population as rebellious and to crush insurgency…"

The "lenient and moderate means" involved approaching the local leaders, influential notables and sheikhs to work their influence over the people.[666] In Libyan provinces these were leaders of the Tuareg tribes, sheikhs of Sanusi Order or provincial notables. Deringil also showed that in order to enlist the help of the sheikhs the Ottoman bureaucrats thought they should be "cultivated and kept happy."[667] Accordingly distributing ranks and gifts to the sheikhs and local notables was a significant part of the Ottoman state's policies in the province.[668] As mentioned in the first chapter the missions of both authors in Libya involved relations with local leaders. Sadık Bey was sent to visit Muhammad al-Mahdi, the leader of the Sanusi Order, to deliver the sultan's gifts to him. Cami Bey's correspondences with Recep Paşa, the governor of Fezzan implied that winning over the Tuareg tribal leaders was central to his duties as district governor of Ghat.[669] Recep Paşa emphasized the importance, in fact, necessity of winning over Tuaregs to end French ambitions in the Sahara.[670] Cami Bey recommended that gifts and especially robes of honour (*hil'at*) should be sent to Tuareg leaders loyal such as Muhammad Kanî.[671] He claimed that this would "confirm and reinforce their

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[666] Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains*, 69.

[667] Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery'," 323. See also Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908)," 79.

[668] Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery'," 323.

[669] Cami Baykurt, "Ekler, Muhâberât-ı Resmîyye Defteri 27 Temmuz 1906-28 Ağustos 1908", *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat,* 285-337.

[670] Recep Paşa to Cami Bey 13 Mart 1323/26 March 1907, Cami Baykurt, "Ekler, Muhâberât-ı Resmîyye Defteri 27 Temmuz 1906-28 Ağustos 1908", *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, 319.

[671] Ibid., 301.

commitment" to the caliphate without having the burden of increasing military presence.[672] Cami Bey constantly expressed the need to reinforce military units in Ghat; this he claimed would ensure the confidence of the Tuareg tribes who were anxious of French assaults.[673] The reinforcements of military units in Ghat and in the Sahara would reassure the Tuareg tribesmen, Cami Bey argued, that the Ottoman state could protect them against French colonialism. Distributing robes of honor, which the tribal leaders much valued could perhaps compensate if the provincial government could not increase the number of soldiers in the region.

As mentioned before, the representations of both authors were generated by such missions that involved convincing local leaders for cooperating with Ottoman provincial government in Libya against European imperial powers. Sadık Bey told that the "'primitive' state of mankind" (*fıtrat-ı ibtidâiye-i beşer*) could be could be observed in all its "simplicity"(*sâdelik*) among the Bedouins of the desert.[674] And Cami Bey 's conception for the tribes was that "they remain in an unchanging state of savagery and nomadism from antiquity" (*ezmine-i kable't-târihiyyedeki hâl-i vahşet ve bedeviyyette kalmışlardır*).[675]However, as Johannes Fabian notes, "savagery of the savage, or primitivity of the primitive" is not "found," these categories have to be constructed and posited.[676] In that sense I first try to reflect on the categories, I think, by which the Ottoman authors attributed "primitivity" and "savagery" to the peripheral subjects they represented in the light of contextual information provided above.

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[672]Ibid.

[673]Ibid.

[674] Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat*, 78.

[675] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 114.

[676]Johannes Fabian, *Time and Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York, 1982), 121.

In my opinion, the notions of nomadism, ignorance and distinct/savage customs were central to their conception of difference from the locals they regarded as inferior. On the other hand, the authors' representations of the "savage" people of Libya slightly altered. Although both authors emphasized their distinction from the locals, they, I think, deviated in terms of about the connections between themselves and the subjects of their representations. I think this difference was based on the degree of possible connections between the center and periphery, which ultimately became a question of whether the locals could be integrated into the Ottoman political system or not. After discussing the ways in which the authors constructed and reproduced the "primitivity" and "savagery" of the tribes, I contextualize and historicize the differences in their representation, and argue that these should be considered in line with the changing historical contexts. I also think that some of these changes were reflected in the photographs. By revealing complex aspects of social and political relations the photographs further complicate the issue.

6.3 Nomadism

Nomadism, as Deringil argued, constituted a significant aspect of the Ottoman center's perception of 'primitivity.'[677] Through referring to Şerif Mardin's analysis on center-periphery relations in the Ottoman Empire, Deringil demonstrated that the nomad vs. sedentary dichotomy the "classical Ibn Khaldounian view that all

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[677]Ibid.

civilization advances as a confrontation of nomadism with settled life" continued to inform the late Ottoman imperial center's conception of peripheral subjects.[678]

"By calling them nomads I do not wish to suggest that they are savages," Sadık Bey stated, at the beginning of his travelogue that he wanted to clear that out at the beginning of the travelogue. [679] While Sadık Bey perhaps provided the best coinage of nomadism and savagery, Cami Bey was particularly negative in describing the nomadic practice of Tuareg tribes. He related nomadism with chronic immorality and predisposition towards brigandage, "as they live as nomads" he wrote, "they are wild" and they were always "attacking neighboring tribes, looting and uprising against the government."[680]He also associated the nomadic lifestyle with "savagery" and decadent morality:

> They live like animals, sleep in open fields, are fed on very wild things, are homeless, are unclothed and cover themselves only with goat skin…The Tuaregs are not settled together like the Arab tribes. However, when, in times of danger, the need emerges to gather all of the women and old people with their animals in an easily defended valley, it has been observed that they gather in one place, as with the "*nec*" method of the Arabs. In ordinary situations, they reside in such a scattered way that an unaccustomed man cannot notice them from a distance. A Tuareg does not even inform his brother about the cove where he sets his tent and when his dwelling is accidentally seen by too many people, he immediately moves. This solitude, resembling an escape from other people, which is present in all the Sahara tribes, arises from the fact that they are accustomed to achieving their goals through treachery, rather than courage, and, therefore, they distrust each other.[681]

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[678]Şerif Mardin, "Centre-Periphery Relations: A Key to Turkish Politics?" *Daedalus* 102 (1973): 170-71.

[679] Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat*, 3.

[680] Cami Baykut, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 45.

[681] Ibid., 179-180.

Cami Bey described that the Tuaregs despised being settled, which he considered as a way of myopic self-satisfaction:

> When the Hoggar leader Sheikh Etissi arrived in Ghat, although he came to the government office upon my insistent pressure, he stated that this was the first time he had ever been under a roof in his 75-year-life and he accepted this only to follow the government's orders. Even then, he refused the coffee offered to him, requesting to be excused from doing something that would be unacceptable for the Hoggar sheikh, such as eating and drinking under a roof. In fact, they said that he had not entered the town and that he had set his tent in the sands outside the city walls to avoid what he saw as the degradation of being settled, although he had come to Ghat many times by that age.[682]

This much hostile attitude toward nomadic tribes was grounded in the difficulty of controlling them, because "were in a state of utmost nomadism" (*son derece bedeviyette*) and "hated" all kinds of government duties and charges.[683]

6.4 Ignorance

As mentioned in the first chapter, I think the modern scientific knowledge that connoted "progress" for statesmen and intelligentsia who exposed to Western idea in Europe or in the newly established institutions of higher education, also became an important source of distinction between the educated Ottoman officers and locals. Sadık Bey, for instance, portrayed himself as a man of science and progress geared with modern knowledge and technological gadgets like compass, binoculars and maps-the proud representer of modern 'civilization', so to speak:

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[682]Ibid., 180.

[683] Cami Bey's report about the situation in Fezzan 3 Şubat 1322/16 February 1907. Cami Baykurt, "Ekler, Muhâberât-ı Resmîyye Defteri 27 Temmuz 1906-28 Ağustos 1908", *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat,* 314.

While I was writing these words by the tent, I caught the sight of a strange scene. Sergeant Salih was holding something between the napes of a nomad who was busy washing his shirt near water and the sun; just then the nomad leapt up while holding his nape. The hoaxer man hurt the poor man with a lens. The other one was astonished rather than being offended by this joke since he did not see anything like matches or fire at the hands of the sergeant. And when the sergeant lit a cigarette with the glass piece, the nomad was surprised altogether.[684]

Perhaps the most marvelous invention of modernity, photography embodied this scientific superiority essential to justifying political positions.[685] The association of photography and modernity was also perceived and used by contemporary agents and became a highly contested discursive space where the notions of modernity and superiority were played out. In another context, Sadık Bey sarcastically recounted the reactions he faced when he tried to photograph the children of the local tribes he visited, during his Ethiopian journey:

I tried to take the pictures of some children. Their fathers cried that they would die. Since I could not let them die, I gave up![686]

According to Christopher Pinney the "resistance to photography" was in fact, a colonial genre.[687] Sadık el-Müeyyed's stance, for instance, is quite comparable with European travelers, missionaries and colonial officials. Take for instance Victorian traveller Frank Burnett' account of using flash-light to photograph natives of Milne

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[684]Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat*, 45.

[685]Elizabeth Edwards, "Introduction", *Anthropology and photography, 1860-1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, 1982), 5; Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology*, 63-78.

[686]Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Habeş Seyahatnamesi*, 55

[687]Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology*, 2011, 70; Pinney, *The Coming of Photography in India*, 25-29, 64, 69-75. See also Patricia Spyer, "The Cassowary Will (Not) Be Photographed: The "Primitive", the "Japanese" and the Elusive "Sacred" (Aru, South Moluccas)," *Religion and Media*, ed. Hent de Vries and Samuel Weber (Stanford, CA, 2001); Marina Warner, *Phantasmagoria: Spirit Visions, Metaphors and Media* (London, 2006).

Bay, Guinea which was used by Pinney as an example of the European colonialist

"assertion of local resistance and bewilderment as a foil for the superiority of foreign

technology":

> I certainly did not anticipate the panic that followed. The nervous system of
> one ancient savage, who was sitting on his haunches…received such a shock
> that he fell back against the matting, which, by giving way, precipitated him
> head over heels down the ladder to the ground. How he escaped breaking his
> neck was a marvel. But apparently he received no injuries from the
> unceremonious mode of departure. When last I saw him he was making for
> cover…as though chased by the devil, whom, no doubt, he thought was close
> at his heels. Then an old dame, with a child in her arms, whom I had placed
> near the fire, was so overcome with fright that, regardless of consequences,
> she seated herself upon the glowing embers. Judging by her subsequent
> actions, the results must have been disconcerting as might be supposed, when
> it is understood that her sole covering consisted of a loin cloth…Upon
> recovering her equilibrium, with a heart-rending yell, shewed, by her
> 'sprinting' capabilities, that, thought old in years, she retained a portion of
> her youthful agility…Under the circumstances I considered it advisable to
> gather together my photographic paraphernalia, and proceed as quickly as
> possible, to another field of operation.[688]

Harry Johnson, a missionary in 'dark' Africa, who believed he would spirit away the

darkness with the 'light' of Christianity, used the example of Central African

tribesmen's reluctance to allow their photographs to be taken in order to highlight

their superstitious beliefs:

> Whenever I set up my photographic camera in a strange village, it was quite
> enough to cause all the men, women, and children to stampede to the woods,
> where they would hide themselves until they thought the danger was past.
> They knew that by means of camera I could make a picture of a man. They
> knew the man was still in their midst, yet I possessed a diminutive form of
> the man. What could be? To the superstitious mind of the Alungu it must be
> that invisible something of the man called *spirit*. Thus the natives were afraid
> of the camera, for they said, "The white man, by means of that box, steals the
> spirits of the black men, to send away in a letter to his own country.[689]

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[688]Frank Burnett, *Through Polynesian and Papua: Wonderings with a Camera in the Southern Seas*
(London, 1911), 188-9, quoted in Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology*, 73-74.

[689] Harry Johnson, *Night and Morning in Dark Africa* (London Missionary Society, 1903), 122.

The reluctance to cooperate was almost always associated with superstition by both European and Ottoman actors, despite the fact that those beliefs were shared by many Europeans such as the famous Honoré de Balzac, who believed that the camera would capture a piece of his soul that would eventually lead to his death.[690] In fact, early photography was shocking to European audiences, as well, which "smelled strongly of witchcraft," as the famous photographer Felix Nadar said, articulating the feelings of many.[691] "Always the Photograph astonishes me, with an astonishment which endures and renews itself, inexhaustibly" writes Barthes for whom a photograph was "*magic,* not an art."[692] According to Zahid Chaudhary, photographs, by enabling reality to be transferable and commutable, required a newer kind of engagement with time and space than the previous methods of representation, which, he explained, could be shocking for the contemporary observers.[693] Despite a perhaps universal shock effect of early photography, the association of the reaction of native subjects by colonial actors, anthropologist as well as some Ottoman travelers, with superstition and ignorance was, Pinney argued, related to "a sense of civilizational relief" that they had left such traditional "enchantments and delusions" behind.[694]

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[690] Nadar, *Quand j'étais photographe* (Paris: L'Ecole des lettres/Seuil, 1994), s. 9-18. Quoted in Ahmet Ersoy, Camdaki Hafıza: Ahmed Rasim, Fotoğraf ve Zaman, 4.

[691] Felix Nadar, *My Life as a Photographer*, trans. Thomas Repensek, *October,* 5 (Summer 1978), 8 quoted in Pinney, *Photography and anthropology*, 63.

[692] Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 82, 88.

[693] Chaudhary, A*fterimage of empire*, 26..

[694] Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology*, 64. See also Rachel Moore, *Savage Theory: Cinema as Modern Magic* (Durham, NC, 2000). Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern,* trans, Catherine Porter (London, 1993).

It was as if, the composition of the photograph Sadık Bey captioned "Departure from Benghazi" that seems to be highly constructed, was a visual performance of the comparison between the "civilized" Ottoman officer and "backwards" locals (Figure 1). The picture was comprised of the crew on Sadık Bey's Saharan journey, which I think also may have been a reflection of the hierarchy between Ottoman imperial center and periphery. The valiant Ottoman officer in his modern military attire, stern and steady for the cause, was at the front of his crew pointing towards the direction of the quest like a commander leading his army in a prosperous, yet dangerous conquest. On the right, stand his fellow soldiers, who are distinguished from Bedouins by their uniforms and organization. To the left stands another Ottoman marked by his fez and modern clothes. He was probably the local governor who, according to Sadık Bey, organized a ceremonial event for the departure of Sadık Bey's crew. In the photograph, he is awkwardly touching the head of a local member of the crew as if showing paternalism towards the natives. Perhaps on some level, the governor symbolized the Ottoman government with the hand gesture implying that the Ottoman rule would reach the locals to help them. The rest of the crew, consisting of camel breeders, local helpers and guides, in their unruliness and disorder presented a kind of opposition to the official Ottoman group. In the narrative, Sadık Bey stated the difficulty of conducting business with the Bedouins, based on "absence" of the modern conception of time and space among them:

It is hard to believe in the words of the sharecroppers of this place. For example since these men are accustomed to cover long distances, when they say that the well is over there by pointing a direction with their fingers, you presume that it is a ten-minute, fifteen-minute distance or an hour at most. Alas! The well is one or two days away. Since these men do not use watches, they say that the place is near, we'll arrive there soon but they do not know the account of time; you think that you will arrive soon but you cannot arrive although you walk for a whole day.[695]

Cami Bey also remarked the prevalence of superstition among the Tuareg and considered this as a sign of their ignorance. He recounted that the Tuareg believed that the mountainous regions of the desert were haunted and they were afraid to go near these areas, such as the mountains near Ghat.[696] He told the tribesmen believed the mountains were haunted by evil spirits who fought with each other and considered small pebbles that look like bullets as evidence of the fights between them.[697] Cami Bey disregarded their conception by saying that the pebbles were looking like a bullet because it contained a substantial amount of iron oxide.[698]

In 15th of May 1924, Cami Bey wrote an article for the journal *Mihrab*, called "Amonukal Idînen" (could be translated as the sorcerer of Mount Idînen) where he told a specific visit to the haunted mountain.[699] He described that he forced his local guide to accompany him to the mountains, despite the Bedouins distress. He self-critically recounted in this article that he "relished in upsetting this poor Sahara boy" and in doing so he desired to "show our civilizational superiority" to the Bedouin which he then thought was irrational and ignorant.[700] Like Sadık Bey and the

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[695]Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat*, 12.

[696] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 182, 200.

[697]Ibid.

[698]Ibid.

[699] Cami Baykurt, "Ek," *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 199-236.

[700]Ibid., 202.

European examples mentioned above, he felt himself superior and also relieved that, as a modern man, he has outgrown such superstitions.

For Cami Bey the superstitious beliefs like the goblin rulers of the mountains as well as the practice of fortune telling and necromancy were related to their pagan habits. Although most of the people, even the nomadic Tuareg were Muslim, this religious connection was downplayed by Cami Bey, who was quick to add that even though the Tuaregs at some point accepted Islam, theirs was a deviant form that maintained their pagan habits. In fact, he suggested, they always seemed to adopt the beliefs of conquering powers and, in that sense, did not hold any "true" faith, but believed in witches and superstitions:

> Even though in appearance they embrace the religiouns and faiths of all the victorious and dominant tribes, it has been observed that they have not had any correct faith inside and follow sorcerer women and superstitious faiths most of the time. ... Religion is a casual thing like the veils on their faces and, in reality rather than being religious, they are one of the ignorant tribes doomed to superstitious notions such as reading fortunes in the wind and fearing to approach certain mountains, thinking that evil spirits reside there. Themountains İdinen and Odan in the vicinity of Gat are famous in this way. They believe that two enemy goblin rulers, Şemheruş on the mountain İdinen and Mantaruca on the mountain Odan, situated to the south of and across from İdinen, reside in these mountains with evil spirits faithful to them; they fight with each other and fire bullets at each other using firearms. They claim that the pebbles that can be found in that region and which contain much iron are the bullets of these jinns and are very afraid of approaching to these mountains.[701]

The Tuaregs turned to sorcerers for who practiced fortune telling and wrote talismans that the local people highly valued. Again these were referred to as pre-modern practices.[702]In the image of "A sheikh from Tuareg elders," a man is seen holding a

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[701] Ibid., 181-182.

[702]Ibid., 182, 186.

stick in one hand and raising his other hand as if performing a spell. This image might have signified one such "*faqîh*" who fed the tribesmen with deviant and ignorant practices.

6.5 Distinct customs

As mentioned before Cami Bey's foundation for distinguishing his representation from the accounts of European travelers was his extended time in the region: "Since I have managed to examine them in the town, expedition, in their military camp, meadows, tents, in short in every phase of their lives and to penetrate into their souls as much as possible by continuously being in touch with them for two years…"[703] His detailed description of local traditions and lifestyles was proposed as the results of his relations with and observations about the tribes.

From a detailed ethnographic viewpoint Cami Bey described what he considered distinct practices of the locals. He mentioned there were not any difference in customs and clothing practices between the people of Ghat and nomadic Tuareg tribes.[704] Both highly valued ornaments in their dresses and painted their faces and bodies in dark blue.[705] They painted their bodies, he said, in order to cover their filth, yielding a "strange" scenery, especially for the visitors who were not familiar with the practice, they might have thought that they encountered a blue

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[703] Ibid., 162-163.

[704]Ibid., 147.

[705]Ibid., 147-148, 174.

race distinct from the known races of humanity.[706] He also commented on the considerable visibility and prominence of women in social life. Men rather than women covered their faces in public and opening the face of a young Tuareg man within a group of women or the elders of the tribe was reproached.[707] The dominant social organization was matriarchy in Tuaregs, which was again different from the Ottoman society, or from the modern societies in general, for that matter.[708]

As his writings were based on lived experience, he could claim that his representation was accurate. Cami Bey attitude is comparable with the construction of authority of modern ethnographer qualified best to interpret different cultures. As James Clifford and Marie Louise Pratt's works attest to, in the emerging years of the discipline of anthropology, ethnographers tried to distinguish their accounts from the accounts of travelers and missionaries by claiming that their accounts were not so much representations but mere transfer of facts resulting from disciplinary research.[709] The ethnographer's quest to distinguish his experience from earlier accounts of travelers and missionaries and define his position against them, correcting their "unprofessional" gaze, worked to conceal the narrative component in ethnographic writing that ethnography "itself as a kind of writing."[710]

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[706]Ibid., 148.

[707]Ibid., 193.

[708]Ibid., 167.

[709] Marie Louise Pratt, "Fieldwork in Common Places," *Writing Culture*: *The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. James Clifford, George E. Marcus (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1984): 27-50; James Clifford, "On Ethnographic Authority," *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1988): 21-54.

[710]Pratt, "Fieldwork in Common Places," 27.

The suppression of the subjective in ethnographic discourse presented it as if nothing more than the transference of facts that was parallel to the conception of photography as unmediated and transparent.[711] In fact anthropology is among the domains extensively invested in the medium of photography, especially during the institutionalization of the discipline.[712] Photographs, the "facts about which there can be no question"[713] as the anthropologist C.Read put it in in 1899, occupied a privileged space in the production and dissemination of knowledge of "others." E.B Tylor, one of the most influential figures in the establishment of British anthropology, stated that "the science of anthropology owes not a little to the art of photography."[714] Cami Bey also integrated a number of photographs articulated from an ethnographic viewpoint. For instance, there are various photographs showing local dances in ceremonial occasions (Figures 42-43). As photographs were "seared with reality," in Walter Benjamin's terms, they were regarded as "objective" translation and transmission of information by contemporary observers, which might have enabled Cami Bey to claim the "reality" and "objectivity" of his representation of local ceremonies and rituals.[715] Taken from an ethnographic viewpoint through the transparency attributed to photographs, Cami Bey could have asserted his claim that such was the "reality" of native life and was there to document it.

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[711] In fact as Pinney has shown the histories of anthropology and photography exhibited many parallels including the uncertainties and dilemmas underlying the assumed certainty and authority of the practices. Pinney, *Photography and anthropology*.

[712] Ibid.

[713] C.Read who was the editor of second (1892) and third (1899) editions of *Notes and Querieson Anthropology*, which was a handbook for inform the collection of data by the unprofessional in the field, remarked in the 1899 edition of Notes and Queries, quoted in Roselyn Poignant, "Surveying the Field of View: The Making of the RAI Photographic Collection," *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards (New Haven, CT, 1992), 62.

[714] Pinney, *Photography and anthropology*, 29.

[715] Pinney, "Prologue: Images of a Counterscience," *Photography and Anthropology*, 15.

غامده كنج قيزلرك رقصى

Figure 42. "The dance of young girls in Ghat (*Gat'ta genç kızların raksı*)"

Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) 177.

Figure 43. Dance in a festival, Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) p.172.

He mentioned that there were a number of different dances for different social and cultural contexts. He described the dances in detail with reference to their relation to social and cultural life of the natives such as the traditional dance, for instance, practiced during "Sbeyba" a prominent Tuareg festivity:

> Public dances are performed in weddings, religious and official feasts and especially in Sbeyba feast which is very important for Touaregs. This feast, accompanied by drum and clarion, starts with visit to nearby graveyards and prayer for the souls of the dead. It continues for 3 days and nights. The people of Ghat considers Sbeyba night as the night in which the way how they live their lives will be determined and assessed. That night men and women make crowns from persimmon leaves with weird shapes and fancy themselves up by them. Under the weak light of the moon, this dark and large crowd advance with a weird dance, shouting wildly and chasing each other by long pomegranate branches and defending themselves by leather shields. Think about hundreds of men whose arms are open wide like a Mavlawi dervish and their head leaning on one of their arms, flowing by anomalous steps and intermittent jumps in a long and deserted Sahara by hurling their shirts; dream about this captivated horde stopping suddenly and dancing by forming weird circles, whirling crazily by beating each other, defending themselves and shouting wildly; now you have seen the first night feast opening of Sbeyba.[716]

Ritualistic dances were associated with tribal life and became an important signifier of "primitivity" in conventional European representations. The association of 'primitivity' with ritualistic dances under lied both scientific and popular forms of representation. The ethnographic displays in Universal Exhibitions as well as photographs and postcards, which as cheap and easy ways of representing "curios" accessible by larger numbers of people enjoyed an extensive popularity, had important implications for the proliferation of this association.[717] Ethnographic displays of "exotic" cultures, for instance, increasingly became an indispensible part

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[716] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 152.

[717] Deborah Poole, "Equivalent Images", *Vision, Race and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997).

of the Universal Exhibitions.[718] Undergirded by a comparative logic the Expositions indeed "displayed the entire nineteenth-century world" but, "according to a stratified power relationship."[719] The colonies added to the imperial wealth and power of the European powers.[720] Members of colonized groups or "savages" from distant lands were brought to and exhibited in these commercial venues. The human showcases were quite appealing to the public, some of which were established as permanent exhibits. As Timothy Mitchell argued the ethnographic displays based on the "native mode of life" were celebrated for their potential for "the education of the people."[721]

In fact European public was familiarized with 'exotic' cultures through ethnographic exhibits and photographs. These novel forms of popular culture as William Schneider argued became central to the popular European conceptions about the non-European groups.[722] However as these modes were informed by the logic of capitalist modernity, they were shaped by, in no small part, the established assumptions, the audiences' preconceptions and expectations, because they should be legible to the public.[723] The information disseminated about members of "savage" groups, while appeasing the "curiosity" of the public reinforced and reproduced existing conceptions of inferiority and distinction as well as European public's

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[718]Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: architecture of Islam at nineteenth-century world's fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, c1992), 18. See also Burton Benedict ed., *The Anthropology of World Fairs* (London and Berkeley, 1983).

[719] World Exhibitions, as Zeynep Çelik reminds us, premised on providing the "entire human experience"from a comparative perspective. Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 3.

[720]Ibid.

[721]Mitchell, "Orientalism and Exhibitonary Order," 459.

[722]William Schneider, "Race and Empire: The Rise of Popular Ethnography in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Popular Culture* 11 (1): 78-109.

[723]Ersoy, "Ottoman Things: Empire and Exoticism at the Vienna World Exhibition", *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary*, 29-90.

belief in their own "superiority" and "progress."[724] Different habits and ritualistic dances were considered as signifiers of underdevelopment and the simplicity of the social lives and moralities of the natives.

In his representation Cami Bey might have also wanted to emphasize cultural as well as moral distinction in referring to such practices as "promiscuous" and "savage" dances. By saying that these rituals were a significant part of local social life he might have extended the qualities of "promiscuity" and "savagery" to whole population. Perhaps Cami Bey wanted to promote and reinforce the association of moral degeneration of the natives through the images showing a different practice for the Ottoman audience. The photograph captioned "A black snake charmer" might also be significant in suggesting the "savagery" of the locals and their distinction from the Ottomans (Figure 44). The photograph of the black snake charmer with the tattoos on his skin and a snake in his mouth stood as the ultimate signifier of "exotic" and bizarre. The performance that was photographed was perhaps also in a festive occasion, and performance was a spectacle for the locals as well. However with the photograph in which the local spectators standing behind the snake charmer shared the same space in the photograph, that they also shared his exoticness and difference might have been implied.

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[724]Brain Street, "British Popular anthropology: Exhibiting and Photographing the Other," *Anthropology and photography 1860-1920*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards(New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, 1982), 122. See also Roslyn Poignant, "The Making of Professional "Savages": From P.T. Barnam (1883) to the Sunday Times (1998)", *Photography's Other Histories*, ed. Christopher Pinney&Nicholas Peterson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); Zeynep Çelik and Leila Kinney, "Ethnography and Exhibitionism at the *Exhibitions universelles*," *Assemblage*, 13 (1990), pp.35-59; Timothy Mitchell, "Egypt at the exhibition", *Colonizing Egypt* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Curtis M. Hinsley, "The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exhibition, Chicago, 1893," *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington, 1991), pp. 344-365; Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, 1978); Benedict Anderson, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs* (Berkeley, 1983).

يلان اوينادان برزنجی (دوتقاراما)

Figure 44. "A black snake charmer (*Yılan oynatan bir zenci*)", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910), 181.

Sadık Bey also integrated a drawing that shows a ceremony for his honor (Figure 45). A figure representing Sadık Bey is integrated into the image, perhaps in order to suggest the "authenticity" of the image. This might have been considered necessary because the medium was a drawing not a photograph. Before the invention of photography, integrating figures that would represent the author was a prevalent practice in drawings and sketches for suggesting immediacy and accuracy. The Ottoman officers are comingled with locals, perhaps sheikhs of the Sanusi Order, in the background reminiscent of the desert. The figure I assume representing Sadık Bey is seated near a local, they are watching a group of men with spears and shields.

Sadık Bey described the scene as the war enactment of tribesmen in Sadık Bey's honor.[725] Although they were about thirty people they made a huge fuss that one could think they were a couple hundred.[726] The black tribesmen continued with their chaotic show for twenty minutes then they saluted him and the show ended.[727] Sadık Bey thanked them through a dervish who knew their language and wanted to give them baksheesh, however the tribesmen did not accept it, not even the children.[728] Because, he told, the tribesmen thought taking something without giving back is immoral.[729] Although their ceremonial reenactment was chaotic and disorderly the tribesmen were not considered as moral degenerate by Sadık Bey, in effect he represented the tribesmen quite on the contrary. According to Sadık Bey the tribesmen were "simple" people who were contended with their rather humble life but at the same time honorable and noble.[730]

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[725] Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat*, 82.

[726]Ibid.

[727]Ibid.

[728]Ibid.

[729]Ibid.

[730]Ibid., 83.

Figure 45. Ceremony of reception, Azmzâde Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat* (Istanbul: Âlem Matbaası Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı, 1314/ 1896), 105.

Sadık Bey told the Bedouins had certain "strange" habits like eating meat raw. The other "strange" habits recounted by Sadık Bey were related to physical strength and endurance. The endurance and strength of the Bedouins in the extreme conditions of the desert very much surprised Sadık Bey and formed one of the most popular topics in the narrative:

> The conversation of cameleers around the fire they lit drew my attention for a while. A couple of days ago someone from the Jalu community had come to Jalu from Kufra, where we were going, alone and by walking. This distance is nearly a hundred and fifty hours. Walking through a sea of sand alone for a hundred and fifty hours, we cannot imagine that!... and this person from Jalu alongside of being alone, did not have a camel to carry his stuff either... I immediately went to *mihmandars' (*rangers) tent to figure out whether this story was true; it was difficult for me to believe that a passenger in Sahara desert, or somewhere else could carry his a-hundred-and-fifty hour-food and a-hundred-hour-water.. "How can this be?" I asked. As I understood from their answers, the person who would cover a long distance alone in Sahara put some raw wheat or barley and water that was as heavy as that could be carried easily in a little bag made from animal skin and closed the bag. He took his way with his bag on his shoulder like soldiers, and when he got hungry on the way, he reached in to his bag and took a handful of the grains which had been softened by the water and he both got full and he quenched his thirst. This man from

Jalu had gone to Jalu with a bag like this they said... Good God!! A traveler in Europe keeps walking by decent roads with a wallet filled with banknotes and finds hotels, inns, villages, houses and restaurants to rest at daytimes and sleep at night and eats as he likes, laughs and enjoys. And because he is walking from a town to another every newspaper gets interested with him; special reporters send telegrams here and there to report when he has got or left where; this travel gets the attention of many people; by this way billions of people get to know his name. However, when three days ago we took off from Jalu, I did not hear about his poor man who was coming there and even if I am still making researches about him today, I could not get any information about him. If I had heard about him when I was in Jalu I have wondered and gone to see him. But things like this are daily jobs for the Bedouins.[731]

The Bedouins and tribesmen were subjected to mostly his paternalistic views ensconced by the theme of "noble savage." In another anecdote from his former travels the theme of "noble savage" is intertwined with the superiority of "White men" who were seen as doctors by the locals that they should turn to for curing their illnesses:

In my first journey, one day a date prick stings the hand of a young cameleer named Idris. He wants to get it out. He breaks it while trying. A part of the prickle remains in his flesh. He does not consider it important. He came to me in campsite two days after. He asked me to cure his hand and take the prickle out of there. I told him that I was incapable of pulling a prickle out of the skin like this, even if I could treat people by dripping drops to my friends eyes, giving laxatives or oil of peppermint. The poor guy's hand had been swollen up over to his elbow, it had become two times bigger and hardened. It was possible to pick it neither with prickle tongs nor a needle tip because the prickle was stuck in too deep. Although Idris wanted me to open it up with a pocket knife and look for it inside his skin until I found the prick, I could not dare to do so and I only wrapped his arm up with a canvas and hung it to his neck. And so I recommended him to be patient until we arrived to Benghazi. Even the great man from Sahara suffered from a huge pain that could lay a townsman up, he remained composed and even unwilling to ride a camel, he followed his animals like his friends and when the installs were tied up and down all the time he did not accept to ask his friends' help as much as he was strong enough. This patience and resistance of Idris surprised me.[732]

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[731]Ibid., 50.

[732]Ibid., 98-99.

The mild paternalism that could at times be seen in European colonial context, could, in line with romanticized conception of the "primitive" lifestyles even "shade into an admiration for the 'noble savage'", as Deringil writes, who with their "plain and simple ways" were referred to as "models of virtue."[733]

It has been largely agreed upon by now that these ethnographic gestures in the process of discursive production of "others" assume a homogenizing standpoint through which the subjects of representation were abstracted from history. As Pratt writes: "Critical anthropology has recognized the extent to which these descriptive practices work to normalize another society, to codify its difference from one's own, to fix its members in a timeless present where all 'his' actions and reactions are repetitions of 'his' normal habits."[734] Trapped in a timeless present that was more often than not a different temporal order from that of the authorized subject doing the representation -as suggested by Johannes Fabian's famous term "denial of coevalness" -the people were reduced to signifiers of certain traits ascribed to this constructed homogenous whole.[735]

Furthermore Cami Bey explicitly referred to the trope of "timelessness." It seems that his investigations *in situ*, converge on the "timelessness" of Tuaregs. According to Cami Bey's highly ideological explanation, the features of the ancient tribe called ætols, who lived in mountainous regions and were known for their nomadism, savagery, and hostility, were replicated exactly in the characters and lifestyles of the modern Tuaregs:

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[733]Ibid 81. Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery'," 317.

[734]Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 62-63.

[735] Fabian, *Time and Other*, 25-35.

> The ætols (*Jetol*) in the south of the Atlantic have remained in in an unchanging state of savagery and nomadism from pre-historical times until today (*ezmine-i kable't-târihiyyedeki hâl-i vahşet ve bedeviyyet*)…The descriptions of savagery and roughness made by the old historians while mentioning the ætols, who are the origins of many Tuaregs, perfectly fit the current state of the Tuareg tribes.[736]

According to him they were the same as ætols -or sometimes ancient Berbers- they did not progress through the ages. Having remained unchanged, Cami Bey argued that they stood as living relics of the primitive times of mankind. He emphasized the pre-modern roots for the aforementioned distinctive customs of the local, perhaps in order to reinforce his construction of natives as "Others" in a different temporal order. Painting their bodies in blue was something the ancient Libyans also practiced, so were their ritualistic dances, appealing to the spirit of the dead ancestors and even the matriarchal form of social organization.[737]

6.6 "Noble savages" or "a bunch of villains"

Both authors emphasized the backwardness of the locals who were in the earlier stages of development. As mentioned above Sadık Bey considered the Bedouins as the "primitive" state of mankind (*ibtidâiye-i beşer*) and Cami Bey considered them as living in an "unchanging state of nomadism and savagery" (*ezmine-i kable't-târihiyyedeki hâl-i vahşet ve bedeviyyet*). However, where they departed was, I think, the ability of these marginal subjects of the empire to change and "progress."

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[736]Ibid 97. Page 114 in the original manuscript of 1910.

[737]Ibid., 150, 173, 183.

Sadık el-Müeyyed emphasized that the "savage" state of the Bedouins were being abated (*terk-i huşunet ve şekavet*) and the Bedouins were being "directed in the path to civilization and progress" (*tarîk-i temeddün ve te'âliye sülûk ettirmek*).[738] Sadık Bey mentioned, the most "savage custom" (*âdât-ı vahşiye*) in the society divided into tribes was intertribal fights and the raids of tribesmen to caravans significantly decreased with the efforts of the Sanusi Order.[739] The Order played an important role in civilizing the Bedouins in Sadık Bey's representation. Describing the sheikhs of the Sanusi Order as "civilizers of the desert" (*çöl medeniyetçileri*) Sadık el-Meüyyed portrayed the influence of the order over Bedouins positively.[740] He stated that the order was motivated to "save the tribes from the dead end of ignorance" (*kabâil-i mütecâvireyi girîve-i ve gafletten kurtarmak*) and to "direct [them] in the path to progress and civilization" (*tarîk-i temeddün ve te'aliye sülûk ettirmek*) which would ensure "their moral and material development" (*maddi ve manevi menfa'atlerini mûcib olacak*) at the same time.[741]

After describing Sanusiyya's important deeds in Cyrenaica, Sadık el-Müeyyed highlighted the loyalty and affection of Muhammed al-Mahdi and his followers to the Ottoman sultan and caliph, Abdülhamid in several parts of the book. In order to give an example of the respect and affinity of the order to Ottoman Sultan-Caliph, Sadık Bey recounted the tradition of invoking sultan's name and praying for his well-being, every day after the morning prayers:

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[738] Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat*, 75.

[739] Ibid., 82.

[740] Ibid., 72.

[741] Ibid., 75.

> In accordance with the Sheikh's [Seyyid Sanusi] father's will and a tradition from his father's time, after saying the prayer Al-Fatihah in all zawiyas for the health, welfare and success of our renowned master, the Caliph [*Halife-i Zişan ve şehriyâr-ı meâli-nişân efendimiz*], following the morning's prayer, in the Jaghbub Zawiya "Ya Latif", one among the 99 names of Allah, is read aloud in *zikr* a couple of thousand times for the continuance of the Sultan's life and the *zikr* is completed with a final prayer of Al-Fatihah.[742]

He not only mentioned the tradition of invoking sultan's name and praying for his well-being, every day after the morning prayers, he also explicitly evaluates the loyalty of the order:

> As for the Sanusiyyah's obedience and sympathy for the Ottomans, who shall rule forever, they always explain to the Bedouins the necessity, according to logic and the Sharia, of being subject to the order and glorious state of the believers, and they recommend the offering of obedience and respect to the officers of the state…[743]

In a rather conventional gesture of imperialism the activities of the sheikhs were represented as for the benefit of local people. However, preying for the well-being of the sultan (*hutbenin nâm-ı nâmi-i hazret-i hilâfetpenâhiye tilâvetini ve zât-ı akdes-i hümâyûna duâ olunması*) and commending the Bedouins to comply with the Ottoman provincial government, is clearly more for the potential benefit of the Ottoman state.[744] The moral "improvement" of and for the tribes that Sadık Bey talked about, seem to be in effect, providing and fostering their attachment to the sultan cum Ottoman Empire.

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[742]Ibid., 71.

[743] Ibid., 71.

[744] Ibid., 82.

As Deringil has explained the order has been significant for the cause of extending Ottoman influence in the region, similar to European missionary activities, by informing the public through religion.[745] Deringil showed the sheikhs of the order were seen as "bearers of civilization to the tribes" by the imperial center who were "ultimately working for in favor of the center."[746] For him the "civilizing mission" the Order had assumed on the behalf of the state had clear religious overtones and aimed at promoting familiarization with and attachment to the Ottoman Sultan, who was also the caliph of Islam and, in that sense, promoted an imagined attachment with the state and its interests.[747]

In the meantime the image Sadık Bey chose to represent "simple" but moral Bedouins whose savagery was being abated (*terk-i huşûnet ve şekavet*) with the help of the Sanusi Order, was the photograph depicting a woman and two children identified as "bedouins of the desert" (Figure 46). The production process of the image is rather obscure, for as mentioned in Chapter 1, though he tried, Sadık Bey could not obtain film for his camera, and there was nothing in the text indicating how he obtained the image.

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[745] Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery'," 322..

[746] Ibid.

[747] Ibid. Akarlı, "The Defence of Libyan Provinces (1882-1908," 77-79.
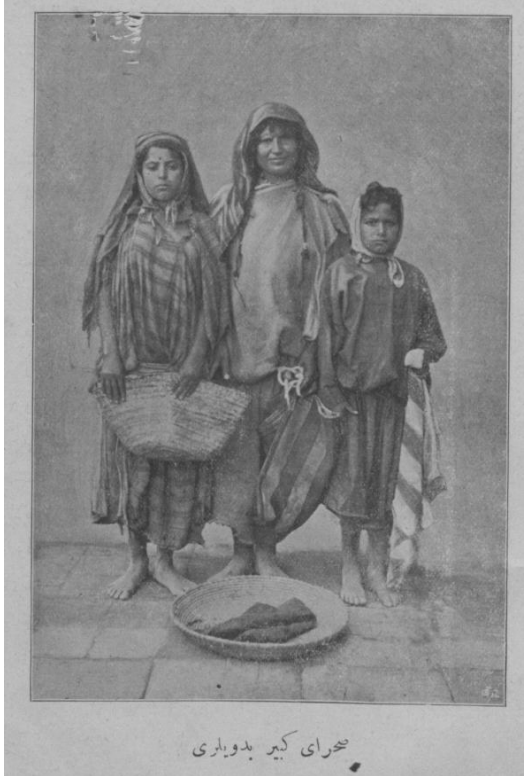
Figure 46. "Bedouins of the Sahara Desert (*Sahrâ-yı Kebir Bedevileri*)"
Azmzâde Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat* (Istanbul: Âlem Matbaası Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı, 1314/ 1896), 49.

The woman was likely to be a model used to being photographed in this way, which could, perhaps, explain her direct gaze and ease during the anxious encounter with the camera. This image was most likely constructed in the controllable environment of the studio, and is an example of a commercial "type" photograph relying on 'exoticist' and picturesque conventions (Figures 47-49). "Photography emerged" as Ayşe Erdogdu wrote, "in the Victorian age during a period marked by ever-increasing British colonial power and the ascendancy of scientifically informed studies of race and culture."[748] Both commercial and scientific endeavors contributed to the construction of category of 'types', which involved representations of men and

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[748] Ayshe Erdogdu, "Picturing Alterity: Representational Strategies in Victorian Type Photographs o f Ottoman Men," *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place,* ed. Eleanor Hight and Gary Sampson (London, 2002), 107.

women believed to exhibit 'typical' features of their group in terms of physical appearance and occupation.[749] "Despite its claim to photographic realism," the genre of photographs known as scenes and types (*scénes et types*), as Ali Behdad argued, "borrowed an exoticist style" through which the non-European world was portrayed as "decadent, erotic, strange, and violent" that is Europe's 'other.'[750]Photographers, both European and local, Behdad further argued, produced an extensive body of exotic, erotic and picturesque images mainly, but not exclusively, for European consumption based on the established assumptions, the audiences' preconceptions and expectations.[751]The travel accountsregarding the imperial periphery such as Yemen and Iraq in illustrated journals like *Servet-i Fünun* and *Şehbal* also used the "type" genre to represent the locals to the public.[752]

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[749] Ibid., see also Elizabeth Edwards, "'Photographic Types': The Pursuit of Method," *Visual Anthropology* 3 (1990), 235-58; John Falconer, "'A Pure Labour of Love': a Publishing History of the People of India," *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*, ed. Eleanor M. Hight and Gary P. Sampson (London: Routledge, 2002): 51-82; Behdad, "The Orientalist Photograph," *Photography's Orientalism*, 12-30; Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, translated by Myrna Godzich and Wald Godzich, (Minneapolis, 1986): 3-94; Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); the essays in the volume edited by Elizabeth Edwards, *Anthropology and photography, 1860-1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, 1982).

[750] Behdad, "Sevruguin: Orientalist or Orienteur?," *Sevruguin and the Persian Image: Photographs of Iran, 1870-1930*, 85.

[751] Ibid.

[752]For examples see, *Servet-i Fünun*, no:1417, p.201 (13 Teşrin-i evvel 1334/ 13 October 1918); *Şehbal*, no:69, p.410 (1 Şubat 1328/ 14 February 1913); *Şehbal*, no:75, p.54 (1 Mayıs 1329/ 14 May 1913); *Şehbal*, no: 78, p.115 (1 Temmuz 1329/ 14 July 1913).

Figure 47. Bonfils Family, *Joueurs de violon bédouin*, ca. 1880s, albumen print, image: 22.2x28.5 cm. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, reproduced from Ali Behdad, "The Orientalist Photograph", *Photography's Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representation* (Getty Publications, 2013), 28.

Figure 48. Sebah&Joillier, "Marchand des dattes," 1890, albumen print, Getty Research Institute, Ken and Jenny Jacobson Orientalist Photography Collection (2008.R.3, Jacobson number: 3941) http://hdl.handle.net/10020/2008r3_3941

Figure 49. D.H Arnoux, "Street Sellers from Port Said," reproduced from Engin Özendes, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Fotoğrafçılık 1839-1923* (Istanbul: YEM Yayınları, 1995), 77.

The effects and appeal of "types" that relied on props and exotic paraphernalia to suggest physical and moral difference were extensive. The woman and children are barefoot and covered with tattered clothes, signifying perhaps their poverty and inferiority. The composition is complemented by two baskets, indicating the material culture of tribal life. As Elizabeth Edwards emphasizes photographs convey meaning through certain conventions, "for representational form makes an image accessible and comprehensible to the mind, informing and informed by a whole hidden corpus

of knowledge that is called on through the signifiers in the image."[753] "More insidious in their objectification" as Edwards states, in these photographs informed by visual styles and dialects of science, "the mapping of the body and the cultural are conflated with tropes of the exotic, for consumption within a broader paradigm of popular science and anthropology," which has sanctified a "certain representational value" with an accompanying "moral value attached to the subjects."[754]

However, the woman, in particular, in the picture is smiling and standing confidently before the camera. As mentioned before the ease in her posture might indicate that she was a model and the photograph was produced in a studio with props. Even so, I think the fact that Sadık Bey chose this specific image to represent the Bedouin 'type' is significant. I think the confident posture of the smiling woman is in line with Sadık Bey's portrayal of the Bedouins as "noble savages", underdeveloped as they were, inherently good, easy-going and capacious. These capacious and moral Bedouins were being civilized and guided on the path to progress by the Ottoman Empire with the help of the Sanusi Order.

I interpreted the selection of that specific image as indicative of imperial ambitions and Ottoman imperialist and colonialist practices. With this image, I think, Sadık Bey might have tried to convey the message that the Bedouins appreciate Ottoman "assistance" in their "progress." In other words the image could have been utilized to show that the population living under Ottoman rule were happy and satisfied, especially when considering Sadık Bey's comments about the locals' respect for the Ottoman sultan caliph. Sadık Bey told that he was treated with utmost

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[753]Edwards, "Introduction", *Anthropology and photography, 1860-1920*, 8.

[754] Edwards, *Raw Histories*, 144.

respect by the locals from various walks of life, because he was the represente of the

caliph, they were quite delighted with his presence that sort of implied the presence

of the caliph himself *(...bu 'âcizi aralarında gördükçe Halife-i İslam'ın bir gölgesi*

da'ima üzerlerinde bulunduğunu his ettiklerini, bu gölgeye ellerinden geldiği kadar

hürmet ve ri'âyet etmek kendilerine farz olduğunu söylediler).[755] The desert caravans

and Bedouins that Sadık Bey encountered, for instance, greeted him with respect

when they understood that he was the represente of the caliph:

> Just then, a forty-camel caravan coming from the valley was encountered.
> When they realized that I was among the aide-de-camps of his Holiness the
> Caliph, the people of the caravan respectfully kissed my hand. None of the
> sheikhs I have met on the road failed to show me respect.[756]

The legitimacy and worth of Ottoman imperial rule in the province, in Sadık Bey's

representation might have tried to be suggested with this image. The remarks and

comments in the text, however, are crucial for such a meaning to be relevant.

Emphasizing that the locals were Muslims attached to the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph the

text and image together might have intended also to promote a connection and

familiarity with the locals on the basis of religion.

The "nobility" of Sadık Bey's "simple" but inherently moral Bedouins who

were being civilized through their contact with the Sanusiyyah and eager for

Ottoman rule, which I think the photograph of smiling women and her children

might have represented, was also related to the political context. The representation

of Bedouins as respective and penchant for the Ottoman Empire and the sultan-caliph

that I interpret might have been used by Sadık Bey to suggest the Bedouins'

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[755]Sadık el-Müeyyed, *Afrika Sahrâ-yı kebirinde seyahat*, 46.

[756]Ibid., 14.

willingness and receptiveness for Ottoman rule, was, in fact, after the

aforementioned campaigns of Hacı Reşid Paşa against the Bedouins. As I mentioned

in the third chapter, the governor Hacı Reşid Paşa has organized three campaigns

against the Bedouins who did not pay their taxes to the Ottoman provincial

administration, in 1882-1884, 1888-1891, and 1891-1894.[757] Michel Le Gall

explained that all campaigns involved violent measures on the part of the provincial

government. While the first campaign bore no immediate gains for the budget

because most of the Bedouins have fled to Egypt, while the second one to the

aforementioned Zuwaya tribe were much more profitable.[758] The Zuwaya tribesmen

paid six years arrear, a new garrison was established to better control the tribesmen

and to undermine their loyalty to the Sanusi Order with which, as Michel Le Gall

argued, the Ottoman imperial center had ambiguous relations at the time.[759] The

result of the last campaign in 1891-1894, yielded generally beneficial results for the

government, despite a number of Bedouins have fled to Egypt.[760] According to Le

Gall, drought and famine of 1892-1893 in Benghazi were effective in this respect

with poverty-stricken bedouins turning to the government.[761] In return they were

forced to pay their taxes through "sell[ing] their underfed livestock."[762]

     Sadık Bey's portrayal of the Bedouins is reminiscent of the European

representation of the subjugated groups in the colonies. For instance, Pratt explained

that the representation of the !Kung tribe of Kalahari (known as Bushmen in

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[757] Le Gall, "The Ottoman Government and The Sanusiyya: A Reapraisal," 100.

[758] Ibid.

[759] Ibid.

[760] Ibid.

[761] Ibid.

[762] Ibid.

European accounts) that European travelers and explorers came into contact with as they were beginning to move into Africa, changed from one of voracious barbarians hunting and enslaving women and children, to a portrayal of them as passive, innocent, strong and lively after they were subjugated by the settlers.[763] The qualities bestowed upon the !Kung tribe, Pratt argued, were ones that "the powerful commonly find in those they have subjugated."[764]

Furthermore, Le Gall Sanusi thinks that the Sanusi headquarters' move from Jaghbub to Kufra have to be reevaluated, in the light of these events.[765] She argued that the second campaign against the Zuwaya tribesmen and attending establishment of Ottoman garrison in Awjala-Jalu oases prompted considerations for moving the headquarters from Jaghbub to Kufra because Jaghbub would be quite close to the Ottoman garrison.[766] I think the campaigns also had important implications on Sadık Bey's extensive emphasis on the loyalty of the Order to the Ottoman imperial center, especially Sultan Abdülhamid II. Sadık Bey was dispatched to visit Sheikh Muhammad again in 1895, on specific orders from the sultan who asserted the need "to revive the ties of friendship" with him.[767] The series of campaigns targeted, albeit indirectly, the Order as well, which perhaps made a revival of contact as such, necessary. For as I mentioned, again in the third chapter, the Ottoman government and the Sanusi Order had their differences on the issue of land use, the transfer of lands assigned to the Bedouins to cultivate to the Order was problematic for former.

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[763] Pratt, "Fieldwork in Common Places," 46.

[764] Ibid.

[765] Le Gall, "The Ottoman Government and The Sanusiyya: A Reapraisal," 100.

[766]Ibid.

[767]Ibid., 95.

As I mentioned in before in delineating the authors' backgrounds, the 1895 visit was in fact Sadık Bey's second visit to Muhammad al-Mahdi. His first visit to the leader of the Order took place in 1887. Le Gall expressed that Sadık Bey presented an imperial summons to the sheikh in his first visit in 1887, Sheikh Muhammad were not inclined to the offer that most probably involved "a virtual house arrest" in the capital.[768] In the meantime Sheikh al-Mahdi was bombarded with messages that if he would not ally with the Ottoman Empire then he and his Order would fall prey to Europeans.[769] These anxious calls were related to the Ottoman government's desire to enlist the support of Muhammad al-Mahdi, thus, more rhetorical than actual, according to Le Gall who argued that before 1900s, British and French interests over the Sahara were largely focused on west of Lake Chad, along the borders of Nigeria and Algeria.[770] She argued that the areas northeast of Lake Chad, which is the hinterland of Benghazi, relatively immune to British and French threat.[771] Furthermore the British efforts were concentrated on suppressing the Mahdist movement in the Sudan.

She argued that after three campaigns, in 1895 Muhammad al-Mahdi sought for Ottoman "protection" of the Order.[772] His request fulfilled with Sadık Bey's second mission to visit him in Kufra this time.[773] In the resulting representation and report he reassured the authorities for the loyalty of the Order, and presented a positive picture of the Ottoman rule in the province.

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[768]Ibid., 94.

[769]Ibid.

[770]Ibid. 94-95.

[771] Ibid., 96.

[772] Ibid., 101.

[773] Ibid., 101.

While Sadık Bey's Bedouins were benevolent, convivial and religious; "treachery", "selfishness", "ignorance", and "deception" were characteristic of the tribesmen. Implicit in Cami Bey's representation about the Tuareg tribes is the suggestion that their "inherently" villainous character cannot be changed and they are condemned to remain in a stage of utmost 'savagery'. The persistence of intertribal fights despite all his efforts to put a stop to this practice during his governorship in Ghat seems to significantly influence this conception. He described the Tuareg tribesmen as always armed and mentioned that this was because of intertribal conflicts and raids, which formed the main livelihood of the tribesmen.[774] He argued that the raids between different tribes (*gazve*) were central to the social and economic life of the Tuaregs.[775] For Cami Bey these raids were clearly "brigandage", yet, he mentioned, these outlaws of the desert (*Sahra haydutları*), as he called the Tuareg tribes, conceived the raids, quite to the contrary, as a sign of "heroism" and "prowess."[776] The practice and conception of *gazve,* which was undergirded by ambition of Tuaregs, "a bunch of villains" for "plundering" other tribes was a reflection of their "defective" morality.[777] Although they suffered very much from this "irrational" and "barbaric" practice, Cami Bey told that the tribesmen continued to regard it as a "necessary skill" is quite absurd, perhaps implying that the Tuaregs were inherently irrational and villainous.[778]

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[774]Ibid., 196-197.

[775]Ibid., 196.

[776] Ibid,, 162.

[777]Ibid.

[778]Ibid.

A photograph was integrated that, according to the caption, represents a "Tuareg *gazve*" (Figure 50). The image was identified as representing a *gazve* showed a group of men on their camels, some looks like raising their spears. With this image Cami Bey might have intended to suggest that the abstract concept of *gazve*, which he described as "brigandage" was, in fact, an observable reality. The identification of the scene showing men mounted on camels in the desert might have been used to anchor Cami Bey's statements and arguments about this practice.

Figure 50. "The *gazve* of Tuareg (*Tuareg gazvesi*)", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910), 215a.

While Sadık Bey chose the image showing the smiling Bedouin woman and her children to represent the locals, the images that Cami Bey, chose to represent the Tuareg 'type' were, "a young Tarki[779]", "a young Tarki in his campaign outfit" and "a sheikh from the Tuareg elders" (Figures 51-53). Again the production process of the images are obscure, Cami Bey also does not specify whether he has taken the

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[779]The singular of the word Tuareg.

photographs or acquired by other means, from a commercial studio or from a friend

like Sir Hanns Vischer. Cami Bey indicated in the travelogue the images belonged to

his British companion like the one showing a tribesman in the desert background

(Figure 54). The backgrounds of plain walls look rather the same in all three images.

The clothes in "a young Tarki in his campaign outfit" look similar to the clothes of

the figure in "a young Tarki." Perhaps these images were the photographs of the

same man in profile and frontal views. For all that we know he or they might as well

be models posed as representers of "authentic" Tuareg lifestyle. The sheikh who held

a rod in one hand, his other hand was raised, perhaps signifying preying. This figure

could also be model, maybe the same person who performed the role of a young

tribesman, performing the role of the religious leader in the tribe. He is wearing a

robe as distinct than the figures of the young man and warrior, which may signify his

status. If the figures were not models then these images may have equally been

portrayals of certain individuals. However with the mediation of the captions these

images seems to be used by Cami Bey in his travelogue as portrayal of a group rather

than individuals. The group that would be represented by these images was the

Tuaregs. The faces are not visible in the images that were supposed to represent the

'type' of Tuaregs. Even the photographs that represented individuals, leader of the

tribe Ofinayt is portrayed with hoods (Figure 55).

I think the photographs of the figures with their faces covered, which the captions referred as representing the "Tuareg" type, should be considered in tandem Cami Bey's remarks above about his conception and representation of the Tuareg tribes as bandits raiding each other and caravans in the Sahara. With these images I think the association of Tuaregs with bandits might have been reinforced. As the images were specified as representing a specific group rather than individuals, by implication, the attribution of brigandage and treachery is extended to the whole group.

كنج بر نارق

Figure 51. "A young Tuareg (*Genç bir Tarki*)", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) p.204b.

كنج برنارق سفر قيافتده

Figure 52. "A young Tuareg in his expedition outfit (*Genç bir Tarki sefer kıyafetinde*)", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) p.207a.

توارق اكابرندن برشيخ

Figure 53. "A sheikh from Tuareg elder (*Tuareg ekâbirinden bir şeyh*)", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) p.215a.

Figure 54. Hanns Vischer, A Bedouin, Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) p.21a

Figure 55. Ofinayt the leader of the tribe, Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) p.192a.

Cami Bey told the intertribal fights had detrimental effects for the tribesmen, what was particularly detrimental was the insecurity of trade routes.[780] By saying that the current predicament of the tribes in the Sahara, resulted from the conflicts between tribes he might have also implied the French encroachment in the Sahara. The French colonial officers and missions also tried to influence the Tuareg tribes to declare their allegiance to the French state, which the Hoggar Tuaregs did. In a report to the resident general in Fezzan, Cami Bey claimed that the Hoggar Tuaregs accepted French domination by coercion and from fear.[781] He argued that the Tuaregs only unite in matters of oppressing the weak and plundering and not for the sentiments for defending the "nation and social interests" (*vatan ve menâfi-i ictimâiyye*), because the Tuaregs were ignorant and unaware of such sentiments.[782] That the Tuareg tribes only understood brutal force was known to the French administration, "they do not obey government orders unless they face the power of government" Cami Bey wrote and further argued in the report that the Ottoman provincial government should follow the French method of domination.[783]

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[780]Ibid 197.

[781]Cami Bey to resident general 3 April 1323/16 April 1907 in Baykurt, "Ekler, Muhâberât-ı Resmîyye Defteri 27 Temmuz 1906-28 Ağustos 1908)" in *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat,* 320.

[782]Ibid.

[783]Ibid.

In the travelogue he also mentioned that inspired by the French threat some Tuareg tribes, aligned themselves with the Ottomans whose lack of organization gave them a degree of autonomy:

> The step-by-step conquest of Sahara by French, forced Touaregs to take refuge under Ottoman rule, which they had not been willing in the first place. However this action was not due to affection to Ottoman government but rather resulted from the Tuaregs' desire for the continuation of their semi-autonomous status thanks to the wide tolerance within Ottoman borders due to organizational deficiencies in contrary to violence and prosecution in French zone.[784]

So for him, the Tuaregs' alliance with the Ottoman Empire was much more conditional, related to the political context in the Sahara, than to a sense of religious association. As mentioned before Cami Bey was instructed by his superior Recep Paşa the governor general of Fezzan to use Islam as a political tool to ensure the allegiance of the tribes to the Ottoman Empire, "As you would be among a Muslim population in Ghat", Recep Paşa wrote, "even though the French have economic means, we are superior to them in terms of religious politics."[785] However I think Cami Bey ceased to believe the usefulness of religious politics on the face of grim political realities in the Sahara, let alone thinking that religion would constitute a common denominator for the tribesmen and Ottomans. This belief might have also undergirded his emphasis on the prevalence of Pagan habits among the tribes.

Cami Bey's representation of the Tuareg seems to be undergirded by a disbelief in a possible connection to these tribes such that their differences were perhaps indeed "irreconcilable." I think Cami Bey emphasized the distinction between the natives living in an unchanging state of savagery and nomadism became

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[784] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru,*192.

[785] Cami Baykut , *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, 291.

more rigorous to the extent of rendering it as "essential." The emphasis on difference in Cami Bey's representation might indicate that he did not believe the tribesmen would not cooperate with the Ottoman Empire against French colonial expansion. Nevertheless, the representation of the tribes and nomads of the desert was very much ideologically motivated. The tribes' relations with the Ottoman state had important implications for the ways in which they emerged in Cami Bey's representation. Just as Sadık Bey's "simple yet "noble" Bedouins were politically and ideologically constructed, Cami Bey's "villains" were also politically and ideologically constructed as treacherous, selfish, ignorant and incapable of change and progress. Not only their allegiance to the Ottoman Empire, for Cami Bey, as the passage above asserted, was pragmatic, but also they had a contradictory relationship with the provincial government:

> This handful of nomads, who are unimportant but became spoiled, started to entirely ignore government orders, belittle and underestimate government authority and occasionally even dare to use guns against the army because of the looseness and tendency to avoid confrontation on the part of our state administration, which is old and has lost its value.[786]

On the other hand, the difference suggested in the representation, which was reinforced by the objective distance provided by the camera seems to give way to a kind of proximity in the photograph identified as "A tea ceremony in the gardens of Ghat" (Figure 56). In this photograph, Cami Bey was shown in a gathering at ease with locals, posing side by side. Such a composition might be quite hard to imagine in a European colonial context.[787] The photograph of the tea ceremony in Ghat alludes to the peculiar Ottoman imperialist and colonialist practices in this geography

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[786] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 43

[787] Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery'," 338.

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that involved seeking cooperation of locals against European colonialism. "Revealingly honest about the nature of colonial encounter," Edwards maintains, rather than reifying or promoting cultural distance as might have been intended in the discourse representation, these photographs suggest an opposite proximity with the locals that Cami Bey was trying to convince that they would be better off under Ottoman domination than under French rule.[788] Therefore, once again it is evident that when taken together, the juxtaposition of images and text might yield to interpretations showing that the notion of 'alterity' is complex and multi-layered.[789]

عات پاڭهارنده بر چای عالمی

Figure 56. "A tea ceremony in the gardens of Ghat", Fizan Meb'ûsu Cami, *Trablusgarb'dan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Dogru: Sahrâ Teşkilâtı ve Akvâmı Hakkında Tedkikât* (Dersa'âdet: Nişan Babikyan Matba'ası, 1326/1910) 160.

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[788] Ibid., 342.

[789] Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary*, 103.

To sum up the tribes' relations with the Ottoman state had important implications for the ways in which they emerged in the authors' representations. As I have tried to show above, the "nobility" of Sadık Bey's "simple" but inherently moral Bedouins and Cami Bey's treacherous, ignorant "villains of the Sahara" were ideologically constructed.

Sadık Bey's representation of the Bedouins eager for Ottoman rule because of their loyalty and affinity to Sultan Abdülhamid II, because he was the Muslim ruler on the face of rising Christian threats and the peripheral subjects of his representation were Muslims, bears resemblance to the representation of pacified groups in European colonial contexts. The Tuaregs' "essential" inferiority reflected in their chronic brigandage and savagery in Cami Bey's representation was, I think, related to the conflicts between the tribes and the provincial government. On the one hand, their resistance to Ottoman rule might have led to their adverse representation. On the other hand, that the Ottoman government's authority was being challenged by "a handful of nomads", "a bunch of villains" which with their destitute appearance and primitive ways suggested by the conventions of picturesque did not at all appear like they would constitute a major threat, might have also signified the incompetence and shortcomings of the Ottoman government. Cami Bey might have been intentionally critical in his representation, because his reports and correspondences, such as the passage above, indicate that he thought the current policies, which relied on conscription of the local tribesmen, were not working: "Because of their known dispositions, it is not possible to establish a military force from them…"[790]

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[790]Cami Bey to resident general 3 April 1323/16 April 1907 in Baykurt, "Ekler, Muhâberât-ı Resmîyye Defteri 27 Temmuz 1906-28 Ağustos 1908)," *Son Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Hayat*, 320.

It is also possible that Cami Bey's ambivalent conception of Ottoman policies in Africa at the same time represented a criticism of the government, of the state's diminishing political and military power. Thus the criticism might have also been directed at the Yıldız Palace, which, according to Cami Bey, used the province "as a place of exile" for a variety of oppositional groups "who were buried alive into the grave of forgetfulness by the absolute cruel administration."[791] Cami Bey, as mentioned before, was one such exile in Libya, sent there because of suspected affiliation with Young Turk oppositional movement, which comprised of complex and diverse groups directing their critical views especially towards Sultan Abdülhamid authoritarian practices. As he clearly expressed in his memoirs, Cami Bey also subscribe to the critical views that held the sultan responsible for the predicament of the empire.

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[791] Cami Baykurt, *Trablusgarb'tan Sahrâ-yı Kebir'e Doğru*, 127-128.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In this thesis I tried to investigate the representations of two Ottoman officers posted to Libyan provinces whose assignments were related to the contested political situation of the provinces. I tried to argue in this thesis that in their representation of the last Ottoman territories in Africa, they used discursive and visual frameworks of orientalism. In that sense, I thought of this thesis as an exercise on how similar representational frameworks undergirded by political and aesthetic discourses fashioned in European contexts could be appropriated in the late Ottoman Empire.

I think the appropriation of orientalist practices and discourses by these two Ottoman officers for their representing their experiences in the empire's Libyan provinces during the last decade of the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth centuries were indeed complex and for diverse purposes and concerns. A prominent concern in their representations was to suggest their own distinction, as representers of the Ottoman center, from the periphery. The "inherent archaisms and essentialisms" as Ahmet Ersoy wrote, "were recruited within the Ottoman center in order to propagate paternalistic visions of mastery and control over subordinates."[792] I think the authors' Cami Bey and Sadık Bey subscribed to this view of the center's superiority and mastery over the periphery. And they used orientalist practices such as such as representing the landscape as 'empty', the cities as dilapidated and people as 'primitive' to suggest this distinction. In my opinion, the authors' portrayals of Libyan provinces and its inhabitants were also in line with the Ottoman center's

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[792]Ersoy, *Architecture and Late Ottoman Imaginary*, 2015, 25.

approach to European orientalist discourse, which did not, as Makdisi and Ersoy emphasize, aim to fundamentally alter, to carve out ideological space for the Ottoman Empire, because the imperial center implicitly and explicitly confirmed European superiority. According to me, in their representations the authors did not have an issue with the orientalist constructs, they used them as well to represent the periphery and the peripheral subjects. The Libyan provinces were the 'Orient' and the people were definitely 'Orientals', whereas they, as representers of the center were similar to European agents.

The center's distinction from the periphery was, as Deringil and Makdisi argue, conceived and represented in terms of "civilization" and "progress", it was not constructed as categorical and ontological like in some examples of European orientalism and colonialism. The Ottoman modernization project that has taken a colonialist and imperialist inspired outlook and stance in the Libyan provinces premised on closing this "civilizational" gap and unify the different parts of the empire in the same stages of European defined modernization. Subscribing to this view, Sadık Bey portrayed a positive picture of the Ottoman rule in Africa, it was safe and sound with Bedouins being civilized, trade routes secured and for that everyone was grateful for the mighty Sultan. His reinforcement of Ottoman rule in the last remaining territory also had a propagandist aspect that might have intended to boost the imperial prestige of his patron Sultan Abdülhamid by implying that his audience should be proud for their state's reach has extended al the way to "darkest" Africa. However the reception side of imperial propaganda is rather obscure and hard to test.

Compared to Sadık Bey, Cami Bey's portrayal of the Ottoman rule and Ottoman interventions in the province were more ambiguous, as I tried to reflect in parts of the thesis. Rather than reinforcing the Ottoman rule in the provinces, Cami Bey, in effect, emphasized its fragility. The Ottoman rule in Libya did not reverse the decline and bring it back to its former glorious and prosperous state, for him. Because of Ottoman administration's neglect he argued in several parts of the travelogue the provinces remained in their underdeveloped state. For him the Ottoman position was far from being secure, in fact because of the authority gap, the tribesmen could challenge Ottoman rule. The tribesmen were essentially distinct and inferior from the Ottomans for him and this cannot be changed because their inherently 'savage' and corrupt moralities could not be changed, which I related to their relations with the Ottoman provincial administration. I considered the negative portrayal of Ottoman rule by Cami Bey, exiled to Libya because of his affiliations with Young Turk opposition, in the travelogue as a critical commentary on the Hamidian regime. I think what he was trying to achieve with the representation was the opposite of imperial propaganda.

To be sure both of their representations were ideologically politically constructed. As I emphasized throughout the thesis the authors appropriated orientalist constructs and frameworks for complex and diverse purposes. In this sense they did not only appropriate orientalism in their representations but also complicated it. I think the differences in their rendition of landscape, urban space and ethnography of Libya were related to the historical context, the circumstances that shaped the authors' experiences in Libyan provinces as well as the authors' backgrounds. In Cami Bey's representation the difference were constructed in more essentialist terms than Sadık Bey's representation, which emphasized the

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civilizational distinction that could be closed by the state's interventions. Both authors' depictions were related to the historical context. While Sadık Bey represented the Bedouins as receptive to Ottoman rule in the *sanjak* of Benghazi after their resistance to provincial administration had seriously been undermined through armed campaigns, Cami Bey witnessed increasing French encroachment to Waday-Bilma region and could not enlist the support of the tribes, which were his only alternative as military force.

As mentioned throughout the thesis, the absence of military power on the part of Ottoman state to defend its Libyan provinces against European encroachment conditioned the Ottoman rulers to seek local cooperation. An important part of the official missions of the authors involved ensuring the cooperation of locals, which had implications on their representations. For Sadık Bey the Bedouins were already being integrated into the Ottoman political system, while Cami Bey the efforts to ensure the tribesmen's cooperation was in vain and they should be dominated by brute force, which, however the Ottoman rule in Libya did not have.

In the final analysis, the ultimate question that the representations of Sadık el-Müeyyed and Cami Bey about the Ottoman state's colonialist inspired rule in Libya could lead to, as Selim Deringil puts it, is, like all colonialisms, how to establish "power and enforcement of rule over people who don't want you there in the first place."[793] The Ottoman case, in its considerable dependence on local cooperation, could be useful for showing the importance of productive ambiguities that suggest multiple forms of distinction, not for the exclusion of the locals, in this respect.[794]

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[793] Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery', "317.

[794] Behdad, *Belated travelers*, 12.

This was much more pronounced in the Ottoman colonialist and imperialist inspired rule in Libya, in which the locals had considerably more bargaining power, than in the British or French colonialisms.[795] But, nevertheless, for these as well, as Ali Behdad proposes, "The relations of colonial power are too productive to put the colonized into a position of exteriority with respect to their operational mechanism."[796] Colonialist inspired or "borrowed" in Deringil's terms, or not, it is precisely this "productive function" that makes colonial authority and dominance "acceptable."[797]

Many of the social and political crises that we face today especially in the Middle East, which Turkey increasingly becoming a part of, are undergirded by processes of colonialism and imperialism and their attending orientalist discourse. For although the current world order that is increasingly being more connected through diverse media, it is by no means getting more equal. In this context of growing hostility and polarization further agitated by increasing standardization and cultural stereotyping promoted by the mass media, to assume that, imperialism and orientalism were historical processes that our age has, thank God, surpassed would, however consoling, be misleading. When we think of it as a conceptual framework that signifies different forms of 'alterity', not to mention the sectarian conflicts that marked the Middle East these days, it persists in many guises if not efflorescence. Moreover the categories of gender, race, class and ethnicity as well as concepts of culture and identity are equally ideological and historical constructs that are imprinted by power relations by which certain groups gain the upper hand. In its

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[795] Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery', 342.

[796] Behdad, *Belated travelers*, 12.

[797]Ibid.

limited scope this thesis that tried to examine the investment of two late Ottoman

officers who represented the Ottoman imperial center to orientalism, in the hope of

contributing to the quest to dismantle and forego orientalism, borrowing from Partha

Mitter, this "much-maligned monster[798]" by showing that "alterity" was complex and

multi-layered and identities were relational, conjunctural rather than fixed, absolute

and complete. This thesis is of course limited and further research on Ottoman Libya,

as well as on other contexts in from a comparative perspective. The scope of analysis

should be extended both thematically and geographically. The references, tropes and

practices that I emphasized in this thesis are the predominant ones emerging from

Cami Bey and Sadık Bey's representations according to me, other dominant concepts

and uses can emerge in other readings and interpretations. Furthermore, as referred to

in a number of parts of the thesis, Yemen offers a good comparison, for instance. The

imperial center's approach and representation to such provinces in the margins could

also be compared to Balkan provinces also to Anatolia, which increasingly became

"core" of the empire with territorial losses. The comparison could also be extended

to places outside of the empire such as Iran and India, for instance.

As I tried to emphasize in this project photographs, those "complexly textured

artifacts,"[799] which cannot be totally controlled, could be quite useful in further

contextualizing and historicizing Ottoman construction of difference and its relation

to the world historical context. Following Elizabeth Edwards' lead I tried to

emphasize the value of photographs as documenst for historical reconstruction but

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[798] Actually I am indebted to Ahmet Ersoy who appropriated Partha Mitter's term to orientalism and used in the seminar "Distant Exposures: Photography Beyond the West". Partha Mitter, *Much maligned monsters: a history of European reactions to Indian art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[799] Christopher Pinney and Nicolas Peterson ed., "Introduction," *Photography's other histories*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 5.

also and more significantly for their value in the process of deconstruction through the "submerged" possibilities implied in the images. Foregrounding Edwards' category of "submerged" for the photographs in the travelogues, they do not only suggest meanings complementary but also contrary to the text, therefore further complicating the analysis.

In this thesis I had to focus mostly on the aspect of production than circulation and consumption in the process of photographic meaning making, although I believe the meanings of photographs depend equally on circulation and consumption. I think it could have been interesting to pursue the afterlives of the images used in the travelogues. For this reasonI want to conclude byunderlining that the complexity of the meanings of photographs that are open to multiple interpretations are not only related to the process of production. Rather than having closed and fixed meanings, "once unleashed in society," as Poole states, "an image can acquire myriad interpretations or meanings according to the different codes and referents brought to it by its diverse viewers."[800]Ariella Azoulay argues in this sensethat the focus of analysis should extend beyond "the photograph" to "photography" as an event, which, involve processeses of production, circulation and consumption. I think this approach -in the vein of Azoulay, Edwards and Pinney- that takes photography as event and tries to account for multiple processes gathered around the image should also inform photographic research in the Ottoman context.

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[800] Poole, *Vision, Race and Modernity*, 18.

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