

RETHINKING THE YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION:
MANAKI BROTHERS' STILL AND MOVING IMAGES

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RETHINKING THE YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION:
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Rethinking the Young Turk Revolution: Manaki Brothers' Still and Moving Images

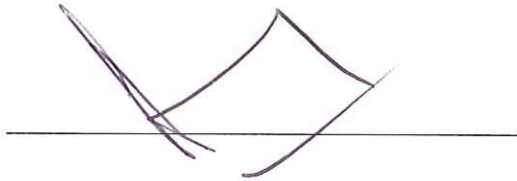
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Thesis Abstract

Saadet Özen, “Rethinking the Young Turk Revolution: Manaki Brothers’
Still and Moving Images”

Yanaki Manaki (1878-1954) and Milton Manaki (1882-1964) are regarded as the pioneers of the Balkan cinema who built a collection composed of 17583 photographs and 2477,2 meters of moving images preserved today at the Cinematheque of Macedonia and the State Archive of the Republic of Macedonia, Department of Bitola. The present thesis focuses on twelve minutes of film produced by Manaki Brothers, depicting the era beginning with the “Young Turk Revolution” or the Restoration of the Constitution in Manastir (nowadays Bitola) in 1908. The photographs taken by Manaki Brothers on the same subject are used as long as they are related to the content of the films. The study is an attempt to evaluate archival films as historical evidence, to consider their intrinsic properties in deconstructing the filmmaking process. At this point, the main goal is to explore the potential of archival films but also their limits as sources of information about the past. The thesis then focuses on content analysis of films as visual descriptions of ceremonies held in Manastir between “1908-1911.” An emphasis is placed on the deconstruction of the “10 July festivals,” national holiday commemorating the Young Turk Revolution from 1909 onwards.

Tez Özeti

Saadet Özen, “Manaki Kardeşlerin Fotoğrafları ve Hareketli Görüntüleriyle 1908 Jöntürk Devrimi’nin Yeniden Değerlendirilmesi Üzerine”

Balkan sinemasının öncüleri olarak kabul edilen Yanaki Manaki (1878-1954) ve Milton Manaki (1882-1964) 17583 fotoğraf ve 2477,2 metre hareketli görüntüden oluşan bir koleksiyona imza atmışlardır. Bu malzeme bugün sırasıyla Makedonya Kinematek ve Makedonya Cumhuriyeti Devlet Arşivleri, Bitola Şubesi’nde korunmaktadır. Tezin ana konusu, Manaki Kardeşlerin çekmiş olduğu, 1908’de Jöntürk devrimiyle, başka bir deyişle Manastır’da (günümüzde Bitola) Meşrutiyetin ilânıyla başlayan dönemi görüntüleyen toplam on iki dakikalık görüntülerdir. Manaki Kardeşlerin aynı kapsamdaki fotoğraflarına, filmlerin içeriğiyle bağlantılı olmak koşuluyla değinilmiştir. Araştırma öncelikle arşiv görüntülerini tarihi belge olarak kullanma, görüntülerin kendilerine has özelliklerine dayanarak filmleri yapı sökümü uğratma ve yeniden inşa etme yönünde bir denemedir. Bu noktada temel olarak, hareketli görüntülerin geçmişe dair bilgi kaynağı olarak potansiyellerinin, bunun yanı sıra sınırlarının araştırılması hedeflenmiştir. Çalışma bunun ardından, Manastır’da 1908 ila 1911 arasında düzenlenen törenlerin görüntülü tasvirleri olarak filmlerin içeriğinin analizine odaklanıyor. Bu bağlamda, 1909’dan itibaren Jöntürk devriminin anısına resmi olarak tesis edilen 10 Temmuz bayramlarının çözümlenmesine ağırlık veriliyor.

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Macedonia is where I found the *Hurriyet* footage, and above all, where I encountered kindness and friendship. In the Cinematheque of Macedonia, Mimi Gjorgoska-Ilievska, the director, Vesna Masloravik, senior film researcher and the Responsible of International Relations, and Igor Stardelov, Head of Film Archives kindly provided me with the *Hurriyet* footage and all available material about the life and work of Manaki Brothers. In the State Archives of the Republic of Macedonia, the Department of Bitola, the archivist Maria Despotoska, just like Vesna, was never tired of my countless questions.

Muammer Ülker is the one who introduced me to the Ottoman world via poems, texts and biographies he thought me how to read. Yücel Demirel helped me to deal with the documents from the Ottoman Archives. Assoc. Prof. Yavuz Selim Karakışla provided me with the unpublished papers of Mehmed Habib Bey, a member of CUP in Manastır. The brilliant cameraman Candan Murat Özcan helped me to apprehend the technical properties of the *Hurriyet* footage. Istvan Toth kindly and patiently edited the films and made them available for the potential readers of this thesis. And Can Dündar is the one who familiarized me with the filmmaking process. I also owe gratitude to my colleagues and friends Burak Onaran, Dilek Şendil, İnci Türkoğlu, Yasemin Baran, Çiğdem Özdemir and Tijen Burultay for their moral support without which this thesis would not come into being.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Cinematheque of Macedonia, founded in 1974 in Skopje, and the State Archives of the Republic of Macedonia, Department of Bitola, preserve important visual data concerning the history of the Balkans from the Ottoman period onwards, particularly the film footage and the photographs taken by The Manaki Brothers (Yanaki Manaki, 1878-1954 and Milton Manaki, 1882-1964) between 1895-1964. At the end of the nineteenth century, first with a photo-camera, then with their movie camera, they began recording various aspects of life in the Balkans: men, women, children, weddings, funerals, uprisings and wars. Their astonishing photographic gaze captured important figures and minute details of the Illinden Uprising (1903), the Balkan Wars, and the two world wars. Milton Manaki kept recording the socialist Yugoslavia; one year before his death, he immortalized the impact of the 1963 Skopje earthquake. Their life is as rich and controversial as their work: they were born as Vlach subjects of Sultan Abdulhamit II in Avdela, now in Greece; they were educated in Romanian schools as Vlachs; they moved to Manastir, now Bitola, in today's Macedonia, where they produced a major part of their work; then they were separated forever when Yanaki went to live in Salonika, Greece where he died, and Milton stayed in Bitola as a Yugoslavian citizen. The collections they left behind are not only related to Macedonians but to Romanians, Greeks, and Ottomans as well.

In Turkey, the Manakis are a recent discovery, and major part of their work remains unknown. Their photography was introduced to the Turkish audience in 1997 by the republication of an album they produced around 1910 presenting photos of *Hürriyet* as they called it, or the Restoration of the Constitution in the Ottoman Empire in 1908.¹ Then in 1990 and 1995, in Istanbul “Macedonian Film Days” and in “İpekyolu Film Festivali” held in Bursa in 2006, with the collaboration of the Cinematheque of Macedonia, their footage of Sultan Mehmed V Reşat’s visit to Salonika and Manastır (1911) was screened. This brought about new discussions in Turkish cinema historiography focused on the “first Turkish film” ever made. However, the Sultan Reşat footage was not their earliest film; according to their traditional biography², around 1905, they filmed their grandmother Despina, and from 1908 onwards, as described in the catalogue of the Cinematheque of Macedonia, the “Young Turk Revolution” or *Hürriyet*.

The *Hürriyet* footage covers six titles: *Manifestations on the Occasion of Young Turks’ Revolution*, *Parade on the Occasion of Hürriyet*, *Turks Having Speech on Hürriyet*, *Processions (with Greek inscriptions)*, *Processions on the Occasion of Hürriyet*, *Military Orchestra Parade*³. At the first sight, they give the impression of introducing the “truth” of this very moment to us without any fabrication: the men in front of the camera seem not to be aware of being filmed, they do not “act”, but rather their “acts” are recorded by the camera operator. The man behind the camera seems to

¹ Roni Margulies (ed.), *Manastır’da İlân-ı Hürriyet 1908-1909* (İstanbul : Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1997).

² For their biography see Chapter III.

³ The titles of the films are provided by the Cinematheque of Macedonia. See the titles in English on : http://maccinema.com/e_filmovi.asp

take action only when an important event occurs and tries to capture the highlights: Notables giving speeches, a parade on the main street of Bitola (Shirok Sokak), the presence of the army and the representatives of different communities as well. It looks like the man behind the camera did not try to intervene in the natural course of the ceremony, but rather to observe and record it, and thus provided the historian of the present day with a material which can answer several current questions about this crucial political moment.

I first saw the footage in question in 2006 during a research trip to Skopje. The mission was to find and categorize images produced in the Ottoman period. Vesna Maslovarik from the Cinematheque of Macedonia introduced me to the world of the Manaki Brothers not only via the footage she allowed me to see, but also via a very impressive knowledge accumulated through years that she so kindly shared with me. In addition to the moving images collection at the Cinematheque, she pointed out the collection of photographs taken by the Manaki Brothers and preserved in the State Archives of the Republic of Macedonia, Department of Bitola, where I would find and copy a remarkable photo collection concerning the same historical event – the multiple aspects of *Hürriyet* in Bitola. I was aware of their 1910 album republished in Turkey in 1997, but the collection in Bitola with its additional material could give way to a better understanding of the visual archival material on *Hürriyet*.

In fact, the motivation to write my thesis about these visual archival materials came later, with the ensuing discussions rekindled in 2008 on the relation between reality and documentaries and the responsibilities of a documentary filmmaker. The starting point of these debates was a documentary film on Atatürk, directed by Can

Dündar, who tried to portray the inner world of Atatürk more than his political or military achievements. Although he claimed to base his film on meticulous research conducted both in Turkey and foreign archives and a rich corpus of documents, the film became a subject of debate. For many of his critics, it was not a documentary, but the director's film, and for them, documentaries should be a mere assemblage of documents and thus, the real facts. Strictly speaking, it was an ideological debate more than a discussion on the ontological nature of documentaries, thereby doomed to come to a dead end.

However, these discussions motivated me to interrogate the very ontological nature of film as a whole, partly because I was personally involved in the making of this film as a researcher and observed the challenges in the creation of a consistent visual narrative. Then, my interest focused on the Manaki Brothers on the basis of an interpretation on their *Hürriyet* photographs. In an overview of the process leading to the Restoration of the Constitution in 1908, it is claimed, “There is little visual material about the enthusiasm of 23 July and the aftermath in various parts of Macedonia – or rather, we have not looked for visual materials. Therefore, an album of Manakis Brothers who photographed the revolutionary days in Manastır is an extremely important visual source”⁴ and the aforementioned album titled *Yanakıs and Milton Manakis, Manastır'da İlan-ı Hürriyet, 1908-1909* is recommended for “those who want to see the revolutionary enthusiasm.”⁵

⁴ Aykut Kansu, “1908 Devrimi Üzerine Birkaç Söz” in Osman Köker (ed.), *Yadigâr-ı Hürriyet, Orlando Calumeno Koleksiyonu'ndan Meşrutiyet Kartpostalları ve Madalyaları* (İstanbul: Birzamanlar Yayıncılık, 2008), pp. 10-37.

⁵ Ibid.

This assertion stimulated an inquiry about the potential and the limits of the visual data, given that I was familiar with the material and already noticed some problems in the dating and identification. It is impossible to deny the impact of visual material as a magic wand bringing the past to the present, and making the past the present. Moreover, the films (fiction films, as well as actual footage) or photographs shape our vision of the past. It is not quite possible to imagine the 1917 October Revolution in Russia without Sergei Eisenstein's *Ten Days That Shook the World* (1927). Vietnam will always be remembered through the photography of an army officer executing a young boy (Eddie Adams, 1968). The Manakis' collection contributed to the visual depiction of *Hürriyet* and help us to similarly visualize it.

However some inconsistencies in the images, some of the content conflicting with written material raised questions about this first impression. Where written evidence could not put an "end" to a question about the past, could the visual data, supposedly allowing us to *see* and *witness* the old facts, reconstruct one day in the past? Are they more informative than any other kind of document, or is a special way of reading necessary for their interpretation? Namely, can the Manakis' still and moving images tell us the story of the new era starting with the Young Turk Revolution in 10 July 1908 / 23 July 1908, and the enthusiasm of the public?

As I was more familiar with films, I preferred focusing on the *Hürriyet* footage and chose to use the Manaki Brothers' photographs as long as they were related to the content of the films. The first step was to watch the films and obtain copies. In this respect, the only way was to go to Macedonia, to the Cinematheque. The Manaki Brothers' films are considered as national heritage by Macedonia, thus, foreigners are

allowed to have short copies, namely 2 minutes of reel. Upon conducting a research study both in the film archives and in the libraries of Skopje, I had to go back to Bitola for a deeper research on the photographic collection. Increasingly, I realized that the *Hürriyet* footage is connected with another film shot by the Manaki Brothers, which I had to include in the materials of my study that is, *Sultan Mehmed V Reşad Visiting Bitola*.

During this research, I kept remembering the words of Christopher H. Roads, the Deputy Director and Keeper of the Department of Records in British Imperial War Museum who, in 1965, observed, “Film, or cine-film if you prefer, is an awkward, inconvenient, expensive, vulnerable and inaccessible medium.”⁶ The main challenge was to deal with an unconventional material, given that in Turkish historiography examples of such studies proved to be not so numerous. It required studying previously proposed methods for the use of moving images as historical evidence. Content analysis, on the other hand, was related to other domains, such as performance studies and revolutionary practices, considering that the films depict *Hürriyet* ceremonies and festivals held in Manastır from 1908 onwards. As a consequence, my study is an attempt to read moving images as historical evidence without any expectations of perfection.

The present thesis therefore evolves around two major questions: How can we use films as historical evidence in respect to their intrinsic properties and production processes? What can the *Hürriyet* footage tell us about the new era and its ceremonies outside of the imperial capital? Can it provide us any information hidden or distorted by

⁶ Christopher H. Roads, “Film as historical evidence”, *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 3:4, (Oxfordshire, 1965) pp. 183-191.

written material? Through the study, I preferred to use the term *Hürriyet* to cover both the uprising and the following era, as I believe it was a generic term for the Manaki Brothers. The second chapter of the thesis covers an overview of literature on the Restoration of the Constitution in 1908 with an emphasis on works using or presenting visual data. The following chapter will deal with the film–history connection, focusing on the use of this material by historians via various methods. The fourth chapter will be an attempt to approach the Manakis as photographers and cameramen in the Ottoman Empire, but also through their connections with different components of the Ottoman world, their national and political affiliations, and their possible role in the imagery of *Hürriyet*. The fifth chapter is dedicated to the reading of films as iconotexts in comparison with the general imagery of *Hürriyet* and written material on *Hürriyet* ceremonies concentrating on the July 10 festivals. Both the technical properties and the content will be analyzed in order to deconstruct the visual language of the materials under study, and to look for answers to the initial questions put forward.

The thesis herein aims to raise more questions than giving answers on *Hürriyet*. The huge work of the Manakis (17583 photographs and 2477,2 meters of film) is capable of offering new material, and therefore enriching or challenging the conclusions of this study. On the other hand, the Manakis' official and personal papers preserved in Macedonia Archives remain mostly unanalyzed. Further research both on written and visual sources will hopefully enhance our vision on the past and pave the way to new studies on new subjects that the Manakis' work can offer.

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF HISTORY OF *HÜRRİYET* AND AN OVERVIEW OF ICONOGRAPHIC STUDIES ON THE SUBJECT

Hürriyet (literal meaning in Turkish is “freedom”) is a motto and a symbolic appellation of the restoration of the Constitution in the Ottoman Empire in 1908, and it is also the context during which the Manaki Brothers produced their photographs and films in question, assuming that the shots are from 1908 as indicated by the Cinematheque of Macedonia⁷ and the catalogues of the Archives of Bitola. Hence, an overview of this crucial political experience is indispensable for a better understanding and “reading” of those photographs and films as iconotexts, since they are nothing but production of men and their audience who experienced and witnessed *Hürriyet*, and, who lived, observed and acted within this frame.

A Brief History of *Hürriyet*

Despite the risk of over-simplifying the mechanism which led to *Hürriyet*, an attempt to summarize this process should begin with the first proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution in 1876. Two years later, in 1878, it was suspended by Sultan Abdulhamit II, and was reintroduced in 1908 under the same ruler. The autocratic, modernist and long reign of Abdulhamit II (33 years) produced various opposition groups, among them *İttihad-ı Osmani* (Committee of Ottoman Union) emerging in 1889 in the imperial medical school. Some of its members escaped to Europe due to the oppression of Abdulhamit’s reign. Some of them soon established a group whose name would boldly

⁷ http://maccinema.com/e_hronologija_r.asp

mark the future of the Empire: *İttihat ve Terakki* (Committee of Union and Progress, hereinafter CUP). Theoretical disagreements would pave the way to a division in their congress in 1902, and two new committees would be born consequently: *Terakki ve İttihat* (Progress and Union) and *Teşebbüs-ü Şahsî ve Adem-i Merkeziyet Cemiyeti* (Society of Personal Initiative and Administrative Decentralization). Meanwhile in the Empire proper several opposition groups blossomed. Among them, *Osmanlı Hürriyet Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Liberty Society) founded in 1906 in Salonika under the leadership of Talat Bey (1874-1921; future Talat Pasha and *sadrazam* in 1917-1918) would merge with *Terakki ve İttihat* and adopt the same name in 1907. However, the year 1908 would witness the members of the Committee, the officers of the Ottoman Third Army, assassinate Marshal Şemsi Pasha (by Atıf Bey), and eventually begin an uprising against Abdulhamit II and take to the mountains (particularly Enver Bey and Niyazi Bey, the future heroes of *Hürriyet*). The first phase of this struggle would be punctuated with the Restoration of the Constitution in Manastır by the rebels, on 23 July 1908, which would be communicated to the Palace by telegraph. The following day, Sultan Abdulhamit II would officially announce the Restoration of the Constitution in Istanbul newspapers. The sultan recalled the Parliament, but after nine months into the new parliamentary term, an armed insurrection broke out in the capital in the name of the restoration of sharia law - *şeriat*. The CUP reacted decisively, organizing an “Action Army” composed of regular forces reinforced by volunteer units, led by Niyazi Bey. On April 24, the Action Army occupied the city. On April 27 the parliament deposed Sultan Abdülhamit, who was succeeded by his younger brother Reşad, who ascended the throne as Mehmed V Reşad.⁸ Not only the evolution of the Committee and the uprising of July 10, but also

⁸ This complicated and multifaceted –both culturally and politically- process and its actors have been

the international political motivations, or connections behind it, and the level of organization of the whole process by the Committee are still subject to debate. The discussions focus on two major questions: The role of the Macedonian problem crystallized through the Reval Meeting held in 1908; and the leading status of the Committee in the organization of the military rebellion.⁹ The Reval Meeting anticipating the formation of an autonomous administration in the Ottoman Macedonia (Salonika, Kosovo and Macedonia) under the control of foreign rule is interpreted in certain publications as the trigger of the uprising, an element which precipitated the conflict and forced the Committee to take action. The other discussion that followed concentrated on the question of the power the Committee held, whether it had been established enough to organize an uprising including the armed insurrection by Enver Bey and Niyazi Bey, or rather, whether those two officers of the Third Army had used their own initiative.¹⁰ Relatively recent publications discussing the role of “peoples” as the actors of the

studied by several researchers. For a résumé of the uprising process in recent publications with different points of view see Erik Jan Zürcher, “*İlan-ı Hürriyetin Tarihyazımı: Geniş Bir Fikir Birliği, Biraz İhtilaf ve Kaçırılan Fırsat,*” in Mehmet Ö. Alkan (ed.), *Tarık Zafer Tunaya Anısına Yadigâr-ı Meşrutiyet*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), pp. 259-272; Nevzat Artuç, “II. Meşrutiyetin İlanı”, *Doğu Batı*, no.45, (Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2008), p. 65-82; also Suavi Aydın and Ömer Türkoğlu, “*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti Programının ve Eyleminin Dönüşümü: 1908 Öncesi ve Sonrası.*” in Feridun Ergut (ed.) *II. Meşrutiyet’i Yeniden Düşünmek*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009), pp. 260-285; Veli Denizhan Kalkan, “*Hürriyet Giden Yolun Kısa Tarihi.*” In Halil Akkurt and Akif Pamuk (eds.), *Yüzcüncü Yılında II. Meşrutiyet*, (İstanbul: Yeni İnsan Yayınevi, 2008) pp. 11-74. About different names adopted by the Committee before 1908 more sources should be consulted; among others see: Zürcher, p. 264, n. 8; Mehmet Hacısalihoğlu, *Jöntürkler ve Makedonya Sorunu*, trans. by İhsan Catay, (İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2008), p. 145. This publication includes also a larger evaluation of the presence and the impact of the Committee in the Balkans, based on documents in Balkans languages.

⁹ For an overview of historiographical approaches to the *İlan-ı Hürriyet* see: Zürcher., pp. 267-270.

¹⁰ Zürcher, pp. 267-268.

uprising¹¹ and those on the impact of the Iranian (1906) and Russian (1905) revolutions¹² added new points of view on issues not adequately elaborated until now.

The Use of Visual Data in the Study of *Hürriyet*

2008, as the centennial of the proclamation of *Hürriyet*, stimulated some institutions to remember and some researchers to rethink this movement around both on the abovementioned questions and others related to various contexts such as literature, womens studies, nationalism or the relations of CUP with different components of the Ottoman Empire.¹³ For the occasion, universities held conferences on the subject and major academic reviews devoted special issues to the deconstruction of this process. Within this framework, films, did not appear on the agenda. As a matter of fact, both in old and new publications, visual data are seldom used as evidence or taken as a subject matter. As exceptions to this old standing rule, we should note two articles on films, and two studies on cartoons. The first article authored by Mustafa Özen observed the role of visual representations and postcards as a propaganda weapon.¹⁴ The article's main contribution was to point out the early films commissioned by Sultan Abdulhamit II and

¹¹ Aykut Kansu, *The Revolution of 1908 in Turkey*, (Brill, 1997); Aykut Kansu, "1908 Devrimi Üzerine Birkaç Söz" in Osman Köker (ed.), *Yadigâr-ı Hürriyet, Orlando Calumeno Koleksiyonu'ndan Meşrutiyet Kartpostalları ve Madalyaları*, (İstanbul: Birzamanlar Yayıncılık, 2008), pp. 10-37.

¹² Nader Sohrabi, *Global Waves, Local Actors: What the Young Turks Knew about Other Revolutions and Why It Mattered*, (Society for Comparative Study of Society and History, 2002); Renée Worringer, "Sick Man of Europe" or "Japan of the Near East"?: Constructing Ottoman Modernity in the Hamidian and Young Turk Eras", *International Journal Middle East Studies*, 36, (2004), pp. 207-230.

¹³ For an evaluation of academic activities organized and a list of of papers presented and articles published see: Serhat Aslaner, "100 Yıl Sonra II. Meşrutiyet", *Divan, Disiplinlerarası Çalışmalar Dergisi* 25 (İstanbul: Bilim ve Sanat Vakfı, 2008), pp. 175-214.

the use of postcards and photographs in the visual making of the “Constitutional Revolution”. Furthermore, he referred to the films shot by the Manakis in the same period, albeit without content analysis. Ali Özuyar, on the other hand, in his article about the consequences of *Hürriyet* on cinema, regarded the film as an important tool for modernization.¹⁵ His study is a review of Ottoman cinema from 1895 to 1908 based mostly on archival documents, emphasizing the prohibitions imposed by Sultan Abdulhamit II on filmmakers and cameramen. His main argument is that *Hürriyet* brought about the emancipation of filmmaking and cinema-going.

Palmira Brummett’s main field of study, in *Image & Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908-1911*¹⁶, is the Ottoman satiric press in which cartoons are used for an understanding of the main concerns of the publishers and the audience. The period following the proclamation of *Hürriyet*, thereby the abolition of Hamidian censure, witnessed a “press boom”, with at least 300 new periodicals added to pre-*Hürriyet* press in the first year of the revolution.¹⁷ Brummett’s study focusing on cartoons in 68 periodicals,¹⁸ offers a different way of reading this period through perceptions and changes experienced in everyday life and popular jokes reflecting political subtleties.¹⁹ The themes exposed to Brummett by the cartoons are not exactly

¹⁵ Ali Özuyar, « II. Meşrutiyet’in Modernleşmede Önemli Bir Araç Olan Sinema Üzerindeki Etkileri ». In *100. Yılında II. Meşrutiyet* (coll.) (İstanbul : Marmara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2009), pp. 447-455.

¹⁶ Palmira Brummett, *Image & Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908-1911*, (Albany, 2000).

¹⁷ For different numbers according to different researches see: Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Hürriyet”i Beklerken, İkinci Meşrutiyet Basımı*, (İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), pp.7-8.

¹⁸ Brummett, p. 39.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

the same as those of the mainstream historiographical debates. She rather saw in them the fear of European imperialism occupying the Ottomans' mind, the tension between the new and the old, the revolutionary enthusiasm embodied in the far away French Revolution, the sense of humiliation brought by the failure of the Iranian revolution, and the promises of *Hürriyet* along with an obedience to the one-man rule and European imperialism.²⁰ In order to evaluate the *Hürriyet* symbolism with its links to the French Revolution, Günhan Börekçi, too, worked on the satiric press. In his unpublished Masters thesis, *The Ottomans and the French Revolution: Popular Images of "Liberty-Equality-Fraternity" in the Late Ottoman Iconography, 1908-1912*²¹ he provides an overview of the relations between the French Revolution and Young Turks, and evaluates the Revolution's impact on the Young Turks' thought. He examines the different channels carrying the watchwords of the French Revolution into the Young Turks' rhetoric, with an emphasis on literature including translation activities. On this basis, he evaluates the visual language of *Hürriyet* on cartoons, that is, the typical examples of liberty-equality-fraternity images in the Ottoman iconographic space of 1908-1912. The analysis of the new meanings the imported images had been invested with raises questions, especially about the feminine figure, as he promptly identifies it as the "Ottoman Marianne". On the other hand, he discovers the common discourse emerging from a number of themes and symbols, in other words, the components of a proper visual language, this being the main contribution of the study. Both Brummett's

²⁰ Ibid., p. 51.

²¹ Günhan Börekçi, *The Ottoman and the French Revolution: Popular Images of "Liberty-Equality-Fraternity" in the late Ottoman iconography, 1908-1912* (unpublished master's thesis, University of Boğaziçi, 1999).

and Börekçi's works are remarkable examples of the rich contribution with which visual data could provide history-writing.

Illustrated Publications

There are also a few illustrated books on *Hürriyet*, and they are related to the present thesis as they offer a general visual panorama of *Hürriyet*. Furthermore, they indicate how *Hürriyet* photographs taken by the Manakis had been used in different media (namely in postcards and newspapers). The first one is an album by the Manakis (around 1910?), reprinted in 1997, which is a source of pictures taken by them. A number of others use visual data as mere illustration, yet provide rich visual documents (postcards, photographs, souvenirs...) which introduce us to the general imagery of *Hürriyet*.

Among these books, a special attention is required by *Didâr-ı Hürriyet, Kartpostallarla İkinci Meşrutiyet (1908-1913)* by Sacit Kutlu, *Yadigâr-ı Hürriyet, Orlando Calumeno Koleksiyonu'ndan Meşrutiyet Kartpostalları ve Madalyaları*, edited by Osman Köker, *İkinci Meşrutiyet'in İlanının 100üncü Yılı / 100th Anniversary of the Restoration of the Constitution*, edited by Bahattin Öztuncay, and *II. Meşrutiyet'in İlk Yılı* (2008).²²

Let us begin with *Manastır'da İlân-ı Hürriyet* which first appeared in 1997 as a reproduction of an old album containing 68 photographs and a city map of Manastır.

Edited by Roni Margulies and introduced with a preface by Zafer Toprak, the album is

²² Margulies; Sacit Kutlu, *Didâr-ı Hürriyet, Kartpostallarla İkinci Meşrutiyet (1908-1913)* (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2008) (first edition in 2004); Osman Köker (ed.), *Yadigâr-ı Hürriyet, Orlando Calumeno Koleksiyonu'ndan Meşrutiyet Kartpostalları ve Madalyaları* (İstanbul: Birzamanlar Yayıncılık, 2008); Bahattin Öztuncay, *İkinci Meşrutiyet'in İlanının 100üncü Yılı / 100th Anniversary of the Restoration of the Constitution*, Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, 2008; Tamer Erdoğan (ed.), *II. Meşrutiyet'in İlk Yılı, 23 Temmuz 1908-23 Temmuz 1909*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2008).

said to be found by Bahattin Öztuncay with not much information on how and where²³ then offered to Roni Margulies, a collector particularly interested in the *Hürriyet* visuals. The first page reveals that the album had been composed by the Manakis and presented to a certain person by the name of Süreyya, designated as the son of a Kamil Paşa. The note does not provide us with further information about a possible connection between Süreyya and the Manakis. Neither does it tell us whether the album was commissioned by Süreyya himself, or whether the Manakis prepared it as part of a series, with Süreyya then buying it by chance. Each photograph in the album is accompanied by a caption, presenting the personages and the dates of shots. According to those captions, 16 of them were taken on the very day of the Proclamation of *Hürriyet*, i.e. 10 July 1324 (23 July 1908). The others are footage of events related to *Hürriyet* in the course of 1908-1909: rebel band leaders in 1908; the members of CUP in Manastır; the 1909 Albanian congress; the Army of Deliverance on the way to Istanbul to suppress the counterrevolution of 1909, which ended with the dethronement of Sultan Abdulhamit II; the ceremonies held in Manastır on the occasion of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad's accession to the throne ... The uniqueness of these photographs inspired Roni Margulies, who, in the preface admitted "...despite my special interest in the period, I only had a vague feeling, but did not really know, about the extent of popular enthusiasm for the 'Proclamation of Freedom' in 1908, as documented in this album."²⁴ This album evidently requires a special attention since it is produced by the Manakis themselves,

²³ Margulies., p.5.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 7.

thus being an important source for understanding their thoughts and perceptions about *Hürriyet*.²⁵

With the *Didâr-ı Hürriyet, Kartpostallarla İkinci Meşrutiyet (1908-1913)*, four hundred postcards from the collection of Sacit Kutlu were made public. Kutlu's contribution to the "visual" understanding of the *Hürriyet* era is undeniable with the wide range of images his work presented. In the preface, he appreciates the "visual wealth" these postcards offer and expresses his hope for their contribution to the retrospective conjuring up of events at the time of *Hürriyet*, however he makes no analysis as to their meaning. The text focuses on the factual account of the period between the reign of Abdulhamit II and 1913, the crucial and symbolic date of the assassination of the grand vizier Mahmud Şevket Pasha (1856-1913). No footnotes clarify the sources the writer referred to, but the text is linked to and illustrated with the postcards which, both in this publication and in others, are nothing but raw material to work on, not analyzed or "read" properly. The publication introduces at least four pictures taken by Manakis used by postcard publishers: Niyazi Bey of Resen²⁶, Albanian band Tosca in Manastır²⁷, Niyazi Bey with his deer²⁸.

Yadigâr-ı Hürriyet, Orlando Carlo Calumeno Koleksiyonu'ndan Meşrutiyet Kartpostalları ve Madalyaları, is another album we should take into consideration.

Edited by Osman Köker, and introduced with a preface by Aykut Kansu, the book has

²⁵ To be discussed in Chapter IV, under the title "Manaki Brothers and the *Hürriyet*".

²⁶ Kutlu, p. 110, compared to: Margulies, "The heroes of Freedom".

²⁷ Kutlu, p. 117, compared to: Bitola, 2.580.7.24/27.

²⁸ Kutlu, p. 145, compared to: Bitola, 2.588.7.46/53.

been published as part of the celebration of the centennial of *Hürriyet. Yâdigâr-ı Hürriyet* is an invaluable source bringing to light the private collection of postcards and medals of Orlando Calumeno. As the owner of the publishing house which made this rare collection available to public, Osman Köker emphasizes that *Hürriyet* is above all “the first and the last political movement undertaken by different elements of the Ottoman state without hiding their national identities.”²⁹ The preface is followed by an overview of *Hürriyet* by Aykut Kansu, who considers the visual data almost an unquestionable evidence for his theory on *Hürriyet: A revolution which reached its culmination point through uprisings in various regions of the Empire and related to the French (1789), Russian (1905) and Iranian (1906) revolutions in thought.*³⁰ In his short bibliography at the end, he recommends the Manaki Brothers’ *Hürriyet* album³¹ to “those who want to see the revolutionary enthusiasm,”³² without any further explanation. The collection presented in *Yâdigâr-ı Hürriyet* is at least surprising and impressive with the number of postcards and the continuity of the story they propose: 98 pictures in total from the early days of *Hürriyet* until the anti-revolution of 1909 and Sultan Mehmed V Reşat’s accession to the throne following the first parliamentary elections. Pictures show crowds, sultans, heroes of *Hürriyet*, i.e. Enver Bey and Niyazi Bey, cities such as Istanbul, Bitola or lesser Anatolian towns like Merzifon. The collection presents at least three pictures taken by the Manakis, which were also present

²⁹ Köker (ed.), p.7.

³⁰ Köker, pp. 13-14. For a larger discussion of this theory see: Aykut Kansu, *The Revolution of 1908*. For a critical approach to some data used in this publication see: Zürcher, p. 265.

³¹ Margulies.

³² Köker, p. 35.

in the Sacit Kutlu collection: “Niazim Bey” (*sic*) with his deer and his band;³³ and “the Albanian band Tosca in Manastır”.³⁴ The editors herein preferred to give the names of the postcard publishers which show that the photographs had been used by editors based in different towns such as Manastır and Salonika.

Another publication in honor of the centennial of *Hürriyet* is *İkinci Meşrutiyet'in İlanının 100üncü Yılı / 100th Anniversary of the Restoration of the Constitution*, edited by Bahattin Öztuncay (2008)³⁵. The book contains six articles and a catalogue of postcards, books, posters and souvenirs. Here again, the articles and the visual data are independent from each other, except for one reference to two postcards in the article entitled “Unknown ‘Freedom Tales of Ottoman Greeks’ ” by H. Şükrü Ilıcak portraying the Greeks of Izmir who celebrate *Hürriyet* and Enver Bey as its hero. The link of this album to our main concern is a photograph from the Ömer Koç collection recorded as taken by the Manakis, in 1908, which represents Albanian band members in the Macedonian mountains.³⁶

Yapı Kredi Yayınları, the publisher of the photo-album of the Manaki Brothers in 1997, celebrated the centennial of *Hürriyet* with an illustrated chronology of the first year following the restoration of the Ottoman Constitution. In consequence, texts and illustrative material cover a larger scope than the period of the uprising: Scenes from everyday life (men with roller-skates in Skating Palace, fire in Çırçır neighborhood, advertisements in newspapers etc.), as well as the portraits of the notables and finally,

³³ Köker, p. 41 compared to: Bitola, 2.588.7.46/53.

³⁴ Köker, p. 43 compared to: Bitola, 2.580.7.24/27.

³⁵ Öztuncay, *İkinci Meşrutiyet'in İlanının 100üncü Yılı*.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 70.

crowds calling for the dethronement of Sultan Abdulhamit II. In all fairness, without underestimating the value of the material as a whole with the continuous story it offers, the part devoted to the very moment of the Restoration of the Constitution is surprisingly poor and non-exceptional: Only a few additions to the visuals presented in the abovementioned publications, as in this one, the editors preferred to refer to the Manakis' photo-album for Manastir.³⁷ Nevertheless, the photograph of a group of actors performing the play *Vatan* (Homeland) in Manastir by the national poet Namık Kemal, on 20 June 1908, i.e. before *Hürriyet*³⁸ is worth mentioning. The group is presented as “theater enthusiasts” with the portraits of Namık Kemal and Midhat Pasha in the background, two well-known and symbolic figures of the proclamation of the Constitution in 1876. Why they were qualified as “enthusiasts” (*hevesliler*) is not clear. The editors did not clarify whether that was the name of the theater company (like *Heveskerân* in İstanbul, literally meaning “the enthusiasts”, a well-known revolutionary theatre company³⁹) or whether this was a description of amateur theater actors. The identification of the figures could give more clues about the different affiliations of the group beyond their artistic interests, and by chance, we have another photograph which could help us in this task: The photograph of the “Provincial Central Committee of the Committee of Union of Progress” taken by the Manaki Brothers.⁴⁰ Two members of the Committee are present among the “amateurs of theater”: Fahri Bey, the provincial

³⁷ Erdoğan (ed.), pp. 2, 30-31.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 6-7.

³⁹ Bilge Seçkin, “1908 Devrimi’nde Politik Tiyatro ve Besa Oyunu”, *İ.Ü. Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 38 (İstanbul: March 2008), pp. 265-274.

⁴⁰ Margulies, photograph with the caption “Provincial Central Committee of the Manastir Committee of Union and Progress”.

translator and Yusuf Ziya Fehmi, first lieutenant in the artillery. Their confident appearance, and familiarity with photography can tell more than expected: They are not in a studio but apparently invited the photographer to their place; the latter probably used magnesium for the eclaration, which means a whole preparation process both for the actors and the photograph. Considering the fact that the Manakis had already photographed Fahri Bey⁴¹ as a member of the CUP, this familiarity makes one wonder if this picture was indeed taken by them. Another contribution of this album to the present thesis is another series of visuals concerning the celebrations of the first year of *Hürriyet*.⁴² Few in number, but significant in their content: Crowds in Istanbul celebrating the first anniversary (23 July 1909) of the Restoration of the Constitution.

In these publications, it is possible to identify only a few photographs taken by the Manakis, but most probably, many other scenes of *Hürriyet* in Bitola presented in these albums were also pictured by the Brothers as the similarities with the previous photographs suggest.⁴³ The common point of these illustrated books is the fact that they offer important visual material without any critical interpretation of their intrinsic technical properties and contents. The visual data are considered as mere illustrations or nostalgic remembrance. Using them as historical evidence would mean deconstructing their content and allowing them to speak through their production network: Do we have any information about their publishers? Did they have special affiliations with a defined social category or a political group? Who took the pictures? Can we find out whether

⁴¹ Margulies, photographs with captions « Provincial Central Committee of the Committee of Union and Progress » and « 10 October 1323, a.h., Provincial Central Committee of the Committee of Union and Progress ».

⁴² Erdoğan., pp. 379-389.

⁴³ For instance Kutlu, p. 114, or Köker p. 42, 44.

they were retouched or not? How were the postcards commercialized? A more detailed research is required to use those pictures as independent, proper documents from the past equal to the written material. In this manner, visual materials in these publications are secondary, illustrative, complimentary, and their function is limited raising an emotion in compliance with the written narrative.

CHAPTER III

MOVING IMAGES AND HISTORY

Iconography and Iconology: Methodology for Image Studies

In retrospect, both cinema and history, since the invention of the first devices capturing moving images, seem to have never stopped feeding each other. The taking of all kinds of images (not only cinema, but also photography, painting, portraits on coins etc.) into consideration as historical evidence is very recent and still rare compared to the use of conventional evidence, i.e. written sources⁴⁴. In the second half of the twentieth century, the definition of historians' material slowly but consistently has been extended in order to embrace excluded records accumulated throughout various and less conventional cultural patterns, including oral and visual sources, as well as the film archives.

However, the skepticism of the historians should not allow us to forget that the fact that the consideration of the images as readable documents is a long-standing approach both in Western and in Eastern worlds. Images of all kinds have always been used as carrier of religious or cultural codes. The terms "iconography" and "iconology," which express the work of description, identification and interpretation of images in today's art history, semiotics, and history or in media studies, have indeed been in use for a long time – the former since the nineteenth, and the latter as of the sixteenth century.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ About the evolution of image studies see Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing, The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2001), p. 9-19.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

Nevertheless, these terms were codified only in 1939 with the publication of an article by Panofsky: “Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance”, which was a résumé of the thought of the Warburg School, of which Panofsky was a member.⁴⁶ The School was named after Aby Warburg (1866-1929), eminent figure in the fields of archeology and art history, but it adopted an interdisciplinary approach embracing patterns of visual culture (Boticelli’s paintings or Roman coins, for instance) as well as the ethnological aspects of rites and ceremonies of the Hopi Indians in the US. As the creator of a huge work which synthesized philology, style analysis and iconography, and as the founder of *Warburg Bibliothek*, he inspired and encouraged Panofsky’s work. To be more explicit, “his ideal, then, was to bring together separate disciplines to form a comprehensive science of culture. He first gave this method, which would be based on iconographic study, the name of iconology, in an essay of 1912.”⁴⁷ Without such an ideal, film and history would not come in contact with one another.

Panofsky, in his article of 1939, offered basic principles and a methodology for iconography and iconology in three levels corresponding to the three levels of meaning or “subject matter” of the image: The first level of the “reading” (primary or natural subject matter) would consist of the identification of pure *forms*, “that is: certain configurations of line and colour,... as representations of natural objects such as human beings, animals, plants, houses, tools and so forth; by identifying their mutual relations

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 34; Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology : Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*, (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 1939).

⁴⁷ Udo Kultermann, *The History of Art History*, (Connecticut: Abaris Books, 1993) pp. 211-213. For a biography and selected bibliography on Warburg see among others: E.H. Gombrich, *An Intellectual Biography*, (London: Phaidon, 1986); Chris Murray, *Key Writers on Art: The Twentieth Century*, (London: Routledge, 2003).

as event, and by perceiving such expressional qualities as the mournful character of a pose or gesture, or the homelike and peaceful atmosphere of an interior.”⁴⁸ In the following, the secondary or conventional subject matter would consist of the realization of “a male figure with a knife represents St. Bartholomew, that a female figure with a peach in her hand is a personification of Veracity, that a group of figures seated at a dinner table in a certain arrangement and in certain poses represents the Last Supper...”⁴⁹ On the third level, which would correspond to an iconological interpretation, the reader of the image should clarify the “intrinsic meaning or content” which is “apprehended by ascertaining those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion – unconsciously qualified by one personality and condensed into one work.”⁵⁰ Those assertions would be challenged later (by Gombrich among others)⁵¹ and new approaches would be proposed including psychoanalytic, structuralist and post-structuralist readings of images.⁵²

The iconography codified as a proper discipline could provide various disciplines, such as anthropology, psychology or history, with a method and inspiration to decode images and find in them a new material ready to use. It could also reinforce the basis for interdisciplinary approaches.

⁴⁸ Panofsky, p. 5.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 6.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 8.

⁵¹ Ernest Gombrich, “Aims and Limits of Iconology”, In *Symbolic Images, Gombrich on the Renaissance* – Volume 2, (London: Phaidon Press, 1994).

⁵² Burke, pp. 169-177. For an introduction to structuralism and post-structuralism: John Lechte, *Fifty Key Contemporary Thinkers, From structuralism to postmodernity*, (London: Routledge, 1994); Terence Hawkes, Terence, *Structuralism and Semiotics*, (London: Routledge, 2003.); Catherine Belsey, *Post-Structuralism: A Very Short Introduction*, (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Multifaceted Relations Between Film and History

Even though history was not completely blind to images before the twentieth century, the codification in the manner of configuration of the image studies did not mean that historians showed great interest in the visual sources. Not only in religion or art, but also in history, the use of images goes back further than Panofsky's work. As early as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, old coins or sculptures were used and interpreted as historical evidence. In the eighteenth century, French historian Jules Michelet (1798-1874) sought the mentality of ages in the visual arts. Burckhardt, in the nineteenth century, Huizinga, Freyre, and Robert Levine in the twentieth century pioneered this domain by trying to revive the past through images.⁵³ However, except for the abovementioned few names and haphazard works, the connection between historians and the world of images was to remain quite weak until the second half of the twentieth century. "I can still remember the shock of seeing my first nineteenth-century photograph [in 1965]," says the British historian Raphael Samuel. "The faces which stared out at us were startlingly modern, with nothing except for the captions –and the criminal record- to indicate that they belonged to the nineteenth century rather than our own. ... The Bedfordshire photos seemed, rather, to be miraculous survivals, giving us a rare glimpse into realities which had been 'hidden from history' in the past."⁵⁴

⁵³ For the history of the use of images by historians before twentieth century, see: Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images, Art and the Interpretation of the Past*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

⁵⁴ Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Island Stories: Unravelling Britain, Tome 2*, (London: Verso, 1996), p. 315.

The world of images includes Byzantine frescoes as well as Western paintings or photographs and films. Iconographic studies on each form would come out with specific requirements: Reading of the portraits on Roman coins and a Dutch painting from the seventeenth century would not follow exactly the same methodology and would each require different scientific basis and knowledge. To detail the evolution of all studies with specific methodologies is out of the scope of this study which rather focuses on the use of films as historical evidence around the case of the Manaki Brothers' *Hürriyet* film footage. Consequently, the following paragraphs will include a brief résumé of the birth of cinema and the evolution of the connection between history and films. What is more, a clear distinction will be made between “cinema” and “film”; the latter being an outcome of a whole web of production with persons involved as producers or consumers of cinema. In parallel, the link between history and those domains cannot be confined to the use or non-use of the material by the historian. Cinema, as a matter of fact, developed close connections with history since its early days. As in the case of early historical films, history fed cinema with stories for various perspectives including ideological propaganda⁵⁵. Since the end of the nineteenth century, cinematographic narrative has reinforced this aspect of the relation between those two domains: films such as *Quo Vadis* (1912 by Enrico Guazzoni), *Cabiria* (1914 by Giovanni Pastrone), *The Birth of a Nation* (1914, David Wark Griffith), *Strike*, *Battleship Potemkin*, *October-Ten Days That Shook the World*, *Alexander Nevski*, *Ivan the Terrible* (1924, 1925, 1927, 1938, 1944 by Sergei Eisenstein) or *Napoléon* (1926 by Abel Gance) would be based on historical events or moments. On the other hand, cinema is subject matter

⁵⁵ *The Birth of a Nation* (1914, Griffith) has been often accused for manufacturing anti-black propaganda. But it is far from being the earliest propaganda film. For proselytism and films as early as 1897 see : Jérôme Bimbenet, *Film et Histoire* (Paris : Armand Colin, 2007, pp. 78-83.

for history since the end of the twentieth century, covering a huge amount of national or worldwide cinema histories or monographs on directors or films as well.⁵⁶ *Histoire générale du cinéma* (George Sadoul, six volumes published in 1942-1954)⁵⁷ is among classic pioneer works in this domain rich with infinitesimal detail. The present study, in this rich pattern only deals with the use of films by the historians. Furthermore, film is not a monolithic product but includes a variety of recorded images used in fictions as well as news or documentaries. Therefore, the utmost emphasis will be placed on archival moving images.

Movie camera had been added to our cultural cosmos by the end of the nineteenth century with public screenings of films. However, all through the nineteenth century, several devices with different names had been tried to capture of “moving images.”⁵⁸ Finally, according to the traditional view, the Lumières Brothers’ first public picture show in Paris in 1895 started cinema, yet as pioneers of the early cinema they were challenged by Skladanowski Brothers in Germany and Edison’s Kinetoscope in the US.⁵⁹ The domain grew very rapidly⁶⁰ both with fiction and non-fiction films. When cinema became a public event at the end of the nineteenth century, it anticipated the creation of the entertainment industry all over the world. Even actuality films throughout

⁵⁶ For an early example of cinema history see: Robert Grau, *The Theatre of Science* (USA: Broadway Publishing Company, 1914). The study focuses on USA and covers both technical evolution of cinema and its main figures, such as directors, actors and businessmen.

⁵⁷ George Sadoul, *Histoire générale du cinéma*, 6 vols., (Paris : Editions J’ai Lu, 1947-1954.)

⁵⁸ Grau, pp. 1-21; Richard Meran Barsam, *Nonfiction film: a critical history* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), pp.7-8.

⁵⁹ Stephen Herbert, *When the Movies Began... A chronology of the world’s film productions and film shows before May, 1896*, (London: Projection Box, 1996).

⁶⁰ Howard Lamarr Walls identified 6000 titles as motion pictures for the period 1895-1912, in USA. Howard Lamarr Walls, *Motion Pictures 1894-1912 Identified from Records of the United States Copyright Office* (Washington: The Library of Congress, 1953).

the globe were part of this industry, and their primary function was to enrich the show and to arouse curiosity of the spectators.⁶¹ In the years when the Manaki Brothers recorded the Balkans, all around the world, cameramen were striving to capture unfamiliar panoramas, exotic views, important personalities or events to feed the newsreels shown in movie theaters. But the picture hunt was nothing new; from the early days of cinema recording “news” had been part of cameraman’s work. This broad category of recorded moving images includes actuality footage (edited and unedited), newsfilm, newsreels, magazine films, documentaries and compilations:

Actuality footage consists of a single motion picture sequence showing ordinary people and unstaged events which are not in themselves newsworthy. (...) Newsfilms consists of motion picture footage of a single newsworthy event or personality. (...) Such films, as distinguished from newsreels, were not released in series on a regular schedule.⁶²

Between April 1896 and mid-May 1897, the Lumière Brothers’ well trained cameramen, for instance, produced 700 films which “were screened in more than 100 French towns and 65 capitals and other cities around the world.”⁶³ A thousand of them presented regimental parades in all countries the Lumières’ cameramen visited including the Ottoman Empire⁶⁴; touristic views of Paris; Russian oil wells in the Urals...⁶⁵ In

⁶¹ For a short history of reels see: Luke Mckernan, “Newsreels, form and function” in Richard Howells and Robert W. Matson (ed.), *Using Visual Evidence*, (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2009).

⁶² William Hughes, « The Evaluation of Film as Evidence ». In *The Historian and Film* edited by Paul Smith (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 49-79.

⁶³ Michelle Aubert, “*News before newsreel.*” In Roger Smither and Wolfgang Klaue (ed), *Newsreels in Film Archives*, Flick Books, (1996), pp. 22-25.

⁶⁴ *Victorian Film Catalogues, A Fascimile Collection* (East Sussex: The Projection Box, 1996). The catalogues dated 1897 reprinted in this publication mentioned 24 footage taken in Ottoman towns such as Istanbul, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Beiruth, Damascus.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23-24.

England, as early as 1895, pioneers of British Filmmaking, Birt Acres and Robert Paul recorded the Oxford-Cambridge Boat Race and the Epsom Derby.⁶⁶ In the course of time, several companies including Pathé, Gaumont, Charles Urban Trading Company, Warwick Film Company, and Topical Film Company joined the competition in recording the most eccentric news of the world. But they were not shown on a regular basis, and not in specific movie theaters. Music halls, cafés, variety theaters were places those films could find a place for projection. In 1908, the first newsreel was created in France by Pathé: *Pathé Faits-Divers*, which became *Pathé Journal* in 1909, was released weekly. Soon after, several newsreels were produced in France, England (the first being the *Pathé's Animated Gazette*) and the US (*Pathé's Weekly* and *Vitagraph Monthly of Current Events* in 1911, *Mutual Weekly* in 1912, *Universal Animated Weekly* in 1913).⁶⁷ The wars (Balkan Wars, and especially WWI) increased the importance and number of newsreels all over the world. The distinctive property of the newsreel was its regular projection in movie theaters; thus, cameramen sent abroad had to build relations in order to send their films on a regular basis to the company for technical process; i.e. the development of films, printing of positive copies, the editing process and the insertion of inter-titles. All this corpus, in the past tense, “*was* a reel of film showing a collection of news stories”⁶⁸; thereby, they were not “history” but the “present time”, real moment lived in another part of the world, in other words actuality which would be outdated and meaningless in two or three days, thus, not archival.

⁶⁶ McKernan, p. 95.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p.95.

⁶⁸ McKernan, pp. 95-106.

Films would acquire a historical value and official recognition in the future, but only if they were assigned such a value, preserved in the archives and publicized, like any other documents. The value of film as historical document had been acknowledged as late as 1895: the year when the American filmmaker W.K.L. Dickson suggested: “The advantages to students and historians will be immeasurable. Instead of dry and misleading accounts, tinged with the exaggerations of the chroniclers’ minds, our archives will be enriched by the vitalized pictures of great national scenes, instinct with all the glowing personalities which characterized them.”⁶⁹

Two years later, in 1897, a little pamphlet in Paris was published by the cameraman Boleslaw Matuszewski. In this leaflet, he insisted on the archival value of the photographic and cinematographic records: “The cinematographic film, in which a scene is composed of a thousand images and which, projected from a source of light onto a white sheet, makes the dead and the absent arise and walk, this simple celluloid ribbon on which an image has been produced, is not only a historical document but a slice of history which has not vanished and which has needs no genie to be resuscitated.”⁷⁰

A few years later, in 1916 H.D. Gower, L. Stanley Jast and W.W. Topley authored a book which combined the fact of recording with “history” in its title: *The camera as historian, a handbook to photographic record work for those who use a camera and for survey or record societies*. This book is the pioneer of instituting a

⁶⁹ W.K.L. and Antonia Dickson, *History of the Kinetograph, Kinetoscope, and Kinetophonograph* (New York, 1895), pp. 31-32.

⁷⁰ Boleslaw Matuszewski, *Une nouvelle source d'histoire, Création d'un dépôt de cinématographie historique*, (Paris, 1898.)

comparison between recorded images and conventional historical material: “The means whereby the past, particularly in its relation to human activities and their results, may be reconstructed and visualized, can be roughly grouped under the four headings of material objects, oral tradition, written record, and lastly, graphic record, whether pictorial or sculptural. It is no part of our purpose to belittle the value of any of the first-named tools of the historian or scientist; but it will be probably be conceded that in many respects the last named has a value greatly outweighing the others,” and the need for the formation of accessible photographic and cinematographic archives was asserted:

Hitherto little or no attention appears to have been paid to the enormous value of preserving, in such a way as to ensure their availability for the public of the future, the splendid photographic records of our national life contained in the cinematographic films daily taken for exhibition at ‘moving picture’ theaters. ... Here the municipality –or whatever be the local governing body- surely has some interest, say, the authors would urge, has a clear duty.⁷¹

This assumption was similar to that of Alex J. Philip (1879 - ?), the writer who in 1912 pointed out the historical value of actuality films in a little pamphlet (*Cinematograph Films: Their National Value and Preservation*):

There is comparatively little interest or historical value in the events of yesterday, but the increase that takes place day by day, as the event recedes into the past, is only comparable with the accumulation of compound interest, until, if we were able to produce cinematograph films of, say, Roman daily life and Roman Court ceremonial, we would have added inestimably to our knowledge of the people (...). If we come more to our own time, it is quite easy to turn to a number of lost arts and industries which might have been saved to us if there had been some such method of record as that now furnished by the cinematograph.⁷²

⁷¹ H.D. Gower; Stanley L. Jast; W.W. Topley, *The camera as historian, a handbook to photographic record work for those who use a camera and for survey or record societies*, (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., London, 1916), p.18. (New edition by Arno Press, Newyork : 1974.)

⁷² Alex J. Philip, *Cinematograph Films: their National Value and Preservation*,(London: Stanley Paul & Co., 1912), p. 1-2.

However, as Matuzsewski pointed out in 1898, films were quite inaccessible to potential researchers: “What must be done is to give to this possibly privileged source of History the same authority, the same official existence, the same access as other archival sources which already exist... All that will be necessary is to assign to cinematographic films which have a historic character a section of a museum, a shelf in a library, a cupboard in the archives.”⁷³ In his opinion Paris needed to create its *Depository of Historic Cinematography* through an institution which would decide on the conditions of the preservation of negative or positive films. Alex J. Philips, proposed a “National Cinematograph Library” where films should be classified with exactly the same methods applied to books (as historical, scientific, artistic and technical films). He even calculated the cost of such a work: “£20 000 a year, is a mere bagatelle for a national institution”.⁷⁴ But it was not simple, partly because of the characteristic of the nitrate-based films⁷⁵ mostly used in cinema in this time: “There is one point which a bioscope operator must never lose sight of, and that is the highly inflammable character of the film” as advised in the *Modern Bioscope Operator* for the users of this camera: “Familiarity breeds contempt, and in handling film daily, month after month, and year after year, one is all too apt to become careless; but the least carelessness when a film is on the projector is really criminal.”⁷⁶ Celluloid ribbon was vulnerable and dangerous: in addition to its inflammability, it was easily scratched by the projection machine, its

⁷³ Matuszewski, p. 3

⁷⁴ Philip, p. 9.

⁷⁵ Nitrate-based films had been used until 1950s. see: Roger Smither (ed.), *This Film is Dangerous – A Celebration of Nitrate Film* (Belgium : FIAF, 2002).

⁷⁶ *The Modern Bioscope Operator*, (London: Ganes Limited, 1911), p. 7.

cleaning required a great care, and it could be stocked only in appropriate conditions.

But in the storage cell, too, films needed to be checked on a regular basis:

When you have to store films for a long period, it is not advisable to put them in a hot, dry place. A cool, fairly dry cellar is a good situation, and should they show any tendency to become hard or brittle a slightly damp place, such as a cellar or outhouse, will be a suitable store. If very brittle, they may be removed from the tin box and wrapped in brown paper but should be examined every few days to see if pliable enough. Too much damp may affect the emulsion, and if the film has not been well washed during manufacture, efflorescence of the chemical salts may appear on the gelatine.⁷⁷

Despite Philip's optimism ("£20 000 a year, is a mere bagatelle for a national institution") film archive with such a material would require a qualified team, considerable expenses, time and appropriate spaces for an item not so much respected as it was considered as an outcome of the entertainment business. Hence, in 1920, the Dutch Academy intended to enable a project for the establishment of a documentary film archive and asked Johan Huizinga his opinion. However, Huizinga, a well known figure for his contribution to the validation of the field of visual culture in history, advised "against the project on the grounds that film made no serious contribution to historical knowledge, since what these images showed was either unimportant or already known."⁷⁸

After all, from the 1930s onwards film archives would be established, but mostly with the individual efforts of the "enlightened" passionate people of film industry coming from wealthy families who collected cinematographic material without being

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 11.

⁷⁸ Christoph Strupp, *Johan Huizinga: Geschichtswissenschaft als Kulturgeschichte*, p.249, (Göttingen, 1999) cited in Burke, *Eyewitnessing.*, p. 155.

subject to any control or regulation. Thus, several meters of films were destroyed by the same archivists because they did not fit their cinematographic criteria. Throughout the twentieth century, especially the valorization of actuality films after WWII and the resurrection of old fiction films by televisions would pave the way for the formation of archives in various countries.⁷⁹ The foundation of FIAF (International Federation of Film Archives) in 1938 is a milestone in the preservation of film heritage. It brought together institutions dedicated to rescuing, collecting and screening films and formed a basis for cooperation.⁸⁰ Those archives would be enriched with material assuming one presumed function of the film: An eyewitness to history, as in the use of shots taken by American soldiers during the evacuation of the concentration camps as evidence against Nazi leaders in the Nuremberg Trials.⁸¹

WWII had also been a turning point for the foundation of a basis for a critical analysis of cinema as a mirror of the mindset preparing historical moments: Siegfried Kracauer, born to a Jewish family, educated in architecture and engineering but specialized in cinema, emigrated to the US in 1939, and in 1947 authored *From Caligari to Hitler*, a critical approach to German cinema and an analysis of the birth of Nazism

⁷⁹ For a short inventory of archives by historians see: William Murphy, "The National Archives and the Historian's Use of Film", *The History Teacher*, V.6, n.1, (1972), pp.119-134. Martin A. Jackson, "Film as a Source Material: Some Preliminary Notes toward a Methodology", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* IV, no. 1, (Massachusetts, 1973), pp. 73-80. Pierre Sorlin and François Garçon, "L'historien et les archives filmiques," pp. 346-348, *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, V. XXVIII (Paris: April-June 1981).

⁸⁰ For the history of FIAF see the yearbook published for the 50th anniversary : FIAF, *50 Years of Film Archives 1938-1988* (Belgium : FIAF Publications, 1988).

⁸¹ Antoine De Baecque, « Histoire et Cinéma », *Cahiers du Cinéma, Les Petits Cahiers*, (Paris : 2008), pp. 78-79.; Christian Delage, *La Vérité par l'Image, de Nuremberg au Procès Milosevic*, passim, (Paris : Denoël, 2006.)

through Weimar Republic cinema.⁸² In 1960, with the *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality*, he would praise the realism in cinema and become one symbolic name of this approach; as a consequence, in 1969, he would compare an historian to a photographer, both selecting the aspects of the real world to picture.⁸³

Along with Kracauer's work, in 1955 a few historians added the films to their list of documents⁸⁴: Sir Arthur Elton, in his article "The Film as Source Material for History" compared the documentaries to the hieroglyphs as a carrier of historical information, but he was not optimistic. "Of the scholars, nothing is to be expected, I am afraid," he suggested⁸⁵. In Germany, F. Terveen published two articles on the documentary value of films; but these were exceptions.⁸⁶ And, at the end of the 1950s Marc Ferro was still advised to be careful when he expressed his willingness to work on moving images: "Do it, but do not talk about it", advised me Fernand Braudel; 'First, you should pass

⁸² Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1966), (first edition in 1947).

⁸³ Siegfried Kracauer, *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997) (first edition in 1960); Siegfried Kracauer, *The Last Things before the Last*, (Princeton: Markus Wiener Pub., 1995) (first edition in 1969).

⁸⁴ For a short history of the use of films by historians from the 1950s onwards: Paul Smith, « Introduction ». In *The Historian and Film* edited by Paul Smith (New York : Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 1-15. (First edition in 1976). He compares the attitude of scholars from different countries, and then claims : « Not for the first time in the history of historiography, the Anglo-Saxons were lagging behind. » For an overview of film-history connection in USA until 1968: John B. Kuiper, « The Historical Value of Motion Pictures », *The American Archivist*, v.31, n.4 (Library of Congress, 1968), pp. 386-390.

⁸⁵ Sir Arthur Elton, "The Film as Source Material for History", *Aslib Proceedings*, V.7, N.4, (London: 1955), p. 230.

⁸⁶F. Terveen, "Der Film als historisches Dokument: Grenzen und Möglichkeiten", *Viertel Jahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, No., (1955); F. Terveen, "Historischer Film und historisches Filmdokument", *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, No.12, (1956); cited by Pierre Sorlin and François Garçon, "L'historien et les archives filmiques," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, V. XXVIII – April-June (Paris: 1981).

your thesis,' thought necessary to add Pierre Renouvin.”⁸⁷ Coming from eminent figures of the Annale School, the introducer of a new perception of history and historiography, this reservation seems unexpected. The 1960s were a time of challenge against the “old historiographical regime”⁸⁸ inherited from Ranke. Nevertheless, in this historiographical “revolution” unfolded around this crucial and essential question “What is History?”⁸⁹; the archival film was still out of the field.⁹⁰

However, a few years later, in 1965 Christopher H. Roads, Deputy Director and Keeper of the Department of Records in British Imperial War Museum, admitted that “historians are ever becoming more conscious of the importance and value of the fine photographs of the nineteenth century”,⁹¹ and in the same article he confirmed the value of motion pictures as historical evidences, but thought necessary to warn the audience and reader: “Film, or cine-film if you prefer, is an awkward, inconvenient, expensive, vulnerable and inaccessible medium.”⁹² Roads, on the other hand, considered still photographs devoid of one basic character of moving images: the emotion. In his words, this was what the films could provide to the historian. About a shot where the Duke of Cambridge was alighted from his carriage to perform the unveiling ceremony, he points out what the footage captures more compared to a still photograph: “No frozen image...

⁸⁷ Marc Ferro, *Cinéma et histoire* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1993), p. 11. (first edition in 1977)

⁸⁸ The term is borrowed from: Burke, “The Old Historiographical Regime”, *The French Historical Revolution, The Annale School 1929-89*, (Chicago: Stanford University Press, 1990) pp.6-12.

⁸⁹ Edward H. Carr, *What is History?*, (London: Vintage, 1967).

⁹⁰ On discussions between historians about technical difficulties (accessibility of films, appropriation of their technical properties), and its obstacles as a « document » (to deal with the scateredness of moving images ; and the « right to citation ») see : Pascal Dupuy, « Histoire et cinéma. Du cinéma à l’histoire », *L’homme et la société*, n. 42. (Paris : L’Harmattan, 2001), pp. 91-107.

⁹¹ Roads, p. 184.

⁹² Ibid.

and certainly no still photograph of the Duke of Cambridge could have avoided ambiguity, regardless of distance and angle. ... In short [the films] they stand as invaluable memorials of a state of mind or a political climate.”⁹³

Partly because films became more available, and partly due to the changing perception of history, from the 1970s onward the interest of historians in these domains would increase. The first who pointed out to the archival value of actuality films were not professional historians, and the first historians to be interested in cinema did not pay attention to actuality films. With Marc Ferro, who worked on fiction films as the mirror of the ideological climate of their time, cinema would find a place in history departments in France, thereby becoming somewhat legitimized. In the meantime, while historians explored the possibility for the use of archival moving images as educational material on one hand, they emphasized the predominance of printed material on the other.⁹⁴ In 1980, a major contribution to the domain came from Pierre Sorlin with *The Film in History: Restaging the Past* where he maintains, as previously implied by Ferro, that historical films reflect their own period rather than the period they are supposed to expose.⁹⁵ After the 1990s, as a mirror of the current historiographical debates, the question put forward would be different and mainly about the nature of historical fiction films: What is exactly the difference between a text written by a historian and a historical film, so long as both are fictions? Historians like Rosenstone discuss the difference or the similarity

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ For a résumé of a conference in 1973 attended by eminent pioneers in this field such as Nicolas Pronay see : John Lee Jellicorse, « Audiovisual Archives : Uses and As Evidence ». In *The History Teacher*, vol.6 n.2 (1973), pp. 295 – 300. This issue of the publication is dedicated to the use of audiovisuals in teaching. See also : William Murphy, « The National Archives and Historian’s Use of Film ». In *The History Teacher*, vol. 6, n.1 (1972) , pp. 119-134.

⁹⁵ Pierre Sorlin, *The Film in History, Restaging the Past*, (US: Barnes&Noble Import, 1980).

between written historical narrative and visual historical narrative.⁹⁶ The subject matter is to understand if the filmmaker, by revisiting the past with his/her work, beyond taking the camera as an eye-witness, builds history as an historian does with texts, both in the past (with a built history against histories built by historians) and in the present as in *L’Affaire Dreyfus* (by George Méliès, 1899), or *The Dictator* of Charlie Chaplin (in which Chaplin caricatured Hitler through a Jewish figure, 1940). According to Robert Rosenstone:

This ‘fiction’ (that underlies the standard historical film) parallels a major convention of written history: its documentary or empirical element, which insists on the ‘reality’ of the world it creates and analyzes. The written work of history, particularly the grand narrative, also attempts to put us into the world of the past, but our presence in a past created by words never seems as immediate as our presence in a past created on the screen.⁹⁷

If one admits that, then who will be the historian in the future? In this discussion, Rosenstone, the writer of the previous quotation is challenged by David Herlihy who claims: “Film, a visual medium, can effectively present the visual aspects of history but not the whole history. Nor can it really show the methods of history. I do not see how films can carry a critical apparatus, how they can at the same time invite a suspension of disbelief and a cultivation of the critical sense.”⁹⁸ Additionally John E. O’Connor and

⁹⁶ Robert A. Rosenstone, *History On Film Film On History*, (n.p: Pearson Education Limited), 2006; pp. 111-133.

⁹⁷ Robert A. Rosenstone, *Visions of the Past, The Challenge of Film to Our Idea of History*, (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 55. Chapter titled “The Historical Film, Looking at the Past in a Postliterate Age” is reprinted in Marcia Landy, (ed.), *The Historical Film, History and Memory in Media*, (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2000), pp. 50-66.

⁹⁸ David Herlihy, “Am I a camera? Other reflections on film and history”, *American Historical Review*, 93 (Bloomington: 1988) pp. 1192.

Robert Brent Toplin, in their response to the attitude of Rosenstone, assert a distinction between “history in images” and “history in words”.⁹⁹

Nowadays, a new generation of “post-televisual”¹⁰⁰ historians is in charge. Film researchers including historians discuss the multifaceted relations between cinema and history through fiction films, documentaries and actuality films within realist, feminist, structuralist, post-structuralist, post-colonial or psychoanalytic frameworks.¹⁰¹ They question the intrinsic meaning of fiction films, try to analyze the impact of photographs and movies on our vision of the past (e.g. their role in the perception of the Civil War in America); and they use actuality films from the beginning of the twentieth century as historical evidence; they attempt to read different kinds of films as “iconotexts”, and they question the filmmaker as historian. Memory studies, trauma studies, Holocaust studies are strictly connected with films.¹⁰² The term *media*’s inclusion of televisual culture has become common. At the same time, pretentious claims have been made praising the power of the visual culture: W.J. Thomas Mitchell discussed the end of “linguistic turn”, a conception borrowed from Rorty, “a development that has complex

⁹⁹ Herlihy, pp. 1186-92. J.E. O’Connor, “History in images / history in words: reflections on the importance of film and television study for an understanding of the past”, *American Historical Review*, v. 93, (Bloomington: 1988) pp. 1200-9. R.B. Toplin, “The filmmaker as historian”, *American Historical Review*, v. 93, (Bloomington: 1988) pp. 1210-27.

¹⁰⁰ The term “post-televisual” is inspired by “pre-televisual” that Raphael Samuel used to describe his generation. Samuel, p. 319.

¹⁰¹ For a review of discussions and cinema studies see: Marnie Hughes-Warrington, *History Goes to the Movies, Studying History on Film*, (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 4-15 and Hughes, pp. 73-78.

¹⁰² Jennifer Tucker&Tina Campt, “Entwined Practices: Engagements with Photography in Historical Inquiry”, *History and Theory, Theme Issue 48*, (New England: Wesleyan University Press, 2009), pp.1-8. On the “memory function” see: Geoffrey Batchen, *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance*, (New Jersey: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004); Marianne Hirsch, “Projected Memory: Holocaust Photographs in Personal and Public Fantasy, *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (ed. Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe, Leo Spitzer), (New England: University Press of New England, 1999). About photography, film and memory: Annette Kuhn, *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination*, (London: Verso, 2002).

resonances in other disciplines in the human sciences. Linguistics, semiotics, rhetoric, and various models of “textuality” have become the *lingua franca* for critical reflections on the arts, the media, and cultural forms. Society is a text.” According to Mitchell a major change is experienced: The “linguistic turn” shifted to a “pictorial turn”¹⁰³. In other words, this is “a transition from a culture dominated by the book to one dominated by images”.¹⁰⁴ Prophecies reach a dimension where the superiority of images is taken for granted: “University students will come to know their world and to decide their place in it, through the representation of the visual media, to which written texts and books will be at most a specialist corrective¹⁰⁵,” And a new term is proposed by Hayden White: “historiophoty”, equivalent of the “historiography” for a history using visual data.¹⁰⁶

In the meantime, works on the history-visual evidence combination gradually have increased in number, but are still not sufficient as observed by Peter Burke in 2001: “Relatively few historians work in photographic archives, compared to the numbers who work in repositories of written and typewritten documents. Relatively few historical journals carry illustrations, and when they do, relatively few contributors take advantage of this opportunity.”¹⁰⁷ The crucial problem is not the number of historians who make use of photographs or films, but “when they do use images, historians tend to treat them as mere illustrations, reproducing them in their books without comment. In cases where

¹⁰³ W.J. Thomas Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*, passim, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994).

¹⁰⁴ Sol Cohen, “An innocent eye: The “Pictorial Turn”, Film Studies, and History”, *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol.43, No.2, (Illinois: 2003), pp. 250-261.

¹⁰⁵ Leslie Devereaux and Rogers Hillman, (ed.), *Fields of Vision: Essays in Film Studies, Visual Anthropology, and Photography*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 2.

¹⁰⁶ Hayden White, “Historiography and historiophoty”, *American Historical Review*, v. 93, (Bloomington: 1988), pp. 1193-9.

¹⁰⁷ Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, p.10.

the images are discussed in the text, this evidence is often used to illustrate conclusions that the author has already reached by other means, rather than to give new answers or to ask new questions.”¹⁰⁸ The reasons behind this seem to be both practical and ideological. Although the “old historiographic regime” symbolized by Ranke, which praises and codifies the use of conventional archival sources, has been violently challenged since the 50s, ideologically “it is hard to deny that there remains, for many historians, a persisting tentativeness and even distrust about the use of visual materials as historical sources that differ historians’ scrupulous, rigorous assessments of other types of historical documents, such as letters, newspapers, or legal papers.”¹⁰⁹ This attitude underlies the practical difficulties in the use of those media. The archive and the material preserved there have their own rhetoric quite different than the conventional one. It should also be underlined the fiction films still seem to be more attractive to historians than archival moving images (newsfilms, newsreels, actuality footage) as historical documents. Mainstream discussions are focused on fiction films and the interpretation of the cinematographic narrative.¹¹⁰ In the words of Paul C. Spehr, the former Assistant Chief of the Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division of the Library of Congress, “It is our experience that historians make very little use of newsreels. Traditional historians, trained in the methodologies of history, have not

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Jennifer Tucker and Tina Campt, p. 4.

¹¹⁰ Caroline Moine, « Films documentaires et actualités cinématographiques : nouvelles perspectives pour l'historien », *Le Temps des Médias*, n.1 (Paris : Nouveau Monde éditions, 2003), pp. 273-277.

been trained in the methodology of using the *visual* record of history. Methodology has been slow to change.”¹¹¹

Film and History in Turkish Historiography

Both cinema and films in Turkey, instead of providing material to the historians, have rather been considered as proper subject matters which gave way to research on history of cinema during the Ottoman Empire and in the Republican era. However it should be added that professional historians are few in number among Turkish film researchers, and most of the time cinema studies focus on the films’ artistic value. The researches on Ottoman cinema history recently included the Manakis’ films. These works will be analyzed later in the next chapter within the overview of research on the Manakis.¹¹²

Turkish historians, like their colleagues around the world, have also been quite doubtful about the use of films as historical evidence, mostly due to the lack of archives. Films are still not collected and classified in national or central archives. For researchers willing to study actuality films or newsreels, the sources in Turkey are inadequate. A kind of myth is created regarding the inaccessibility of the Army archives, since the Army is the first institution in the Ottoman era that established, in 1915, a special department for propaganda and documentary films¹¹³. The documentary director Kerime Şenyücel, without referring to a specific source, mentions 7880 films of 16 mm and 35

¹¹¹ Paul C. Spehr, « Newsreels : skim milk or cream ? ». In Smither and Klaue, pp. 85-89.

¹¹² To be discussed in Chapter III.

¹¹³ Özde Çeliktemel-Thomen, *The Curtain of Dreams: Early Cinema in İstanbul* (master’s thesis, Central European University, 2009), pp. 55-56.

mm as well as 1500 video films in the abovementioned collection.¹¹⁴ The state radio and television's (TRT) archives are said (but only an hearsay since there is no database open to public) to be quite rich, as proven by material made public for commercial purposes, but the archives are not open to researchers yet. Finally, the contract signed in 2008 between TRT and a private music production company (Kalan Müzik) for the evaluation and the restoration of the whole visual archival material accumulated since the early republican era gave hope for a possible solution.¹¹⁵ The third source, the collections of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism are considered essential by documentary producers for the visuals from the late Ottoman – early Republican era. In 2010, newspapers announced the discovery of not less than one thousand century-old films in these archives, including a shot of Sultan Abdulhamit II.¹¹⁶ The most important and promising detail in this news for researchers is the decision of the Ministry to make all that data public on its official website, as soon as the restoration work is finished. Among universities, Mimar Sinan University is well known for the importance and the inaccessibility of its archives. Strictly speaking, the online access to the collection containing original shots and feature films was only possible a couple of years ago, but soon after, the website was closed to the public. At any rate, the main source of information for researchers and documentary producers in Turkey is still the archives (of films as well as catalogues, correspondences, worksheet collections of cameramen, etc.) kept by foreign companies such as Pathé Brothers Company, Gaumont Film Company

¹¹⁴ <http://www.kameraarkasi.org/belgesel/makaleler/belgeselfilm.html> [30 May 2010]. Kerime Şenyücel directed, among others, *Osmanoğlunun Sürgün Öncesi... ve Sonrası* [Before ... and after the exile of the Ottomans], 2006.

¹¹⁵ Yasemin Arpa, "TRT Arşivleri Kalan'la Gün Işığına Çıkıyor", *NTV-MSNBC*

¹¹⁶ "Meğer gerçek sesi daha 'tok'muş!", *Radikal*, 12 August 2010. A brief history of Ottoman cinema will be provided in Chapter IV.

and Charles Urban Trading Company, all of which operated within the Ottoman realm. For the time being, the examples of use of archival moving images in historical studies are rare and insufficient.¹¹⁷ In other words, the use of films (especially non-fiction films) as historical evidence seems to be not a priority on this agenda, at least for now.

¹¹⁷ Hakan Karateke, for instance, in his study on Ottoman court ceremonial in the nineteenth century, refers to the inaugural ceremony footage of sultan Mehmed VI Vahdettin, yet without a proper analysis. See : Hakan Karateke, *Padişahım Çok Yaşa ! Osmanlı Devletinin Son Yüz Yılında Merasimler* (İstanbul : Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), p. 34.

CHAPTER IV

MULTIPLE ALLEGIANCES IN THE LATE OTTOMAN WORLD:

MANAKI BROTHERS BEHIND THE CAMERA

This chapter will be dedicated to the biographies of Milton and Yanaki Manaki as an attempt to discover the “men behind the camera” and their motivation. A general overview of the studies of their life will begin with a comparative reading of works regarding the Manaki Brothers penned by Macedonian, Greek and Romanian researchers. In what follows, Turkish researchers’ approach will be revisited. The Brothers are only recently (since the 1990s) recognized in Turkish cinema circles possibly because of a longstanding historiographical approach to the Turkish cinema focused on its chronology rather than an in-depth analysis of its figures or works. The chapter will end with a biographical sketch about the Manakis, as an attempt to discover their political-cultural affiliations in the late Ottoman world and their ties with *Hürriyet*.

Nationalistic Claims in the Biographies of the Manakis

The Manaki Brothers were presented to the public mainly by a film by Theo Angelopoulos (*Ulysses’ Gaze*, 1995), and the reaction of the Cinematheque of Macedonia to it. This award-winning movie (Cannes Film Festival, 1995, Grand Jury Prize) brought the Manaki Brothers to the agenda of cinema circles within the question of identities in the Balkans. The film, evolving around a Greek-American filmmaker’s symbolic journey over the Balkans devastated by wars, featured the Manakis as the

recorders of the “first gaze” which needed to hide in it the soul of the Balkans before the loss of the innocence. The Cinematheque of Macedonia criticized the renowned director for turning them into Greek heroes without any mention of their Vlach origins or ties with Macedonia. It is true that Angelopoulos presented the Manakis on his official website as “Greece’s pioneering Manakias Brothers”, though thereafter, an homage is paid to “who, in the early years of cinema traveled through the Balkans, ignoring national and ethnic strife and recording ordinary people, especially craftsmen, on film.”¹¹⁸

This film and its approach translate a general trend in Southeastern European cinema in which it is observed that “all important films from the region, ultimately deal with historical memory.”¹¹⁹ But each region adopts a specific point of view, and Iordanova’s following observation is also compatible with the construction of the national cinema histories in the Balkans: “Priority is given to some memories while others are neglected or totally eliminated. These conditions often result in uneven or choppy narratives of the historical past, present, and future of the region.”¹²⁰ As an outcome of this approach, within the Balkan cinema history, the Manakis and their prestigious work have been embellished with nationalistic narratives in various countries and glorified as “the ultimate first” or “the ultimate pioneer” and, quoting from the

¹¹⁸ <http://www.theoangelopoulos.com/ulyssesgaze.htm> [20 May 2010].

¹¹⁹ Dina Iordanova, “Whose is this memory?: Hushed narratives and discerning remembrance in Balkan Cinema”, *Cineaste, Contemporary Balkan Cinema Supplement*, vol. 32, no. 3, (USA, Summer 2007), p. 22.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

Roman filmologist Marian Tutui, “Yugoslavia, Greece, R. Macedonia, Turkey and Albania have been claiming them [The Brothers] in the last decades.”¹²¹

As an example to the nationalistic approach, the title of the Manakis’ biography written by the Greek journalist and film researcher Christos K. Christodoulou is simple but obvious: *The Manakis Brothers / The Greek Pioneers of the Balkanic Cinema*.¹²²

The book begins with a statement of G. Eleftheriadis, a former ambassador, who in 1955 personally talked to Milton Manaki, or whom he prefers to call, “Miltiadis Manakis,” as in Greek phonology. He claims to have been told by Milton that Greece had been his “homeland”.¹²³ That being said, according to the memoirs of Irfan Tershana, an Albanian, Milton spoke Albanian to him in 1934 in Manastir, and when Tershana wanted to pay him for a photograph he developed, he firmly rejected saying: “You are an Albanian patriot, you are not going to pay,” because his mother was an Albanian. And Irfan Tershana heard children speaking Albanian in Milton’s house.¹²⁴

Nevertheless, Christodoulou himself, in the main text of his book admits the Brothers’ “Vlach” origins, but as “Greek-speaker” and “Hellenophile” Vlachs exposed to “Romanian” anti-Hellenic propaganda.¹²⁵ Marian Tutui, of Romania, a specialist on the

¹²¹ Marian Tutui, *Orient Express or the Balkan Cinema*, p. 123 (forthcoming). I would like to express my gratitude to Vesna Maslovarik of the Cinematheque of Macedonia who provided me a proof-copy of this book.

¹²² Christos K., Christodoulou, *The Manakis Brothers, The Greek Pioneers of the Balkanic Cinema*, (Thessaloniki: Organization for the Cultural Capital of Europe, 1997).

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹²⁴ Natasha Lako, *The Game of Albanian Film Image 1895-1945, Studies presented in the symposium The Development and the Interlacing between the Balkan National Cinematographies in the Period 1895-1945* within the project *The Cinema in the Balkan Cultural Context* initiated by Macedonian Cinematheque. Published version in “Macedonian: Igrata na albanskata filmska slika (1895-1945)”, In *Razvojot i proniknuvanjeto na balkanskite natsionalni kinematografii vo periodot od 1895 do 1945 godina* (ed. Boris Nonevski), (Skopje, 2003), pp. 192-223, Kinoteka na Makedonija. For the version in English see http://epa.oszk.hu/00300/00375/00001/lako_albanian.htm

¹²⁵ Christodoulou, p. 4 and *passim*.

Manaki Brothers and their work, who in his forthcoming book puts an emphasis on the “Balkans’ culture/cinema” as a notion, asserts that Yanaki (Ienache) “always declared himself as Romanian and manifested as Romanian nationalist.”¹²⁶

As a matter of fact, those claims are based on the lives of the Manakis and their works somehow in close connections with a good number of countries such as Macedonia, Romania, Albania, Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria. They were born in the Ottoman Empire, ran their camera for the first time as Christian/Vlach subjects of the Ottoman sultans, but in the aftermath of the Balkan Wars, various names were adopted in their homeland. They witnessed the WWI and WWII both of which shifted borders and politic regimes in the region. They photographed Greeks as well as Macedonians, filmed not only a bishop’s funeral, but also a Greek wedding. So, to be fair, each Balkan nation has its own reasons to claim the Brothers as “one of them”, even if, historiographically, this discussion would not help efforts for evaluating their heritage. As complementary to the nationalistic discussions, some researchers (Stardelov and Tutui among others) defend a different point of view evoked by a question one of them, namely Tomislav Osmanli, asked in his critique for Christodoulou’s book: “Can the film heritage of the Manaki Brothers be turned from a dispute into one of the elements of Balkan cooperation?”¹²⁷

Meanwhile, a simple glance at the documents of the Manakis kept in Bitola today shows how complicated the reconstruction of their identities is. The corpus of

¹²⁶ Tutui., p. 123.

¹²⁷ Igor Stardelov, “The Brothers Janaki and Milton Manaki – The Balkan Painters of The Light” (La Terra dei Manaki, I Pittori Balcanici della Dulce), *La Biennale di Venezia, La meticcia di fuoco, Oltre il continente Balcanici*, (Venice: Edizioni Lindau, 2000).

documents reflects the multicultural and multiethnic way of life in the Balkans; they wrote and received letters or acquired official papers in Ottoman, Vlach, Romanian, Serbian, Greek or French... Yet less in volume, Romania and Greece are among countries holding documents from the Manakis. The scarcity of studies on them is one common point shared by almost all film researchers and their biographers. In the end, as observed by Igor Stardelov, the head of Film Archives of the Cinematheque of Macedonia, “seldom are the texts on their life paths, their curriculum vitae, the phases of their interest in photography and filmmaking, the certain factual issues of their creative work. Undoubtedly, this is due to the fact that such an approach requires a more profound and thorough research of the documents throughout the archives and libraries in Macedonia, the Balkans and Europe.”¹²⁸ From the side of Romanian researcher, Marian Tutui points to the “lack of some important biographic details (...) and even the errors of the fact that many important persons in their films were not identified are due to propagandistic excesses, the lateness in the research and to few attempts of changing information between researchers in Greece and in ex-Yugoslavia. (...) The documents in Romania about Manakia Brothers were also not studied by foreign researchers while the Romanian ones were probably not tempted by such a study in the communist period when studies on Romanians abroad or on the ones who had left the country were not encouraged.”¹²⁹ It is indeed questionable if such a common research would convince the participants to agree on one biography, but surely it would multiply questions and

¹²⁸ Stardelov, *Manaki* (Skopje: Kinoteka Na Makedonija, 2003), p. 85. (The book is in Macedonian with an abstract in English. I would express my gratitude to Vesna Maslovarik who translated some chapters of this work into English for the present research.)

¹²⁹ Tutui, p. 120.

interpretations on the Manakis, on inter-communitarian relations, on cinema in the Balkans as the most important and promising outcome.

The Manakis have been subjects of biography and research since the 1950s, after Milton Manaki had taken the first step in selling his collection to the Yugoslavian state. In 1951, the Yugoslavian researcher Blagoja Drnkov wrote an article titled “Our First Film Reporter, The Life and Work of Milton D. Manaki” based on his interview with Milton.¹³⁰ The acquisition of the collection continued gradually until 1964, with the cataloguing begun in 1961 with the assistance of Milton.¹³¹ This would be followed by several articles, especially by authorities in cinema studies such as Dimitrie Osmanli and Dejan Kosovic in the 1970s. In Greece, according to Christodoulou, “the *official* recognition of these two cinematographic pioneers came in an article in the Athenian newspaper *Ta Nea* in 1971, by the journalist and critic, Kostas Stamatiou.”¹³² Among major publications available today in English *Tvorestvoto na brakata Manaki /The Creation of the Brothers Manaki*¹³³, the forthcoming book by Marian Tutui (especially chapter III)¹³⁴, the last chapter of Giorgios Exarchos’ *Adelfi Manakia*¹³⁵ and Christodoulou’s *The Greek Pioneers of Balkan Cinema*¹³⁶ should be mentioned. Igor

¹³⁰ Blagoja Drnkov, “Our First Film Reporter, The Life and Work of Milton D. Manakis”, trans. Vesna Maslovarik, *Filmska Revija*, no. 1, (Zagreb: 1951); republished in *Kinotecen Mesecnik*, no. 6, (1977).

¹³¹ Christodoulou, p. 13.

¹³² Christodoulou, p. 13.

¹³³ *Tvorestvoto na brakata Manaki, L’œuvre des frères Manaki, The Creation of the Brothers Manaki (Matica makedonska)*, Arhiv na Makedonija, (1996).

¹³⁴ Tutui, pp. 109-142.

¹³⁵ Giorgios Exarchos, *Adelfoi Manakia*, (Greece: Gavrilidis Publishing House, 1991), pp. 233-240.

¹³⁶ Christodoulou.

Stardelov's *Manaki* on their life and film aesthetic, unfortunately has not yet been translated into English.

Manaki Brothers as Ottoman Filmmakers. An Overview of the
Turkish Researches' Approaches

For the time being, there is no available biographical study on the Manakis in Turkish. Strictly speaking, the Turkish researchers' contribution is confined to a few articles on their cinematographic collection. The Brothers were introduced to the Turkish audience in 1991, with an article by Metin Erksan, a well known Turkish filmmaker.¹³⁷ From 1994 onwards, their name would be mentioned in popular publications by a few researchers as the producers of the first "Turkish" film;¹³⁸ however, they owe their "official" recognition in Turkey to the "Macedonian Film Days" (Istanbul, 1990 and 1995) and to the "İpekyolu Film Festivali" held in Bursa in 2006. Meanwhile, in 1997, their *Hürriyet* photographs have been introduced to Turkish readers with the publication of their *Hürriyet* album in Turkish, reviewed in Chapter I.¹³⁹ Thanks to the participation of the Cinematheque of Macedonia, the Turkish audience had been finally introduced to their footage documenting the visit of Sultan Mehmed V Reşat to Salonika and Manastır in 1911. The film's screening at the festivals would give a new subject matter to the

¹³⁷ Metin Erksan, "İlk Türk Filmi 1905'te", *Tempo*, no. 16, (1991).

¹³⁸ Ilindenka Petruşeva, "İlk Türk Filmini Çeken Sinemacılar", *Tombak*, (Istanbul, November-December 1994), pp.28,29; Şeyben Özgür, "Türkiye'de İlk Kez Manaki Kardeşlerin Çektiği Filmler ve Fotoğraflar", *Sinematürk Aylık*; (İstanbul, December 1994); , Ilindenka Petruşeva, "Yanaki ve Milton Manaki Kardeşlerin 1911'de Çektiği Filmler", *Tombak*, (Istanbul, March-April 1995); pp.64, 65; Burçak Evren, "İlk Türk Filmini Çeken Yanaki ve Milton Manaki Kardeşler", *Pazar Postası*, 8 July 1995.

¹³⁹ Margulies (ed.).

researchers of Turkish cinema history, yet it was far from being capable of reshaping the conventional historical approach. As a matter of fact, history of the Ottoman cinema and its development in the early Republican era, was, for a very long time, no more than a narrative constructed around a few texts repeated by each researcher without any further analysis or critical approach and, indeed, completely ignoring the Manaki Brothers.

At the risk of simplifying the building process of a specific national cinema history, researches on Ottoman cinema in Turkey may be evaluated through three generations. After a few books in 1930s¹⁴⁰, the first texts published around the 50s are signed by Rakım Çalapala,¹⁴¹ Nurullah Tilgen,¹⁴² and Nijat Özön¹⁴³ who were not professional historians but journalists and cinema professionals interested in its history. They based their work mostly on oral accounts, memoirs, personal experiences and rare private documents. Despite the slight differences in names and dates, they developed a narrative which begins in 1896 with the first screening of film in Istanbul by a French painter¹⁴⁴ or a Romanian named Sigmund Weinberg.¹⁴⁵ The French painter is thought to screen his films in the palace, while Weinberg is presented as the author of the first public screening of films in a brasserie named Salle Sponeck. In addition, Nijat Özön

¹⁴⁰ Hilmi A. Malik, *Türkiye’de Sinema ve Tesirleri* (Ankara : Kitap Yazarlar Kooperatifi Neşriyatı, 1933). It provides an inventory of movie theaters’ capacities in Turkey.

¹⁴¹ Rakım Çalapala, “Türkiyede Filmcilik”, *Filmlerimiz*, (İstanbul: Yerli Film Yapanlar Cemiyeti, 1947? 1948?) Republished in *Kebikeç, Dosya / Sinema ve Tarih II*, no. 28, (Ankara: 2009), pp. 112-103.

¹⁴² Nurullah Tilgen, “Türk Sineması Tarihi, Dünden Bugüne 1914-1953”, *Yıldız Dergisi*, no. 30, (18 July 1953); “Bugüne Kadar Filmciliğimiz”, *Yıldız Dergisi*, no. 36, no. 37, no. 38, no. 39, no. 41, no. 42, no. 44, no. 63, (1956). “Bugüne Kadar Filmciliğimiz” is republished in *Kebikeç, Dosya / Sinema ve Tarih II*, no. 28, pp. 112-103 (Ankara; 2009).

¹⁴³ Nijat Özön, *Türk Sineması Kronolojisi (1895-1966)*, (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1968); *Türk Sineması Tarihi (Dünden Bugüne) 1896-1960*, (İstanbul: Artist Reklam Ortaklığı Yayınları, 1962).

¹⁴⁴ Çalapala, p. 103.

¹⁴⁵ Tilgen, p. 113.

refers to Alexandre Promio, a cameraman sent by Lumière Brothers to film Istanbul and Jerusalem.¹⁴⁶ Ottoman cinema, in this account, is concisely summarized through the “first cameraman”, the “first film screening”, and the difficulties imposed by the policies of Sultan Abdulhamit II on the filmmakers. According to this initial narrative, for security reasons Abdulhamit II had forbidden the use of electricity for very long time, which thus complicated the projection of films since the projection machine needs electric power or a dynamo. But this first generation rather focuses on the special army unit established by Enver Pasha (the hero of *Hürriyet* in 1908 and the War Minister in 1913-1918) to create visual records, and on the first film assumed to be shot by a Turk, an army reserve officer named Fuat Uzkinay. The latter is believed to have filmed the destruction of a monument – erected by Russians near Istanbul as a memoir of the Ottoman-Russian war of 1877 which brought them to Ayastefanos, in other words to the gates of Istanbul – by the Ottoman Army in 1914 during the WWI. Allegedly, a Vienna-based film company was in charge of recording the destruction. However, the destruction of the monument was seen as a challenge to the opposing army by the Committee of Union and Progress, therefore such a significant task needed to not be handled by a foreigner. Fuat Uzkinay, a Turkish reserve officer deeply interested in cinema and familiar to the projectors, was taught how to use the camera in a couple of hours by the cameramen of the Viennese company, thus, had the honor of recording the destruction. This very first “Turkish” film of 150 (or 300?) meters kept in the Army Archives got lost in 1915 causing the roots of the “Turkish” cinema drift away into oblivion. The story would be gradually enriched with details by the abovementioned

¹⁴⁶ Özön, p. 25.

researchers; this is how the anonymous Viennese Company acquired a name at the end without any reference to a special source: Sacha-Messter Gessellschaft.¹⁴⁷

Yet relatively recent comparing to these initial works, Mustafa Gökmen's *Türk Sinema Tarihi*¹⁴⁸ [Turkish Cinema History, 1989] is kind of a summary of all previous information enhanced with systematic lists including the “firsts” in the Turkish cinema, biographies of people interested in cinema and a chronology beginning with the recording of the destruction of the Russian monument. This classic historical narrative created after the Republic of Turkey, in its effort to give a “start” to the “Turkish” cinema, naturally offers ruptures rather than continuities between the Ottoman and Republican cinematographic industry. In the first generation of publications, the Ottoman period is summarized in a couple of pages and its relation to the following period is not clear. The Manakis, in this frame of mind, simply did not exist. The first generation never mentioned their names. This might have been the result of their pursuit of a “Turkist” ideology in the film making; however, this approach may also be the result of their lack of information. In 1912, the cultural ties between the Manaki Brothers and the Ottoman Empire were cut off when the Balkan Wars resulted in the political reshaping of the region and in its separation from the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁴⁷ For a comparative reading of texts on the “first Turkish film” see Dilek Kaya Mutlu, “Ayastefanos’taki Rus Abidesi: Kim Yıktı? Kim Çekti? Kim ‘Yazdı?’” In *Türk Film Araştırmalarında Yeni Yönelimler 6* edited by Deniz Bayraktar, (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 2007).

¹⁴⁸ Mustafa Gökmen, *Başlangıçtan 1950’ye Kadar Türk Sinema Tarihi ve Eski İstanbul Sinemaları*, (published by the writer, 1989).

Later, a relatively new generation of researchers including Giovanni Scognamillo¹⁴⁹ and Burçak Evren¹⁵⁰ -it should be noted that, as the previous one, they belong to a generation of journalists or writers with an experience in cinema rather than of scholars- revisited the myth or tried to correct some common factual or historical mistakes in the previous publications. Thus, the audience had access to more details, for instance, “first screening” of films in Istanbul was not by a French painter or Weinberg but by a certain D. Henri.¹⁵¹ The discussion about the first “Turkish” films continued with more detailed researches and interviews but the first film remained lost. Films earlier than 1914 mentioned in memoirs and conceivably shot by cameras “held by Turks” came into question: Shots of Sultan Abdulhamit (1905), an imperial procession (1909 – discovered through a photograph taken during the procession showing a camera in action), the Ottoman warship Hamidiye (1913?), and... Sultan Mehmed V Resat filmed by the Manaki Brothers in 1911.¹⁵²

In fact, nothing changed in the historiographic approach. Thanks to the second generation researchers, the Manaki Brothers became visible in the Turkish cinema historiography, but only as candidates, among many, for the status of first “Turkish” filmmakers. Meanwhile, their designation as the first “Turkish” filmmakers is considered problematic by the same researchers: They are not Turkish but Ottoman

¹⁴⁹ Giovanni Scognamillo, *Türk Sineması Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Kabalcı Yayınları, 2003); *Cadde-i Kebir’de Sinema*, (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1991).

¹⁵⁰ Burçak Evren, *Türkiye’ye Sinemayı Getiren Adam: Sigmund Weinberg*, (İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1995); *Türk Sinemasının Doğum Günü / Bir savaş – Bir anıt – Bir film*, (İstanbul: Antrakt Sinema Kitapları 26, 2003); *Eski İstanbul Sinemaları: Düş Şatoları*, (İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1998); *İlk Türk Filmleri*, (İstanbul: Es Yayınları, 2007).

¹⁵¹ Evren, *Türkiye’ye Sinemayı Getiren Adam*, pp. 34, 35.

¹⁵² Evren, *ibid.*, p.111-124; Burçak Evren *Türk Sinemasının Doğum Günü*, pp. 49-55; for a recent evaluation see İbrahim Yıldırım, “Selim Sırrı Tarcan ve Türk Sinemasının Erken Dönem Tartışmalarına Katkı.” in *Kebikeç , Dosya Sinema ve Tarih*, no. 27, (Ankara, 2009), pp. 221-230.

citizens from Vlach community, and yet they are honored as the very first “Turkish” filmmakers only because they filmed the “Turkish” sultan. On the other hand, it is known that the Manaki Brothers’ first record immortalized not an Ottoman sultan but their grandmother Despina, who was apparently neither a Turkish woman nor an adequate emblematic figure for the beginning of the Turkish cinema history. Within this approach, if their status as the first filmmakers of the Ottoman Empire is taken for granted, it is still subject to debate if what they recorded is the very first *Turkish* film.¹⁵³

This complicated questioning underlies an anachronistic appreciation of identities in Ottoman world and ambivalence about the continuity or discontinuity between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey. On the other hand, the status of being the “first filmmakers” in the Ottoman and/or Turkish territories for the Manakis, or for anyone else, is indeed prestigious, but also quite irrelevant due to the inherent characteristic of the filmmaking process. History of cinema is capable of challenging all officially accepted “firsts” and imposing new discoveries instead. Even its “official” beginning with the first public screening of films by the Lumière Brothers is debatable, it still enjoys a common consent to be regarded as the birth of cinema.¹⁵⁴ The domain of cinema is too complex, too wide, moreover too sparse to lend itself to such categorizations. In an industry in which “between eighty and ninety percent of all silent films, as well as a significant number of sound films, are estimated irretrievably

¹⁵³ Evren, *Türk Sinemasının Doğum Günü*, p. 55.

¹⁵⁴ Herbert, *passim*.

lost”¹⁵⁵, it is always possible to discover an exciting new “first” film or new “first” cameraman.

On the other hand, what may be called the third generation of researchers adopts new approaches and concentrate on different aspects of the relations between the Turkish cinema and history. This new understanding can be followed, for instance, in the annual International Meeting Cinema & History held since 1997. On the part of the scholars, the annual Türk Film Araştırmalarında Yeni Yönelimler [New Tendencies in Turkish Film Studies] conferences held regularly since 1999, are promising with new discussions and subject matters they bring to the agenda.¹⁵⁶ However, while the number of scholars interested in film studies gradually increases, historians are still not numerous. As a symbolic, but not so illuminating example, in two special issues of a respectable magazine, *Kebikeç*, dedicated to cinema and history, the contribution made by scholars from history departments was only five out of 33 (and two of them had been interviews given by historians known for their interest in the subject) and the articles.¹⁵⁷ Both in that publication and during the *New Tendencies in the Turkish Film Studies* conferences, the focus is on the reading of the mindset of the time in fiction films and the use of historical facts in the cinematographic narrative. In this new wave, among historians bringing new perspectives to cinema historiography, Ali Özuyar is the one

¹⁵⁵ <https://www.lost-films.eu/index/whyIf> [25 August 2010]. « Lost Films » is an initiative of the [Deutsche Kinemathek – Museum für Film und Fernsehen](#), Berlin, funded by the [Kulturstiftung des Bundes](#) (German Federal Cultural Foundation).

¹⁵⁶ The presentations are edited and published each year by Bağlam Yayınları, since 2009 under the title *Türk Film Araştırmalarında Yeni Yönelimler*.

¹⁵⁷ These articles are “Tarih Aynı Zamanda İnsanların Eğlendiği Bir Alan Olmalı”, Cemal Kafadar ile Söyleşi, *Kebikeç*, no.27, pp. 109-130; Hakan Kaynar, “Al Gözüm Seyreyle Dünyayı: İstanbul ve Sinema”, pp.191-220; Ali Özuyar, “Varlık Vergisi Mağduru Sinemacılar”, pp. 291-305; “Sinema Sevgisinden Tarihe... Ahmet Yaşar Ocak’la Sohbet”, *Kebikeç*, no. 28, pp. 7-24 ; Cemal Kafadar, “Asiler, Azizler, Aşıklar”., pp. 25-33.

who first brought attention of cinema researchers to the Ottoman Archives. In his *Devlet-i Aliyye'de Sinema*¹⁵⁸ [Cinema in the Ottoman Empire] based on 134 documents, he provides material about the beginning of the cinema in the Empire, its evolution under Sultan Abdulhamit II and during WWI, and about important figures such as Weinberg. Especially a 1903 regulation by Sultan Abdulhamit II, promulgated for “who would show various scenes with cinematograph or magic lantern”¹⁵⁹ which he brought to light is crucial for the reconstruction of this period. However, as archival documents ignored the Manakis, Özuyar’s “Ottoman cinema” completely excluded them as well. Mustafa Özen’s articles on the early films as propaganda weapons and about the activities of Pathé in the Ottoman Empire as well as his study on travelling cinemas in Istanbul added new subject matters to the agenda, especially about the scale of film industry in the Empire. He also mentioned the Manakis albeit in-dept analysis on their work.¹⁶⁰ Özde Çeliktemel-Thomen’s unpublished Masters’ thesis¹⁶¹ is another study dealing with the connection propaganda-cinema through propaganda films shown or produced in Istanbul during WWI, and in the Armistice Period (1918-1923). The Manakis, in this study, have been mentioned as “newsreels” cameramen without any reference to their earlier films, and only with their footage of Sultan Reşad. Each new research contributes to a better understanding of the mechanisms of the Ottoman cinema

¹⁵⁸ Ali Özuyar, *Devlet-i Aliyye'de Sinema*, (Ankara: De ki Yayınları, 2007). See also *Babîâli'de Sinema*, (İstanbul: İzdüşüm Yayınları, 2004) and *Sinemanın Osmanlıca Serüveni*, (Ankara: De ki Yayınları, 2008).

¹⁵⁹ Özuyar, *Devlet-i Aliyye'de Sinema.*, pp. 11-14, 135-139.

¹⁶⁰ Özen. See also Mustafa Özen, « Pathé Frères İstanbul'da, 1908-1914 », *Türk Film Araştırmalarında Yeni Yönelimler – Sinema ve Politika 5* (İstanbul : Bağlam Yayıncılık, 2006), pp. 57-65) ; « Travelling Cinemas in Istanbul ». In *Travelling Cinema in Europe, Sources and Perspectives*, *KINtop Schriften 10*, edited by Martin Loiperdinger (Stroemfeld Verlag, 2008), pp. 47-55.

¹⁶¹ Çeliktemel-Thomen.

and adds new subject matters to the agenda of film researchers, yet, for the time being the sources and studies in Turkish seem remain silent about the Manakis.

A Short Biography of the Manaki Brothers

Yanaki and Milton Manaki were born in Avdela in the Pindus Mountains, nowadays part of Northern Greece, respectively in 1878 and 1882. The village was in the *vilayet* of Manastir and the *kaza* of Grebene of the Ottoman Empire until 1912.¹⁶² Their paternal grandfather Yanuli Manaki was recorded as *teba-i saltanat-ı seniyeden ulah taifesinden Yanuli*,¹⁶³ which exposes the official definition of the family, i.e. “subject of the Empire from Vlach people.” At the time when the Manaki Brothers were born, the Vlach people across the Balkans were officially recognized as a community belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church but they were also affiliated with Romanians. It is difficult to estimate the number of Vlachs living in Macedonia when Greek sources tend to count most of them as part of the Greek community. Meanwhile, Serbian or Bulgarian sources mention larger number of Vlachs for the same period: at the end of the nineteenth century, according to the Greek sources 25,101 Vlachs lived in Macedonia, versus 80,767 Vlachs as asserted by Bulgarians and 69,665 of them according to the Serbian sources.¹⁶⁴ They could have either built up ties with Romanian culture through Romanian schools operating in the Ottoman Empire or reinforced cultural bonds with the Greeks through their schools. The claim of the Romanian government for the Vlach community was

¹⁶² Tutui, p. 123; Christodoulou, p. 18.

¹⁶³ Bitola Archives, 2.580.4.78.

¹⁶⁴ Daniel Panzac, “La population de la Macédoine au XIXe siècle (1820-1912)”. In: *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* n.66, p. 122, 1992.

justified by the common roots of their respective languages and national origins.¹⁶⁵ On the other hand, in this complicated geography, the Vlachs were exposed to assimilation into other communities such as the Greeks, Bulgarians or Serbians. Thus, Vlach leaders like Apostol Margarit of Avdela (1832-1903) would even search for solutions such as mass conversion to Catholicism in order to lay new foundations for nation building.¹⁶⁶ Under such conditions, Yanaki and Milton were sent to a Romanian school, the former would become a calligraphy teacher while Milton contented himself with primary education. In 1898, Yanaki opened a photographic studio in Ioannina where he was also teaching at a Romanian commercial high school. It is worth noting that Apostol Margarit, a former subject of the Ottoman Empire and recently recognized as a subject of the Romanian Kingdom, was appointed then as the general inspector of Romanian schools throughout the Ottoman Empire.¹⁶⁷ The same year Milton joined his brother to be introduced to the art of photography. There are photographs from this period which are signed as “Photographer and painter, Janaki Manakia” and copper plates labeled both in Ottoman and Romanian. The problematic opening of the first Romanian Consulate in Ioannina in 1904 photographed by the Brothers turned out to be a turning point in their professional lives, and their affiliation with the Romanian authorities would also mark the end of Ioannina chapter in their lives: In 1905, two Romanian inspectors coming to Ioannina organized a political protest in which Yanaki Manaki was involved. In a village called Vovoussa, a group of Vlachs, Yanaki among them, celebrated the first Easter sermon in Romanian, instead of Greek under the leadership of these inspectors. They

¹⁶⁵ Exarchos, pp. 234, 235.

¹⁶⁶ Hacisalihoğlu, p. 77.

¹⁶⁷ Stardelov, *Manaki*, pp 54-55.

were attacked by Hellenophile Vlachs and in the end seven people were arrested. Yanaki, according to the newspapers of the time, was banned from Ioannina and reached Athens (?), without any further information about his stay in this city.¹⁶⁸ He might as well have returned to his village Avdela, but the same year the village was burnt down by Hellenophile Vlachs, according to Tutui.¹⁶⁹ This is how and why the Manakis went to Manastır and set up their new “Studio for Art and Photography” there. Later on, in 1905, they went to Bucharest. After Yanaki purchased their movie camera in London, they filmed their grandmother Despina in Avdela at the age of 117,¹⁷⁰ which would mark the beginning of the Balkan cinema. Keeping their photography studio as their main source of income, they continued filming important personalities and events in their surroundings. After *Hürriyet* in 1908, they recorded Sultan Mehmed V Reşat’s visit to Salonika and Manastır in 1911, then after filming Alexander Karageorgevic¹⁷¹ in 1912 they became his official photographers in 1929. Meanwhile, they witnessed and recorded the Balkan Wars reshaping the Balkans, and then WWI which would play a decisive role in their lives. When Bitola (ex Manastır) was occupied by the Bulgarian forces, Yanaki was exiled to the Bulgarian town of Plovdiv on the grounds that weapons and photos for military objectives had been found in their house. Yanaki opened a photography studio in Plovdiv (1917-1918) and after the war he returned to Manastır but had to interrupt his teaching carrier when foreign schools were suspended by the new

¹⁶⁸ Christodoulou, pp. 56, 57; Tutui, p. 120.

¹⁶⁹ Tutui, p. 120.

¹⁷⁰ The year 1905 is repeated in the “classical biography” by several writers as the beginning of their cinematographic activities, but this is challenged later by Tutui, and Stardelov particularly, as will be presented below.

¹⁷¹ The future king of Yugoslavia; following the Balkan Wars, Manastır became part of the Serbian territory in 1912.

regime. Thus, a mobile cinema was introduced to the town of Bitola by the Manakis in 1921 and then in 1924 they constructed a permanent movie theater. However, in 1939, nitrate-based films started a fire during screening. The building burned down and the Manakis were not able to re-construct it. By the end of the 1930s,¹⁷² Yanaki moved to Salonika, Greece, to resume his teaching career in the local Romanian high school while Milton stayed in Bitola and continued taking photographs almost until his death in 1964. His brother, whom he never saw again, died before him in 1954 in complete oblivion. Milton was luckier than Yanaki, he was able to present and sell his collection to the socialist Yugoslavia, and enjoyed recognition shortly before his death. In 1958, a film was dedicated to him (*Camera 300*, by Branko Ranitovic, 1958). Milton died as a citizen of socialist Yugoslavia, Yanaki, on the other hand with a Greek passport.¹⁷³

In this narrative, the year of 1905 seems to be the most decisive year for the Manaki Brothers. Obviously, they had to move their studio to a new town (Manastir). They traveled to Istanbul first (as Milton stated in the 1950s), then to Bucharest where they saw moving images for the first time in their lives. Afterwards, Yanaki went to London and bought a Bioscope 300 manufactured by the Charles Urban Company, and finally, they became the first filmmakers in the Balkans and most probably in the Ottoman Empire after filming their 117 year-old grandmother Despina living in Avdela. The reason of their journey to Bucharest was to participate in an official photography exhibition where they were awarded a silver medal. However, this story as Milton remembered almost fifty years later raises some questions. First of all, how they were

¹⁷² Tutui, p. 121, proposes two dates, namely 1939 or 1943. Stardelov, *ibid.*, claims they were definitely separated in 1935.

¹⁷³ Tutui, p. 121.

able to achieve all of this in such a short time is not clear. The second problem is the year they participated at the exhibition in Bucharest. Based on Tutui's research in the Romanian Archives and documents preserved in Bitola, Stardelov asserts that the exhibition was held in 1906, not the year before. Therefore, if, as Milton states, they had seen a camera for the first time in Bucharest, they could have purchased it at the earliest in 1906. Given that the manufacturer of Bioscope 300, namely Charles Urban Trading Company also had representatives in Paris and Berlin, it was presumably not purchased in London. Milton's statement is also curious because, as photographers traveling a lot over the Balkans, they would be expected to have encountered a film projection, a cine-spectacle, or be informed about this technology by their suppliers. Stardelov, following his comparative reading of texts reproducing the same narrative, concluded that those writers' sole purpose was "to avoid losing their [the Brothers'] precedence in the history of the Balkan film."¹⁷⁴ The Balkan version of the "ultimate first" myth is challenged in this context by local camera owners who used their devices apparently before the Manaki Brothers in various regions of the Balkans, namely Paul Meni in 1897 in Romania; Gheorge Marinescu and his cameramen Constantin M. Popescu in 1901 in Bucharest; Grosman in 1905 and 1906 in Slovenia...¹⁷⁵ Stardelov's standpoint indicates the camera had been purchased either in London or Paris in 1907. So, they should have filmed their grandmother Despina and spinning women in Avdela two years later than Milton suggested.

¹⁷⁴ Stardelov, *Manaki*, p. 57.

¹⁷⁵ Tutui., p. 135; Stardelov, *ibid.*, p.57.

With the available information, there is no possible answer to all of those questions. For the time being, the contribution of this discussion to our main preoccupation is to say that the Brothers were awarded a silver medal by the Kingdom of Romania in 1906 and acquired the title of official photographers of the Romanian Court¹⁷⁶ which would lead us to question their connections with Romanian authorities as part of the Vlachs in Manastir. The connection of the Brothers with the Romanian government is not limited to the silver medal they were awarded in 1906. They had been educated in Romanian schools. Yanaki became a teacher in these schools. Their work also reflects their affiliation with this culture: Their photos with ethnographic content, offering scenes from Vlach life in their region, were used by the Romanian Academy and later by the Romanian Social Institute preoccupied with ethnographic studies, for instance, with two ethnographic albums published in 1926 and 1934.¹⁷⁷ In addition, they filmed the transhuman journey of the Sarakachens (i.e. nomadic Vlachs) immortalizing their way of living. After all, their cinematographic work is not based only on Vlachs but embraces almost all ethnic communities in the Balkans. However, these films have a particular significance. As all evidence at hand, including Milton's remarks indicate, the Manaki Brothers did not develop their own films (except two, a commercial one, Mihai Zega's wedding party records which did not survive¹⁷⁸ and the *Funeral of Metropolitan Emilianos of Grevena*, preserved by the Cinematheque of Macedonia¹⁷⁹), and thus, could not show them publicly in Macedonia. Nonetheless, the Romanian Film Archives

¹⁷⁶ Tutui, p. 120.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 125.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 126.

¹⁷⁹ See the description on the official website of the Cinematheque of Macedonia: http://maccinema.com/e_filmovi_detali.asp?IDMAKFILM=557 under the title "The Funeral of Metropolitan Emilianos of Grevena".

today contain six reels of film by the Manaki Brothers with a total length of 160 meters titled as the *Scenes from the Life of the Vlachs in the Pindus*, as well as *A Trip to Turkish Macedonia*, a 168-meter-long footage. The crucial point is that those films had apparently been edited before 1912 for Romanian audience (yet there are no clues indicating they were publicly screened) compared to the films with similar titles preserved in the Cinematheque of Macedonia implies. The Brothers, who worked for Romanian institutions as filmmakers and photographers, with the title “Photographers of the Romanian Court,” sold photographs (and probably the abovementioned films) to the Court, published an ethnographic album on Romanian culture,¹⁸⁰ followed the Romanian delegations closely in Macedonia (1911) and contributed to the ethnographic documentation of the Vlachs. Those close relations should not be ignored while meditating on how the Brothers had defined their identity and, as will be discussed below, their possible ties with the Young Turk Revolution.

The biographies of the Manaki Brothers contain multiple “entangled” histories related to the Balkans and their time. Because of the turbulent era they witnessed and recorded, their ties with several rulers, political authorities and their specific gaze towards the Balkan peoples, the story of their lives contribute not only to the history of photography and cinema in the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire, but also to the history of modern communication tools and their role in politics, or to the history of the wars in the Balkans (they worked during the Balkan Wars, WWI and WWII), but above all, to the history of ordinary Muslims, Vlachs or Greeks of this geography. Besides, historians from different nations turning their gaze towards their lives and works set forth different

¹⁸⁰ Tutui, p. 125.

affiliations and approaches shaping the historical review of the past. On the contrary, either the photographer of Ioninna who, in 1898 captured the Greek family, the owner of photo-studio Manakis in Manastır who recorded the Ilinden rebellion in 1903, or the Yugoslavian who immortalized the arrival of Tito in Bitola did not necessarily work with the same motivations and expectations. In the Balkan world which had several times been politically and culturally shaken in the wake of the twentieth century, not only the Brothers changed but also their thoughts seem to have been reshaped. Then again, further researches may bring to light the personal affiliations and personal motivations of each of the Brothers, instead of regarding the two as one person. When explaining their “*Hürriyet*” films, it is necessary to search for clues (however insufficient they may be) in their biographies that could help us to speculate on the motivations which inspired the photographer-cameraman’s angle of shot, the persons to record, and the events to immortalize from 1908 onwards.

The Manaki Brothers and *Hürriyet*

Neither Milton’s reminiscences in 1950s, nor the available written documents inform us about the Brothers’ point of view during *Hürriyet* or the role they consciously assumed. However their biography is not entirely deprived of clues about their probable attitude towards *Hürriyet*. First of all, it clearly denotes their self-definition as Vlachs-Romanians, thus the cooperation between the Vlach community and the CUP deserves a deeper look. Then, their work should be re-interpreted in this frame. As to their communitarian affiliations, Yanaki’s connections with the Romanian authorities as a

teacher can be a starting point to evaluate the relations which presumably connected them with the “Young Turk Revolution.” Romanian schools in the Ottoman Empire constituted the major instrument for the Romanian government to strengthen its ties with the Vlach people against the influence of the Greek Orthodox Church¹⁸¹. The inspectors appointed by the same government in Ottoman territory did not only function as teachers but mostly as political activists. Yanaki and Milton were educated in Romanian schools. In 1905, as previously mentioned, Yanaki was involved in a political demonstration under the leadership of two inspectors, Lazaros Doumas and Ionannia Hondrozomos.¹⁸² But the most important inspector relating to the subject matter herein is Nicolas Batzaria (b.1874 Krushevo – d.1952 Bucharest). He graduated from the Romanian high school in Manastir,¹⁸³ -like Yanaki Manaki, who probably graduated a few years later as he was four years younger -¹⁸⁴ then studied literature and law in Bucharest. Returning to his hometown, he first taught at a school in Ioannina and then at the Romanian high school in Bitola, like Yanaki. Soon after, he was appointed as the inspector and supervisor of the Romanian schools both in Kosovo and Salonika. He is known as the publisher of the first Romanian newspaper (*Deșteptera*, i.e. “Awakening”) in Salonika in the Vlach dialect (1908). Besides, from 1907 onwards he joined the CUP, as one of “the first Christian members.”¹⁸⁵ Following the Restoration of the Constitution in 1908, he

¹⁸¹ Christodoulos, p. 26.

¹⁸² Ibid., p.56.

¹⁸³ Kemal Karpat, “The Memoirs of N. Batzaria: The Young Turks and Nationalism”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 6, no. 3, (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 276-299.

¹⁸⁴ Christodoulou, p.55.

¹⁸⁵ H.E Cengiz (ed.), *Enver Paşa'nın Anıları (1881-1908)*, (İş Bankası Yayınları, 1991), p. 79.

guaranteed a seat in the Ottoman Senate, joined diplomatic missions, e.g. the 1913 London Conference.¹⁸⁶

The relations between the Vlachs and the Committee are not limited to the membership of Batzaria. The forthcoming idol of the Committee, Enver Bey, before the uprising had convinced a Vlach doctor named Philip Miche to attend the Committee and established a branch in Manastir along with Mustafa Nedim Bey.¹⁸⁷ Philip Miche was appointed deputy in the Ottoman Parliament following the Restoration of the Constitution. And indeed, the photo-studio of the Manakis after the opening of the Ottoman Parliament would honor those Vlachs with their photographs captioned the “First representatives of Vlach community in the Ottoman Imperial Parliament: Nikola Batzaria and Philip Miche.” The Vlach community as a whole, as Philip Miche highlighted in his speech addressing to the Ottoman deputies in 1909, was in cooperation with the CUP.¹⁸⁸ The memoirs of Niyazi Bey reveal the support given to the rebellion by the Vlach community.¹⁸⁹

The cooperation between the Vlach community and the CUP does not allow a speculation about the politic role the Manakis consciously assumed in the imagery of the uprising because the ethnic communities are not monolithic entities prohibiting all individual behavior. However, this connection allows a reinterpretation of their work. Beginning with the era before *Hürriyet*, the interest of the Manakis in the Illinden

¹⁸⁶ Karpát.

¹⁸⁷ H.E Cengiz (ed.), p. 79.

¹⁸⁸ *Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi*, vol. I (4 December 1908 – 9 February 1909), p. 449 in: Hacısalihoglu, pp. 155-156.

¹⁸⁹ Hacısalihoglu, p. 186.

uprising of 1903 can give clues about their general attitude towards the Hamidian regime.¹⁹⁰ They photographed this Macedonian uprising and the town of Krushevo after the rebellion as devastated by the Hamidian army. (Fig.1) As Milton recalled in the 1950s, he went into the woods and recorded the Macedonian rebels.¹⁹¹ The Manaki Brothers were experienced photographers and they indeed had a specific gaze to capture the “historical moment.” Nonetheless for a footage taken under risky circumstances with outlaws on the mountains, they might have gone beyond mere artistic and professional motivations. As a matter of fact, for Milton, the Young Turks were “Illindeners” too, Illinder apparently being a generic name describing all rebels.¹⁹²



Fig. 1 “Macedonian revolutionists sentenced to exile to Asia Minor, photo taken at the railway station. (1904)”¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ For selected photographs of the uprising see : *The Creation of the Brothers Manaki*, pp. 209-216.

¹⁹¹ He did not film but photographed. This mistake was corrected later by another Yugoslavian writer. Dejan Kosanovic, *untitled*, *Kinotecen Mesecnik* (Cinematheque Monthly), no.15, (1979).

¹⁹² Drnkov.

¹⁹³ *The Creation of the Brothers Manaki*, p. 210.

Later, from 1908 onwards, they photographed different phases of *Hürriyet* and its heroes, especially Niyazi Bey of Resen who appears also in their film footage. Until 1909 there is no evidence hinting at the cooperation between the Manakis and the Ottoman state except their travel to Istanbul which hardly resulted in permanent relations with the Palace. But especially in 1911, they established steady connections with palace authorities first by filming Sultan Mehmed V Reşat during his trip to Bitola and Salonika. Documents from the Archive of Bitola demonstrate that this “honorable” but commercial relation pursued. They were commissioned both by the Palace and the high ranking notables.¹⁹⁴ For instance, in July 327 (1911), the Palace asked for photographs commissioned before, “...as we agreed there, the mailing should not take so long.”¹⁹⁵ This cooperation could be the outcome of their relations with the members of CUP, which by 1911 had already seized the power overthrowing Sultan Mehmed V Reşat, in other words the sultan of the “constitutional regime”.

Although the written sources are mostly silent about such connections, visual primary sources, i.e. *Hürriyet* photographs taken by the Manakis, allow further speculations on the Brothers’ attitude toward the new regime. As indicated in Chapter II, these pictures have been printed on postcards, published in newspapers as *Servet-i Fünun* (fig.2)¹⁹⁶ and circulated by themselves via an album. And in 1910, Niyazi Bey of Resen, the eminent *Hürriyet* hero photographed many times by the Manakis, enhanced his memoirs with pictures taken by them supposedly representing different stages and

¹⁹⁴ Bitola Archives, 2.580.6.25 / 25; 2.580.6.27 / 27.

¹⁹⁵ Bitola Archives, 2.580.6.25 / 25.

¹⁹⁶ As an exemple see: fig. 1, *Servet-i Fünun*, 13 Teşrin-i Evvel 1324 (26 October 1908).

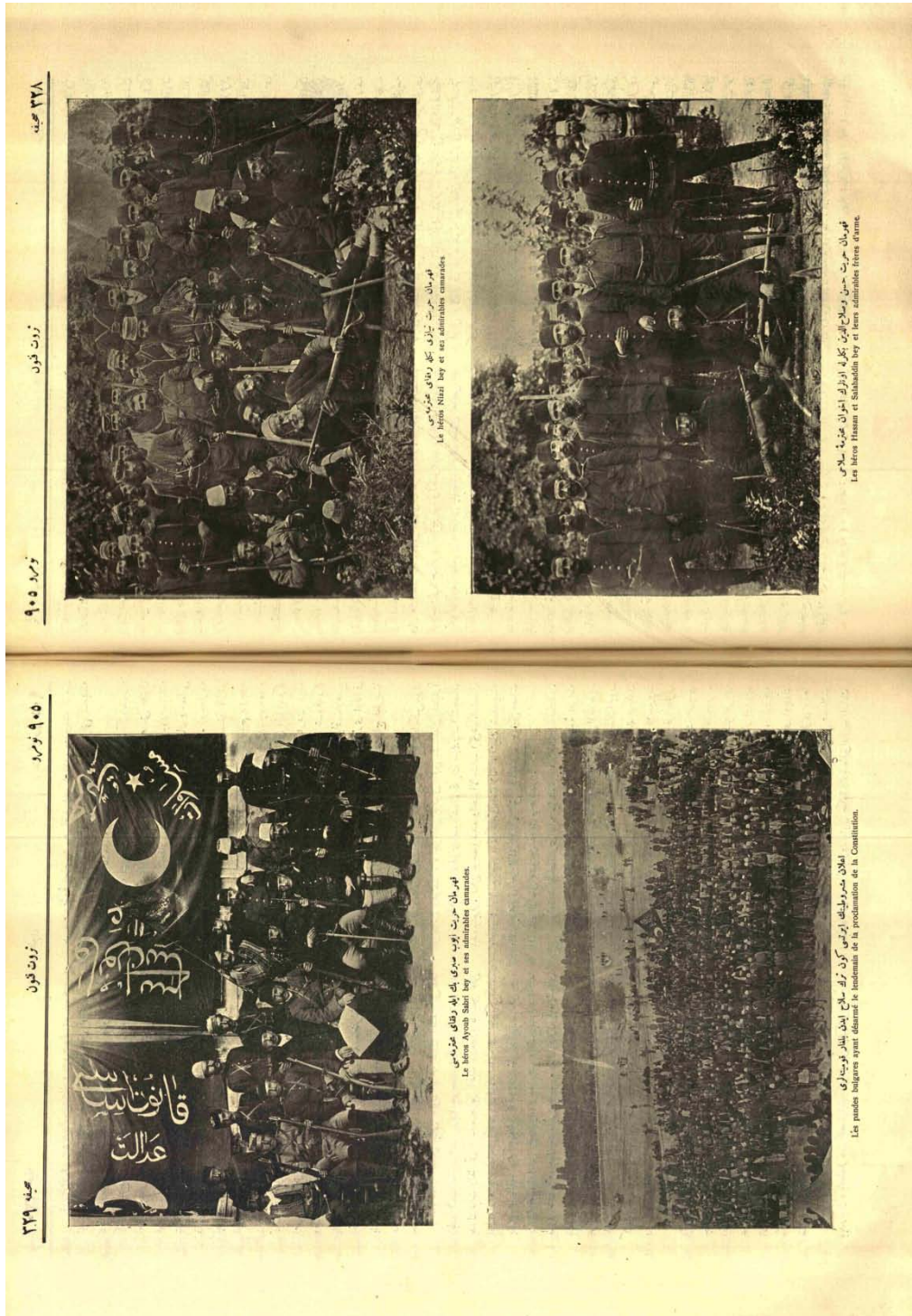


Fig. 2 Photographs taken by the Manakis used by *Servet-i Fünun*.

important places of the struggle leading to *Hürriyet*:¹⁹⁷ a squad from the national battalion of Ohrid,¹⁹⁸ a group of rebels recently joined the uprising on July 17,¹⁹⁹ the famous photograph of Niyazi with his deer and the band specified in the caption: “Resne, 20 July 324, the first rebel Ottoman band.”²⁰⁰ The Brothers were indeed not the only photographers of *Hürriyet*, and how their pictures had been used did not necessarily depend on them. Their photographs supplied to postcard publishers and the press in different towns could be used to assert, illustrate, create and propagate different convictions. But there is a medium which was apparently prepared by the Brothers, thus imply their point of view: the previously mentioned album prepared for or sold to Süreyya, son of Kamil Paşa²⁰¹. The album is not dated, but the latest photographs are from 1909 and the selection does not include important pictures from the Sultan’s visit in 1911; thus it must have been published around 1910 but most probably before 1911. The pictures apparently were selected, prepared and captured by the Brothers or under their supervision, thus arranged according to their perceptions of *Hürriyet*. Besides, the Brothers’ photograph collection preserved today in Bitola introduces more pictures taken in the early days of *Hürriyet* but not used by the Manakis in their album. Nevertheless, they are useful in analyzing the Manakis’ way of picturing *Hürriyet* and in identifying postcards and newspapers illustrated with pictures taken by them.

¹⁹⁷ Kolağası Resneli Ahmed Niyazi, *Hatırat-ı Niyazi yahud Tarihçe-i İnkılâb-ı Kebir-i Osmaniden Bir Sahife* (İstanbul: Sabah Matbaası, 1326 [1910]). The pictures do not bear the signatures of the Manakis, but a comparison with photographs in their album and those kept today in the Archives of Bitola clearly demonstrates that most of them had been taken by the Brothers.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 78

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

²⁰¹ Margulies.

The album of the Manakis contains pictures of *Hürriyet*, the arrival of rebel bands in Manastır, but also of the celebration ceremonies held later, for instance, for the enthronement of Sultan Mehmed Reşad in 1909. If we confine ourselves with the earlier pictures, we see that the Manakis have photographed CUP-affiliated major (Niyazi Bey) and minor heroes (Eyüp Sabri Bey, Cherchis Topoli, Adem Bey, Selahattin Bey, Atif Bey etc.), as well as the CUP members and rebel band leaders from different ethnic groups. These images seem to be an epic account of *Hürriyet* emphasizing the success of the rebellion: crowds in the streets or on the squares taken from a high angle filling the whole frame in order to produce an impression of grandeur. The picturing of the heroes contributes to this narrative: both in the open air and in the studio, their position, their outfits, their weapons and false mountains settings tell and remind the story of an armed rebellion. The collection of Bitola Archives presents additional examples of this photographic attitude: in a photograph with the caption “Albanians from Korca in Manastır, after *Hürriyet*,” (fig.3) eight Albanians posed for the Manakis in their studio in front of a wall decorated with curtains. The Albanians proudly posed as warrior characters with binoculars and rifles. In the second row, the one in the middle carries his rifle on his shoulder as a remembrance of the struggle in the mountains. The second on the left holds his binocular, and in the first row, the first on the left holds his rifle ready to use. The setting as a whole is like a reenactment of their lives as rebels fighting on the mountains.²⁰²

²⁰² The making of heroes through visual representation will be discussed in Chapter V, within the content analysis of films.



Fig. 3 Albanians from Korca in Manastir, after *Hürriyet*.

Most of these photographs must have been taken after July 10, because this was when the rebel bands reached the town.²⁰³ However all these pictures, including those of Bulgarian, Greek and Vlach rebel bands' coming to the town are dated as July 10 in the album, yet according to the written material, they reached the town not on the same day but later.²⁰⁴ The fact that the Manakis falsely dated these pictures as July 10 is meaningless alone, but the presence of two separate dates in the general imagery raises

²⁰³ Resneli Niyazi, p. 231.

²⁰⁴ Margulies, photographs with captions "Bulgarian rebels taking refuge with the Government in Manastir on 10 July", "Serbian rebels taking refuge with the Government in Manastir on 10 July", "Wallachian rebels taking refuge with the government in Manastir on July 10". The year is not indicated, but the rebels "took refuge with the Government" in 1324 (1908), after the Proclamation of the Constitution.

questions about the propaganda rhetoric produced by counterparts of *Hürriyet*: The other date is July 11, which recalls the official declaration of *Hürriyet* by the palace.

A parenthesis is necessary here for a glimpse at the general visual panorama after *Hürriyet* in order to deconstruct different usage and interpretations of the photographs, and to determine the position adopted by the Manakis. This panorama is of course, too large to deal with here: it contains printed souvenirs, cartoons, postcards, printed press and paintings as well. In this rich pattern the focus will be on the media using photographs such as the printed press and postcards.

The postcards, amongst all these media are probably the hardest to evaluate, as they are numerous, scattered and difficult to handle. It is quite unlikely to determine how many of them had been published in honor of *Hürriyet* or how many had been sold or circulated. John Fraser reminds us the postcard craze of this period, which is now a largely forgotten phenomenon, and argues that at the end of the nineteenth century “the leading country was Germany where the number [of postcards posted] rose from 314,296,000 in 1890 to 1,792,824,900 in 1913. The second country for the popularity of postcards was Japan where the numbers posted rose from 96,430,610 in 1890 to 1,504,860,312 in 1913. Great Britain was the third with 903,180,000 cards posted in 1913.”²⁰⁵ In the Ottoman Empire, the postcards had been published since 1895.²⁰⁶ As an indication for the importance of this industry in the Empire, we have a number worth to

²⁰⁵ John Fraser, « Propaganda on the Picture Postcard », *Oxford Art Journal* 3 (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1980) pp. 39-48.

²⁰⁶ Mert Sandalcı, *Max Fruchterman Kartpostalları* (İstanbul : Koçbank, 2000) p. X.

mention: When the postcard publisher Max Fruchtermann died in Istanbul in 1918, he left behind approximately 600,000 postcards.²⁰⁷

A picture conveys the “vernacular aesthetic of a period”²⁰⁸ as soon as it begins to circulate as a postcard. It can transfer panoramas of a country; scenes from everyday life, figures labeled as “women”, “men”, “seller”, “officer” who are supposed to display the most characteristic properties of those groups. The publisher should consider the desires and perceptions of his target audience and produce a satisfying, suitable “reality effect” for them. The postcard is less expensive than the letter, useful for analphabets and also collectible. This is why it was supported in France in 1873: “The law passed on 20 December 1872 made this hope come true: It has just confirmed the use of this new mode of correspondence which fortunately completes the ways of fast circulation of thoughts and adds a new and fruitful instrument for the reproduction of family connections as well as commercial relations.”²⁰⁹ On the other hand, the twentieth century history presents several examples in the use of printed material as a propaganda weapon, including postcards and stamps.²¹⁰ They are useful in this sense to bring policy issues to the attention of an “otherwise inattentive public.”²¹¹

²⁰⁷ Sandalci, *ibid.*

²⁰⁸ Jon D. Carlson, « Postcards and Propaganda : Cartographic Postcards as Soft News Images of the Russo-Japanese War », *Political Communication*, 26, no.2 (London : Routledge, 2009), pp. 212-237.

²⁰⁹ “La carte postale en divers pays”, *Journal des économistes*, 85, (Paris, 1875).

²¹⁰ Examples of albums covering propaganda postcards, especially those published during WWI and WWII are countless. As an introduction see Fraser. See also: Albert L. Moore, *Postal Propaganda of the Third Reich* (Pennsylvania : Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 2003). Another source covering different means of propaganda : Nicholas J. Cull, David Culbert, and David Welch, *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion, A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present* (California : ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2003), pp. 165 (« The earliest publicity materials of Herzlian Zionism consisted of a series of postcards and delegates’ cards produced in connection with the First Zionist Congress. Although crude by later standards, they helped introduce to a wider audience the pantheon of Zionist heroes –such as Herzl and Max Nordau (1849-1923) (...) »).

²¹¹ Carlson, p. 213.

The “otherwise inattentive” Ottoman public, after *Hürriyet*, had been offered postcards reproducing the same narrative than Manakis adopted in their album: July 10 praised with the heroes of *Hürriyet*, such as Niyazi Bey of Resen and Enver Bey. For instance, on a postcard presenting Atif Bey, Cherchis Topoli and Adem Bey side by side as a sign of cooperation between different constituents of the struggle, reads *10 Temmuz 1324, yevm Perşembe* (10 July 1324, Thursday), yet according to written sources they were not in town yet on July 10. (Fig. 4) As proves the collection in the Bitola Archives, the picture was taken by the Manakis²¹².



Fig. 4 Manastir. The conqueror of *Hürriyet* and Toska fedayees. 10 July 1324, Thursday.

Nevertheless, there were also postcards publishers like Max Fruchtermann who apparently opted for another date: 11 July 1324 or 24 July 1908. Fruchtermann started

²¹² Bitola, 2.580.7.24/27.

printing postcards with the photographs taken by the Manaki Brothers or with floral designs but dated all of them 24 July 1908 (fig. 4).²¹³ It should be remembered that July 11 is the date of the publication of the imperial decree for the Restoration of the Constitution in Istanbul newspapers, or in pro-CUP rhetoric, “a false presentation of the revolution as an imperial benevolence on ‘July 11.’”²¹⁴ In this frame, it would not be impertinent to interpret the July 10 as the symbolic date all pro-CUP heroic actions should be channelized to versus the July 11 promoted by the palace.

At this point, the circulation of the image of Sultan Abdulhamit II deserves a deeper observation. Abdulhamit II, in contrast with the previous sultans of the nineteenth century, who went to Europe with all possible and visible splendors as in the case of Abdulaziz, or left their marks on official buildings with their portraits as Mahmut II or Abdülmecit did, did not make his image public. This in a way meant a return to the approach of the sultans of the early modern era, and Sultan Abdulhamit wished to make his presence felt without his invisibility.²¹⁵ He had court photographers such as *Abdullah Frères* for whom he posed in their studio; but they are deprived of their privilege in 1878 on the grounds that they had invited the Russian Duke Nikola to their studio during the Ottoman-Russian war. All the copper plates of the Sultan’s photographs were destroyed in 1880,²¹⁶ so much so that the only photographs of him until 1908 would be those that had been taken by William Downey in 1867 before he ascended to the throne,

²¹³ For the postcards published by Früchtermann, see Sandalcı, v.1, p. VII.

²¹⁴ Nadide Özge Serin, “Festivals of ‘10 July’ in the Young Turk Era (1908-1918) (master’s thesis, University of Boğaziçi, 2000), p. 121.

²¹⁵ Selim Deringil, *Simgeden Millete, II. Abdülhamid’den Mustafa Kemal’e Devlet ve Millet*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007.), pp.54,55.

²¹⁶ Engin Özendes, *Abdullah Frères, Osmanlı Sarayının Fotoğrafçıları*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006.), pp. 83-90.

and another one taken by Boğos Tarkulyan Effendi in 1900 in honor of an official visit by Shah Muzafereddin of Iran.²¹⁷ This is probably why the postcards printed as souvenirs of the visit of Kaiser Wilhelm II to Istanbul (1898) reproduced the old picture taken by Downey despite the temporal distance.²¹⁸

However, this policy should not be interpreted as the Sultan's indifference towards modern visual instruments. On the contrary, Sultan Abdulhamit II was deeply interested in photography. It was not a mere amateur interest for a modern device, for him the pictures were useful media for the presentation of his work throughout foreign countries. He encouraged and engaged both Ottoman and foreign photographers to prepare a collection of 36,535 photographs in 911 albums for him to be preserved at the Yıldız Palace Library. He offered a huge collection to the Library of Congress in Washington DC in 1893 and to the British Museum in London in 1894. The subjects in the albums included a large scope containing the *Haydarpaşa Quay*, the *Military School in Monastir* and *Heybeliada Naval College Main Torpedo Boat and Ships*. Supposedly, photography documented the modernization and the progress of the Empire.²¹⁹ Recently, his interest in cinematography has been unveiled as well. He employed a British "bioscope attaché" to screen travelogues to the harem, and more he wanted him to shoot

²¹⁷ Bahattin Öztuncay, *Hâtıra-i Uhuvvet, Portre Fotoğrafların Cazibesi: 1846-1950*, (İstanbul: Aygaz, 2005.) p. 92.

²¹⁸ For examples see : Kutlu, p. 70-71.

²¹⁹ For a wider presentation and a selection of 306 photographs of Hamidian Istanbul see: Nurhan Atasoy (ed.), *Photographs from the Yıldız Palace Albums, Souvenir of Istanbul*, (İstanbul, Akkök Publications, 2007).

the construction of Anatolian railways, although we are not sure if this film had ever been made, and even if it had, today we can consider it lost.²²⁰

Despite this, the Sultan's choice of keeping himself away from the eyes of his subjects was rather political. Before *Hürriyet*, on one occasion he allowed a camera to film the Friday prayer but only soon after an assassination plot in 1905, probably to prove his presence and his power as intact.²²¹ But with *Hürriyet*, against postcards, photographs or illustrated publications criticizing or satirizing him, and against the heroes of *Hürriyet* who were expanded and legitimized through modern tools such as post offices and newspapers, the Sultan had to participate in the visual making of *Hürriyet*²²². Eyewitnesses reported that he had been filmed for the second time on a Friday prayer following the Restoration of *Hürriyet*.²²³ The film, like the first one, was screened not only in local theaters but also in Europe. Later, Istanbul newspapers wrote about the film footage shown in theaters displaying the Sultan's attendance to the opening of the new parliament in December 1908.²²⁴ Besides, now he was also in postcards dated as July 11, alone or with the major *Hürriyet* heroes with flags, coat of arms or Yıldız Palace reminding the sultanic authority against the mountains of the rebels. (Fig. 5) *L'Illustration* printed his photographs produced by the negatives of

²²⁰ Özen, p. 148.

²²¹ İbrahim Yıldırım, "Selim Sırrı Tarcan ve Türk Sinemasının Erken Dönem Tartışmalarına Katkı." In *Kebikeç*, no.27, (Ankara, 2009), pp.221-230.

²²² François Georgeon, *Abdulhamid II, le Sultan Calife* (Paris: Fayard, 2003) p. 405.

²²³ Yıldırım. Those two moving records of Abdulhamit were considered missing until 2010. In August 2010, according to newspapers, one of those films was discovered in the Ministry of Culture's archives, and subsequently restored. See *Radikal*, 12 August 2010.

²²⁴ Özen, p.150.

Weinberg. According to the subtitles, Sultan Abdulhamit II for the first time “is exposed to the objectives of photographers and the curiosity of his subjects.”²²⁵



Fig. 5 “Freedom, justice, equality, brotherhood. 24 Cemaziyelahir 1326 and 11 July 1324.”

At this point, in regards to the new policy of the Sultan upon visibility, one may ask if the imagery is a stage for the competition between CUP and the old regime that wanted to appropriate the movement: July 10 versus July 11, mountains versus coat of arms and the palace. I agree with Mustafa Özen who claims, “It is important to mention here that because of the lack of source material, it is not possible to prove any possible direct connection between the postcard publishers and film producers and certain influential persons, groups or institutions whose ideas, actions and intentions were represented and propagated in these media. In other words, there is no proof that these productions were

²²⁵ *L'Illustration*, 8 August 1908.

part of an organized (propaganda) campaign.”²²⁶ But I would also argue that the silence of written material does not mean that such connections did not exist either. For the time being, the motivations behind the attitude of the Manakis remain the subject of several speculations: did they work as Vlachs who supported the rebellion, or were they photographers-cameramen who were paid by the local CUP authorities, or did they support them by collaborating with them, are questions requiring deeper research. In any case, the photographs taken by the Manaki Brothers contributed to the circulation of the pictures of the uprising outside its birthplace and to the making of its heroes in a pro-CUP rhetoric, and in their album they acted in the same way, which should not be ignored when meditating on the meaning of their *Hürriyet* films. With a deeper research, both *Hürriyet* photographs and films could lend themselves to a “case study” on the use of visual representation as a propaganda weapon in the early twentieth century, and furthermore could allow us to observe the whole image-building process from the picture taken in false setting to be used on postcard with a new meaning addressed to “otherwise inattentive public.”

²²⁶ Özen, p. 145.

CHAPTER V

THE MANAKI BROTHERS' *HÜRRİYET* FOOTAGE

The Brothers' Cinematographic Work

The Cinematheque of Macedonia has in its archives 42 titles shot by the Manaki Brothers²²⁷ in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The collection covers 1446 meters of original negative and 945 meters of positive film.²²⁸ The titles include political events (e.g. Young Turk Revolution, Reprisals Against the Macedonian Population, The Funeral of Bishop Amilianos of Grevena, General Bojovic's Welcoming Ceremony in Bitola etc...), important personalities (e.g. the Prince Alexandre Karageorgevic, the Turkish Sultan Mehmed V Reşat), but also records reflecting the interest of the Brothers in the everyday life and their ethnographic gaze (e.g. Spinners, Celebration of Epiphany in Veria and Bitola, A Fair in Front of the Church of Holy Sunday in Bitola, A School Class in the Open Air, Vlach Dance, Vlach Nomads, Wedding in a Village, etc.). In addition, Romanian Film Archive preserves six reels of the Manaki Brothers' film with a total length of 160 meters under the title *Scenes from the Life of the Vlachs in the Pindus*; and *A Trip to Turkish Macedonia*, a 168-meter-long footage.²²⁹

²²⁷ For the complete list see: http://maccinema.com/e_filmovi.asp

²²⁸ Stardelov, *Manaki*, p.202. The same researcher, in another publication, mentions 2480 meters of positives. See Igor Stardelov, "*La Terra dei Manaki, I Pittori Balcanici della Luce*".

²²⁹ Tutui, p. 118.

In this collection at least ten titles²³⁰ seem to have been shot before 1912, i.e. in the Ottoman era. It is hence necessary to revisit the film industry under sultan Abdulhamit II for an evaluation of their ties with the policy makers in this field. For the time being, studies on Ottoman cinema do not add a new dimension to the debate on their life and work, but the Manakis could be considered as a challenge to the old historiographic approach upon in this field. In this sense, I would add some remarks on the Ottoman cinema during the time of Manakis based on a critical reading of researches mentioned in Chapter III. Briefly revising, the earliest documents in the Ottoman Archives are dated 1896 pointing out to a certain Monsieur Jamin who wanted to pass the customs with his “cinematograph”.²³¹ The same year, with the first records of Ottoman towns by the Lumières cameramen, the Empire had been integrated to the industry.²³² Considering that he commissioned films about China to Ahmet Tevfik Paşa, the Ottoman ambassador in Berlin, Sultan Abdulhamit seem to have been interested in cinema as a medium communicating panoramas and perspectives from different countries to his palace.²³³ This parallels with his interest in photography, and in effect, it would not be illogical if he meant to use cinema for propaganda just as he did with the photographs.²³⁴ On the other hand, the Hamidian regime set up the legal framework for

²³⁰ In addition to the *Hürriyet* footage : Parade of Turkish Infantry and Cavalry (before WWII), Veterinary Medicine Station (before WWII), Chores (1905 ?), Grandmother Despina (1905 ?), Romanian Delegation Visiting Bitola (1911), Romanian Delegation Visiting Gopesh (1911), The Funeral of Metropolitan Emilianos of Grevena (1911), Turkish Sultan Mehmed V Reshad Visiting Bitola (1911), Turkish Sultan Mehmed V Reshad Visiting Thessalonika (1911). http://maccinema.com/e_filmovi_r.asp [20 August 2010].

²³¹ BOA, İ.RSM., 6/1314-R-2, 12 Rebiyülâhir 1314 [20 September 1896].

²³² *Victorian Film Catalogue*.

²³³ BOA. Y. PRK. EŞA., 40/1, 1, 30 Mart 1318 [12 April 1902].

²³⁴ About his interest in photography, see footnotes 57-60.

the filmmaking and projecting in 1903.²³⁵ The regulation, far from prohibiting picture shows or filming, dictated the rules: for instance the cameramen were required to record official buildings, important monuments, and military regiments to show them all over the Empire, even in villages when permitted. In villages the films would be projected in the tents, but in towns appropriate buildings were to be used. The bylaws also predicted a tax of ten per cent for movie theater owners to pay to the institutions designated by the state.

Nevertheless, both old and new researches on this period tend to put emphasis on Sultan Abdulhamit's anxious personality and his security obsession as obstacles to the cinema technology. The dynamos required to operate the projectors were first banned, then allowed in the Empire but always remained a cause of trouble for cameramen, as asserted by Özuyar.²³⁶ In this Istanbul-based reading of facts, *Hürriyet* is often considered as a milestone for the emancipation of cinema, handicapped until then because of Abdulhamit's prohibitions. The abovementioned regulation too is interpreted as an obstacle set by the same Sultan making the movie-making and movie-going difficult in the Ottoman Empire.²³⁷ I would argue here that, both the archival documents and the Manakis' work allow a different interpretation. The documents on which this opinion is based are not so numerous,²³⁸ and demonstrate only problematic cases but do not explain the picture shows in the Balkans not later than 1897. Cinema was introduced

²³⁵ BOA. Y. PRK., AZJ, 46/16, 29 Zilhicce 1320 [29 March 1903].

²³⁶ Özuyar, *Devlet-i Aliyye*, pp. 21-26.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-26.

²³⁸ Ali Özuyar mentions five cases. Özuyar, *Devlet-i Aliyye'de Sinema*, pp. 21-26.

to Salonika as early as 3 July 1897 with a film screened in the brasserie *Tourkia*.²³⁹ Skopje and Manastir had not been neglected either, as in the fall of 1897 the photographer Albert Baubin from Salonika and Arangel Stankovic brought their projector to these towns.²⁴⁰ And Charles Urban Trading Company's cameramen had visited Macedonia not later than 1903 to record the Illinden Uprising.²⁴¹ On the other hand, the bylaw of 1903 gives a sense of the dimensions of the industry between 1896 and 1903, and of the need for regulations. In fact, when Pathé decided to set a proper movie theater in Istanbul in January 1908,²⁴² i.e. before *Hürriyet*, Sultan Abdulhamit was still in command, then one may ask why Pathé made such a significant investment unless regular circulation of films and film material were ensured. For a more adequate evaluation of the Hamidian cinema and its popular consumption, a more profound research is necessary on film catalogues in both foreign and domestic archives, memoirs and newspapers. The Manakis' work, on the other hand, is an example illustrating the complex mechanism of the photography and film industry which could not be confined to written sources only. There is no document proving that the Brothers obeyed the regulation of 1903, but they purchased a camera and started to record around 1905. The regulation expresses the imperial aspirations and the ideal, but does not necessarily set the boundaries of the industry as the case of the Manakis proves. Local conditions in provincial towns could be much more decisive on the cinema consumption. Another point the Manaki Brothers' case hints at is the fact that they were perhaps not the only

²³⁹ Nikos Theodosiou, "Flash Back. Les Pionniers du Cinéma en Grèce", trans. Hélène Belleviell, *Desmos / Le Lien*, no. 32, (France, 2009).

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ *Revised List of High-Class Original Copyrighted Bioscope Films, Urban Films, Depicting Scenes from all Countries*, (London: The Charles Urban Trading Co., Ltd., February 1905).

²⁴² Evren, *Sigmund Weinberg*, pp. 46-47.

Ottoman photographers or filmmakers who had lived and worked outside the capital but ignored by the historical record. Apparently the boundaries for the Manakis seem to have been set by local conditions and their ties with local bureaucrats in Manastir.

The Camera and The Celluloid Strips

The Manaki Brothers recorded all their films with a camera preserved today in the Archive of Bitola. The device named Bioscope was invented by Charles Urban and registered as a trade mark in London on 22 August 1898.²⁴³ As described by Stardelov, this wooden (mahogany consolidated with metal and aluminum parts) box is the 300th of the Bioscope series and a model B, with 32 cm height, 14 cm width and 30 cm depth, deadweight 2.5 kg. It is a manual camera with an operating handle for five interconnected wheels and for use with film cartridges for a maximum of 45m reel (approximately 4 mins.). Its 3” lens allows an exposure of 1/35th to 1/1500th of a second. The device is equipped both with an automatic measuring indicator (in feet) for the tape recorded and an automatic rewind button.²⁴⁴ It may also be used as a projector. The 35 mm films used with this camera have a distinctive characteristic which posed problems during the restoration process: “The position of the frame (the image), particularly with the line between, separating the two frames. Unlike standard films, where the line is

²⁴³ Application for registration, provided by Vera Masloravik.

²⁴⁴ Stardelov, *Manaki*, p.108.

situated between two perforations, in the case of the Manakis' film footage, the line was right on the perforation.”²⁴⁵

A thorough research in the multilingual and voluminous corpus of documents preserved in the Archive of Bitola can provide accurate information about the suppliers of cinematographic material, namely celluloid strips and chemical material used for the development of films. About the provenances of those films, a research performed in the Archive of Bitola²⁴⁶ unveiled only later correspondence, from 1916 onwards.

Apparently the Brothers contacted different companies in France, in Germany, in Skopje, in Belgrade to be informed about the prices of cinematographic material. For the earlier period, the only explanation available comes from Mihaylo Zega, the apprentice of the Brothers as he recalls the time Yanaki Manakis stayed in Paris (around 1906) after the purchase of the camera:

One day, Yanaki took the camera and went to the camera factory (probably he means the “Charles Urban” representative office in the city). When the manager saw the camera he was delighted. Some time later, Yanaki was commissioned by the factory to record the celebration in Bastille on July 14 – the anniversary of the French revolution. For that purpose, they provided him with 4 boxes with 25 m of reels. But, when he arrived there, there was a massive crowd and Yanaki, not a tall man could see anything. But he was fortunate enough to go up to the bridge to record the entire celebration ceremony. When they developed the film in the factory, it turned out that Yanaki recorded the best material, since he shot it from a higher point. Since they were very satisfied with his work, they kept the films and in return gave him 2 boxes filled with materials, film tapes, chemicals etc.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ Stardelov, *ibid.*

²⁴⁶ I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my friend Marija Despotoska from the Archives of Bitola, who generously helped the research and made possible the use of some correspondences with suppliers.

²⁴⁷ Stardelov, *Manaki.*, p. 109.

It is probable that the commercial connection with the Charles Urban Trading Company continued afterwards along with other companies present in the Ottoman Empire, such as the Pathé since its logo is seen on film cans used by the Brothers.

Restoration and Editing

In the early twentieth century, once the film had been recorded the celluloid ribbon needed to be prepared for the projection (to be strict, it is still the case today with 35 mm films). As we are told by various cinematography manuals from the years the Manakis were active, the strip should be removed from the receiving-box in the camera, then developed and dried like all other photographic work in the dark room, but with certain special devices capable of dealing with the great length of the film. One more step was necessary for the projection, which is the *positive print* made from the negative. And in the early twentieth century “in order to obtain a print, or positive, ready for exhibition, the negative is placed in contact with another length of sensitized film and the two are then passed through a printing machine.”²⁴⁸ Positive copies are the ones sent to the movie theaters for the projection, and in the film archives it is possible to find various versions of a film, as film projectors can do some alterations on those copies. In other words they cut them, reassemble the pieces in order to satisfy their target audience or sometimes to make the films meet the censorship guidelines. The number of positive copies increases the chance of survival for a cinematographic record.

²⁴⁸ Davidson Boughey, *The Film Industry*, (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons. Ltd., 1921); p. 33. Several manuals on cinematography were published in the early twentieth century. For an example closer to the time the *Young Turk Revolution* was shot by the Manakis, see: Bernard E. Jones (ed.), *The Cinematograph Book, A Complete Practical Guide to the Taking and Projecting of Cinematograph Pictures*, (London: Cassel and Company Ltd., 1915.), pp. 36-58.

However, and this is the most surprising aspect of their collection, the Manaki Brothers, except a few records, apparently did not print positive copies of most of their films, they did not edited them either. The collection delivered by Milton consisted mainly of developed and undeveloped negative copies. They had developed their films in home-made tanks and stocked most of them as non-printed, original nitrate copies. As witnessed by Dimitrie Osmanli, the first reporter to interview Milton,

Unfortunately, very few of those precious film reports have been preserved. Since he would make amateur films, without a special laboratory for developing and copying the strips, he would only store them, with the hope that later on he would be able to process. However, time has left its imprint. The poor emulsions of the film track were susceptible to fast chemical decomposition, therefore a large portion of that valuable film material was lost. (...) In the later years, Manaki transformed one part of his photograph laboratory for processing cinematographic track and he would literally manually develop and copy pieces of 25-30 meters long film strips. (...) The First World War had begun! A shot in Sarajevo brought the grenades to Bitola... (...) The continuous bombings of Bitola turned this beautiful city into flames and ashes. The flames in 1916 swallowed years of precious film work of the Balkans' first cameraman. However, fortunately enough, Manaki managed to save one part of his documentary recordings and also his camera 300. [In 1957, by the time the reporter went to see Milton in Bitola] At that time, he had made a small laboratory, where he would manually develop the filmed tracks (films). But he would never manage to develop as many tracks as he filmed. And so a large portion of the filmed material would remain undeveloped.²⁴⁹

Exceptional films printed and edited by the Manaki Brothers are *Mihai Zega's Wedding* which has not survived today²⁵⁰ and the *Funeral of Metropolitan Emilianos of Grevena*, preserved by the Cinematheque of Macedonia. The latter, discovered in 1991, during transferring of some film materials from the Archive of Macedonia to the Cinematheque, in Stardelov's words, "was quite professional. It was developed and edited by the Manaki Brothers themselves in a documentary totality. It is considered that it was their first and maybe unique documentary film in a true sense of meaning."²⁵¹ On the other

²⁴⁹ Dimitrie Osmanli, "The First Cinematographic Painter in the Balkans", *Kinotecen Mesechnik (Cinematheque Monthly)*, no. 15, (Macedonia, 1979). Trans. by Vesna Masloravik.

²⁵⁰ Tutui, p. 126.

²⁵¹ Stardelov, *Manaki*, p. 120.

hand the films preserved in the Romanian Film Archives had been edited before 1912 and prepared for Romanian audience (yet their public projection has not been proven), as the grammatical properties of the intertitles and their comparison to films with similar titles preserved in the Cinematheque of Macedonia imply.²⁵² But there is no evidence that the Manakis themselves handled the printing and editing processes.

On the other hand, in 2007, Boris Nonevski found out that films related with the Sultan Reşad's visit to Salonika were screened in Skopje in 1911 (*The Revolution in Constantinople. The Victory of the Young Turks / Sultan Mehmed Reshad V's Voyage to Salonika and Sultan Mehmed Reshad V's Return from His Journey to Roumelia*).²⁵³ He and Marian Tutui identified those films as the work of the Manaki Brothers claiming that the only one which does not fit their collection (*Revolution in Constantinople*) should have been titled as taken in the capital city for advertisement. Nevertheless, prudence is necessary given that it is also known that important events in Istanbul such as the opening of the parliament was filmed and shown to an elite audience.²⁵⁴ The same company, namely Pathé, might have filmed the *Hürriyet* days in Istanbul too, yet such a film is not in catalogues for the time being. On the other hand, there is also a sign supporting Nonevski and Tutui's thesis: at the end of Sultan Mehmed V Reşat's visit to Salonika, according to the newspaper *Rumeli*, 1000 meters of film shot during the visit was edited in Istanbul by Monsieur Weinberg, the representative of Pathé. The 50-minute-long record was shown to the public in Istanbul.²⁵⁵ We do not know if Weinberg recorded the visit himself, or he purchased it from the Manakis positive prints of film.

Besides, the miraculous part of this adventure is the fact that, from 1900s to 1955, this hazardous and very flammable material, i.e nitrate films, survived both the two Balkan and two World Wars. After Milton Manaki sold his collection to the government, the films had been first preserved in the State Archive of Macedonia. Then in 1991, the film material was transferred to the Cinematheque of Macedonia founded in

²⁵² Tutui, 186.

²⁵³ Ibid., p.121.

²⁵⁴ Özen, p. 155.

²⁵⁵ Oktay Çanaklı, "Sultan V. Mehmet Reşad'ın Rumeli Seyahati", *Vardar Dergisi*, no. 4 (, İzmir: MAK-GÖÇ, October 2000) pp. 11-17.

1974. Few projects were carried out for the preservation and conservation of those films until 1996, when the Cinematheque of Macedonia initiated the main project with the support of the Ministry of Culture of Republic of Macedonia and UNESCO. At this date, as a result of partial restorations accomplished from 1955 onwards, the collection included original negative films (nitrate, 1460,5 m.), original positive films (nitrate, 945 m.), dub negative (as a safety measure, 2562 m.), dub positive (as a safety measure, 2562 m.), and other different film materials on safety film (tests, reductions 35/16 mm., inter-titles, etc.). In addition to this visible and identifiable material, 30 meters of film held in 20 cans were never processed. The film restoration process had been undertaken by the Hungarian Film Laboratories in Budapest.²⁵⁶ As mentioned earlier, the Manaki Brothers did not edit their films, except for a few records. The editing is performed by the restorers gradually after the acquisition of the collection by the Yugoslavian state. The whole corpus's content is nowadays completely catalogued and indexed by the Cinémathèque of Macedonia, on the basis of Milton Manaki's recollections in 1955, written sources and researches. However, instead of 67 titles Milton Manaki mentioned, the restorers identified 42, the rest being repetitions.²⁵⁷ The restorers examined the films frame by frame and reassembled the shots seemingly belonging to the same title and inserted the inter-titles. The result of this huge work is impressive, however, it should be noted that mistakes in the juxtaposition and titling of the images is always possible, and the edited film is capable of reassembling shots which are not necessarily taken the same day, at the same place, yet they all conform to the title. This question is crucial in deciphering the films supposedly reflecting different aspects of *Hürriyet*.

²⁵⁶ Stardelov, "Preservation of Manaki Brothers Film Heritage", *Journal of Film Preservation*, no. 54, (April 1997, Brussels), pp. 26-31.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.103. Igor Stardelov, in our meeting at the Cinematheque of Macedonia (September 2009) asserted that the number of titles could have been increased in purpose for political reasons, to represent the collection richer.

Hürriyet Footage, Description²⁵⁸

To begin with the categorization, the films under study subsume records of newsworthy events or personalities, which liken them to newsfilms.²⁵⁹ But in parallel, the Manakis' cinematography (especially footage shot during sultan Reshad' visit to Salonika and Bitola) reflects an effort for constructing a visual narrative, to catch crucial moments in a given action which make it resemble a documentary even though not edited by its creators²⁶⁰. Blagoja Drnkov who personally talked to Milton Manaki reports some information provided about the films labeled as *Hürriyet* or *Young Turks*:

Then he opens an album of photos in which the first photograph is of a man in a military uniform, with an exceptionally pretty face, adorned with big moustache, wearing a fur cap, holding a whip in one hand and a sabre in the other. 'This is Neazi Bey (*sic*) from Resen' - Manaki says. 'This man made *Hürriyet* and together with Enver Pasha, he brought down the sultan Hamid.' The photographs tell the story of how the movement was created. There are barefoot soldiers who carry rifles on their shoulders, strapped with ropes, marching on their way to bring down the sultan. On another photo we see a man in a uniform and we immediately recognize the face of Branislav Nushic, who in 1912 was a county administrator in Bitola. 'I have filmed many of these moments on a film reels as well.' After opening one of the rusty tin boxes, he looked at the roll. 'This is the welcome to the *Ilinden*ers after *Hürriyet*. And this is the parade of the Young Turks, filmed from this balcony in 1908'.²⁶¹

²⁵⁸ As mentioned in Chapter I, the films of Manaki Brothers are classified as national heritage and foreigners are not allowed to copy more than 2 minutes of film. The Cinematheque of Macedonia generously helped to select the most important sequences in each film and provided me a compilation. In Istanbul together with Istvan Toth, we edited them according to titles. So the films in the DVD attached to the thesis, do not represent the whole collection of the *Hürriyet*, but instead short sequences from 5 titles (Manifestations on the Occasion of Young Turks' Revolution; Turks Having Speech on *Hürriyet*; Parade on the Occasion of *Hürriyet*; Processions on the Occasion of *Hürriyet*; Military Orchestra Parade, Coaches and Cavaliers) with one more sequence from a film shot in 1911, Sultan Mehmed V Reshad's Visit to Bitola. In the DVD, the files are named after the titles of the films. They should not be used for any commercial or educational reason without the permission of the Cinematheque of Macedonia.

²⁵⁹ Hughes, p. 55.

²⁶⁰ Stardelov, *Manaki*, p. 110.

²⁶¹ Drnkov.

The Manaki Brothers' *Hürriyet* footage is presented in six titles preserved today in the Cinematheque of Macedonia:

a) Manifestations on the Occasion of Young Turks' Revolution (30.6 meters, 2 mins.)

The camera records a group of well-dressed men, wearing uniform cockades, apparently prepared for a parade. Then the recorder jumps to the procession of a military band, followed by regular lines of officers. A detail which could turn out to be crucial for the identification, is a kind of triumphal arch seen in the background. The rows, including the notables of the beginning, cross a bridge over the Dragor. At the end, we see the legion in Shirok Sokak, the military band leading.

b) Turks Having Speech on the *Hürriyet* (34.2 meters, 2 mins.)

It consists of three sequences. In the first one, the speaker is on a platform near a pillar. A second man holds an umbrella to protect him from the sun. The diplomats are present at the meeting as seen in the second sequence in two shots. Behind the audience, a banner with the inscription *Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti* [The Ottoman Committee of Union and Progress] stands out. Several umbrellas and the absence of coats indicate that it is a warm and sunny day, most probably not in winter. The third sequence in two shots exposes partly the regular troops parading in a large square surrounded by a crowd, but the figures are too small and blurred.

c) Parade on the Occasion of the *Hürriyet* (103.3 meters, 4 mins.)

This film is very long compared to others. It brings back to our time a parade held in the main street of Manastır (Shirok Sokak), filmed from a higher location

(according to Milton taken on the balcony of his house). In two sequences and eight shots the parade features a military band, cavaliers, civilians seemingly prepared for the occasion, with banners and flags in hands, not reassembled spontaneously but participated in an organized ceremony. Civilians, apparently not part of this ceremony, flanked the street watching the parade. For a moment, a cavalier advances in the opposite direction and stop the “people” from interfering in the parade. The “freedom coach” carrying five girls dressed in white is visually an interesting detail; it is also a proof certifying that the parade is not spontaneous but organized. The dark banners ribbons the girls carry are barely legible, but fortunately the Manakis took their photo in their studio with the inscriptions easily read propagating the main motto of *Hürriyet*: Justice, equality, freedom, brotherhood and unity (fig. 6)²⁶². As will be discussed later, while identifying the films’ content, the photograph is also crucial for the dating of the film. Afterwards, the second coach appears carrying little boys. Some people seem to be aware or to have noticed the camera, or knew the cameraman as their gaze is briefly directed towards where the cameraman stands.

d) Processions on the Occasion of *Hürriyet* (39.8 meters, 2 mins.)

In a high-angle shot this footage presents a well-prepared parade in three sequences and six shots featuring different ethnic groups, beginning with a line of men in white costumes, dark vests and fezzes in the first shot. The second is quite interesting

²⁶² Margulies, “The symbol of liberty and children of the chariot of freedom”.



Fig. 6 "The symbol of liberty and children of the chariot of freedom."

and important for the identification of the film, as we see a line of children in white uniforms, with toy rifles in hand, but more interestingly we recognize Niyazi Bey leading them.

e) Processions (with Greek inscriptions) (5.3 meters, 1 min.)

This short record displays a parade of people carrying banners and flags with inscriptions in Greek.

f) Military Orchestra Parade, Coaches and Cavaliers (23 meters, 1 min.)

In three shots the film displays first an army band surrounded by a crowd, children in a coach, soldiers beside the line of civilians and a column of cavaliers. In the *Parade On the Occasion of the Hürriyet* a similar coach, also decorated with flags appears, but they are apparently two distinct coaches. The shot angle is not same either. There is no other distinctive sign for the exact identification.

How to Read the *Hürriyet* Footage as Historical Document?

A Theoretical Sketch

The film, states Hughes, “except for a few minor technical differences, is just like other historical documents, and may be understood and criticized in the same manner.”²⁶³

Film studies cover various different approaches to analyze and interpret films within theoretical, historical or critical frames. As mentioned in Chapter II, psychoanalysis, feminism, semiology, structuralism or post-structuralism proposed different ways of

²⁶³ Hughes, pp. 49-79.

reading a film and deciphering it.²⁶⁴ Ways of reading depend on the nature of films (fiction, non-fiction, processed or rough material) and on the aims of the reader as well. “Film” is a very large term covering various types of record on celluloid strips: Fiction films, documentaries, newsreels, actuality films... Although the classification can be set up regarding to “what the film is used to communicate, and to whom,”²⁶⁵ film, technically barely lend itself to decisive categorization: “a fiction film may use documentary techniques and even newsreel material, while so-called actuality film may contain cartoons and acted sequences.”²⁶⁶ Each particular film, hence, reveals peculiar characteristics and problems to deal with, thereby requires a specific reading or a rethinking about the application of the methods previously experienced or proposed in the relevant literature. Historians used both feature movies and the film of records (edited and unedited actuality footage, newsfilm, newsreels, magazine films, documentaries, and compilations)²⁶⁷ as historical evidence, and for each kind the way of production needs to be rethought and reevaluated in order to discover all components of the process and their capacity to shape the outcome.

In this sense, the reading of the visual record call for going beyond the first impression made by recorded images: *Res ipsa loquitur*, “the thing speaks for itself.”²⁶⁸ It is true that in the early days of film studies researchers such as John G. Bradly gave more credit to films than any other material in the representation of the reality: “Such

²⁶⁴ For a comparative analysis of those approaches: Hughes, pp. 73-79.

²⁶⁵ Lisa Pontecorvo, “Film resources.” In: *The Historian and Film* (ed. Paul Smith), (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 15-31.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Hughes, p. 55.

²⁶⁸ Douglas R. Nickel, “‘Impressed by nature’s hand’: photography and authorship” in: Richard Howells & Matson, pp.42-54.

documentation or recording has a fidelity not found in any other medium. For example, the printed word is an artificial thing and its use is based on an acquired art. (...) Motion Pictures transcend these limitations. (...) History so recorded will have not only a new fidelity but a present tense value not found in other mediums.”²⁶⁹ However disappointing it is, his point of view was convincingly challenged by the British film critic Penelope Houston, in 1967:

Cameramen have provided us with a kind of shorthand visual imagery for this century: a British political crisis means a crowd in the rain outside Number Ten; the depression means cloth-capped men on street corners; (...) But look behind the shots, and the film image can't help you. What political crisis? How many men out of work? (...) We saw the shooting of Kennedy, and of Lee Harvey Oswald, and the circumstances of the killings still defy belief.²⁷⁰

Those two claims set forth a tension between the potential and the limits of films as historical documents. In this respect, the moving image seems to be by no means more informative than any written data or, as a document relatively more credible and transparent than any other. The problem here is not the capability of the *film* to unveil, expose, present the reality, but the capability of *all kinds of evidence* to speak the truth; in other words, the existence of such an absolute reality in historical evidence.²⁷¹

The visual record and its closeness to the reality should be analyzed in regards to the capability of the camera and the quality of celluloid strips, but also through the

²⁶⁹ John G. Bradley, « Motion Picture Activities of the Library of Congress, » processed report (1948), p. 6, cited by Kuiper.

²⁷⁰ Penelope Houston, « The Nature of the Evidence », *Sight and Sound*, 36 (Bushey : BFI, 1967), pp. 88-92.

²⁷¹ For a presentation of different publications and thoughts on the use of photographic “reality” in social sciences see Albert Piette, “La photographie comme mode de connaissance anthropologique”, *Terrain*, no.18, (Paris: 1992), pp. 129-136.

images captured by cameramen and selected by directors and editors in order to satisfy the needs of the market. Titling of motion pictures, the selection of frames, the editing or retouching processes are tasks all performed by the author whatever his/her own title may be (filmmaker, cameraman, editor, etc.). The historian who would make use of these images should follow and analyze the author's interventions and evaluate the image's relation or likeness to its source in each phase. But these intrusions may well be informative since they reflect the desires and perceptions of the author. The reading of a film (fiction or non-fiction) is the deconstruction of its way of production, the desires of the producer, his/her cinematographic language, film tricks, the expectations and perception of the viewer, which also means the analysis of cultural and personal codes constructing the image as a message. This image (the content of the record as a description of a moment in the past), at a second level, should in turn be interpreted in regards to its components which may connect the content analysis to the methodologies of other domains.

My objective herein is to understand the impact of the Manakis, their possible target audience and the technical production process in the creation of the image, and then, within this context, to interpret the image (i.e. revolutionary festivals in Manastir) as an iconotext based on shots, instead of words just as any written archival document or a novel. As a guideline, Marc Ferro, a pioneer in the use of moving images as historical documents proposes how the historian may proceed to "read" old actuality films in three steps: in the first place their authenticity should be checked in order to find out whether they are post-event fabrication, or shot at the moment of that particular event. The best answers to those questions would come from their technical properties; use of camera,

light, length of shots... The shadows can tell about the hour of the shooting, close-ups or general plans can demonstrate the features highlighted by the cameraman, use of light and clothing help determining the period of time the event took place. However archival records are not excluded. Timelines of cameramen, correspondences, news on different media could be all helpful for the authentication of the films. The second step is the identification of the content of the film, whom we see and what they are doing. And the third is the analytic critique, or the conceptualization of the moving images in regard to the producers, the technicians together with their aims and expectations, and the time of the production.²⁷² This general guideline, hence, despite the assuring tone of Hughes's abovementioned claim ("except for a few minor technical differences, is just like other historical documents, and may be understood and criticized in the same manner."²⁷³), would mean basic camera knowledge, experience in film developing and printing processes, ways of projections, language of montage; in other words, logical analysis of visual syntax.

In our case, there is no doubt about the "reality" of the Brothers' footage, i.e. that the films had been shot by the Manakis in Manastir, and not produced after a *mise-en-scène*. But the authenticity of moving images as historical material means also that the camera recorded *the* event the film reveals at the *very moment* it took place and at the *suggested* place. From the early days of cinema, for every Lumière who wanted to record the actual fact there had been a Méliès who used film tricks²⁷⁴ and several

²⁷² Ferro, pp. 109-119. For another proposal of similar methodology see: Martin A. Jackson, "Film as Source Material: Some Preliminary Notes toward a Methodology", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, V.4, no.1, The Historian and the Arts, (Massachusetts, 1973), pp. 73-80.

²⁷³ Hughes, pp. 49-79.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 53.

manuals gave instructions on how “to make believe.”²⁷⁵ The films taken as actuality footage could turn out to be prepared in studio, as in the case of “Massacres de Macédoine” by Lucien Nonguet (1903), which was entirely filmed and processed in the Pathé studio in Vincennes near Paris.²⁷⁶ Besides, even with “genuine” actuality footage the titles, the dates and all kind of indications given by the filmmaker or film company could be false or simply wrong. In the case of *Hürriyet* footage the assemblage and titling of films is based on recollection of the Manakis, however Milton’s reminiscence of events is not a reliable source as clearly demonstrated by many photographs from the Manakis’ collection.²⁷⁷ . Thus the verification of the titles and recollections and the event-time-place trio is necessary and requires Ferro’s second step, i.e. the identification of the content. This procedure would connect us to written sources about the *Hürriyet* ceremonies held in Manastr.

The third step includes an attempt to read the content of films in two levels using first inherent properties of moving images, which, in our case, means an attempt to discover the film language embraced by the Manakis. This language allows an interpretation on how the author selected and shaped the real moments he recorded and what he excluded. The image beyond this language is meaningful in itself as a visual description of a slice of time in the past. In the case of *Hürriyet* footage that would mean

²⁷⁵ Austin C. Lescarbourea, *Behind the Motion Picture Screen* (New York: Scientific American Publishing Co., 1921). Especially the chapters “In the Land of Make Believe” (pp. 108-130) and “Tricks of the Screen” (pp. 184-202).

²⁷⁶ Goran Trenčovski, “A View of the Macedonian Documentary Film” in http://www.filmfestival-goeast.de/index.php?article_id=194&clang=1 (official web site of South Eastern European Documentaries” organized by Deutsches Filminstitut). [access: 25 August 2010].

²⁷⁷ See in Chapter I, “Manaki Brothers’ *Hürriyet* Photographs in Illustrated Publications”.

the analysis of festivals in a provincial Ottoman town with regard to the intrinsic political / cultural meanings attributed to them.

For the first level of content analysis, a glimpse is necessary at the basic structure of film language. A film, (silent or sound, black-and-white or color films), is essentially composed of shots which is the basic unit of the film language; in other words “the recording of one action from one particular point of view at one time.”²⁷⁸ Shot length (long shot, close-up etc.), shot angles (eye-level, high angle, low angle...) and camera movements (dolly, pan, tilt...) combine to produce a sequence of images or a visual syntax. The emotional or dramatic effect is created through this combination; a low angle shot can show the object more impressive or a close-up can be used to stress the presence of a particular person or a detail on an object²⁷⁹: “A low-angle shot of a rose, for example conveys a sense that flower is (...) dominant, overpowering, because we consciously or unconsciously compare it with say, an overhead shot of a rose, which would diminish its importance.”²⁸⁰ The deconstruction of film, in this level, means a close-up to film’s visual vocabulary, go beyond to denotative meaning in order to be connected to its connotative meaning²⁸¹ closely related to deliberate choices in the use of

²⁷⁸ Roy Thompson and Christopher Bowen, *The Grammar of Shot* (USA: Elsevier, 2009), p. 1. For a deeper study on film language: Daniel Arijon, *The Grammar of the Film Language* (USA: Silman-James Press, 1991); James Monaco, *How to Read a Film* (USA: Oxford University Press, 2009) (first published in 1977).

²⁷⁹ Arijon, pp. 15-17 ; for the technical use of camera : Monaco, pp. 99-114.

²⁸⁰ Monaco, p.322.

²⁸¹ Monaco, pp. 152-172. In this semiotic language, the denotative meaning of film corresponds to the meaning perceived immediately, without any special effort of deconstruction. The film has the ability to transmit the connotative meanings of images it carries (a rose in the movie *Richard III* is not only a rose, but it is there with all culturally apprehended meanings of its colors, red and white, as the symbols of York and Lancaster houses), but it produces also a cinematographic connotative meaning, legible through deliberate choices of the filmmaker : The camera moves or stands firm, shots the rose from a specific angle, the light is bright or not, the rose is vivid or faded.

camera and editing process. Focusing on film of record, camera movements can give hints about the hierarchy of images, allowing an interpretation on what the director / cameraman did emphasize or underlined. Paul Desdemaines Hugon, the managing editor of the American *Pathé News*, was clear about the claims of the company, in the *Hints to Newsfilm Cameramen* he wrote in 1915. “Most subjects must be taken successively from two distances”, he was saying.

First from a fair distance, to give a general view of the object and its surroundings. Secondly from as close a range as possible to give detail. Most positions taken by cameramen are intermediate between these two, and therefore wrong. If you will reflect for a moment, you will see that the way of viewing a subject is to get a general view as you approach it, after which it is important to get up just as close as possible, and inspect the subject minutely.²⁸²

The cameramen were instructed about the parades too:

The first scene of every subject should be a general view, characteristic of the place, containing the subject proper; the subject proper, although visible, being subordinate to this general view. For example, if you were taking the visit of the King of England to Berlin, for Berlin, you would take close-ups of the King, and not trouble about Berlin streets. But if you were taking the same subject for London, you would show the royal equipage coming down *Unter den Linden*, showing the architecture of the place. The close-ups of the King would be almost superfluous.²⁸³

The editing table is where the shots are processed by editors in order to give different impressions. In the words of Professor Ken Dancyger, “the art of editing occurs when the combination of two or more shots takes meaning to the next level – excitement,

²⁸² P.D. Hugon, *Hints to newsfilm cameramen* (Jersey City, n.p., 1915), p. 4.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

insight, shock, or the epiphany of discovery.”²⁸⁴ For all kinds of films the analysis of the editing process is crucial. The editing absent in early motion pictures (“the novelty of seeing a moving image was such that not even a screen story was necessary”²⁸⁵) with Griffith and Russian masters such as Eisenstein and Pudovkin became the crucial phase in the creation of fiction films, but also of newsreels or documentaries as well.²⁸⁶ The editor’s job, claims the film editor Gael Chandler, “is to take the raw material – camera footage- and put it together to make the best piece possible, be it a comedy, drama, music video, documentary, or commercial. The editor accomplishes this by making cuts – placing one shot after another.”²⁸⁷ The juxtaposition of shots, even of authentic ones, can supremely manipulate the perception of the viewer. As a classic example among the numerous, *Night and Fog* (*Nuit et Brouillard* in French, by Alain Resnais) released in 1955 gives an idea on the impact of the editing. This documentary was the first of a kind providing scenes from deportation of Jews and of the Nazi camps in WWII. The Jews wearing the yellow stars and going into the wagons at the beginning of the film are supposed to reflect the horrible path to the death. However, they had been

²⁸⁴ Ken Dancyger, p. xix. He emphasizes that he owes this explanation to Karel Reisz.

²⁸⁵ Ken Dancyger, *The Technique of Film and Video Editing, History, Theory and Practice*, (USA: Focal Press, 2007), p. 3.

²⁸⁶ Pudovkin’s *Film Technique* and *Film Acting* are classical works in the filmmaking processes. In the introduction to the German edition, in 1929, he claims: “The foundation of film art is *editing*. Armed with this watchword, the young cinema of Soviet Russia commenced its progress, and it is a maxim that, to this day, has lost nothing of its significance and force.” First published abroad in 1929 and 1933 respectively, they are available today in one volume: V.I. Pudovkin, *Film Technique and Film Acting, The Cinema Writings of V.I. Pudovkin* (Sims Press, 2007). About the art of editing: pp. 26-51. About the history of editing for documentaries: Dancyger, pp. 304-342. For an evaluation of « documentary films and reality » through montage procedure see: Uğur Kutay, *Gerçeği Öldüren Kamera, Belgesel Sinema ve Gerçeklik* (İstanbul : Es Yayınları, 2009). He also discusses Dziga Vertov’s *Man with a Movie Camera*, which is a classic in the cine-vérité debate.

²⁸⁷ Gael Chandler, *Great Cuts Every Filmmaker and Movie Lover Must Know* (McNaughton&Gunn, Inc. : Michigan, 2009), p. xii.

filmed under the control of a German officer in order to prove the absence of violence. In fact, in 1955 the viewer knew (still knows) about the faith of those Jews, in other words “the end of the film,” thus, could not “see” the moving images as the German officer wanted to show. On the contrary, the work of German officer had made a completely opposite impression. In the same documentary, people gathered in a big stadium and defined as “Jews arrested by the French police in July 1942 and destined to deportation” by the narrator, turned out to be French collaborationists arrested after the liberation of France.²⁸⁸

The editor of the *Hürriyet* footage, Igor Stardelov, assembled and titled the films using, in his own words, “the list made by Milton Manaki. In addition I consulted archive documents and photographs from the ‘Manaki Brothers’ fund in Bitola as well as a number of other films and written materials from the period.”²⁸⁹ His attitude underlines his effort to minimize the impact of the editor as a factor reshaping the moving images. In other words, he confined himself to the construction of the rough material as it was at the beginning. He did not cut the shots and reassembled them, thus he abstained himself from ascribing them a new meaning. However, the identification based on written sources in Turkish could contribute to his work for a more accurate titling of sequences.

Unedited (or as in our case, with minimum editing) actuality material is considered by some researchers like R.C. Raack as “more valuable first-hand historical

²⁸⁸ Pierre Sorlin, “Documentaries: a gold mine historians should begin to exploit.” In: *Using Visual Evidence* (ed. Richard Howells, Robert W. Matson), (Open University Press, England, 2009.) pp. 107-123.

²⁸⁹ Stardelov, *Manaki*, p. 202.

sources than an edited, completed actuality film, except that the latter, of course, like the completed feature film, has value simply as a statement of its creator's point of view."²⁹⁰ However the Manakis' professional-political concerns, in other words the films' "creator's point of view" are not out of field of this study. Thus the deconstruction of their technical visual language is necessary as well as the content of their films as "first-hand historical sources". Since the editing process cannot be informative about the Manakis' touch, we should focus on the structure of shots, on camera movements and positions as the basic components of the visual language proper to the Brothers. It is essential to observe the Manakis' contextual focal points which structure the "connotative meaning" of the film depending on the choice of its "authors", that is the person(s) or the moment(s) they had chosen to record or emphasize through the shot angles and camera movements: the main concern of the analysis will be to understand how they cut a few minutes from a whole day long ceremony, for which they did not spare of their valuable film strips. If they had been cameramen working for a specific company, it should have been easier to speculate about the motivations and the visual language of the Manaki Brothers. Their personal preferences and choices would have been redefined by the general rules of the market, namely, of the entertainment business. However, for the time being we have no clue proving that they had such affiliations with the cinema industry when they shot *Hürriyet*. The source of their preferences, thereby, should be sought in their personal, commercial and political ties with *Hürriyet* or its actors. In addition to Manakis' choices and perceptions which demarcated the images to be recorded and the duration, the content, as a description of the past, is also invested

²⁹⁰ R.C. Raack, "Historiography as Cinematography: A Prolegomenon to Film Work for Historians. In *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol.18, n.3, Historians and Movies: The State of the Art: Part 1 (July 1983), pp. 411-438.

with different cultural/political meanings by the experiences of Ottoman people through *Hürriyet*. The strategy of reading, hence, will be an attempt to consider visual archival record as “iconotext”.

At this point it is necessary to remark that in addition to Manakis’ cinematographic concerns, and independently from them, the *Hürriyet* footage also shares common characteristics with most of the films produced in the same era: neither have the two essential useful components, the color and the sound. Technically speaking, especially in early productions, the color film “does not reproduce the colors of the visible spectrum with complete accuracy.”²⁹¹ But even without being true to the human eye, the color in film is functional in many ways for the historian, for instance the colors of leaves, flowers and clothes may provide clues about the season or the hour the film was shot. And in this particular case, the colors lost in black-and-white are far from interpreting the changes in the urban panorama on the occasion of special festivals. The color is a tool communicating the message behind the “surfaces” of the festive moment’s “reality”²⁹² the camera records; composes a language communicating specific messages and expresses connotative meanings of objects which their shape cannot deliver alone. In the *Hürriyet* footage of the Manakis, the mere example of cockades that

²⁹¹ Hughes, p. 53.

²⁹² The term “surfaces of reality” is borrowed from Michael Roemer, “The Surfaces of Reality”, *Film Quarterly*, v. 18, no.1 (University of California Press, 1964), pp. 15-22. However it is used here as a description of recorded physical life, not in the ontologic sense Roemer (within the realist film theory, in the same way than Kracauer’s *Theory of Film, The Redemption of Physical Reality*) used it to explain the function and the ability of the camera: “The camera photographs the skin; it cannot function like an x-ray machine and show us what is underneath... The medium must render all meaning in physical terms.” Then he mentions the “affinity” of the camera “for real surfaces”. For a critical approach to realist film theory see: Irving Singer, *Reality Transformed: Film as Meaning and Technique* (USA, MIT Press, 2000). “In a film all meaning must indeed be *established* in physical terms, since photography presents us with images, which are physical entities. But the meaning of these images belongs to more than just the surface appearances themselves. That is what the realist theory fails to recognize sufficiently.” (p. 83).

notables and schoolchild wear, in black and white, would barely lend itself to a specific interpretation, except that they are probably uncommon objects not used in daily life.

Yet the presence of color would not make the film a self-sufficient historical document; interpretable in itself as a close system of signs. The absence of sound, on the other hand, deprives the historian of the “text” or of verbal expression embedded in the images. “Our real life” beyond words is also “filled with sounds. Even though we may for long stretches be unaware of their presence, yet our eyes cannot register a single object without our ears participating in the process. Everyday reality arises out of a constant mingling of visual and aural impressions. There is practically no silence.”²⁹³

The world transmitted by a silent film, hence, is transformed, restructured as a continuum of mutilated representations. Practically, sounds in the *Parade* (acclamations, military marches, officers’ instructions to the participants and the audience) would uncover the structure of ceremonial language and the reactions to it as well. If the *Turks Having Speech* were a sound film, it would be less difficult to identify it, since the occasion for the gathering would be probably clearly expressed by the speaker.

Nevertheless the sound does not only communicate the content of the spoken language, but also the use of the voice and the construction of a language for particular circumstances, in this case, the tone of proclamation. In the case of *Hürriyet* footage the inscriptions on placards present in the films, and the explanations coming from written sources could help to fill the verbal gap. In any case the film, far from being a perfect *analogum* of real world, is a specific representation and interpretation shaped in combination with capabilities and limits of a camera alongside an author (director, cameramen or editor) and the expectations of supposed receivers.

²⁹³ Siegfried Kracauer, *Theory of Film*, p. 134.

Contribution to the Identification of the *Hürriyet* Footage

A thorough examination of some details and identification of the persons camera recorded give important clues about the time the film was shot, and most importantly reveal that all those films had been taken neither the same day nor the same year.

Hürriyet started a long series of ceremonies everywhere in the Empire. As a matter of fact, following 10 July 1324 (23 July 1908), many ceremonies for various occasions were held in Manastır like other Ottoman towns. The main sources for the festivities held in Manastır on July 10 and after are eyewitness accounts (Niyazi Bey of Resen,²⁹⁴ Abdulmecid Fehmi,²⁹⁵ Mehmed Habib Bey,²⁹⁶ who was a member of the CUP Central Committee in Manastır) and news articles printed in *Neyyir-i Hakikat* published by the CUP in Manastır.

After reviewing briefly the chronology of the uprising end of June 1908 onwards, we see that young officers such as Enver Bey, Niyazi Bey, Eyüp Sabri Bey and Selahaddin Bey had taken to the hills. On 7 July 1908, Marshal Şemsi Pasha, assigned to the task of suppressing the revolt, was killed by Atıf Bey, a young officer and a member of the Committee, after which several opponents of the movement shared the same destiny by the end of the month. Meanwhile, the Committee called for cooperation against the Hamidian regime by sending letters to the leaders of non-Muslim bands, and firebombed the Palace with hundreds of telegrams demanding the restoration of the

²⁹⁴ Resneli Niyazi.

²⁹⁵ Ayşe Şen and Ali Birinci (ed.), *Abdülmecid Fehmi, Manastır'ın Unutulmaz Günleri*, (Akademi Kitabevi, 1993), pp. III-VIII.

²⁹⁶ Habib Bey's memoirs have not been published yet. I would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Yavuz Selim Karakışla who gave me both the text and photographs belonging to Habib Bey's family.

constitution (at least 67 telegrams were wired on between July 21 and 23).²⁹⁷ On July 22 1908, the Marshal Osman Pasha was kidnapped by men under command of Niyazi and Eyüp Sabri Beys as a threat to the Palace. And finally, on 23 July 1908 the Committee announced the restoration of the constitution in Manastır without waiting for the sultan's approval, followed by a ceremonial celebration including a parade. Later that day, the Sultan, informed the authorities in Manastır by a telegram that he supported the restoration of the constitution. The following day the morning newspapers informed the inhabitants of Istanbul about the edict. The official declaration had followed the legal manifesto and ceremonies.

The ceremonies held on July 23 by the Committee in Manastır (prior to the approval of the Sultan) were described by the abovementioned sources with slight differences. Niyazi Bey, who was not present himself there, but in Resen, confines himself to report that “early in the morning great celebrations in Manastır began with discharging of cannon to salute *Hürriyet* and the brotherhood and the equality it represented for all the Muslims and Christians under the sun.”²⁹⁸ Nevertheless, Mehmet Habib Bey, a member of the Central Committee in Manastır, in his unpublished memoirs observes:

On Thursday about three o'clock, groups of officers and civilians, who had arrived at the villages such as Devlecik and Kazani in Manastır, began to walk towards Manastır; Muslim and Christian, old and young alike came together in a remarkable procession went to Hanlarönü, a recreation spot outside of Manastır, to welcome Niyazi Bey and his companions (...) The same crowd then proceeded to the square in front of the Red and White Barracks near Manastır Railway Station, and prompted by the speech given by the Major Vehib Bey

²⁹⁷ Uzunçarşılı, p. 59.

²⁹⁸ Resneli Niyazi, pp. 229-230.

from Ioannina, they applauded and shouted in support of the the proclamation of the Constitution which made them feel triumphant and proud.²⁹⁹

Three o'clock in July for Manastır, according to the Ottoman hour system based on Muslim praying times (the sunset is considered as 12 o'clock), corresponds approximately to 11.30 am in the current system. According to this account, Niyazi Bey must have arrived in Manastır on July 10, despite his own words in his memoirs clearly explaining that he did not return there until July 12. Furthermore, we have been told that the ceremony began towards noon instead of morning.

Another witness, Abdülmecid Fehmi, a writer for the local newspapers *Manastır* and *Neyyir-i Hakikat* and the First Secretary of the Municipal Council Office gives more details on this extraordinary day. According to his account, coming out of his house in the morning he heard the announcement made by the Committee, in other words, the declaration of the prompt restoration of the constitution and responded with joy. Without knowing where they were headed, he followed the crowds towards the hills. "The poor man asked everybody, but he still could not put himself together."³⁰⁰ Everybody was walking towards Hanlarönü where stood Eyüb Sabri Bey, a rebel officer, and the crowd waited there until three o'clock (approximately 11.30am) when regiments of soldiers appeared with "thousands of people" carrying flags and banners advancing to the square. They were followed by the governor of Manastır, Hıfzı Paşa, the commanders of the army, the government officials, *ulema*, religious representatives of non-Muslim communities and consuls all of who went to a nearby military school where they were

²⁹⁹ Habib Bey.

³⁰⁰ Şen and Birinci (ed.), p. 7.

served cigarettes and sherbets. Around five o'clock (1.30pm) a parade attended by all communities began towards the square behind the barracks. There gathered about forty to fifty thousand people in the square. The army band played cheerful marches accompanying the applause of the crowd. And finally, Major Vehib Bey stood on a gun carriage reading the declaration of the "Restoration of the Constitution," which was followed with a prayer and twenty one shots of cannon fire.³⁰¹ There is no mention of Niyazi Bey.

Neyyir-i Hakikat relates this crucial event in the same terms with Abdülmecid Fehmi, which is not surprising given that he wrote for this newspaper, as well as for another one called *Manastır*. Concerning the moment of the event, the time is precisely mentioned: "With the rise of the brilliant sun, it had been heralded everywhere that (...) the constitution (...) would be officially proclaimed with a special ceremony and cannon fires."³⁰² The presence of the governor in the ceremony is repeated twice, with an emphasis given on the union of different ethnic groups for the celebration. The same newspaper mentioned the arrival and the welcoming of Niyazi Bey on July 25 1908.³⁰³

Under the present circumstances, according to the majority of sources, it can be summarized that on 23 July in the morning the Committee declared the prompt "official" Restoration of the Constitution, then at Hanlarönü rebel bands commanded by Eyüp Sabri Bey (who had been there since the day before, to kidnap Marshal Osman Pasha)

³⁰¹ Şen and Birinci, pp. 8–11.

³⁰² "İlan-ı Hürriyet," *Neyyir-i Hakikat*, 11 Temmuz sene 324. (11 July 324 / 24 July 1908).

³⁰³ "Merasim-i istikbaliye," *Neyyir-i Hakikat*, 14 Temmuz sene 324, (14 July 324 / 27 July 1908).

were welcomed. Later on the crowds advanced to the square followed by town notables, including the governor Hıfzı Paşa and stopped by the military school for the buffet serving *sherbets* and cigarettes to move on to the square in front of the barracks, which would thereafter be called “Hürriyet Square”, where forty to fifty thousand people gathered. The crucial point was the speech Vehib Bey gave during the ceremony which began about noon time and lasted two or three more hours. And in the afternoon (perhaps before the end of the ceremony?) a telegram sent by the Palace communicated the message that the Sultan approved the demands of the rebels. Niyazi Bey joined the celebrations two days later (as stated by three sources against one, namely the memoirs of Habib Bey) as along with Selahaddin Bey, Cherchis Topoli and Adem Bey.³⁰⁴ All other rebel bands (i.e. Serbians, Greeks and Vlachs) arrived one after the other in a week’s time.

With respect to this description, we should look for a distinctive detail of the first day in the visual material. The presence of the governor does not provide a good clue, since he could be in further ceremonies too. The high attendance is not significant, as the photographs from *Servet-i Fünun* and some postcards (fig. 7) visualizing the official ceremonies after July 24 clearly demonstrate that in terms of the participation and the composition of the crowds there was not a significant difference between celebrations supposedly held by the Committee in Manastır (as described by the abovementioned sources) and those organized or initiated by the Palace or where the sultan was acclaimed as the author of the freedom. Unless accompanied with inscriptions such as *Padişahım Çok Yaşa!* (Long Live Our Sultan), public attendance is not a distinctive sign.

³⁰⁴ Resneli Niyazi, p. 234. *Neyyir-i Hakikat*, 12 July 1324.



Fig. 7 Postcard from Amasya. Popular meeting with banners inscribed with “Long live our sultan!”

Thus, besides the parade, the presence of various communities, the flags or banners, the most important sign of July 23 is the speech given by Vehib Bey on top of a gun carriage. It has a symbolic significance since this gun carriage (number 60) would be shown to Sultan Mehmed V Reşat in the “simulation of July 10 parade” when he came to Manastır in 1911.³⁰⁵

Unfortunately all issues of *Neyyir-i Hakikat* are not available, yet, the existing issues give important clues for the weeks following *Hürriyet* in Manastır. For instance, one week later, *Neyyir-i Hakikat* wrote about a ceremony held in Manastır but with less details and emotion:

After the declaration that the post of the grand vizier communicated to approve the absolute freedom that the people had already declared by the power of his

³⁰⁵ Çanaklı,.

hands, the people, in order to show how serious and violent is the union of the people, rushing and surging in grounds, gathered in front of the governor's office and performed a manifestation of joy and proud.³⁰⁶

The same news also mentioned that speeches were given during the demonstrations, but *Neyyir-i Hakikat* did not publish them using the pretext of limited space. In other words, when the ceremony held was in favor of the government, the newspaper refused giving details, underestimated its impact or tried to explain the massive participation of the citizens as a threat to the state. Yet, it had to recognize the presence of the crowds and the joyful atmosphere as on July 23.

Another great ceremony was organized on 17 December 1908 (*4 Kânun-i evvel 324*) for the inauguration of the Ottoman Parliament. After a parade of school boys (wearing white and red cockades which were *Ottoman national symbol*, in the words of Abdülmecid Fehmi), the army band, the notables (governor, religious representatives of non-Muslim communities, commanders, military officers etc.) and the crowd assembled in the square (would-be Hürriyet Square) across the army barracks. Here an important element appears for the first time in the accounts of Abdülmecid Fehmi: The pillar standing in the middle of the square marked where a statue of liberty was planned to be constructed in the future.³⁰⁷ A cannon was placed next to the pillar to serve as a platform for the speakers, among whom the city mayor, gave the first speech, followed by Niyazi

³⁰⁶ "İcra-i nümayiş-i sürur", *Neyyir-i Hakikat*, 17 Temmuz sene 324. *Milletin zor ve mihnet-i bazı ile ilan eylediği hürriyet-i mutlakayı ister istemez tasdik yolunda makam-ı sadaretin tebliğ eylediği iradeden sonra dahi umum ahali ittihad-ı milletin ciddiyet ve dehşetini irae zımında fevc fevc hükümet konağı pişgahında tecmi' ederek icra-i nümayiş-i sürur ve ifhar eylemiştir.*

³⁰⁷ Şen and Birinci (eds.), p.24: ... *meydan-ı hürriyet-nişan merkezinde rekzi mutasavver, âbidenin makâmına kaim olan sütun-ı mu'allâ.*

Bey and Zeki Effendi, the latter in the name of the Club of the Union and Progress (a legal organization of CUP founded in several towns throughout the Empire after *Hürriyet*). We do not come across such a picture either on photographs or in films where a pillar, an artillery carriage with speakers on top in a winter atmosphere. But in one film we see a lecturer (*Turks Having Speech on Hürriyet*) in a slightly different scene: He does not stand on a gun carriage but on a platform next to a column (with another man holding an umbrella to protect him from the sun) which reminds us the other ceremonies related again by Abdülmecid Fehmi.

The pillar and the platform appear as distinctive elements in the demonstrations organized on 15 January 1909 on the occasion of the annexation of Crete to Greece. The mayor Baha Bey, Hasib Bey from the organization committee, Zeki Bey as the representative of the Club of the Union and Progress and the representatives of Albanian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Vlach and Jewish communities delivered speeches on a platform near the pillar.³⁰⁸

Towards the end of the year the platform appeared once again for a second ceremony with more details and similarities with the film *Turks Having Speech*. In this instance, Abdülmecid Fehmi, as the First Secretary of the Municipal Council Office in Manastır, had an honorable duty on 12 November 1909 (*30 Teşrin-i evvel 325*). The Palace had declared the obligation of every non-Muslim subject to serve in the Empire army and the imperial edict had been announced to the public in the *Hürriyet* Square. For the occasion, the governor sent an official invitation to the religious representatives, state officials, civil notables and consuls who assembled in the Square on a sunny day.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 26-27.

Mustafa Bey, a military officer, delivered the edict to the governor, who delegated the reading task to Abdülmecid Fehmi. He stepped on the “special platform near the (Freedom) column”. After the public notification of the imperial edict, the governor and Hasib Fehmi known for his eloquence delivered speeches.³⁰⁹ The platform and the column in the film *Turks Having Speech* are similar to the ones described by Abdülmecid Fehmi. Unfortunately the images are too blurred to identify the speaker as Abdülmecid Fehmi, but there is a remarkable resemblance between his photograph and the speaker in the film. (Fig.8) The spokesperson is surely not a military officer as his outfit suggest, therefore not the Governor. All remaining details (the presence of the consuls, notables, the column, the square and a sunny day) correspond to the film. Thus, it can be noted that the frame was most probably shot on 12 November 1909.

Returning to the ceremony on 17 December 1908 (*4 Kânun-i evvel 324*) in honor of parliamentary opening, it has some details which could help in the identification of other films or photographs. Abdülmecid Fehmi asserts that Niyazi Bey was present there with school boys wearing cockades. The procession in the main street (later renamed July 10 Avenue) is followed by a meeting at the Hürriyet Square. The film titled *Processions on the Occasion of Hürriyet* pictures a similar parade with Niyazi Bey and school boys. However, the children in this film do not wear cockades, instead they have rifles in their hands. We can assume that Abdülmecid Fehmi was mistaken, but we should also bear in mind another account related to another ceremony.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 37-39.



Fig. 8 Abdülmecid Fehmi

This explanation comes from the narrative of a ceremony held in 1911 during the stay of Sultan Mehmed V Reşat in Manastır. As previously mentioned, the Manakis had recorded the Sultan's visit to Salonika and Bitola. The Cinematheque of Macedonia has that film in its archives but it is always possible to find unidentified pieces in other reels, under different titles. According to the newspaper *Rumeli*, which meticulously followed the Sultan and covered his entire trip and reported to the readers, the ceremony of 23 July 1908 was simulated in Manastır in 1911, in honor of Mehmed V Reşat. For the occasion the houses and shops on the main avenue of Manastır were decorated with white and red Ottoman flags. School children coming from Resne, from a school called *Mekteb-i İnkılabi*, joined the celebrations wearing white conical hats, linen outfits, moccasins and leggings and “toy” rifles,³¹⁰ which reminds the school boys in the

³¹⁰ *Rumeli*, 25 June 1911 cited in Oktay Çanaklı, p.11. For a detailed research on this travel see also: Mevlüt Çelebi, *Sultan Reşad'ın Rumeli Seyahati*, (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1999.)

Processions on the Occasion of Hürriyet as well as the flags decorating the main street. In addition to the written material, there are also postcards picturing the same boys presented as “students of the school Mekteb-i Inkılabi –School of Revolution- from Resne”, even “students of Niyazi Bey.” (Fig. 9) That being said, in order to avoid mistakes it should be noted that the same children could have come to Manastır for another ceremony at another time, yet such a presence is not mentioned by the eyewitnesses. As a result, until another alternative comes forward, we can come to the conclusion that the *Processions on the Occasion of the Hürriyet* was recorded during the Sultan’s visit to Manastır (as the school boys, Niyazi Bey and the flags suggest).³¹¹



Fig. 9 “School boys from ‘Mekteb-i İnkılâbî’ in Resne, founded by Niyazi Bey, the freedom hero; lies in rest at Hanlarönü.”

³¹¹ As I mentioned in the “Introduction” Manaki Brothers’ films are considered national heritage by Macedonia, thus the foreigners are allowed to copy only 2 minutes of footage, thus, I do not have the whole record of 1911. The match could be verified or denied accurately with a thorough examination of the records of Sultan Reşat’s visit preserved in Skopje, in the Cinematheque of Macedonia.

The Sultan's visit to Bitola inspires us to identify another film, the *Manifestations on the Occasion of Young Turks' Revolution*. The recording features notables gathered for a parade. Soldiers, officers, cavalymen join them and altogether they pass a bridge. But just before that the procession passes by a square in front of a building with a kind of triumphal arch in the background. The arch appears in silhouette, yet its outlines are visible. A postcard sent by Mehmed Habib Bey clearly identifies the triumphal arch: *Porte Réchadié et la Municipalité à Manastır* and *İkamet-i şahaneye tahsis olunan belediye dairesi ve bab-ı Reşadiye* [The Town Hall, allocated for the use the Sultan's visit, and the Reşadiye Gate]. (Fig. 10) The municipality in the film is on the right side, briefly seen behind the horse carriage. The sultan's visit to Manastır was honored mainly by three triumphal arches constructed at the railway station and at the entrance of the main streets. In addition, Bulgarian, Vlach and Jewish communities and the Bank-ı Osmani built similar arches decorated with white and red draperies and pine tree branches.³¹² Thus, the film in question, *Manifestations on the Occasion of Young Turks' Revolution*, should be part of the recordings during Sultan Reşat's visit or another celebration after 1911. The most probable alternative to the visit is the annual celebration of *Hürriyet* as a national holiday, the same year or in 1912.

Sultan Reşad came to Manastır in June 1911. But, way before the imperial visit, in July 1909 the Ottoman Parliament had proclaimed the 23 July as a national holiday,³¹³

³¹² Çanaklı, 12.

³¹³ About the debate on a national festival date see : *Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi*, 13 Kanun-i Sâni 1324 (26 January 1909), ict. 18, v. 1, 319-323.



Fig. 10 The Town Hall, allocated for the use of the imperial person, and the Reşadiye Gate.”

against few propositions for 24 July, and until the early years of the Republic this day was celebrated across the Empire.³¹⁴ Manastır, as the cradle of *Hürriyet*, should have staged celebrations for various occasions including July 1912, until the town was separated from the Empire in the aftermath of the Balkan Wars. As a matter of fact, from 1908 to 1912 Manastır witnessed many ceremonies including a parade followed by a gathering in the *Hürriyet* Square. Thus, three unidentified films in our list (*Parade on the Occasion of Hürriyet, Military Orchestra Parade, Coaches and Cavaliers, Processions (with Greek inscriptions)*) could be related to any one of them. As we do not have written accounts for each ceremony, it is hard to relate the recordings to one specific occasion, but it is still possible to find clues in visual material. The most significant signs come from the *Parade on the Occasion of Hürriyet*: Two coaches,

³¹⁴ Melis Süloş, “Bir Cumhuriyete İki Bayram. Cumhuriyet Döneminde 1908 Hürriyet Bayramı Kutlamaları,” *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 151, (Temmuz 2006), pp. 72-75.

notably the first one with five little girls in white dresses. The little girls and women were widely used as the symbol of the Freedom³¹⁵. The *Hürriyet* album of the Manakis present two photographs, the first dated as 23 July 1909 with the caption “The chariot of freedom and public rejoicing, 10 July 1324 a.h.”³¹⁶ The second picture is not dated, but related to the first one: “The symbol of liberty and children of the chariot of freedom”.³¹⁷ (see Fig. 6). Six little girls appear in this picture, with a woman apparently symbol of liberty, and the little girls match those on the film *Parade*. According to the Manakis’ assertion in their album, the *Parade* should be dated 23 July 1909.

Consequently, the analysis based on written sources indicates that none of the films contain the significant, distinctive moments of 23 July 1908. They seem to include scenes from later ceremonies which took place between “1908 - 1912”, including the July 10 festivals and Sultan Mehmed V Resad’s visit to Manastır: *Manifestations* (1911 - 1912, most probably from 1911, Sultan Resad’s visit to Manastır); *Turks Having Speech* (presumably from 15 January 1909, most probably from 12 November 1909 or later); *Parade* (from 1909, as a match with a photograph from the *Hürriyet* album by the Manakis suggests); *Processions* (Sultan Reşad’s visit to Manastır); *Processions* (with Greek inscriptions; 1908 – 1912 ?); *Military Orchestra* (1908 – 1912?).

³¹⁵ Börekçi, p. 42.

³¹⁶ Margulies, “The charriot of freedom and public rejoicing, 10 July 1325 a.h.”

³¹⁷ Margulies, “The symbol of liberty and children of the chariot of freedom”.

Content Analysis: Ceremonial Order and Meanings

Manaki Brothers and Documenting Festivals: Choices and Exclusions

The *Hürriyet* footage illustrates only a few minutes of long ceremonies which actually lasted for hours. The film *Sultan Reşad* is exceptional with its length of 16 minutes, however, the sequences to be studied are those closely related with the July 10 festivals and represent two minutes of reel. The Manaki Brothers apparently were willing to document different episodes of the imperial visit as they followed the sultan not only in Manastır, but also in Salonika immortalizing his entrance to his residence in Manastır or his arrival at the railway station. They spent more strips and more time for the imperial visit, which is completely understandable given its importance. Therefore, it is not out of question that they had commercial expectations. Whatever the case, the correspondences of the Manakis preserved in the Archive of Bitola prove that they established commercial relations with the Ottoman Palace after this visit, as they were commissioned for photographs not only by the Palace but also by notables.³¹⁸ They also had taken photographs during the visit, which were reproduced on postcards as the *Hürriyet* images. Consequently, although their films had not been widely shown, the Brothers might have had commercial expectations, even before the imperial visit, when they shot *Hürriyet*.

Although the visual language of films does not exactly tell the whole process, it hints at the moments they wanted to catch, at the persons they wished to draw attention

³¹⁸ Bitola, 2.580.6.25 / 25; 2.580.6.27 / 27

to, and at the impression they aimed to give. Both in the *Sultan Reşad* and the *Hürriyet* films the camera stood firm in a high-angle (from the balcony of Milton's house, in the *Parade*) or low-angle (*Processions*). But the Manakis also uses pan shots (an unsuccessful effort in the *Turks Having Speech* where the camera moves to the right, yet too fast; in *Manifestations*, where the camera moves several times towards right and left to follow the flow of the crowd, and then focuses on the place where the procession begins), close-ups (as in the film *Sultan Reşat*. The camera records the procession approaching, led by Niyazi Bey and Eyüp Sabri Bey. Then it is shut down when Niyazi Bey is out of the frame and reactivated to focus on and to follow Niyazi Bey and Eyüp Sabri Bey.) The device, when not set in the balcony, is constantly moving to catch the procession in its full dimension (as in *The Military Orchestra* and *Processions*). The recurrent theme of their work is the "masses" in constant movement, filling the entire frame. In their other films too, as states Stardelov "one of the most characteristic (...) of the poetics of the documentary film of the Manaki Brothers is their preoccupation with filmin *mass scenes*."³¹⁹ What the movie-camera Bioscope 300 records, is not the description of a "moment", but the story of a progressive parade in its entire splendor. In this sense, the films seem to be in parallel with the epic narrative on the *Hürriyet* photographs. However, the parade is not monolithic. The camera is selective: A general plan is followed by a close-up to recurrent figures: In *Parade* and *Sultan Reşad* the coach carrying little girls, in *Parade* and *The Military Band* the coach with boys, in the *Parade*, *Turks Having Speech* and *Sultan Reşad* the CUP banner and blazon, and, Niyazi Bey who appears in the *Parade*, *Processions* and *Sultan Reşad*. The camera recorded

³¹⁹ Stardelov, *Manaki*, p. 207.

Niyazi Bey also welcoming the Romanian delegation visiting Bitola, in 1911³²⁰. It is worth to remember that the Manakis have taken his pictures several times from 1908 onwards. And both in the *Sultan Reşad* and the *Parade* we see that he is apparently aware of the camera when he stares at it. Whatever the motif was either friendship or political and/or commercial affiliation, the “actor” and the cameramen/photographers are obviously in cooperation.

The Manaki Brothers were experienced photographers with a sense of frame and *mise en scène* as observed in their photographs. (Fig. 11, 12³²¹) Yet they were not trained in the use of movie camera, they should have used their experience as photographers in the selection of frames to record. Besides the probable commercial or political expectations, they surely had a photographic gaze, an aesthetic sense and most importantly a documentary approach as stated by Stardelov.³²² Especially when filming the Sultan Reşad V in Salonika and Manastır, they shot the moments in order to create a consistent story displaying all phases of the sultan’s visit. Even in the *Parade*, despite its brevity, the camera recorded the main group (Freedom Coach), but also people lining the street or civilians in ethnic costumes. They could have had several motivations in the choice of their subjects and their processing methods: commercial expectation, search for prestige, affiliation with CUP or Niyazi Bey, aesthetic... As a matter of fact, they

³²⁰ http://maccinema.com/e_filmovi_r.asp [10 September 2010].

³²¹ Within the subject matter of this study, the photographs of rebel bands manifest their ability to produce prototypes. Fig. 11 pictures Selahattin Bey and his band in a false wood setting. Resneli Niyazi Cherchis Topoli are taken in the picture by mistake, which proves that they are in town, at the earliest on July 12. A similar photograph enhanced Resneli Niyazi’s memoirs (p. 100). In Fig. 12 we see Cherchis Topoli, rebel band leader in the studio. He has his rifle and binoculars which refer to his past as a rebel, but he also wears the *Hürriyet* cockade. An exotic leader at the service of the new regime. See also fig. 2.

³²² Stardelov, *Manaki*, p.108.

recorded the festivals as an epic reminiscence of the uprising: Streets full of crowds, decorated with flags, children obeying to a military discipline. A simple move of the camera could change the whole setting and the story: If they filmed only the *ulema*, for instance, or only the Greek flags, or instead of crowds, if they recorded a street with a few people. Neither in their films nor in their pictures of *Hürriyet* have we seen any placard inscribed with pro-palace or pro-sultan watchwords, such as “Long live our sultan!” In the early days of *Hürriyet*, the townsmen in Manastır are said to have attended the official celebrations too, but neither the photo nor the movie-camera Manakis did not prefer to film them. It recorded the opponents, the old rebels and their success. Apparently this was the story they wanted to tell.

The Visual Story of the July 10 Festivals

Although exact dating of all films is not possible, all those recordings have common features in displaying the ceremonial order for the honor of *Hürriyet* in Manastır. Yet few in number, the *Hürriyet* festivals in Istanbul have been subject to studies³²³. Given the scarcity of both the researches and available written sources displaying festivals and meetings outside of the capital³²⁴, the Manakis’ *Hürriyet* films should be considered rare historical documents in this field.

³²³Serin’s Masters thesis is a review and interpretation of written sources (especially newspapers and memoirs) on July 10 festivals. See also: Sanem Yamak, “Meşrutiyetin Bayramı: 10 Temmuz İd-i Millisi.” *İ.Ü. Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, no.38, (Mart 2008), pp. 323-342; Filiz Çolak, “Osmanlı Başkentinde Hürriyet Bayramı Kutlamaları,” *Toplumsal Tarih*, no.151, (Temmuz 2006), pp. 62-69.

³²⁴ The visit of Sultan Reşad which was well documented by newspapers and witnesses is an exception. Abdülmecid Fehmi, the eminent actor/witness of this period is uncommunicative about the 10 July 1325 (23 July 1909) festival, yet his account ends in August 1909. Available local newspapers such as Elhan



Fig. 11 “Souvenir of the Proclamation of Freedom in Manastir, 10 July 1324, a.h. Staff officer lieutenant colonel Selahattin Bey’s rebel band”.

(one issue from 1911 in Atatürk Kütüphanesi), S \ddot{u} ng \ddot{u} (one issue from 1910 in Atatürk Kütüphanesi), Neyyir-i Hakikat (available issues from 23 July 1908 to 21 March 1909, first issue in Atatürk Kütüphanesi, the others in National Library in Ankara) do not cover the *Hürriyet* festivals in Manastir.



Fig. 12 Cherchis Topoli, in the studio of the *Manakis*.

The films, as all historical are not impartial, the camera had been turned towards what the cameramen wanted to show, in parallel with the perception the leaders of the uprising wanted to build. However, in spite of what the cameramen desired, the device was able to catch certain details which would allow -to a certain extent – to uncover the florid freedom rhetoric the pro-CUP or pro-state newspapers preferred to hide or exaggerate. My objective is to use this media for the deconstruction of CUP’s revolutionary rhetoric prevailed under the specific circumstances of Manastır at that time. They would be discussed, as in former studies, in terms of “autonomy” of crowds,³²⁵ the new use of urban space and revolutionary rhetoric and symbols.³²⁶ This would be an attempt to a “conceptualization” of *Hürriyet* through moving images about how it had been “experienced and perceived by its actors and transmitted by their heirs.”³²⁷ Representations and language of *Hürriyet* conveyed by films could serve for a better understanding of “the politics” in general, namely “not just as policies, decisions, and organizations, but as the fount of new kinds of actions in the world.”³²⁸

Beginning with the first day ceremony, neither the photographs nor the films seem to have documented the ceremony which reached a peak when Vehbi Bey delivered the speech on top of the gun carriage no. 60. The only accounts coming from pro-CUP newspapers (*Neyyir-i Hakikat* and *Manastır*) and witnesses, one has to be careful in using written sources of the era, and to be prudent in assigning a “savage”

³²⁵ Serin, p. 8.

³²⁶ Serin, pp. 89-125.

³²⁷ François Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, trans. Elborg Forster (Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 14.

³²⁸ Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), p. 11 referring to Furet, p. 41.

nature to these celebrations, as outpoured enactments of the crowds. Instead, I would propose a critical reading of the written narratives which show us, from the very first day, that they had an “organized” character, with their orderly parades, and their “joyful”, “enthusiastic”, yet strictly controlled crowds by CUP. Some postcards tend to verify this “controlled crowds”. The number of children in a number of anonymous photographs or those taken by the Manakis raises questions about the wills and expectations of people who participated to the celebrations, at least a part of them. (For an example see Fig. 13) Furthermore, the number of people gathered in the *Hürriyet* square seems to be highly exaggerated: Forty to fifty thousand people in a town where the total population has been estimated to be 37 000 in 1900³²⁹, i.e. 8 years before the uprising is at the least, unreliable. Abdülmecid Fehmi and *Neyyir-i Hakikat*³³⁰ on the other hand, described the public as stunned and deeply surprised by this highly disciplined and organized ceremony, which looked very official in appearance, due to the presence of notables, including the governor Hıfzı Paşa. The very presence of the army related to the powerful organization of CUP in this institution is worth taking into consideration as one reason. The procession made stopover in the military school, which is not surprising remembering that Vehib Bey was its director. Then speeches were delivered in the military practice ground in front of the army barracks, which would become the *Hürriyet* Square, and all along, the audience witnessed parading army regiments. Instead of the area of Old Bazaar near to the Dragor, the space marked with

³²⁹ Bernard Lory and Alexandre Popovic, « Au carrefour des Balkans, Bitola 1816-1918 ». In *Villes Ottomanes à la Fin de L'Empire* directed by Paul Dumont and François Georgeon (Paris : L'Harmattan, 1992), pp. 75-92.

³³⁰ “Kışlalar piş-gâhında muntazaman toplar, tertib ve ihzâr edilmiş... muntazaman gelmeye başlayan alaylardan... kimsenin burnu bile kanamaksızın âyine-pirâ-yı zuhur olan o şahid-i zibâ-yı muvaffakiyet (...) umum tarafdârân-ı hak ve hakikatı, engüşt-ber-dehân-ı hayret bırakmıştır.”: Şen and Birinci, pp. 9-11.



Fig. 13 “Manastir, the Proclamation of the Constitution.”

mosques, they preferred to come closer to the military barracks. This feature should not be omitted in the evaluation of further ceremonies displayed by films. The written accounts, as a whole represents ceremonies far from being “savage” festivals as Mona Ozouf expressed for the festive events during the French Revolution³³¹ or as “fired off by ‘the coming of freedom,’”³³². Instead, the ceremony had been immediately structured in accord with the rhetoric of the main actors of the day³³³.

³³¹ Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, trans. (USA: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 126.

³³² Serin, p. 12.

³³³ About the ceremonies meticulously organized by CUP see : Hacısalihoğlu, pp. 204-218.

What the Manaki Brothers recorded with their movie-camera is different phases of further festivals and meetings for various occasions performed on the same *stage* in the urban space by actors advised and organized by mentors, in front of an audience not directly involved in the event. These were carefully organized performances in the service of the politics, in the sense the term “performance” has been invested with by Richard Bauman: “A mode of communicative behavior and a type of communicative event”³³⁴ (...) Bauman underlines other performative characteristics of such performances:

First of all, such events tend to be *scheduled*, set up and prepared for in advance. In addition, they are *temporally bounded*, with a defined beginning and end; they are also *spatially bounded*, that is, enacted in a space that is symbolically marked off, temporarily or permanently, such as a theater, a festival ground, or a sacred grove.³³⁵

In parallel, the canonical *Festivals and the French Revolution* by Mona Ozouf, albeit without using performance studies’ language, examines the connections between French revolution festivals and space and time, before focusing on their didactic function.³³⁶ In what follows, the content of the films will be studied in accordance to this general scheme: the festival as a performance through its connection to urban space and time; and as an instrument in the transfer of *Hürriyet*’s symbolism and political culture to a wide audience.

³³⁴ Richard Bauman, Richard Bauman, “Performance”. In *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments* edited by Richard Bauman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 41.

³³⁵ Bauman, p. 46.

³³⁶ Ozouf.

Festive events like all other cultural performances are public enactments in which a culture is “encapsulated, enacted, placed on display for itself and for outsiders.” They focus on a prominent theme in the experience of a social group (occasion, place, time span, organized programs, performers and audience)³³⁷. As Allesandro Falassi reminds us, they evolve around a certain rite of passage, with conspicuous display and consumption, using drama, competition and reversing orders, create a festive time and space, where the public expresses itself as a collective entity.³³⁸ The intriguing aspect of the *Hürriyet* celebrations in Manastır was that they were in fact “festivals in progress” where the outburst of public celebrations was most probably overrated for propaganda purposes.

The Festival and New Use of Urban Time and Space

The Manaki Brothers’ films and photographs are not informative about all the special activities of this particular festival time. The different aspects of this “ ‘time out of time’, a temporal dimension devoted to special activities”; which in Fallassi’s terms imposes itself “as an autonomous duration”³³⁹, cannot be fully recorded, partially because of the technological level and equipment: Written accounts, for instance, denote night-time entertainments following official ceremonies in daylight.³⁴⁰ Milton Manaki labeled some of their photographs as “taken with magnesium light”, which means they took them in

³³⁷ See Beverly Stoeltje & Richard Bauman, « The Semiotics of Cultural Performance, » *The Semiotic Web* edited by T.A. Sebeok & J. Umiker-Sebeok (Berlin : Mouton de Gruyter, 1988), pp. 585-599.

³³⁸ Allesandro Falassi, « Festival : Definition and Morphology, » *Time Out of Time* edited by A. Falassi (New Mexico : University of New Mexico, 1987), pp. 1-10.

³³⁹ Allesandro Fallassi, *Time out of Time, Essays on the Festival* (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1987), p. 41.

³⁴⁰ For few examples: *Neyyir-i Hakikat*, 25 July 1325; Abdülmeçid Fehmi, pp. 25, 32, 34, 37.

the dark, (Fig. 14) but apparently they did not use their movie camera at night. Their 3” lens would not be practical for night scenes, since even in the 1920s such shots was considered problematic, and additional equipment “several times faster than the regular equipment” produced by a “London optical expert”³⁴¹ (probably an allusion to Dallmeyer’s f/1.9³⁴²) was required. The scarcity of celluloid strips should not be ignored either: they should have used them very carefully, in best conditions. Therefore, the films display examples of use of urban space as a stage for ceremonial performance with places for both performers and spectators. The stage for ceremonies has been set in town’s areas invested with new names and functions: “Hanlarönü” recreation spot on Dragor shore where rebel bands had been welcomed; the main boulevard baptized “July 10” and the space in front of the military barracks thereafter named *Hürriyet* Square (Fig. 15). Additions, modifications and changes in the use of spaces are neither new nor outdated, given that, according to the assumption of Abbé Brotier, “when Julius Caesar wanted to change the form of government, ‘he began with changes in the circus.’ ”³⁴³ In our case, the boulevard baptized as July 10, before *Hürriyet* was known as “Shirok Sokak” (Large Street), officially recognized as Hamidiye Boulevard,³⁴⁴ and in the Yugoslavian era it became (and still is) “Marshall Tito” boulevard. However, caution is necessary in the construction of a general framework for revolutionary use of space: the means and aims vary from one revolution to another, even more, from one town to

³⁴¹ Lescarboua, p. 68.

³⁴² Bernard E. Jones (ed.), *The Cinematograph Book* (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd, 1916), pp. 28-29.

³⁴³ Ozouf, p. 126.

³⁴⁴ Lory and Popovic.

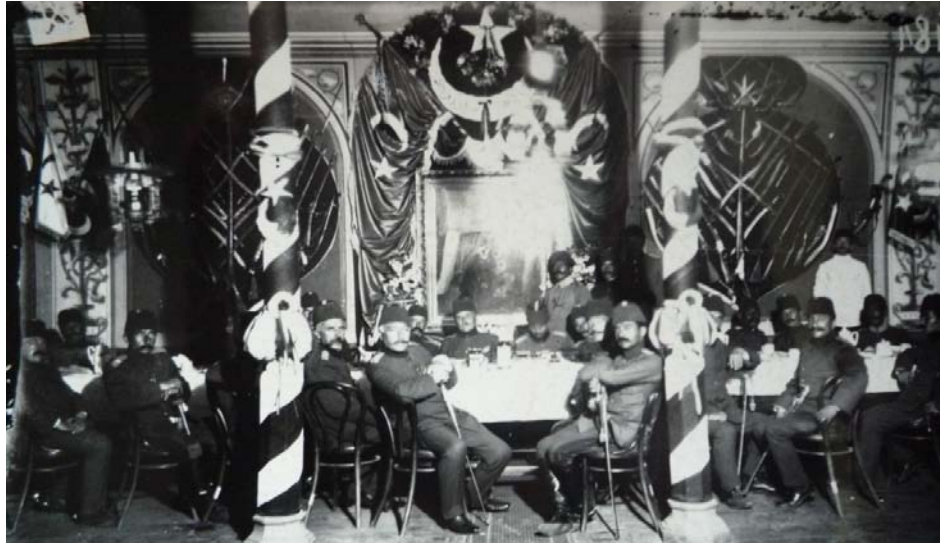


Fig. 14 Banquet of Turkish officers. Photograph taken with magnesium.

another due to local actors, perceptions and physical conditions, yet “there is no possible innocence in the elaboration of a festival planning.”³⁴⁵ The inevitable example of French Revolution brought about “breaking gates down, crossing moats, walking into places once forbidden” and “tying rediscovered liberty with rediscovered space.”³⁴⁶ It is true that after *Hürriyet* Ottoman society to a certain extent enjoyed a spatial liberation in towns, for instance in Istanbul, with the right of free entrance to public gardens³⁴⁷. Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine that this freedom was welcomed by the whole attendance as an expression of the Ottoman society’s “thirty-three-years of unspoken words, unthought thoughts, unpracticed bodily movements in newly conquered urban

³⁴⁵ Ozouf, “Le cortège et la ville : les itinéraires parisiens des cortèges révolutionnaires”, *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 5 (1971), pp. 889-916.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁷ *Byzantia*, n.d. « The revolution only could give right of free entrance to Tepebaşı Gardens. »

space”³⁴⁸. Squares, streets, public gardens in Manastır have been given new names after *Hürriyet*, and it is for sure that the town witnessed and thought about the coming of a new era with new actors performing new ceremonies in this frame. Whosoever the authors are, there is no doubt that “[the new] arrangement [in urban space] is perceived as the messenger of revolution”³⁴⁹. However, no Bastille has been destroyed in Manastır, instead the governmental office soon after joined in the celebrations, and the parades had to end in front of the military barracks, which imply to a different model of use of urban space after a major political turmoil, strictly depending on the fundamental political culture it engendered. Thus, it would not be irrelevant trying to read the use of space in films with the aim of going beyond the allusions to a total freedom enjoyed by townsmen.

Morphology of the July 10 Celebrations

Based on descriptive narratives about the celebrations, we understand that on 23 July 1908, the starting point of ceremonial itinerary was the recreation spots on both sides of

³⁴⁸ Serin, p. 89. Examples of researches on Ottoman ceremonial order and space: for the connection ritual-power-architecture in early modern period through Topkapı Palace, see: Gülru Necipoğlu, *15. ve 16. Yüzyılda Topkapı Sarayı / Mimarî, Tören ve İktidar* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007). Hakan Karateke’s *Padişahım Çok Yaşa* is a detailed research on court ceremonies held in nineteenth to twentieth century. Nevertheless the symbolic structure of ceremonies is privileged at the expense of audience’s ceremonial experience: Hakan Karateke, *Padişahım Çok Yaşa, Osmanlı Devletinin Son Yüzyılında Merasimler* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004). Yet few in number monographies are available, but the emphasis is put on the description of ceremonies, rather than their perceptions by both the actors and the audience: Ebru Baykal, *Osmanlılarda Törenler* (unpublished MA Thesis submitted to Edirne, Trakya Üniversitesi, 2008). See also Şakir Batmaz, “1297 (1879/1880) Tarihli Bahriye Kânunnâmesi’ne Göre Osmanlı Devleti’nde Velâdet-i Humâyun Kutlamaları”, *SDÜ Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 15, 2007, pp. 23-38.

³⁴⁹ Ozouf, « Le Cortège et la Ville », p. 889.



Fig. 15 Bitola, city map. The promenade on the southern shore of the Dragor is still called “Devlecik”.

Dragor, on the way to Resen and Prilepe. The next day the palace officially declared *Hürriyet* in parallel with the rebels' wills. Then Muslim bands had been welcomed on 12 July on the southern shore of the river near the village of Devlecik in Hanlarönü.³⁵⁰ This very day, on their way to the main street through the boulevard skirting the river (later named "Atif Bey Boulevard"), rebels and people who greeted them in front of the Government House (Hükümet Konağı) stopped for an official ceremony which marked the reconciliation of antagonist forces and the reintegration of rebels to legal mechanism. The cortege then turned towards south to meet with townsmen through July 10 Boulevard decorated with flags. The show would end with speeches on the Hürriyet Square way out to south. .

Hanlarönü, not seen in the films has been documented by the Manaki Brothers' photo-camera (Fig. 16) as well as the leaders of bands. Nevertheless, Hanlarönü would be excluded from further ceremonies³⁵¹ perhaps because of physical distance, but also as a marker of the "revolutionary" aspect of the event. After all, both the bands and Hanlarönü as the marking place of their coming up referred to an old relationship between them and the state order. Now that the mission was accomplished, reminding of the rebels and their marked place would be nothing but a threat to the new order.

Except the first days of ceremonies that began in Hanlarönü, the cortege would be assembled behind the Konak (Government House)³⁵² then proceed to the boulevard

³⁵⁰ *Neyyir-i Hakikat*, 14 July 324; "we arrived in Devlecik village, Hanlarönü recreation spot", Resneli Niyazi, p. 231.

³⁵¹ Neither *Neyyir-i Hakikat* nor Abdülmecid Fehmi mention Hanlarönü in their accounts of further ceremonies.

³⁵² Abdülmecid Fehmi, p. 24, opening of the Ottoman parliament on 4 December 1324 (17 December 1324); p. 31, sultan Mehmed V Resad allegiance ceremony on 15 April 325 (28 April 1909).

reaching Dragor River in the north. The films *Parade* and *Processions* display the preparations on the boulevard for special occasions. There were Ottoman flags and decorative garlands on balconies and, according to written account of Sultan Reşad's visit, houses were painted in white and red (just like the flags), a Muslim cemetery hidden by a wall constructed in purpose.³⁵³ However, the Manaki Brothers' films show us that the ceremony would not completely overwhelm the daily activities taking place on the boulevard, even during the event: A social place where people strolled around



Fig. 16 Rebel bands at Hanlarönü.

European- type of stores, hotels, a theater, restaurants and coffee houses, and accessed to roads between old bazaars and railway station.³⁵⁴ While the ceremony was happening, The footage entitled *Parade*, shows men walking opposite direction of the cortege, children crossing the boulevard, a foreign lady in Western style clothing with unveiled

³⁵³ Çelebi, p. 72.

³⁵⁴ Bernard Lory and Alexandre Popovic.

hair walking in the street accompanied by a man with *fezz* carrying a small child in his arms (a consul, *kavas*?). All these images could be interpreted as the daily life persisting amidst the celebrations and a proof of public participation and “enthusiasm” in different levels.

But from a different aspect, the ceremonial celebrations invented new meanings assigned to certain places, like adding a new function to the “Shirok Sokak” (July 10 Boulevard). Shirok Sokak had indeed been a stage for the learning of *Hürriyet* rhetoric and lexicon. It also set a border to determine the demarcation lines for *Hürriyet* enthusiasm, to mold and direct it into an orderly, well organized regular parade, whose legitimacy consisted of its being a ‘controlled event’. Both in the *Parade* and the *Procession*, the march was performed in front of an audience lining the boulevard together with people in windows and balconies. The separation is so clear that, as in the film *Parade*, when people try to join the marching crowd, mounted soldiers stop them, putting a distance between them and the participants of the parade, who acted as the agents of exposing, showing, and thus making this new language perceptible to the general public. The parade ends on the south in front of the military barracks, in *Kışlalar Meydanı* (Barracks Square) a name rapidly replaced as the *Hürriyet* Square; pointing perhaps to the most most symbolic step in the new use of the urban space: Whatever the motivation, (an official declaration for mandatory military service, the opening of Ottoman parliament, or Sultan Reşad laying the foundation of a monument dedicated to *Hürriyet*), the area was an obligatory passage for both town inhabitants and visitors. In *Turks Having Speech*, the camera amidst the spectators who surround the site of action records a platform next to a rudimentary column. The place gradually invaded by the

Hürriyet rhetoric had first been marked with a gun carriage in its center, then with this column, and finally with a monument dedicated to *Hürriyet*. These are all mnemonic constructions transmitting, reproducing and maintaining the memory of the proclamation of *Hürriyet* on top of an artillery carriage. In the same film, the column with all its didactic meaning is the natural center of attention, and the platform for the speaker is placed next to it. The diplomatic guests, mostly of consuls (with respect to their European look) and CUP members (judging by the placard they carry inscribed with the name of the Committee) situated themselves closest to the column which has apparently a hierarchical value.

The location of the square deserves a close-up: it is under close watch of the army authorities, which is a prominent area for CUP; anyhow the film ends with a military parade. The choice of this place for the first day most probably served their practical needs: it is located by the main boulevard, large enough to house crowds, and in case of a conflict well situated for the intervention of military forces assembled by pro-CUP officers. But in further ceremonies, too, *Hürriyet* Square would be unavoidably marked by the close connection between the Army and the new era. The declaration of governmental decisions (mandatory military service) or protestations against the annexation of Crete to Greece also happened in the *Hürriyet* Square.

The films do not allow a comparison between before- and after-*Hürriyet*, therefore, are far from illustrating the modifications brought about by political culture: They show only “moments” caught in a given day, from a carefully elaborated angle. But it is still possible to combine written sources with “live images” to speculate about the nature of the changes brought about by new political means. The advantage of

moving images would be to display the individual behavior of actors and spectators, their “enthusiasm” and the lack of it. In the case of Manastır, appropriation of urban space by the means of adding new names and functions to the public squares and boulevards seems exemplify a “reform” in the urban landscape rather than manifesting a subversive, revolutionary reshaping process. In other words, reconciliation between the Government House, the main boulevard and the military barracks, and the cooperation between the political leaders and the army.

Actors and Spectators

The film entitled *Parade* should be considered the only record of a July 10 ceremony in Manastır. Considering that both newspapers and memoirs remain silent about the July 10 festivals in Manastır, the present *Parade* is a precious document allowing an interpretation. On the other hand, from 1908 to 1912 several July 10 festivals should have been celebrated in Manastır with new additions and modifications made each year: this is something the films labeled as *Hürriyet* cannot reveal. As previously noted, fortunately, another visual recording by the Manakis is more instructive about this accumulation, yet it surely has not been shot on a July 10: Sultan Reşad’s visit to Bitola in 1911 celebrated with a mock parade of the 23 July 1908, mentioned also in the written sources. The parade, in this visit, being a simulacrum, is an ideal dramatization of the *Hürriyet* lexicon, in other words, an intensified reality clarifying the fundamentals and the components of this language. It is not a perfect “replica” of 23 July 1908, as asserted incompatibilities with the first day ceremony detailed earlier in the identification of

films³⁵⁵: neither Niyazi Bey nor Eyüp Sabri Bey was in town on 23 July 1908, but they were in the parade of 1911, and written sources do not name the placard inscribed with the name of CUP and the “coach of freedom” within the first day ceremonial repertoire, but they are the center of attention in 1911. The mimic parade is a “play”³⁵⁶ including and expressing milestones and symbols of *Hürriyet* accumulated at a local level from 1908 onwards: the leadership of the army impersonated by Fethi Paşa and Mustafa Paşa ahead of the procession, entrance of rebel bands to Manastır personified by Niyazi and Eyüp Sabri Beys in old rebel clothes and the famous gun carriage served as a platform on 23 July 1908; the ideology of *Hürriyet* represented by little girls and a flag with inscription “Ottoman Committee of Union and Progress, 10 July 1324,” followed by the blazon of the Committee and its coach. Behind this symbolic assemblage marched a second group composed of religious authorities and notables of the town accompanied by the coach used in the abduction of Şemsi Paşa. Groups of school boys came last respecting to the overall hierarchy of ceremonial order: military gymnasium leading civil institutions including “schools of Union and Progress” and non-Muslim schools hoisting white and red Ottoman flags at the very end of the long procession.³⁵⁷ In the film *Parade*, which belongs to the 1909 July 10 Festival, we see a similar order with CUP, the coach of freedom, the Army and different components of Ottoman society. In all evidence this the general format of July 10 ceremonial adopted by local authorities. In what follows, I would attempt to deconstruct the content of this performance as an instrument of “political communication,” meaning “the deliberate passing of a *political*

³⁵⁵ See in this chapter ‘Contribution to the Identification’.

³⁵⁶ Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi* (İstanbul: Özgür Yayınları, 2003), p. 500.

³⁵⁷ Çelebi, p. 78.

*message by a sender to a receiver, with the intention of making the receiver behave in a way that otherwise he might not do.*³⁵⁸,

Who is the sender of the political message, and who are the supposed receivers in this footage? In both films, ignoring the existing connotative meanings of their presence, we see similar actors: Military brass band, cavaliers, infantrymen, civilians, and children obeying a defined ceremonial structure. In both *Sultan Reşad* and the *Parade*, where different group are situated in the procession gives clues about the hierarchy between them: Military officers go ahead, followed closely by CUP's blazon and name on a placard, its members surrounding the coach of Freedom with young girls on it and soldiers again proudly marching by the gun carriage to which horses are harnessed. There is a second coach filled with young boys, which Tarık Hakkı Us, an eyewitness to Sultan Reşad's visit, describes as "The coach of the Committee."³⁵⁹ It appears in the films *Military Band* and the *Parade* too, but written sources do not allow to a further interpretation. However, it would not be impertinent to consider it as an embodiment of the notions of "union" and "progress". As in the "Schools of Union and Progress" created by CUP reassembling children from different ethnic – religious communities³⁶⁰, the boys in the coach would perhaps symbolize the Union. The carriage, with its four domes, might parallel with a description on a cartoon. The example comes from the gazette *Hayal* where a two-wheeled chariot appears. It is not surmounted by four domes but harnessed to four horses: "Each horse represents union, progress, education and

³⁵⁸ Sophia Menache, *The Vox Dei, Communication in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 6.

³⁵⁹ Hakkı Tarık, « Kendi Kendime », *Senin*, 25 June 1911, p. 2.

³⁶⁰ Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türk Maarif Tarihi* vol. 3-4 (İstanbul: Eser Matbaası, 1977), p. 1449.

domestic and foreign policy³⁶¹”. A similar interpretation could be assigned to the coach in the film. The four domes could also represent the main mottos of the revolution: freedom, equality, brotherhood and justice.

All of those actors follow the leader of the procession, which deserves a close observation. The Army, in parallel to immortalizing the open space in front of the barracks as the *Hürriyet* Square, lent its discipline, hierarchical obeisance and ceremonial knowledge to the service of the *Hürriyet* ideology. The very first day, notables on their way to the square stopped by the military school, and probably thanks to one of the members of CUP, Vehib Bey, who was the director of the school cadets attended the ceremony, perhaps as did before, soldiers obeying to Niyazi Bey when he took to the hills, yet with no idea of revolt.³⁶² Whatever is the motivation of soldiers in participating the ceremonies seen in the films, by their closeness to CUP and the *Hürriyet* symbols, they reinforce the cooperation between the Army -an institution transcending the assemblage of soldiers- and CUP with its political leadership and essential political message.

CUP, on the other hand, in both films, proudly exposes its blazon, and also a placard overpowering the presence of other present civil institutions (guilds and schools). In *Turks Having Speech*, the camera recorded the diplomatic entourage as well as the speaker: Foreign diplomats are in the frame, but given the huge CUP placard behind them (compared to spectators standing near, probably 2 x 3 meters, inscribed with “Osmanlı İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti”) it is also possible that the camera’s focal

³⁶¹ Börekçi, p. 56.

³⁶² Resneli Niyazi, pp. 77-80.

point highlights the presence of the Committee represented by the dimensions of its name. The proximity of the CUP placard to foreign diplomats evokes a demonstration of power and implies the international recognition of the Committee. The connection between them was not new: at the very beginning of the movement, in 1908, before July they delivered messages to foreign representatives as a proof of their good intentions about the fate of non-Muslim populations.³⁶³ In the film *Sultan Reşad*, in addition to the name of CUP the date on the placard reads: *10 Temmuz 1324* (10 July 1324). This is not the day the Committee was founded: on this glorious day the Committee established itself as the alternative for the political power all over the Empire. It is the day of the “founding event whose meaning would be periodically revived in ceremonies.”³⁶⁴ The July 11 praised by the palace had been forgotten long ago, with the dethronement of sultan Abdulhamit II³⁶⁵. And in films CUP presents July 10 as a reminder of its role in *Hürriyet*.

Both the members of the Army and CUP surround the Coach of Freedom (*Gerdune-i Hürriyet*),³⁶⁶ with five girls in the film *Parade* and two in the *Sultan Reşad*. As a matter of fact, five girls of the film *Parade* do not represent the *Freedom*, but all basic components of this rhetoric as read on the ribbons they wear: *Hürriyet* (freedom), *Müsavat* (equality), *Uhuvvet* (brotherhood), *Adalet* (justice), *İttihad* (Union), as seen in a photograph of them taken by the Manakis. (Fig. 5) Here, *Hürriyet* is a generic term

³⁶³ Resneli Niyazi, pp. 51-61.

³⁶⁴ Ozouf, “Le Cortège et la Ville”, p. 910.

³⁶⁵ See in Chapter I, “Manaki Brothers’ *Hürriyet* photographs.”

³⁶⁶ Hakkı Tark Us.

covering all these concepts and all actions in favor of this ideology. In the same picture there also appears a woman in white dress and a cloak ornamented with flowers. Despite the fact that women did not appear in public, therefore, it was apparently the “mother” Liberty engendering all other notions. It should be noted that this representation is replaced by a “handsome boy” disguised in woman’s attire in the example of Harput;³⁶⁷ the *Hürriyet* symbolism of freedom, hence, should not be considered as a strictly defined figure but variable according to local perceptions.

In this study, at the expense of constant complexity of image-building process, the example of Manastır, in other words, feminine allegories of *Hürriyet* will be briefly revisited. The use of femininity as a symbol of new regime is associated by Günhan Börekçi with the French Revolution’s visual lexicon.³⁶⁸ There, a woman in national costumes on a famous postcard is defined as the “Ottoman Marianne” symbolizing the Ottoman nation.³⁶⁹ The assumption of exact similitude between Ottoman liberty and the nation figures and French Marianne requires an overview of their cultural fundamentals. According to Lynn Hunt, feminine figures in France were conceived as an alternative to the king:

The radical break with tradition and with the justification of authority by reference to historical origins also implied the rejection of paternalist or patriarchal models of authority. On the official seal, in the engravings and prints representing the new republic, and in the *tableaux vivants* of the festivals, feminine allegorizations of classical derivation replaced representations of the king.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁷ Serin, p. 23.

³⁶⁸ Börekçi, p. 42.

³⁶⁹ Börekçi, p. 45.

³⁷⁰ Hunt, p. 31.

Hürriyet, though succeeded thanks to revolutionary struggle methods (armed revolt which used modern communication tools for exchange of ideas and propaganda such as telegrams, postcards and press), its authors did not base their policies on such fundamentalist requests, instead they expressed their desire for a reconciliation of the people and the sultan as emphasized by Vehib Bey on July 10: “The partition installed between the people and the *padişah* since the time of Sultan Süleyman has been broken down.”³⁷¹ In any case, before the uprising, even if CUP criticized Sultan Abdulhamit II harshly, did not express any hostility towards the paternal authority of the imperial person. Instead, in one of the declarations before the uprising, dated July 6, they underscored “the people will meet their Sultan, and the Sultan his people, they will treat each other with love and respect.”³⁷² They threatened the Sultan, but not the transcendent sultanic authority. French Revolution replaced the statues of Louis XV by the Statue of Liberty, a powerful woman looking down on crowds surrounded by abstract emblems of authority and power.³⁷³ The young girls in films surrounded by their creators (CUP and soldiers) seem to have assumed a different role: they do not replace any traditional symbol but lent their bodies for display of the leadership’s rhetoric addressed to possible receivers. As in the postcard cited by Günhan Börekçi, picturing the unchained woman-nation liberated by the heroes of *Hürriyet* (Niyazi Bey and Enver Bey) they seem to express the naivety and the vulnerability of *Hürriyet*

³⁷¹ Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Hürriyet’in İlanı, İkinci Meşrutiyetin Siyasi Hayatına Bakışlar* (İstanbul : Yenigün, 1998), p. 14.

³⁷² Resneli Niyazi, p. 214.

³⁷³ Hunt, pp. 30-31.

mottos. (Fig. 17) Freedom Coach seems to be only an element of a *tableau vivant* signifying the Army, CUP, the famous artillery carriage, the coach in which Şemsi Paşa was captured: two major institutions the Freedom needs for protection and emancipation, and relics reminding the struggle of the leaders. In the film *Parade*, the coach is not drawn by horses but by men to whom these notions apparently owe their existence, their energy and survival.



Fig. 17 The woman-nation unchained by Enver Bey and Niyazi Bey.

Nonetheless, in this abstract *tableau vivant*, especially in the film *Sultan Reşad*, a major figure grabs attention in different sequences: the eminent *Hürriyet* hero, namely Niyazi Bey. Lynn Hunt's point of view about feminine figures raises a new question about this apparition and the parallelism between French Revolution imagery and

Hürriyet: "... French Republic could find in the feminine allegory a figure suitably distant from the real-life-heroes-turned-villains of the revolutionary process."³⁷⁴

Adversely, in both films the hero in the person of Niyazi Bey is the leader of the *tableau vivant*, as a materialization of the mechanism propagating and protecting abstract notions.

On postcards, photographs or newspapers, the term "heroes of *Hürriyet*" implies especially Enver Bey and Niyazi Bey, young rebel officers who initiated the whole process by engaging in insurrection. (Fig. 18) They are followed by "lesser" heroes such as Eyüp Sabri Bey, Selahattin Bey, Adem Bey, Cherchis Topoli etc. circulating all over the Balkans and in the Empire as well. Apparently, the hierarchy between the heroes has sometimes violated the rights of some among them; at least this is what İbrahim Temo, the founder number one of the Committee, felt when he claimed that Atıf Bey, the murderer of Şemsi Paşa had not been appreciated adequately. Thus, he decided to pay a publisher in Vienna to print 10,000 postcards with the picture of this forgotten hero.³⁷⁵

This is a generation (also Mustafa Kemal belongs to) with a certain degree of parallelism between its members. First of all, they were all "self-made" actors: "One of the most obvious signs of the emergence of 'self-made' actors is their almost 'past-less' appearance on the stage of history, as if 'fallen from the sky.'" ³⁷⁶ They are also

³⁷⁴ Hunt, p. 93.

³⁷⁵ İbrahim Temo 'nun Anıları, p. 216.

³⁷⁶ Edhem Eldem, "Enver, Before He Became Enver." In Öztuncay (ed.), p.92.



Fig.18 Niyazi Bey and Enver Bey hoisting the flag of liberty.

qualified as “often ‘born’ suddenly as ‘heroes’ with their military successes”³⁷⁷; children of modest or middle class families in need of new methods and tools to present themselves to the society, to gain power, to legitimize their claim for the leadership of the Ottoman multiethnic society against the legitimate representatives and structure of the Old Regime. At the latest in October 1908, the periodical *Servet-i Fünun* would include photographs from Macedonia where Niyazi Bey is very present as a rebel surrounded with the bandits, as well as other “lesser” heroes such as Eyüp Sabri Bey or Hasan and Selahattin Bey.³⁷⁸ At least three of these photographs were indeed taken by the Manaki Brothers as a comparison with the collection in the Archive of Bitola and the

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Fig. 1. *Servet-i Fünun*, 26 October 1908.

photo-album of *Hürriyet* by the Manakis demonstrates. (Fig. 2) The fourth one, given the technical and artistic similarities (same personages as Eyüp Sabri, and same pose), seems to belong to the Manakis as well. Consequently, it would not be so pretentious to ask if the newborn hero owed much to photographers and postcard sellers for his presence away from his birthplace, for the perpetuation and the diffusion of his image as a challenging force. The same question rises with another photograph of the Manakis used by postcard publishers, and here, the transformation of a photograph into a mnemonic and symbolic vision of a memorable date is explicit: Niyazi Bey and his famous deer put forth as the materialization of the abstract “freedom” or *Hürriyet* concept; a powerful soldier with his rifle in hand, with bandits and soldiers surrounding him as the embodiment of his power. (Fig. 19) About the deer, Niyazi Bey states in his memoirs that the deer joined the struggle in a village near Manastır and immediately adopted by his band as a gift from Allah, as a kind of a guide orienting them instinctively to their target. He would say “even animals voluntarily served the cause of our Committee. It followed its instincts and without any force being exercised it guided us to you.”³⁷⁹

The deer with this quasi-mystic aura was tailor-made for the visual language of *Hürriyet*. This sensation was reinforced by the sentence added below presenting “Niazim Bey” (instead of Niyazi) as “the one who hoisted the flag of *Hürriyet* in Macedonia”. In the July 10 festivals in Manastır the deer was not forgotten. For instance,

³⁷⁹ Resneli Niyazi., p. 259.



Fig. 19 “The deer and the people of Resne, took refuge with Resneli Niyazi Bey’s rebel band who roamed in the Balkans before July 10”.

in the film *Sultan Reşad* right after the first group a horse comes along as a symbolic remembrance of the mystic animal.³⁸⁰ Those postcards were sent from Macedonia to other regions, perpetuating and reinforcing the very first image of this movement: military forces fighting for freedom, a struggle legitimized by *Allah* through the mysterious deer. The postcard is labeled as taken in Manastir on July 10, yet it is dated 20 June in Niyazi Bey’s memoirs³⁸¹, another example of canalization of all heroic actions to July 10, sometimes independently from the actors themselves.

At the top of the “heroic” hierarchy Enver Bey and Niyazi Bey are simply unbeatable. They, alone, or together with the sultan, make a perfect pair of heroes complementing each other; Niyazi Bey an “*homme du peuple*” with his big, photogenic

³⁸⁰ Serin, p. 62.

³⁸¹ Resneli Niyazi, p. 118.

and catchy mustache, covered with dust, just came from the mountains commanding “savage” and kind of exotic bandits. This is the image he recreated in the film *Sultan Reşad*, where, in remembrance of the first July 10 he put on his old rebel clothes. Last but not the least, his lack of manners did neither obstruct his success nor his victory over the powerful sultan.³⁸² Practically, on all those photographs and postcards from the early days of *Hürriyet*, they are “heroes of the Homeland” or “of *Hürriyet*”, “the one who hoisted the flag of the freedom”; the embodiment of this notional, abstract process.

But in 1911, three years after *Hürriyet*, what was the meaning of the hero? Did the sultan watch Niyazi Bey carefully and express his satisfaction to see him leading the students of Mekteb-i İnkılâbî, as in the the film *Processions*?³⁸³ Or, as claims the eminent writer Halit Ziya who accompanied Sultan Reşad, did he enact a “bizarre play whose most interesting part was Niyazi Bey, on horseback, pretending a hero”?³⁸⁴ In the film *Sultan Reşad*, when he appears with Eyüp Sabri Bey on his left, the camera shoots him, then shuts down, waits until he approaches for a close-up. Eyüp Sabri does not look at the camera, but Niyazi Bey is very much aware of the apparatus and not seems to be disturbed. Yet all interpretation about the recurrence of his image in the Manaki Brothers’ work has the potential of leading us to an over-reading (his own egotism? the desire of perpetuating his heroic character through imagery versus the members of the Committee, who in the capital are involved in politics and in the decision making

³⁸² Enver Bey emanates another image: He is a soldier too, but younger and urban in appearance yet his rebel character is emphasized by photographs, for instance by Phebus who set up in studio a mountain decoration for the « hero ». As this study focuses on the work of the Manakis’, the emphasis is on Niyazi Bey, who lived in Manastır, thus, was in close connection with them. The making of heroes through modern communication tools could be subject to an independent thesis; thus, I confine this episode with a brief overview of Niyazi Bey – the Manakis’ connection.

³⁸³ Hakkı Tarık Us.

³⁸⁴ Uşaklıgil, p. 500.

mechanism? a competition between them and other members of the Committee?). But it is for sure that the hero is one important novelty that *Hürriyet* added to the ceremonial: people although they have always sung popular songs for “heroes,” then encountered a figure competing for precedence with the omnipresent sultan in the ceremonial space.

The first and the second groups in the film *Sultan Reşad* visualize the main concepts of *Hürriyet*, which at this point seem to be richer in symbolism than the second and third groups. In the third group composed of religious and civil authorities and representatives of several communities, the organization of the parade did not overlay the differences between them, but instead made them prominent figures with professional and national clothings as in the *Processions*. With Ottoman flags in their hands they seem to represent the coexistence of communities as the citizens of the new era, in other words, the possibility of Union. In the film *Sultan Reşad*, the Union had perhaps a more intensive meaning: The Sultan’s visit has been interpreted as an attempt to stop the Albanian revolt in the Balkans threatening the Empire³⁸⁵. The whole visit was structured as a long parade. Before arriving at Manastır, the Sultan, in Kosovo, prayed on Friday with 200 000 Muslims by the mausoleum of Sultan Murad (1326-1389), his ancestor and the conqueror of the Albania³⁸⁶. And now, in Manastır, the ceremony is perhaps kind of a renovation of faith in Union. Students both from Muslim and non-Muslim schools, boys in military uniform, girls in white and red dresses, all on their way to the military gymnasium in the film *Sultan Reşad*³⁸⁷ seem to signify the same notion as

³⁸⁵ Çelebi, p. 4-5.

³⁸⁶ Çelebi, p. 53-57.

³⁸⁷ I do not have these sequences, for previously mentioned technical problems.

well as “Terakki” (Progress): a future constructed through an education policy intertwining “national, moral and religious instruction.”³⁸⁸ The *Hürriyet* regime brought back compulsory primary education rule dating back to the nineteenth century and mobilized civilian authorities and parents for compulsory free education.³⁸⁹ CUP, on the other hand, would use the school as an ideological instrument of the party by opening party-related schools and constructing a historical narrative for textbooks.³⁹⁰ In addition, paramilitary organizations such as “Healthy Boys” and “Vigorous Boys” in the WWI would be compulsory with the intention of preparing the students for military service.³⁹¹ But the idea was not new, as indicated in the film *Processions: Niyazi Bey*, in 1911, proudly guiding Mekteb-i İnkılâbi’s boys carrying faux rifles. The boys apparently were exposed to military education and training as seen in the photographs, personifying a future shaped with military discipline and vigor.

In this sense, like all members of the procession, the children seem to have assumed a double-faced educative role. If children, in class, were inculcated with new regime values, the festival would be an extended class for men and (yet seldom) for women watching the procession, who visually and vocally participated in a ritualized learning process. But the procession also educated its participants, children and adults alike, by repetition of mottos and gestures which are naturally incorporated into the

³⁸⁸ « İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyetinin Yıllık Kongresi », *Türk Yurdu*, 19 September 1329 [2 October 1913], V.3, n.49, p. 29.

³⁸⁹ Mehmet Ö. Alkan, « II. Meşrutiyet’te Eğitim, İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti, Milliyetçilik, Militarizm veya ‘Militer Türk-İslam Sentezi’ ». In *II. Meşrutiyet’i Yeniden Düşünmek* edited by Ferdan Ergut (Istanbul : Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009), p. 65. See also Serin, pp. 144-148.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

³⁹¹ Serin, p. 148.

language of the new regime.³⁹² Hence, there should be more than one political message and more than one sender or receiver: children and adults, both in the parade and in balconies, should appropriate and propagate the new rhetoric; consuls in the *Turks Having Speech* should witness the change, but also appreciate the role of CUP and the Army in this process.

In this frame, it is worth considering if, in the faux July 10 ceremony of 1911, “the inhabitants of Manastır had decided to show their devotion to their sultan by a dramatic enactment of the coming of freedom,”³⁹³ or the ceremony was rather inviting the sultan to refresh his memories about the conditions and the support which brought him to the throne. The term “inhabitant of Manastır” presented as the ones who decided for the ceremony needs precision too. It is undeniable that *Hürriyet* brought about a “public sphere” in the most classical Habermasian sense of the term (“The bourgeois public sphere may be conceived above all as the sphere private people come together as a public.”).³⁹⁴ New social establishments (İttihad ve Terakki Kulübü, legal organization of CUP and the ones created by different communities such as Jewish club, Greek club, newspapers etc.) acted as decision makers and representative of public opinion in some political manifestations.³⁹⁵ In night time activities, those clubs and others opened their

³⁹² For the pedagogic role of festivals see: Ozouf, *Festivals*, pp. 197-217, where she points to the role of festivals as a school for mature men who could not be inculcated with revolutionary education in public schools.

³⁹³ Serin, p. 61.

³⁹⁴ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1993), p. 27.

³⁹⁵ Abdülmecid Fehmi, p. 26. In the meeting against the annexation of Crete to Greece representative of İttihad ve Terakki Kulübü, as well as representatives of Albanian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Vlach and Jewish clubs delivered speeches.

doors to townspeople attending concerts or theaters.³⁹⁶ Nüzhetiye Garden, baptized as “İttihat Bahçesi” (Union Garden) housed men celebrating *Hürriyet* by drinking beer.(Fig. 20)

However, would these activities and spaces make all attendants (inhabitants of Manastır) autonomous decision makers? Or should we consider that, soon after *Hürriyet*, the leadership promptly integrating into the state used these spaces in order to *impose* its rhetoric matured long ago? The films, in this respect, display rather the conciliation of the opponent discourse (personified by heroes and symbols of watchwords) with the state mechanism (ceremonies beginning in the Government House, construction of Triumphal Archs inscribed with tributes to *Hürriyet* for the honor of Sultan Reşad). CUP, the former powerful “opinion maker” is now between the state and the public space, and soon, the complete integration would presenting people attending the celebrations “with great make loose to CUP its opponent character. On the other hand the glamorous language of written sources enthusiasm and joy” is not echoed in the films where the festival and urban space apparently are both used for a learning of a well-defined discourse. That being said, the films cannot show us in what extend these rhetoric was apprehended by the receivers of the political message. The ceremony reflects rather the intentions of the decision makers, as the corpus of film. The images hint at the political role assumed by CUP, and denote that its rhetoric, at least at local

³⁹⁶ « Vatan tiyatrosu », *Neyyir-i Hakikat*, 10 August 324; Abdülmecid Fehmi, p. 13 (a concert organized by the Committee in the public garden Nüzhetiye, thereafter named “İttihad” (Union); p. 37, 24 June 325; night time entertainment in Ziraat Kulübü, following the commemoration of the assassination of Şemsi Paşa.



Fig. 20 “Celebration of *Hürriyet* with beer.”

level became dominant in the ceremonial and the new use of urban space. But the camera does not show us what the discussion subject was in Greek or Jewish club in Manastır, and if the main actors was severely criticized or not. The device is far from capturing the complex pattern of public life. In any case, the disintegration of the Balkans in 1912 is a proof of persevering critical discussions and movements in the very cradle of *Hürriyet*, as noted by several researchers.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁷ For the disintegration of the Balkans based on Balkan sources see: Hacısalıhoğlu, *passim*.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The *Hürriyet* footage of the Manaki Brothers, i.e the 12 minutes of archival visual document preserved in the Cinematheque of Macedonia, is a vast source of historical insight and challenge because of the richness and complexity of the material. The present study, within its modest boundaries could take advantage of films in many ways: initially, for experimentation with the use of moving images as historical evidence. The most difficult part of archival film studies is to gain access to documents, which is expensive and technically challenging. Films available online are mostly low resolution copies where details are too blurred to identify. Lack of references such as the year and the place of shooting is another problem. For material not yet put on the Internet, as in this particular case, the research should be conducted in the film archives.

As to the nature of films, the visual ethos is by no means designed differently from any kind of data. The documentary value of moving images should be certified through basic questions common to the ontological nature of all evidence (written, oral, visual...) used by the historian: who did it, when, why and how? At this point, the intrinsic properties of motion pictures come into question, as answers to those questions (especially “how”) require a familiarity with the film production process. The moving images, as inseparable components of the present day, flow from television and the silver screen into our minds, shaping our knowledge, understanding and reading of the world. Whatever the kind, fiction film, documentary or news, film has an intrinsic language based on shots, processed, reshaped, dramatized, and perceived by the viewer

through the impression and emotion it gives. The use of film as historical evidence invites the historian to go beyond impressions to explore the structure of this grammar, to reconcile his/her old standing reading knowledge and habits with the basic unit, syntax, lexicon and expressions of films. A film is the outcome of the combined efforts of filmmakers, cameramen, editors, distributors, movie theaters, and audience, and each new contributor adds new words and expressions to this language. It is imperative, therefore, to revisit all of these phases for the deconstruction of a film. Films by the Manaki Brothers, in this respect, are exceptional materials for not having been processed by the Brothers, but handed over to Yugoslavia in the 1950s as rough materials to be printed, edited and identified later by the Cinematheque of Macedonia. The intervention of the “author” (in this case, the cameramen) is confined to camera movements and shot angles, which creates an aesthetic and a proper technical language in their films. However, this language is best perceived in their selection of frames, in other words, in their contextual concerns. The content, as a whole, is a visual description of different moments of the Young Turks Revolution, especially of the July 10 festivals.

The second level of the present study focused on content analysis both to understand the possible intentions of the Manakis, and to deconstruct the images in the historical context of *Hürriyet*, that is, to read the content in relation with primary written sources and former research. Beginning with the identification, none of films was shot on the first day of *Hürriyet* (23 July 1908 / 10 July 1324), but in a larger time span between “1908-1912,” during various festivities or political activities for the honor of *Hürriyet*. This period and festivals, better studied in Istanbul, was scarcely documented in Manastır. The films, in this respect, are the most important documents displaying how

ceremonies were held, and to a certain extent, what the behavior of the attendants was. The advantage of unedited archival films is to propose a “bare” account of festivals far beyond of bombastic languages of pro-state or pro-CUP newspapers and memoirs. What I found in these films is official ceremonies which made both the attendants and the spectators aware of the boundaries in the new era – through visualization and repetition of the *Hürriyet* rhetoric by verbal expression (speeches, music and placards), the use of symbols (*Hürriyet* girls, cockades, coaches and relics such as the artillery carriage no. 60) and gestures. As a preliminary remark, it should be underlined that, Manastır has the distinction of being the birthplace of *Hürriyet*; therefore a parallel between Manastır and other towns would risk failure in many details. As illustrated in the films, the Army and CUP in close connection lead the parade which must have ended in front of the military barracks, in the area named the *Hürriyet* Square. The Army, as also suggested by the written sources, from the very first day shaped the rituals and festivals with its ceremonial knowledge and discipline, both in the use of urban space and the gestures. On the other hand, the ceremonial itinerary covering both the Government House and the *Hürriyet* Square seem to reflect the rapid integration of rebel organizations within the state mechanism. The festivals in this sense could have echoed the reconciliation, as well as the tension between different decision makers of the new era. Ceremonies begun in front of the Government House, notables followed the soldiers and CUP in the parade and they together joined the consuls.

In addition, the films reveal how symbols, especially feminine figures (in this case young girls) were used in public space, with the advantage of illustrating the *attitude* and the *gestures* of bodies that written sources, and even still photographs could

hardly achieve. According to an old standing approach, use of femininity as a symbol is connected with the symbolic language of the French Revolution. However, the posture of young girls standing on the coach raises other questions. This is not the French Revolution where the woman figure replaced the king, but naïve and vulnerable figures taking shelter on a coach, surrounded by the “Hero” (namely Niyazi Bey), the Army and CUP which are, in both ceremonies shot by the Manakis (the *Sultan Reşad* and the *Parade*) at close quarters. The films also reveal the attitude of young boys learning to play war game with toy rifles on their shoulders, once again representing the connection between the progress (Terakki) and the Army. They are there, like all other attendants both to learn and to teach the rhetoric of the new era in a ritualized repetition of its fundamentals. It is for sure that *Hürriyet* enlarged the limits of public space in Manastir with the opening of social clubs, and cultural activities held in such societies as well as public gardens. However, I believe this would not be an obstacle for hierarchical participation in political culture with a clear distinction between the attendants of ceremonies and policymakers, regardless of whether they are either constituents of the “people” or coming down from the above. However, as short records of official ceremonies, the films cannot show the reactions to policymakers, or the sophisticated patterns of public space. The festival seems to rather be the mirror of the expectations of the political leaders, be it CUP or the state it rapidly intertwined with.

The role of the Manaki Brothers in this context could not be interpreted with only films, as they also photographed rebel band leaders and published a photo-album dedicated to *Hürriyet*. They participated to the visual making of *Hürriyet* within the CUP rhetoric praising revolutionary dates such as July 10, and specifically they made its

members visible in Istanbul with their photographs which soon reached the capital and were published in newspapers or on postcards. Their film and photograph collections, with thorough research, could provide more insight about the propaganda methods of CUP and the creation of its heroes. Whether they were mere photographers or pro-CUP Vlach men, the Brothers have left us with countless questions and answers.

Visual documents, as all other kinds of documents, can make us aware of the presence of a story, but most of the time, deny a consistent narrative. This is because they were made by creative people who might have been advised by their mentors, or involved in a sophisticated political and/or commercial network. The camera, on the other hand, had its own limitations. There is no camera which can record the “whole” reality. It can capture a part of it in compliance with the preferences of the hand which manipulates it. The device is on the other hand technically inadequate. For instance, the Manaki Brothers’ camera contained film reels of four minutes’ duration, thus when this ran out they needed to interrupt reality. At the end, the conclusion is a common narrative created by the camera, the cameramen, the reader and all of their possible cultural charges. Still, the films could help us approach to a given time in the past, and the faces and expressions of a world they have kept alive.

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2.580.7.70/81; 2.580.7.49/57; 2.588.7.43/50; 2.588.7.46/53; 2.588.7.41/47;
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