

POETICS AND POLITICS OF PHOTOGRAPHY

THE REPRESENTATION OF JAPAN IN THE PHOTOGRAPHY COLLECTION OF

ABDULHAMID II

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Poetics and Politics of Photography:
The Representation of Japan in the Photography Collection of Abdulhamid II

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THESIS ABSTRACT

Banu Kaygusuz

“Poetics and Politics of Photography: The Representation of Japan in the Photography Collection of Abdulhamid II”

This thesis, pertaining to the photograph albums of Japan in the photography collection of Abdulhamid II, focuses primarily on the political and commercial use of photography technology as a means for the representation strategies of the “modern” state and society. The thesis concerns how the photographic techniques and technologies were introduced into Japan and how the photography gained a commercial meaning by virtue of the individual enterprises. The photographic careers of James Robertson and Felice Beato are scrutinized as examples of the transnational exchanges of images, ideas, technologies between the Ottoman Empire and Japan. The politicization of photography in the Ottoman Empire during the Hamidian period, was explored together with the notion of court photographer through the case of Abdullah *Frères*. The photographic careers of Ogawa Kazuma, Tamamura Kōzaburō, and Kusakabe Kinbei whose photographs convey the representations of the Meiji Japan to the Ottoman Empire, are treated with regard to the commercial and military commissions. Focusing on the five albums from Japan in the photography collection of Abdulhamid II, this study intends to construe the photographers, the physical presentations, and the subjects of these photograph albums in the context of visual representation strategies of Japan and of the Ottoman Empire within the transnational politics of photography through a multilingual archival research.

TEZ ÖZETİ

Banu Kaygusuz

“Fotoğrafın Şiiri ve Politikası: Japonya’nın II. Abdulhamid Fotoğraf Koleksiyonundaki Temsili”

II. Abdulhamid fotoğraf koleksiyonundaki Japonya’ya dair fotoğraf albümlerini konu alan bu tez, “modern” devletin ve toplumun temsil stratejilerinin bir aracı olarak fotoğrafın ticari ve siyasi kullanımını vurgular. Bu tez, fotoğraf teknik ve teknolojilerinin Japonya’ya nasıl geldiğini ve bireysel girişimciler yoluyla nasıl ticari bir anlam kazandığını konu edinir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Japonya arasındaki ulus-ötesi imge, fikir ve teknoloji değiş tokuşunun birer örneği olarak James Robertson ve Felice Beato’nun fotoğraf yaşamlarını inceler. II. Abdulhamid dönemi Osmanlısı’nda fotoğrafın siyasallaşması, Abdullah Biraderler örneği üzerinden saray fotoğrafçısı kavramı ile birlikte ele alır. Fotoğrafları Meiji dönemi Japonyası’nın temsillerini Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’na taşıyan, Ogawa Kazuma, Tamamura Kōzaburō, ve Kusakabe Kinbei’nin fotoğraf yaşamlarını, ticari ve askeri görevlendirmelere dayanarak dile getirir. II. Abdulhamid fotoğraf koleksiyonundaki Japonya’dan gelen beş albümü vurgulayan bu çalışma, sözkonusu albümlerin fotoğrafçıları, fiziksel sunumlarını ve konularını, çok dilli bir arşiv çalışması ile, fotoğrafın ulus-ötesi politikaları dahilinde, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Japonya’nın görsel temsil stratejileri bağlamında yorumlama amacını taşır.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The invention of photography in the 1840s was part of the process of “modernization” of the means of production that took place during the Industrial Revolution. In the nineteenth century, more and more images once made by hand were produced mechanically.¹ Photography, which was established as a “modern” form of image making, contributed to the development of “modernism,” through the representational tasks serving to the various aspects of the “modern” state and society. Photography in the second half of the nineteenth century France was exploited in deliberate endeavors to influence the attitudes and actions of French viewers.² On the other hand, during the reign of Queen Victoria, the photographs became a means of documenting the Victorian imperial life.³ Both the Meiji Japan and the Ottoman Empire under the Hamidian rule incorporated and adopted the “west” into themselves through this new technology of photography with an aim to construct the “western world” in their own geographies.

The five photography albums pertaining to Japan, which was part of the

¹ Walter Benjamin. “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction.” In *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn. New York: Schocken Books, 1968.

² Donald E. English. *Political Uses of Photography in the Third French Republic 1871-1914*. Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1984, p. 1.

³ Jennifer Green-Lewis. *Framing the Victorians: Photography and the Culture of Realism*. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1996.

photography collection of Abdulhamid II, constitute the backbone of this study. Compared to the complete *Yıldız* collection comprised of approximately thirty five thousand photographs, although these five albums correspond to a small part of the collection, they were significant within the framework of representational strategies of Japan in comparison with the Ottoman case.

This thesis intends to explore the production of the “Japan” image that will be told through the photograph albums from Japan in the *Yıldız* Palace and the perception of these photographs of Japan by the Hamidian regime of the Ottoman Empire. These geographies are of interest to this study, since they are the interaction points of the five photography albums, and the paragons of politicization of photography within the empire and beyond. The photography technology, which provided the mechanical reproduction of visual images in large quantities, was praised by the industrial societies and was launched as a new method of recording, representation and propaganda for the “modern” state and society of the nineteenth century. The photography technology was imported to Japan and to the Ottoman Empire through the transnational connections of eminent political, commercial and military figures, and adopted to the commercial and political uses of visual representations both in the international arena and within the empire, with the claim to what was considered as “modern.”

The research in concern has three basic levels. The first level depends on the narration of the peregrination of the five albums including around four hundred

photographs, which is part of the Abdulhamid photography collection. The second level is aimed at focusing on the *reading* of these photographs. The third level has a more comprehensive nature and it is the backbone of the theoretical-historiographical claim of this thesis.

Concerning the narration part, the basic question is whether these photography albums were the typical example of the gift systems, in which photography occupied a very important place since its discovery in the nineteenth century or were simply purchased during one of the world's fairs where Japan was also present, a contribution both to the customary circulation of images of the century and to the personal photography collection of Abdulhamid II. To identify the photographers of these images is another part related to the narration level of this thesis. A further step would be to deal with the approach of Abdulhamid II to photography as a means of his strategies both in the international arena and concerning internal affairs. Flourishing under the same patronage and to a certain extent, as a branch of *Rangaku* (Dutch studies), the expansion of photographic practice as a career and the significance that photography itself gained through Japan's encounter with what was accompanied by the century is another concern of this study. This two-sided inquiry executed within an awareness of the legitimizing power of World Expositions over the representational strategies of the century, serves to weave the context in which we contemplate the very photography albums.

The second level, which is the theoretical *reading* of the photographs in concern, entails the classification of the visual material for the sake of construing the poetics of the frame itself. The five major categories, including photographs regarding the *Ertuğrul* incident, which constitute the first two albums, landscape photographs of different sceneries from all over Japan, Japanese historical monuments, staged “snapshots” from daily life and women portraits, are the result of this taxonomy process. It is believed that deciphering the motives for the thematic decisions of the photographers is attainable through an interdisciplinary approach providing a wider perspective. Not only the literature on photography theory but also the researches on the nineteenth-century photography from different geographies, carried either within an ethnographic or an historical context, have been incorporated into this study. The nineteenth-century-perception of photography as an innocent eye, as the “pencil of nature,”⁴ as the reflection of reality, provides the basis for its authority gained through the “representational” documentations whose ideological-political nature is undeniable. This is where exactly history and photography overlap.

The third level of this thesis intends to focus upon the way that history and photography converge on the basis of their practical usages. Politicization of histories / aesthetics versus historicization / aesthetization of politics is the core of the argument. The historian having the authority to chronicle is not free from his/her political positioning as

⁴ William Henry Fox Talbot. *The Pencil of Nature*. 1844-1846; reprint, New York, 1969.

much the same way as the photographer is not free of his/her cultural baggage when he/she shoots the photograph. It is of utmost importance to have this consciousness. In our attempt to use the photograph as a historical source, rather than concentrating on its nature as historical "evidence" through the validation of the claim that photography is a reflection of reality, it is aimed to elaborate a critical approach to the historical methodology itself by means of questioning the truth-value attributed to photography. It is perceived that there is a hitherto considerable amount of research where photographs could not escape the fate of accompanying the text as a source of ornament. As much as to relieve photography from this obligation, it is attempted to embody the theories based on the interplay between history and photography. Not only criticizing the abiding methods of inquiry, but also presenting an alternative approach to history writing; not only formulating a theoretical pathway to history, not the one woven with clumsy and awkward notions and concepts ending up functioning as a-historical subjects, with reification of the very concepts, but contriving a fertile sketching out around the above-mentioned theme is what I seek to achieve through this thesis.

The research proceeds along three lines depending on the methodology of three levels in concern, as well as on the nature of sources used for this thesis. It is Istanbul University Library, Rare Department, *Yıldız* Collection where these five albums, constituting our foremost primary source, are located. Furthermore, the Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA) is the other archive providing the digital

databases of the same collection, which was visited during the summer of 2006. Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography and Yokohama Archives of History were the two centers served as the starting points of our “document hunting” adventure in Japan from October 2006 onwards. So far different photography collections, either digital or published,⁵ to which we get access during our research in Japan, have been scanned for designating the photographers and the spots photographed of the above-mentioned photography albums. The archival research in *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* (BOA) (The Ottoman Archives) during the summers of 2005-2006 provides a bunch of documents from *Yıldız Mütenevvi Maruzat*, in reference to the imperial frigate *Ertuğrul* and Yamada Torajirō (山田寅次郎) (1866-1957). *İrade-i seniyye* regarding the payment to Abdullah Frères of the pictures of Japanese war vessels, *Hiei* (比叡) and *Kongō* (金剛), indicates the photographers of the first two albums. The document registered by *Mekâtib-i ‘Askeriyye Nezâreti*, about Yamada’s gifts to Abdulhamid II, mentioning an armor, a sword, and “*resimler*” (images) leads us to the major premise that the five albums, excluding the ones related with *Ertuğrul* incident and the visit of *Hiei* and *Kongō* to Ottoman Empire, were the images in concern. The language of other documents on photography in *Başbakanlık*

⁵ Nagasaki University Library Digital Collection, “Japanese Old Photographs in Bakumatsu-Meiji Period,” <http://oldphoto.lb.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/jp/index.html>, 25.07.2007; Kyoto University Library, Kyoto University Digital Library, Image Database, the Meiji Restoration Collection, <http://edb.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/exhibit/>, 18.05.2006; National Diet Library, “The Meiji and Taisho Eras in Photographs: From photographs in publications held by the National Diet Library, ” http://www.ndl.go.jp/scenery_top/index.html, 08.04.2008; Musée Nicéphore Niépce Photography Collection, <http://www.museeniepce.com/catalogues/>, 24.05.2008; 横浜開港資料館編『明治の日本：横浜写真の世界：彩色アルバム』、横浜：有隣堂、1990年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed. *Japan of Meiji Period: the World of Yokohama Photography*. Yokohama: Yürindō, 1990); Terry Bennett. *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*. London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006.

Osmanlı Arşivi, particularly the ones referring to Abdullah Frères as “ressâm” (painter) and to their photographs as “resim,” exemplified the utilization of the word “resim” standing for the word “photograph”. Moreover, the early career of Yamada educated as a *sadō* (茶道) (tea ceremony) master, could be the motive for his acquaintance with art circles and photographic production of both Yokohama and Tokyo that bore fruits in the occasions such as the National Industrial and Agricultural Exhibitions⁶ of which the third took place in 1890 (*Meiji 23*)⁷ in Ueno, in central Tokyo, hosting the photography contest followed by a photography exhibition.⁸ The minor premise has been formulated around the visit of *Hiei* and *Kongō* and that of Yamada Torajirō to the Ottoman capital, since the former is the subject of the first two photography albums and the latter are believed to be the one who conveyed the remaining three albums from Japan, through the examination of accumulating number of documents pertaining the literature on *Ertuğrul* incident⁹, which is the motive

⁶ English translation for “内国勸業博覧会”.

⁷ 吉田光邦『万国博覧会：技術文明史的に』、東京：日本放送出版協会、1985年 (Yoshida Mitsukuni. *The World Expositions, Technology and Civilization*. Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1985); 吉田光邦編『万国博覧会の研究』、京都：思文閣出版、1986年 (Yoshida Mitsukuni, ed. *The Research on The World Expositions*. Tokyo: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1986); 國雄行『博覧会の時代：明治政府の博覧会政策』、東京：岩田書院、2005年 (Kuni Takeyuki. *The Age of Expositions: Exposition Policies of Meiji Politics*. Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 2005).

⁸ 『世紀の祭典：万国博覧会の美術、パリ・ウィーン・シカゴ万博に見る東西の名品』東京国立博物館、大阪市立美術館、2004年 (*Commemorating The 2005 World Exposition, Aichi, Japan Arts of East and West from World Expositions 1855-1900: Paris, Vienna & Chicago*. Tokyo National Museum, Osaka Municipal Museum of Art, 2004); Anne Wilkes Tucker and Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, eds. *The History of Japanese Photography*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003.

⁹ 『1890 エルトウールル号事件報告書：災害教訓の継承に関する専門調査会』、中央防災会議、平成十七年三月 (1890 *Erutoururugo Jiken Hōkokusho: Saigai Kyōkun no Keishō ni Kansuru Senmon Chōsakai*. Chūō Bōsai Kaigi, March 2006); 波多野勝「エルトウールル号事件をめぐる日土関係」、『近代日本とトルコ世界』、池井優・坂本勉編、東京：勁草書房、1999年 (Hatano Masaru. “Erutoururugo Jiken wo Meguru Nichido Kankei.” In *Kindai Nihon to Toruko Sekai*, eds., Ikei Masaru and Sakamoto Tsutomu. Tokyo: Keisō Shobon, 1999), pp. 43-69; Kaori Komatsu. *Ertuğrul Faciası: Bir Dostluğun Doğuşu*. Ankara: Turhan

for these sojourns, *Toruko Gakan*¹⁰ and the bibliography on Yamada Torajirō¹¹. Published on *Jiji Shinpō* between the years of 1890 and 1893, the articles of Noda Shōtarō (野田正太郎) (1868-1904),¹² the journalist who arrived to the Ottoman capital on board of *Hiei*, were another source for the voyage of *Hiei* and *Kongō* and their stay in Constantinople, to which we get access through the Tokyo University Library. It was *Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan* (National Diet Library) providing a wide range of research resources, where we caught sight of the official records / voyage logs of *Hiei* and *Kongō*¹³ kept by their captains¹⁴ and second lieutenants.¹⁵ In search of the memoirs of Ōyama Takanosuke (大山鷹之介)

Kitabevi, 1992; Kaori Komatsu. “100’üncü Yıldönümü Münasebetiyle Ertuğrul Fırkateyni Faciası.” 『日本中東学会年報』5号、1990年 (*Nihon Chūtō Gakkai Nenpō*, Vol. 5, 1990), pp. 113-172.

¹⁰ 山田寅次郎『土耳其画観』、東京：博文館、1911年 (Yamada Torajirō. *Toruko Gakan*. Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1911).

¹¹ 山樵亭主人『新月山田寅次郎』、大阪：岩崎輝彦、1952年 (Sanshōtei Shujin. *Shingetsu Yamada Torajirō*. Ōsaka: Iwasaki Teruhiko, 1952); セルチュク・エセンベル「世紀末イスタンブールの日本人：山田寅次郎の生涯と『土耳其画観』」、『近代日本とトルコ世界』、池井優、坂本勉編、東京：勁草書房、1999年 (Selçuk Esenbel. “Seikimatsu Isutanburu no Nihonjin: Yamada Torajirō no Shōgai to *Toruko Gakan*.” In *Kindai Nihon to Toruko Seiki*, eds., Ikei Masaru and Sakamoto Tsutomu. Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1999), pp. 71-100; Selçuk Esenbel. “İstanbul’da Bir Japon: Yamada Torajirō.” *Istanbul*, No. 9, Nisan 1994, pp. 36-41; Selçuk Esenbel. “A fin de siècle Japanese Romantic in Istanbul: the Life of Yamada Torajirō and his *Toruko Gakan*.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 59, Part 2, 1996, pp. 237-252; 長場紘「山田寅次郎の軌跡：日本・トルコ関係史の一側面」、『上智アジア学』、14号、1996年 (Nagaba Hiroshi. “Yamada Torajirō no Kiseki: Nihon-Toruko Kankeishi no “Sokumen”.” *Agechi Ajia Gaku*, No. 14, 1996), pp. 41-60.

¹² Michael Penn, ed. “Shotaro Noda’s Chronicle of the Japanese Warships Bound for Turkey Part One: The Departure from Japan.” 『北九州市立大学法政論集』29巻1/2号、2001年 (*Kita Kyūshū Shiritsu Daigaku Hōseironshū*, Vol. 29, No. 1/2, 2001), pp. 298-316; Michael Penn, ed. “Shotaro Noda’s Chronicle of the Japanese Warships Bound for Turkey Part Two: Hong Kong.” 『北九州市立大学法政論集』29巻3/4号、2002年 (*Kita Kyūshū Shiritsu Daigaku Hōseironshū*, Vol. 29, No. 3/4, 2002), pp. 357-377.

¹³ 海軍省水路部『軍艦比叻土耳其国航海報告』、〔東京〕：水路部、明治25年6月 (Kaigunshō Suirōbu. *Gunkan Hiei Torukokoku Kōkai Hōkoku*. Tokyo: Suirōbu, 1892); 海軍省水路部『軍艦金剛土耳其国航海報告』、〔東京〕：水路部、明治24年7月 (Kaigunshō Suirōbu. *Gunkan Kongō Torukokoku Kōkai Hōkoku*. Tokyo: Suirōbu, 1891).

¹⁴ English translation for “航海長海軍大尉”.

¹⁵ English translation for “航海士海軍少尉”.

(1869-1938),¹⁶ one of the naval officers who were on duty on board of *Kongō*, and of the lecture notes of Inoue Toshio (井上敏夫) (1857-1924),¹⁷ who was another officer of *Kongō*, we made several visits to the Military Archives of the National Institute for Defence Studies. The recently published articles of Misawa Nobuo,¹⁸ dealing with the above-mentioned events of 1890s, which constitute the recollection of a memory for the Ottoman-Japanese relations, present a refreshing perspective and embrace a wide range of sources.

The second focus seeks to explore studies engaging with the theoretical *reading* of photographs. The reason for my research leading towards discussions on the nineteenth-century photography from different geographies, rather than being a

¹⁶ 大山鷹之介『土耳其航海記事』東京：大山鷹之介、1892年 (Ōyama Takanosuke. *Toruko Kōkai Kiji*. Tokyo: Ōyama Takanosuke, 1892).

¹⁷ 井上敏夫「土耳其航海紀行」、『東京地学協会報告』、第一三巻、第二号、明治二四年 (Inoue Toshio. “Toruko Kōkai Kikō.” *Tōkyō Chigaku Kyōkai Hōkoku*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1891).

¹⁸ 三沢伸生「1890年におけるオスマン朝への日本軍艦比叡・金剛派遣：エルトゥールル号遭難に対する日本社会の反応」、『東洋大学社会学部紀要』 (Misawa Nobuo. “Dispatch of Japanese Battleship *Hiei* and *Kongo* to the Ottoman Empire (1890): Reactions of Japanese Society to the Disaster of the Ottoman Battleship *Ertuğrul*.” *Bulletin of the Faculty of Sociology, Tōyō University*), Vol. 67, No. 39-2, February 25, 2002, pp. 55-78; 三沢伸生「1890～93年における『時事新報』に掲載されたオスマン朝関連記事：日本人初のイスラーム世界への派遣・駐在新聞記者たる野田正太郎の業績」、『東洋大学社会学部紀要』 (Misawa Nobuo. “Reports about the Ottoman Empire carried on *Jiji Shinbō* (1890-1893): Achievements of *Shōtarō Noda*, the first Japanese journalist who was sent to the Islamic World.” *Bulletin of the Faculty of Sociology, Tōyō University*), Vol. 73, No. 41-2, February 25, 2004, pp. 109-146; 三沢伸生「1890年の「エルトゥールル号事件」発生現場における初期対応：明治期の日本における外国船海難事故にかかわる災害教訓史料としての『沖日記』の重要性」、『東洋大学社会学部紀要』 (Misawa Nobuo. “Initial responses to the ‘Tragedy of the Ottoman Battleship *Ertuğrul*’ on the accident spot (1890): The importance of the ‘*Ōki Diary*’ as a disaster-proof material against foreign ships’ accidents in Japan during the *Meiji* Era.” *Bulletin of the Faculty of Sociology, Tōyō University*), Vol. 74, No. 42-1, November 25, 2004, pp. 95-128; 三沢伸生「明治期における日本の公的医療制度とエルトゥールル号：明治23年のコレラ禍における外国人感染対応事例」、『東洋大学社会学部紀要』 (Misawa Nobuo. “Japanese official medical care system in the Ottoman Battleship *Ertuğrul*: The case study about the medical cares to the foreigners infected with cholera (1890).” *Bulletin of the Faculty of Sociology, Tōyō University*), Vol. 77, No. 43-2, February 25, 2006, pp. 149-171.

comparative approach that I employ, it is an effort to trace an appropriate methodology for this study through the considerations with a historical-photographical axis congruent with its own. Claiming to present a fair sampling of the original pictorial repertoire, the collection published under the title “Imperial self-portrait: the Ottoman Empire as revealed in the photography albums of Sultan Abdulhamid II, presented as gifts to the Library of Congress (1893) and the British Museum (1894)” as an issue of *Journal of Turkish Studies*,¹⁹ proved to be one of the rare examples of its kind on photography, regarding its full catalogue together with the articles on the analyses of Abdulhamid’s gift albums. Presenting an analysis of the gift albums in the context of the Ottoman “self-portraying” attitude, avoiding the designation of “exotic” and claiming for the nomination of “civilized,” Deringil’s study *The Well-Protected Domains*²⁰ is a reference point concerning Ottoman Empire and *reading* practices of the document including photograph. The list of works by Colin Osman, Bahattin Öztuncay, Saitō Takio and Ozawa Takeshi substitutes the “history of photography” section of the bibliography.²¹ There are such publications by

¹⁹ Carney E.S. Gavin, and the Harvard Semitic Museum eds. *Imperial Self-portrait: the Ottoman Empire as revealed in the Sultan Abdul-Hamid II's photographic albums, presented as gifts to the Library of Congress (1893) and the British Museum (1894)*. Cambridge: Harvard University Publisher, 1989.

²⁰ Selim Deringil. *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*. London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998.

²¹ Colin Osman. “Antonio Beato: Photographer of the Nile.” *History of Photography*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1990, pp. 101-111; Colin Osman. “The Beato Brothers, with reference to some of their lesser known images.” *Photoresearcher*, No. 7, 2004, pp. 11-13; Colin Osman. “The Later Years of James Robertson.” *History of Photography*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1991, pp. 72-73; Colin Osman. “New Light on the Beato Brothers.” *British Journal of Photography*, No. 34, 16 October 1987, pp. 1217-1221; Colin Osman. “The Later Years of Felice Beato.” *The Photographic Journal*, No. 128, November 1988, pp. 511-514; Bahattin Öztuncay. *James Robertson: Pioneer of Photography in the Ottoman Empire*. Beyoğlu: Eren, 1992; Bahattin Öztuncay. *The Photographers of Constantinople: Pioneers, Studios and Artists from 19th Century Istanbul*. Istanbul, Aygaz, 2003; 齊藤多喜夫『幕末明治横浜館物語』、東京：吉川弘文館、2004年 (Saitō Takio. *Bakumatsu Meiji*

preserving the every nature of being an album, could not go far from rearranging the display order of the nineteenth-century photographs.²² The work called *Framing the Victorians: photography and the culture of realism*,²³ presents an interesting account of debates and discourses on realism and photography in the nineteenth century. In her book,²⁴ Deborah Poole introduces the notion of *visual economy* in search for the role of visual images in the structuring and reproduction of the scientific projects, cultural sentiments, and aesthetic dispositions that characterize modernity in general, and modern racial discourse in particular. Although its categorization of “photographic tradition” is questionable in certain grounds, the article on nineteenth-century Iranian photography²⁵ by focusing the probability of photographs both to propagate and to dispel the myths of the “orient,” debilitates the “innocence” of photography. The research on the photography archives of *Krupp Factory*²⁶ involves a sum of articles with promising titles particularly on the labor-photography-source triangle, get stuck however around the argument how

Yokohamakan Monogatari. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2004); 小沢健志『幕末写真の時代』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1996年 (Ozawa Takeshi. *Bakumatsu Shashin no Jidai*. Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1996); 小沢健志『幕末・明治の写真』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1997年 (Ozawa Takeshi. *Bakumatsu, Meiji no Shashin*. Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1997).

²² Fouad C. Debbas. *Beirut-Our Memory: An Illustrated Tour in the Old City from 1880 to 1930*. Beirut: Naufal Group, 1986; Alkis X. Xanthakis. *History of Greek Photography 1839-1960*. Athens: Hellenic Literary and Historical Archives Society, 1987; Nissan N. Perez. *Focus East: Early Photography in the Near East 1839-1885*. New York: Harry N. Abrams; Jerusalem: The Domain Pres and the Israel Museum, 1988; Walid Khalidy. *Before Their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians 1876-1948*. Washington D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1984.

²³ Jennifer Green-Lewis. *Framing the Victorians: Photography and the Culture of Realism*. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1996.

²⁴ Deborah Poole. *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World*. Princeton; N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997.

²⁵ Donna Stein. “Three photographic traditions in nineteenth-century Iran.” *Muqarnas*, 6, 1989, pp. 112-127.

²⁶ Klaus Tenfelde, ed. *Pictures of Krupp: Photography and History in the Industrial Age*. London; NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

technically the scenes were staged. Donald E. English deals with photography's political function during the Third French Republic as an instrument of propaganda.²⁷ Pertaining to the concept propaganda, Caroline Brothers through her study titled as *War and Photography: A Cultural History*,²⁸ prove efficacious in tackling with the theoretical concerns that underpin photographic records. Although there are several other sources,²⁹ which I attempt to incorporate into this thesis, a comprehensive and elaborate discussion of these is beyond the scope of this thesis.

The third focus takes into consideration a reading list curtailed around the discussions on the nature of photography, allowed its employment as historical sources in search of a theoretical-historiographical basis not only for both this thesis, but also for the sake of history writing. Two papers, one of which is on James Robertson,³⁰ the other on Felice Beato,³¹ were the occasions for initiating my bibliographical research as well as for

²⁷ Donald E. English. *Political Uses of Photography in the Third French Republic 1871-1914*. Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1984.

²⁸ Caroline Brothers. *War and Photography: A Cultural History*. London; NY: Routledge, 1997.

²⁹ John Roberts. "Photography, the everyday and the Russian Revolution." In *The Art of Interruption: Realism, Photography and the Everyday*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1998, pp. 14-39; Alan Trachtenberg. *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans*. New York: Noonday Press, 1990; *Hispanic American Historical Review*, "Special Issue: Can the subaltern see?: photographs as history," No. 81: 1, February 2004, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004; Maria Antonella Pelizzari. *Traces of India: Photography, Architecture, and the Politics of Representation, 1850-1900*. Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture; New Haven: Yale Center for British Art: Yale University Press, 2003; Nancy Micklewright. *A Victorian Traveler in the Middle East: the Photography and Travel Writing of Annie Lady Brassey*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

³⁰ Banu Kaygusuz. "The photographic career of James Robertson from 1852 to 1867: an essay on the photographs of Istanbul, Athens, and Jerusalem." Boğaziçi University, History Department, Fall 2004, HIST 453 Seminar in the history of art and architecture: visual encounters between the east and the west, Ahmet Ersoy.

³¹ Banu Kaygusuz. "Felice Beato: nineteenth century Japanese photography." Boğaziçi University, History Department, Fall 2004, HIST 453 Seminar in the history of art and architecture: visual encounters between the east and the west, Ahmet Ersoy.

acquainting with Walter Benjamin, Roland Barthes and Susan Sontag. The paper concerning Benjamin's *photomontage*-natured writings,³² substitutes the ground where theoretical-historiographical basis of this thesis began to flourish through the literature on Kracauer, Benjamin, and Barthes.³³ In the title of William Henry Fox Talbot's photographically illustrated book of 1894, *The Pencil of Nature*,³⁴ correlates the photograph with a sketch of nature. Susan Sontag defines the photograph as a "trace" of reality. In her series of essays collected as *On Photography*,³⁵ which is based on a realist view of photography, Sontag emphasizes the idea of the photograph as a means of freezing a moment in time. Her focus is on the photograph as a document, as a report, or as evidence of activities such as tourism. In her book *The Photograph: A Strange, Confined Space*,³⁶ Mary Price argues that the meaning of the photographic image is primarily determined through associated verbal descriptions and the context in which the photograph is *used*. On the same ground, Max Kozloff has challenged Sontag's conceptual model, criticizing her proposition that the photograph 'traces' reality, and arguing instead for a view of the photograph as 'witness' with all the possibilities of misunderstanding, partial information

³² Banu Kaygusuz. "Benjaminian Approach to History." Boğaziçi University, History Department, Spring 2006, HIST 502 Historiography II, Selçuk Esenbel.

³³ Roland Berg. *Die Ikone des Realen: zur Bestimmung der Photographie im Werk von Talbot, Benjamin und Barthes*. Munchen: Fink, 2001; David Frisby. *Fragments of Modernity in the Work of Simmel, Kracauer and Benjamin*. Cambridge: Polity Press; Basil Blackwell, 1985; Eduardo Cavada. *Words of Light: Theses on the Photography of History*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997; Nancy M. Shawcross. *Roland Barthes on Photography: the Critical Tradition in Perspective*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997.

³⁴ William Henry Fox Talbot. *The Pencil of Nature*. 1844-46; reprint, New York, 1969.

³⁵ Susan Sontag. *On Photography*. New York: Anchor Books, 1990, (first publication in 1976).

³⁶ Mary Price. *The Photograph: A Strange Confined Space*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.

or false testament.³⁷ Alan Thomas in *The Expanding Eye*³⁸ considers ways in which early uses of photography reflect and reinforce nineteenth-century concerns. Centered upon Victorian Britain, his account focuses on the popularization of photography both in terms of *uses* of photographs and in terms of representation of the everyday. Likewise, Mary Warner Marien³⁹ critically considers the history of the idea of photography, its cultural impact and implications, including discussion of the photograph within mass culture. John Tagg has written extensively on the uses of photography within power relations, noting that photography became implicated in surveillance.⁴⁰ He employs the genealogical method typical of the work of Michel Foucault. He discusses the relationship of the photograph to reality, the constitution of photographic meaning, the social utility of photographs, and the institutional frameworks within which they are produced and consumed. Likewise, the reappraisals of uses of photography within social anthropology, and within the records of colonial travelers implicated in European imperialism, have drawn attention to the political and ideological implications of using photography to define social types viewed as different or "other".⁴¹ There exist other sources, particularly the edited books presenting a wide range of articles on the subject, including the two masterworks of concise but

³⁷ Max Kozloff. *The Privileged Eye: Essays on Photography*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987.

³⁸ Alan Thomas. *The Expanding Eye: Photography and the Nineteenth-century Mind*. London: Croom Helm, 1978.

³⁹ Mary Warner Marien. *Photography: A Cultural History*. London: Laurence King, 2006.

⁴⁰ John Tagg. *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988.

⁴¹ Elizabeth Edwards, ed. *Photography and Anthropology*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992; Elizabeth Edwards. *Raw Histories, Photographs, Anthropology, and Museums*. Oxford; N.Y.: Berg, 2001.

encompassing “photography reader”⁴² and the two collections of critical thinking on the interplay between history and photography,⁴³ also needs to be cogitated upon, throughout this study.

As for additional remarks, two exhibitions, one held in Tokyo National Museum in 2004, entitled *Commemorating the 2005 World Exposition, Aichi, Japan Arts of East and West from World Expositions 1855-1900: Paris, Vienna & Chicago*;⁴⁴ other in Tokyo Konica Minolta Plaza Gallery in 2006, entitled *From Bakumatsu to Meiji, people lived through the era, Japan of the era perceived through the old photographs*⁴⁵ and my personal knowledge on the techniques and technologies of photography⁴⁶ acquaint me with the concept of visual. This thesis concentrating upon the “poetics and politics” of photography, owes its intellectual and scholarly approach as well as its word selection and wordplay to a painstaking montage of a reading list beginning with two edited books, one

⁴² Liz Wells, ed. *Photography: A Critical Introduction*. London; New York: Routledge, 2000; Liz Wells, ed., *The Photography Reader*, London: Routledge, 2003.

⁴³ Richard Bolton, ed. *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989; Victor Burgin, ed. *Thinking Photography*. London: Macmillan Education, 1988.

⁴⁴ 『世紀の祭典：万国博覧会の美術、パリ・ウイーン・シカゴ万博に見る東西の名品』東京国立博物館、2004年、7月6日～8月29日 (*Commemorating the 2005 World Exposition, Aichi, Japan Arts of East and West from World Expositions 1855-1900: Paris, Vienna & Chicago*. Tokyo National Museum, 6 July - 29 August 2004).

⁴⁵ 『幕末から明治、そこに生きた人々、古写真で感じる当時の日本』コニカミノルタプラザギャラリー、2006年11月3日～11月20日 (*From Bakumatsu to Meiji, People Lived through the Era, Japan of the Era Perceived through the Old Photographs*. Konica Minolta Plaza Gallery, 3-20 November, 2006).

⁴⁶ Personal Photography Exhibition, *Following the Traces of an Impression: One Year in Japan*. Tokyo: Istanbul Restaurant, 2-5 October 2003.

by James Clifford and George E. Marcus⁴⁷, other by Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine⁴⁸, and with an article by Tomaz Tadeu Da Silva⁴⁹.

The following chapter concerns how the photographic techniques and technologies were introduced into Japan under the patronage of *daimyō* and how the photography gained a commercial meaning by virtue of the individual enterprises. In the third chapter the photographic careers of James Robertson and Felice Beato are scrutinized within and as examples of the transnational exchanges of images, ideas, technologies between the Ottoman Empire and Japan. The fourth chapter explores the politicization of photography in the Ottoman Empire during the Hamidian period, together with the notion of court photographer through the case of Abdullah *Frères*. Throughout the fifth chapter the photographic careers of Ogawa Kazuma, Tamamura Kōzaburō, and Kusakabe Kinbei whose photographs convey the representations of the Meiji Japan to the Ottoman Empire, are treated with regard to the commercial and military commissions. The last chapter elucidates on the agencies through which the five albums from Japan in the photography collection of Abdulhamid II were brought to the Ottoman Empire, while construing the photographers, the physical presentations, and the subjects of these photograph albums in the context of visual representation strategies of Japan and of the Ottoman Empire.

⁴⁷ James Clifford, and George E. Marcus eds. *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography: a School of American Research Advanced Seminar*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

⁴⁸ Ivan Karp, and Steven D. Lavine, eds. *Exhibiting Cultures: the Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

⁴⁹ Tomaz Tadeu Da Silva. "The Poetics and Politics of Curriculum as Representation." *Pedagogy, Culture and Society*, 1999, 7:1, pp. 7-33.

CHAPTER 2

PHOTOGRAPHY IN JAPAN: COMMERCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP

This chapter treats the itinerary of photography in Japan from the introduction of camera obscura up to the transition from wet-collodion process to dry-plate photography. The main aim is to concretize the relationship between *Rangaku/Yōgaku* (Dutch/Western studies)¹ and the study of photography techniques in Japan, under the patronage of different *daimyō*.² This individual patronage system, incorporating the professional knowledge of foreign photographers, underlies the idea of commercial entrepreneurship in Japanese photography, which began to flourish in the 1870s in the form of photography studios, and prospered with the introduction of dry-plate printing techniques in the 1880s.

¹ *Yōgaku* was the term used to describe the study of Western physical sciences, art, and languages during the late Edo period. This discipline had been called Dutch Learning, *Rangaku*, during the earlier Edo period, because the Dutch was the only source of Western knowledge and culture. Annick Horiuchi, "L'apprentissage du hollandaise au Japon au debut du XIXe siècle," in *Education au Japon et en Chine*, ed., Annick Horiuchi, Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2006, pp. 77-98; Guido Woldering, "Seiyo zasshi 1867-1869: Die erste japanische Zeitschrift," in *Facetten der japanischen Populär und Medienkultur 1*, eds., Stephan Köhn and Martina Schönbein, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005, pp. 93-126; Martha Chaiklin, *Cultural commerce and Dutch commercial culture: the influence of European material culture on Japan, 1700-1850*, Leiden: Research School CNWS, 2003; 杉田玄白『蘭学事始』東京：講談社、2000 (Sugita Genpaku, *Rangaku Kotohajime*, Tokyo: Kōdancha, 2000); Marius B. Jansen, "Rangaku and Westernization," *Modern Asian Studies*, No. 18, 1984, pp. 541-553.

² *Daimyō* is the Japanese word means Japanese feudal lord.

Rangaku Invites Technology: From Wet Collodion Plate to Silver Gelatin Dry Plate

The tendency to present histories in a clear-cut periodization, often precludes further questioning especially on cultural transformations. The crystallized *sakoku* (national seclusion) myth that Japan was in a state of isolation during Tokugawa period (1603-1868) has scattered with the studies on *Rangaku* (Dutch studies), one of which was compiled by Timon Screech. Screech notes that new notions of seeing impinged on Japan for the first time during the later eighteenth century. Claiming that the rapidity with which Enlightenment notions appeared in Japan will shock those who still adhere to the isolation theory of Edo history, he specifies the latest date as early as 1810s.³ The camera obscura introduced from Holland at the end of the eighteenth century, was one of the devices, which gave way to the new perceptions of visuality. The translation for the camera obscura used by eighteenth century scholars of Western studies was *shashin-kyō*,⁴ which means a tool for assisting in copying the truth.⁵ It was Ōtsuki Gentaku (大槻玄沢) (1757-1827), the founder of the *Shirandō* (熾鸞堂), the first private school of Western studies opened in 1789⁶ in Edo, who mentioned the function and the translation of camera obscura in his book *Ransetsu Benwaku* (蘭説弁惑) (*Correcting Errors about the Dutch*)⁷:

³ Timon Screech, *The western scientific gaze and popular imagery in later Edo Japan: the lens within the heart*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 2-3.

⁴ Not surprisingly the word used for photograph in modern Japanese is *shashin* (写真).

⁵ Yokoe Fuminori, "The Arrival of Photography," pp. 166-168, in *The Advent of Photography in Japan*, Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1997, p. 167.

⁶ Timon Screech, *The western scientific gaze and popular imagery in later Edo Japan: the lens within the*

My question is this: there is a kind of device made from a box and fitted with a glass lens which projects landscapes and people so that they can be copied down. In Japanese this is called an “authenticity-copying lens.” Are the original foreign ones called the same thing?

My reply is this: there are several of these boxes to be found in the houses of enthusiasts around the country. The device is extremely cunningly made and is indeed called an “authenticity-copying lens.”⁸

“Authenticity-copying lens,” *shashin-kyō*, or camera obscura, used to facilitate drawing with accurate linear perspective, was only an example among many others, which presented the “Western scientific gaze”⁹ to Japan, that gradually altered the entire faculty of sight. The claim to reproduce what is seen, in its “true,” “authentic” form, was soon embraced by main painting schools in Japan, which began to master *Ranga*¹⁰ (*Ran* pictures). Earliest examples of the changes in visual perceptions were seen on Edo-period multicolored woodblock prints, called *nishiki-e* or *ukiyo-e*. Being a popular means of informing the

heart, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 6.

⁷ Translation by Timon Screech. This was a new genre composed of dialogues held between distinguished masters and their pupils, and Arima Genshō was the pupil of Ōtsuki Gentaku, who recorded *Ransetsu Benwaku*. Timon Screech, *The western scientific gaze and popular imagery in later Edo Japan: the lens within the heart*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 21.

⁸ Ōtsuki Gentaku and Arima Genshō, *Oranda Banashi: Ransetsu Benwaku*, Edo kagaku koten soshō, Inawa Shoten, 1979, p. 45; in Timon Screech, *The western scientific gaze and popular imagery in later Edo Japan: the lens within the heart*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 57.

⁹ “It was held to be true in Japan that vision was the very sphere in which the differences between *Ran* and the home order were most absolute. This book is a contribution to the study of those obscure and complex systems that make and alter artifices of sight, those interpersonal strategies known as the “visualities” of an age.” Timon Screech, *The western scientific gaze and popular imagery in later Edo Japan: the lens within the heart*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 2.

¹⁰ “The Western style was identified by various terms in Japan, *Horurando-e* (Dutch pictures) or *Seiyō-ga* (Western pictures). A common word for a picture being *ga*, one label simply *Ranga*, *Ran* pictures.” Timon Screech, *The western scientific gaze and popular imagery in later Edo Japan: the lens within the heart*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 53.

masses, *nishiki-e* which goes back to the *Tenpō* reforms of 1842¹¹, adopted linear perspective¹² soon after Western painting techniques became subject of interest. Many of the names of those who signed *nishiki-e*, were also the ones who produced the *kibyōshi* illustrations, which were in woodblock.¹³ *Kibyōshi* is another genre rose to prominence in the later part of the eighteenth century, which coincides with the beginning of *Rangaku* (Dutch studies), in other words *Yōgaku* (Western studies). It was a kind of publication in which text and illustration are intermingled to depict a plot of any informative subject. Similar to *nishiki-e*, *kibyōshi* was rapidly printed, cheap, and consumed by almost everyone. They constitute an important source of information on the fashionable and popularized culture of the late eighteenth century.¹⁴ It was this legacy that photograph took over in time. In the Japanese case, photograph, *shashin*, was welcomed not only because technically it is assumed that photography obviated the need for human agency to “copy authenticity,” but also because photograph seized the function to disperse information through the legacy of late-eighteenth, early-nineteenth-century visual culture.

¹¹ The kind of *nishiki-e* giving humorous, and satiric information and depicting political caricatures, got very popular especially after the enactment of restrictive laws concerning the representation of certain characters, prices and even colors of such publications, following the *Tenpō* reforms (1841-1843). “*Ukiyo-e* caricatures 1842-1905” Project, Department of East Asian Studies - Japanese Studies, University of Vienna, <http://kenkyuu.jpn.univie.ac.at/karikaturen/en/project.htm>.

¹² Yokoe Fuminori, “Between the Arrival of the Camera Obscura and the Daguerreotype in Japan,” pp. 163-165, in *The Advent of Photography in Japan*, Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1997, p. 163.

¹³ Timon Screech, *The western scientific gaze and popular imagery in later Edo Japan: the lens within the heart*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 28-29.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

The possibility of fixing the images of a camera obscura was realized as a result of the experiments of the French artist Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851) and his associate Joseph Nicéphore Niépce (1765-1833). The reference to this new technology called daguerrotype in Japan, which was formally announced in 1839¹⁵ in France, can be traced back to the 1840s through a detailed account of Edo¹⁶, *Buko Nenpyō* (武江年表) (Edo Chronology), completed in 1878¹⁷, compiled by a prominent Edo writer Saitō Gesshin (斎藤月岑) (1804-1878):

Western photography techniques are said to date the *Tenpō* period (1830-43), when a Spaniard versed in *chemie* took a hint from a mirage at the seacoast, investigated the principle behind it, experimented, and at long last arrived at the invention.¹⁸

Although it is known that there was not such a Spanish origin inventor of daguerrotype,

¹⁵ Daguerre and Niépce began their experiments around January 1826. After Niépce's death on July 5, 1833, Daguerre remained determined to perfect a process, and managed to produce his first successful daguerrotypes in 1834. He announced his invention in the *Journal des artistes* on September 27, 1835. Daguerre was announced as the inventor of the new process by the politician and scientist, François Arago, on January 7, 1839. Arago formally divulged the process to a joint meeting of the Académie des Sciences and Académie des beaux-arts on August 19, 1839. John Hannavy, ed., *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-century Photography*, New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2008, vol. 1, pp. 674-675.

¹⁶ Present-day Tokyo.

¹⁷ Saitō Gesshin finished writing the main part of the book, which was composed of eight volumes comprising the chronology from 1590 (*Tenshō*18) to 1848 (*Kaei gan nen*), in 1848, and it was published in 1850. Following four volumes containing the records from 1849 (*Kaei*2) to 1873 (*Meiji*6) was in a draft format when Saitō died in 1878. *Buko Nenpyō* was published for the second time in 1868 (*Meiji*1) to commemorate the transfer of the capital to Edo. The edition published in 1912, includes the whole chronology for the first time with the publisher's proofread version of the last four volumes. 斎藤月岑『武江年表』、東京：国書刊行会、大正1年 (Saitō Gesshin, *Buko Nenpyō*, Tokyo: Kokushokankōkai, 1912), pp. 1-2.

¹⁸ “西洋寫眞鏡の技術は、天保の頃西班牙の某舍密の術に長じけるが、海濱の蜃氣樓に據りて思ふ所あり、深く其理を攻窮して工夫を疑らし、終に此術成りしとか。” Information entry date: 5th of December, 1854 (*Ansei gan nen*). 斎藤月岑『武江年表』、東京：国書刊行会、大正1年 (Saitō Gesshin, *Buko Nenpyō*, Tokyo: Kokushokankōkai, 1912), vol. 9, p. 267.

what is important in this narrative is the word *chemie* (舍密), which means chemistry in Dutch and which was one of the concepts used to allude to the Western Studies in Japan.¹⁹ This chronicle in a way evinces the organic relationship of photography and *Rangaku* (Dutch studies) or *Yōgaku* (Western studies) in general through its terminology. The introduction of daguerrotype to Japan was recorded by a Nagasaki merchant, Ueno Shunnojō (上野俊之丞) (1790-1851) in his account called *Ueno Shunnojō Registration*: “A daguerrotype set, which is a tool for making a true copy, was brought to Nagasaki in 1843, but it was taken away and brought in again in 1848.”²⁰ It was not a coincidence that the daguerreotype equipment, which Ueno Shunnojō acquired at Nagasaki in the southwestern island of Kyūshū, was purchased by Shimazu Nariakira (島津斉彬) (1809-1858),²¹ *daimyō* of the Satsuma domain on the Kyūshū island, who ordered the Western studies scholars Kawamoto Kōmin (川本幸民) (1810-1871) and Matsuki Kōan (松木弘庵) (1832-1893), later known as Terashima Munenori (寺島宗則), to study it at the Satsuma mansion in Edo.

¹⁹ The earliest chemistry book of Japan was written in 1837 by Udagawa Yōan (1798-1846) who was a *Rangakusha*, scholar of Western, Dutch subjects. It was discernible even from the title of his book, which adopted the word *chemie* (『舍密開宗』) instead of *kagaku* (科学), the word for chemistry in modern Japanese, that the Japanese scholars mastered not only the Western knowledge but also the terminology. 陳水逢『日本文明開化史略』、台湾商務印書館、1967年 (Chin-sui Fu, *Nihon Bunmeikaikashi Ryaku*, Taiwan Shōmu Inshokan, 1967), p. 233.

²⁰ “ダゲリョテイープ 壹揃 但正図ヲ写し取候道具 天保十四卯持渡 御差返し 嘉永元申再持渡” 小沢健志『幕末写真の時代』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1996年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu Shashin no Jidai*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1996), p. 11; 小沢健志『幕末・明治の写真』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1997年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu, Meiji no Shashin*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1997), p. 20.

²¹ Yokoe Fuminori, “The Arrival of Photography,” pp. 166-168, in *The Advent of Photography in Japan*, Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1997, p. 166; 小沢健志『幕末写真の時代』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1996年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu Shashin no Jidai*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1996), pp. 11-12.

Yanagawa Shunsan (柳河春三) (1832-1870) was another Western studies scholar, who indulged in photographic research. In *Buko Nenpyō*, Saitō Gesshin divulged that Yanagawa's manual on photography techniques, *Shashinkyō Zuzetsu* (Figure 1), was published for the first time in 1867²² (*Keio3*). This work presents an illustrated account of techniques of photography including the wet-collodion process,²³ which was invented and announced by the Englishman Frederick Scott Archer (1813-1857)²⁴ in 1851. It is pertinent to mention the name of Yanagawa Shunsan with the *Kaiseijo* (開成所), the official institution for the purpose of scholarly research on Western subjects, which was originally established in 1855 and finally named as *Kaiseijo* in 1863,²⁵ since Yanagawa was

²² “寫眞鏡圖説初編一冊梓行、故人楊江柳河春三子撰、二編は明治元年に梓行せり” The year for the second edition of the manual, was noted as 1868 (*Meiji gan nen*). Information entry date: 25th of December, 1867 (*Keio3*). 斎藤月岑『武江年表』、東京：国書刊行会、大正1年 (Saitō Gesshin, *Buko Nenpyō*, Tokyo: Kokushokankōkai, 1912), vol. 11, p. 334.

²³ Kinoshita Naoyuki, “The Early Years of Japanese Photography,” pp. 16-35, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 22; 小沢健志『幕末写真の時代』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1996年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu Shashin no Jidai*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1996), p. 135.

²⁴ The wet-collodion process was a further development of the calotype, which was invented by Talbot, that used a glass, rather than a paper negative and thus produced a clearer image. Archer's process had, however, the drawback that the image needed to be exposed and developed while the collodion was still wet. Yokoe Fuminori, “The Arrival of Photography,” pp. 166-168, in *The Advent of Photography in Japan*, Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1997, p. 166.

²⁵ In 1855, in order to increase Japan's capacity to counter foreign nations militarily, the *shogunate* established a directly controlled research institute and school for the study of Western Learning, science and technology. Called in 1856 the *Bansho Shirabesho* (Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books) (蕃書調所), the name was changed in 1862 to *Yōsho Shirebesho* (Institute for the Investigation of Western Books) (洋書調所), and finally in 1863 to the *Kaiseijo* (開成所) (Institute of Enlightenment). Kinoshita Naoyuki, “The Early Years of Japanese Photography,” pp. 16-35, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 22. For further information on *Kaiseijo*, see 宮崎ふみ子、「開成所に於ける慶応改革：開成所「学政改革」を中心として」、『史學雑誌』(Miyazaki Fumiko, “The Tokugawa Reforms in the Keio Period: The Case of the Kaiseijo,” *Shigaku zasshi*), vol. 89, no. 3, pp. 343-364, 408-409.

appointed as an instructor in 1864 and as a professor in 1866²⁶ to the *Kaiseijo*. This institution was the epitome of the *Rangaku*-photography connection. The *Kaiseijo* not only kept abreast of the latest technology and of the most current information from overseas, but it also conducted practical study in photography, with its chemistry department researching the manufacture of chemicals.²⁷

The spread of photography techniques, especially wet-collodion process, to the different feudal domains (藩) of Japan was realized through the leadership of *Rangaku* scholars under the patronage of different *daimyō* who was passionate about Western knowledge and personally interested in photography itself. Port cities as being the source of Western culture were the intersection of the potential photographers, *daimyō*, and the Western studies scholars. Nagasaki, the southwest end of the Japanese archipelago, was one of these ports, which imported technology and knowledge even before the opening of the other treaty ports²⁸ in 1859. Feudal domains had sent their most promising young retainers there, in particular to study Western medicine with physicians stationed at the Dutch-run medical training establishment,²⁹ functioned also as the Dutch Factory, a trading post of the Dutch East India Company.³⁰ The case of Kuroda Nagahiro (黒田長溥) (1811-1887),

²⁶ Kinoshita Naoyuki, "The Early Years of Japanese Photography," pp. 16-35, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 22.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 23.

²⁸ Kanagawa (Yokohama) near Tokyo, and Hakodate in the northern island of Hokkaidō, were the other ports opened to foreign commerce and settlement in 1859.

²⁹ English translation of 長崎奉行所西役所, 医学伝習所 (*Nagasaki Bugyōsho Seiyakusho, Igaku Denshūsho*), literally meaning "Medical Education Branch of Nagasaki Magistrate Office Western Bureau."

³⁰ The best known of these physicians was a German, Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866), who was

the *daimyō* of Fukuoka domain, situated on the northern shore of the island of Kyūshū, was a leading instance. Kuroda sent one of his warriors, Furukawa Shunpei (古川俊平) (1834-1907),³¹ to Nagasaki, to learn photography in 1856. Then in 1858 Kuroda himself, tried to acquire knowledge of the wet-collodion method from Johannes L. C. Pompe van Meerdervoort (1829-1908),³² who was stationed at the Dutch Factory from 1857 to 1862³³ as a physician. Although his scope of knowledge was limited, Pompe van Meerdervoort played a prominent role in the circulation of photographic knowledge. It was the French photographer Pierre Rossier (1829-circa1898) who taught the Fukuoka clansman the wet-collodion process³⁴ in practice. The grid, in which photographic knowledge was consumed, was also the origin of knowledge through the translation projects, which subsume any “Dutch” subject within the purview of Japanese usage. The one conducted personally by the *daimyō* of Chōshū domain, located on the Honshū island, Nakajima Jihei (中島治平), gave its fruit as an explanatory handbook³⁵ on the wet-collodion method. Saga

stationed in Nagasaki from 1823 to 1829. Kinoshita Naoyuki, “The Early Years of Japanese Photography,” pp. 16-35, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p.20;

³¹ 小沢健志『幕末写真の時代』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1996年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu Shashin no Jidai*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1996), p.134.

³² Yokoe Fuminori, “The Arrival of Photography,” pp. 166-168, in *The Advent of Photography in Japan*, Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1997, pp. 166-167.

³³ Kinoshita Naoyuki, “The Early Years of Japanese Photography,” pp. 16-35, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p.20.

³⁴ Yokoe Fuminori, “The Arrival of Photography,” pp. 166-168, in *The Advent of Photography in Japan*, Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1997, p. 166.

³⁵ The book was titled as “The technique of Photography,” 「写真術」未定稿、万延元年(1860). 小沢健志『幕末写真の時代』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1996年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu Shashin no Jidai*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1996), p.135.

domain, on the northwest of Kyūshū island, hosted eminent researchers and a leading center for scientific studies, *Seirengata* (精煉方)³⁶, which was also involved in the research on photography printing techniques. Although the role of professional photographers, who were foreign residents of the treaty ports after 1859, in photographic cultivation, is undeniable, it is crucial to be aware of the local dynamics. Ueno Hikoma (上野彦馬) (1838-1904) from Nagasaki and Shimooka Renjō (下岡蓮杖) (1823-1914) from Yokohama, are the two seminal photographers who encountered these multifarious factors. After being the disciple of Pompe van Meerdervoort³⁷ and Rossier,³⁸ Ueno Hikoma³⁹ sought employment with his colleague Horie Kuwajirō (堀江鋤次郎) (1831-1866) of the Tsu domain on the south of the central Honshū. The camera, which they purchased in Nagasaki, was sponsored by the Tsu *daimyō*, Tōdō Takayuki (藤堂高猷) (1813-1895).⁴⁰ In 1860

³⁶ Ibid., p. 135; For the elaboration of *Seirengata* (精煉方) in terms of *Rangaku* studies in Saga domain, see 青木歳幸「佐賀藩蘭学再考：医学史の視点から」、『研究論文集—教育系・文系の九州地区国立大学間連携論文集』(Aoki Toshiyuki, "Reconsideration of Saga Domain *Rangaku* Studies: From the Perspective of History of Medicine," *Kenkyūronbunshū: Kyōikukei, Bunkei no Kyūshūchiku Kokuritsu Daigaku Manrenkei Ronbunshū*), 2008, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-24.

³⁷ 小沢健志『幕末写真の時代』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1996年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu Shashin no Jidai*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1996), p.135. Ueno Hikoma refers to Pompe van Meerdervoort as "Pompe Teacher" (朋百先生の説) in the related part of his book *Seimikyoku Hikkei* (『舍密局必携』). Ozawa notes the year where Ueno met Pompe van Meerdervoort as 1858. 小沢健志『幕末・明治の写真』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1997年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu, Meiji no Shashin*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1997), p. 87.

³⁸ Yokoe Fuminori, "The Arrival of Photography," pp. 166-168, in *The Advent of Photography in Japan*, Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1997, p. 167. Ueno Hikoma refers to Rossier as "Pompe" (魯支英の説) in the related part of his book *Seimikyoku Hikkei* (『舍密局必携』). 小沢健志『幕末・明治の写真』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1997年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu, Meiji no Shashin*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1997), p. 92.

³⁹ Ueno Hikoma was the son of the merchant who had imported the first daguerreotype, Ueno Shunnojo. 小沢健志『幕末・明治の写真』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1997年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu, Meiji no Shashin*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1997), pp. 87-88.

⁴⁰ 小沢健志『幕末・明治の写真』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1997年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu, Meiji*

Ueno and Horie traveled up to Edo, where they were hosted at the estate⁴¹ of the Tsu domain,⁴² and made photographs of visitors. In 1861 on the way back from Edo, Ueno came to Tsu, and began to lecture in chemistry, in other words in *chemie* (舍密),⁴³ at the domain's school of Western Learning. One year later, again with the financial support of *daimyō* Tōdō Takayuki,⁴⁴ Ueno published his book *Seimikyoku Hikkei, Chemists' Handbook* (舍密局必携), whose third volume was devoted to the wet-collodion technique.⁴⁵ For any account of Japanese photography referring to the 1860s, "Shimooka Renjō of East, and Ueno Hikoma of West"⁴⁶ is the motto to introduce the comparison of these two figures. To attract attention to another photographer who interacted with

no Shashin, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1997), p. 92; Yokoe Fuminori, "The Arrival of Photography," pp. 166-168, in *The Advent of Photography in Japan*, Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1997, p.167; Kinoshita Naoyuki, "The Early Years of Japanese Photography," pp. 16-35, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p.20.

⁴¹ According to the *Sankinkōtai* (参勤交代) system, each *daimyō* had to be present in the city of Edo for a certain period of the year to fulfill his duty to serve individually to the *shōgun*. That is why each *daimyō* had an estate in Edo.

⁴² Ozawa Takeshi specifies that Ueno and Horie stayed in the residence of Tōdō Takayuki, which was located in the Kanda region of Edo. 小沢健志『幕末・明治の写真』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1997年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu, Meiji no Shashin*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1997), pp. 92-93.

⁴³ Ueno used to teach Dutch, *Rango* (蘭語), and chemistry, *seimi* (Japanese pronunciation of *chemie*) (舍密), to the warriors of Tsu domain. 小沢健志『幕末・明治の写真』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1997年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu, Meiji no Shashin*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1997), p. 93.

⁴⁴ Kinoshita Naoyuki, "The Early Years of Japanese Photography," pp. 16-35, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 20.

⁴⁵ This book composed of three volumes, which was mainly on chemistry, *chemie*. Ueno elucidated wet-collodion technique throughout the twentieth chapter up to the thirty-seventh chapter of the third volume. 小沢健志『幕末・明治の写真』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1997年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu, Meiji no Shashin*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1997), p. 94.

⁴⁶ Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, p. 73; 小沢健志『幕末・明治の写真』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1997年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu, Meiji no Shashin*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1997), p. 86, 107; Kinoshita Naoyuki, "The Early Years of Japanese Photography," pp. 16-35, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 25.

domain-based photography investigations, Shimooka Renjō is part of the historical narration of Japanese photography. While studying traditional Japanese painting as a student of the eminent Edo artist, Kanō Tōsen (狩野董川) (1811-1871),⁴⁷ Shimooka paid a visit to the Satsuma domain residence in Edo in 1844 and “saw a daguerreotype from Holland”⁴⁸ at the palace of *daimyō* Shimazu Nariakira. This first encounter with photography was the beginning of a long journey in pursuit of a camera, chemicals and most important of all, someone who was capable of producing a photograph, the one later on proved to be Samuel Brown (1810-1880),⁴⁹ the American missionary of Dutch Reformed Church. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to enumerate every figure, that is an interlocutor for nineteenth-century Japanese photography. Nevertheless, it is indispensable to cite the names of other *daimyō*, who contributed to the spread of photographic knowledge and technology: Tokugawa Yoshikatsu (徳川慶勝) (1824-1883) of Owari domain of central Japan, Oda Nobumichi (織田信学) (1819-1891) of Tendō domain of northern Honshū, and finally Matsumae Takahiro (松前崇広) (1829-1866) of Matsumae domain of northern Japan.⁵⁰ The concurrent dissemination of photography to

⁴⁷ Saitō Takio, “Shimooka Renjō, 1823-1914”, pp. 173-177, in *The Advent of Photography in Japan*, Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1997, p. 173.

⁴⁸ 山口才一郎「写真事歴」、『写真新報』、明治 24 年 (Yamaguchi Saiichirō, “A Biography of a Photographer,” *Shashin Shimpō*, 1891); in 小沢健志『幕末・明治の写真』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1997 年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu, Meiji no Shashin*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1997), pp. 108-109.

⁴⁹ For the later years of Shimooka’s career, see 高橋信一『下岡蓮杖とブラウンの周辺の写真について』、慶應義塾大学、2008 (Takahashi Shinichi, “Photography of Shimooka Renjō’s and Brown’s surrounding,” Keio University, 2008), pp. 1-10.

⁵⁰ 小沢健志『幕末写真の時代』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1996 年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu Shashin no Jidai*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1996), p.134.

different corners of Japan was due to the interests of certain *daimyō* as the patrons and the employers of photographers who soon became the patrons of their own in their individually financed photography studios.

After the 1868 Meiji Restoration that is viewed as the beginning of modern Japan, commercial photography studios spread to major cities of Japan in the 1870s. Ueno Hikoma and Shimooka Renjō⁵¹ were the earliest examples of business photographers. Birth of entrepreneurial photography, was depicted by Saitō Gesshin in *Buko Nenpyō* (Edo Chronology) as follows:

Photography technology gradually spread, and photography studios opened in various places of the city. Portrait photographs, that have the potential to invite customers, were photographed, and printed either on glass or on paper. Moreover, the custom to display photographs which framed landscapes, architecture, theatrical performers and courtesans, in the shop windows of photography studios began to emerge around 1873, and up to moment more and more photographers has adopted this custom.⁵²

The study and practice of photography, which began to flourish under the aegis of *daimyō*, ripened into a full-fledged and versatile industry contributed to the “visualities,”⁵³ in other

⁵¹ Ueno Hikoma opened a studio in Nagasaki in 1862. It was the same year that Shimooka Renjō opened a portrait studio in Yokohama. Kinoshita Naoyuki, “The Early Years of Japanese Photography,” pp. 16-35, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, pp. 19, 20; Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, pp. 71, 74.

⁵² 斎藤月岑『武江年表』、金子光晴校訂、東京：平凡社、1968年 (Saitō Gesshin, *Buko Nenpyō* (Edo Chronology), Kaneko Mitsuharu, rev. and suppl., Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1968), pp. 139-140.

⁵³ Timon Screech, *The western scientific gaze and popular imagery in later Edo Japan: the lens within the heart*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 2.

words, visual representation methods of the age. Ozawa Takeshi claims that there is a rupture between the inchoate photography studies and the later generation of photographers represented by Ueno Hikoma, Shimooka Renjō, and Kizu Kōkichi (木津幸吉) (1830-1895) because wet collodion photography, which was widely disseminated all over Japan within the fabric of the *Han*⁵⁴ (藩) system, faded out with the abolition of this political system.⁵⁵ The abolition of the *Han* System and establishment of the Prefecture System (廃藩置県 *Haihan chiken*) was an act of the new Meiji government in 1871 to replace the traditional feudal domain (*Han*) system and to introduce centralized government authority. Through this process all *daimyō* (feudal lords) were required to return their authority to the emperor.⁵⁶ The tendency to claim that if there were political and institutional changes, an acute shift in the cultural tissue of a society would immediately ensue may mislead the historian while reasoning, and may cause the delusions of “progress or deterioration” theories based on the membership of any putative modern/developing community. Rather than a perception of cessation or continuation, it is crucial to be aware of the textual intention while scrutinizing the different instances throughout or beyond a timeframe. The patronage of *daimyō* ensured the hoard of knowledge and experience for future proceeds that sustained the professions of photographers who attempted to convert a source of

⁵⁴ *Han* is the Japanese word for the traditional feudal domains.

⁵⁵ 小沢健志『幕末写真の時代』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1996年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu Shashin no Jidai*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1996), p. 136.

⁵⁶ For further discussion on the abolition of *Han* System, see William Gerald Beasley, “Meiji political institutions,” in *The Cambridge history of Japan, Vol. 5, The nineteenth century*, ed., Marius B. Jansen, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp. 618-673, especially the part on “the abolition of the domains,” pp. 628-640.

interest into a professional career. Such photographic careers were supported sometimes with mercantile partnerships and sometimes with positions promoted within governmental initiatives as exemplified by further cases in following pages.

Commercial Photography in Japan

The adventure of mastering photography in the 1860s for so many photographers, culminated in the individually-ran professional studios. With the arrival of foreign population from the Western World who were willing to conduct business in port cities, the number of photography stores which opened in those areas increased enormously that expedited a market for photography. Japanese entrepreneurs who were avidly interested in the photography-centered technological knowledge and photography, attuned to the transforming demand for this new form of visual consumption. The former resident of the Ottoman capital Constantinople, Felice Beato (1834-circa1907)⁵⁷ who was now located in Yokohama, the very recent port city amongst others, was the archetype of the newcomers

⁵⁷ Felice Beato is a noteworthy figure for this study as one of the connection points between Ottoman and Japanese photography since he followed the same itinerary from Constantinople to Yokohama as his mentor James Robertson. Felice Beato learned the techniques of photography from his brother-in-law James Robertson, accompanying him on many excursions in Constantinople. Together with Robertson, Beato gained fame for photographing the Crimean War in 1855, the Sepoy Rebellion of 1858 in the Indian Mutiny, and the 1860 Anglo-French military expedition to Beijing, China, during the Opium War, where he was the assistant of Robertson. 横浜開港資料館編『F. ベアト幕末日本写真集』、横浜：便利堂、1987年（Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*, Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), p. 176; in Banu Kaygusuz, "Felice Beato: nineteenth century Japanese photography," Boğaziçi University, History Department, Fall 2004, HIST 453 Seminar in the history of art and architecture: visual encounters between the east and the west, Ahmet Ersoy, p. 5.

who established partnerships with other entrepreneurs and recruited numerous assistants. This new genre of profession gained acceptance among people, because it had the potential to respond to certain custom-based, traditionally oriented practices. It was the custom to produce a painted portrait or a small wooden carving immediately after the death of a *daimyō* or the *shōgun* at the top of the hierarchy, and to display this memorial in a specially built shrine.⁵⁸ The photograph replaced these painted or engraved portraits of the privileged classes, used for the purpose of commemoration during and after the funeral ceremony. During the period of civil war leading to and following the Meiji Restoration, many *samurai* had their portraits taken to leave behind in case of death.⁵⁹ It was remarkable that the notions of death and photography were mentioned side by side in the early years of photography in European countries and on the American continent. There were manifold photographic albums of the deceased in France, England, and in America.⁶⁰ Was this not a claim to leave trace, a reflection of the person in the worldly life, a need to be memorized / commemorated. Photography also replaced gradually the wood-block print,

⁵⁸ Kinoshita Naoyuki, "The Early Years of Japanese Photography," pp. 16-35, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 27.

⁵⁹ This very detail is mentioned in Shimooka Renjō's account which was a memoir published by Yamaguchi Saiichirō as "Shashin Jireki" (A Biography as a Photographer), in the monthly photography magazine *Shahin Shinpō* (寫真新報) in the November of 1891. Saitō Takio, "Shimooka Renjō," pp. 173-177, in *The Advent of Photography in Japan*, Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1997, p.177; Kinoshita Naoyuki, "The Early Years of Japanese Photography," pp. 16-35, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 27.

⁶⁰ Gisèle Freund, *Photographie et société*, Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1974; Patrizia Di Bello, *Women's albums and photography in Victorian England: ladies, mothers and flirts*, Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007; Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American photographs: images as history, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans*, New York: Noonday Press, 1990.

ukiyo-e of famous *Kabuki*-performers, circulated as popular display images of the time. The practice to color the photographs⁶¹ necessitated the collaboration of photographers with many traditional style brush-masters as in the example of partnership of Beato and his assistant Yusuke.⁶² It was (and still is) a common practice to publish the status of the grand champions of *sumō*, who were traditionally listed before every tournament in a graded ranking. This kind of graded ranking was greatly favored in nineteenth-century Japan not just for *sumō* wrestlers, but for many occupations.⁶³ The existence of such a graded ranking prepared for photographers, and published in 1877, *Tokyo Shashin Mitate Kurate* (Ranking of Tokyo Photographers)⁶⁴ (Figure 2) depicts the tableau of photography

⁶¹ Charles Wirgman was the first who attempted to apply color to the photographs of Felice Beato. Instead of the oil colors, which he used in his own artistic work, he preferred to use transparent colors, which he had discovered in Japanese traditional painting and prints. Seeing the satisfactory results and the success of these painted images, Beato and Wirgman employed a Japanese artist in their studio. Annabelle Simon, "Les Photographies Japonaises du XIXe Siècle: Techniques, Conservation, Restauration", Paper presented at the Association France Japon-Nord / Japan Society Symposium *Les Collections d'Art Japonais en Europe* held in Lille during 4-5 October 1997, <http://www.old-japan.co.uk/>, 1998; in Banu Kaygusuz, "Felice Beato: nineteenth century Japanese photography," Boğaziçi University, History Department, Fall 2004, HIST 453 Seminar in the history of art and architecture: visual encounters between the east and the west, Ahmet Ersoy, p. 6.

⁶² There emerged an occasion that Beato was sued by his assistant and colorist named Asada Kōsuke, because in an outburst of anger he hurt Kōsuke by hurling plates at him. 横浜開港資料館編『F. ベアト幕末日本写真集』、横浜：便利堂、1987年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*, Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), p. 181; in Banu Kaygusuz, "Felice Beato: nineteenth century Japanese photography," Boğaziçi University, History Department, Fall 2004, HIST 453 Seminar in the history of art and architecture: visual encounters between the east and the west, Ahmet Ersoy, p. 6.

⁶³ Kinoshita Naoyuki, "The Early Years of Japanese Photography," pp. 16-35, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 25.

⁶⁴ *Tokyo Shashin Mitate Kurate* (東京写真見立競) (Ranking of Tokyo Photographers), which was a woodblock print on paper, prepared as a broadsheet by Miyata Uhei, and issued in 1877, in Tokyo. 木下直之『写真画論：写真と絵画の結婚』、東京：(岩波近代日本の美術4) 岩波書店、1996年 (Kinoshita Naoyuki, *Shashinga-ron: Shashin to Kaiga no Kekkō* (On Photography, the Marriage of the Photograph and the Picture), Tokyo: (Iwanami Kindai Nihon no Bijutsu 4 (The Iwanami Modern Japanese Art, vol. 4) Iwanami Shoten, 1996), p. 22.

industry within Tokyo Prefecture, and signifies how throughout 1870s professional commercial aspect of photography emanated from a surfeit of photographic knowledge and experience, fostered from an ingrained visual heritage and permeated all forms of nineteenth century Japanese visual culture. In *Tokyo Shashin Mitate Kurate* of 1877, 116 professional photographers and 14 photography supply houses (諸寫眞繪問屋所) were listed. The names of photographers who were considered more important appeared in larger characters as in the graded rankings for *sumō*. Shimooka Renjō ranked along with Uchida Kuichi (内田九一) (1844-1875), Yokoyama Matsusaburō (横山松三郎) (1838-1884), and Kizu Kōkichi.⁶⁵ The names of Gyokusen Sanji and Ōgane Ryūkei, mentioned in the *Buko nenpyō* as early Edo (Tokyo) photographers⁶⁶, appeared in a class called “Older Pioneers” (元老格). The gravitation of the photographers to the “big city,” which shifted from Nagasaki, the center of photographic information in the late *Bakumatsu* period, towards Yokohama and Edo that emerged as the nerve centers through 1870s and 1880s where

⁶⁵ The name of Kizu Kōkichi was included in *Tokyo Shashin Mitate Kurate*, although he was known as the first photographer of Hakodate, Hokkaidō, because following the Hakodate War, in 1870 (*Meiji*2), he moved to Tokyo, and in Asakusa district he opened a photography studio. 渋谷四郎『北海道写真史幕末・明治』、東京：平凡社、1983年 (Shibuya Shirō, *Hokkaidō Photography History: Bakumatsu and Meiji*, Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1983). Because the ranking in *Tokyo Shashin Mitate Kurate* was limited to Tokyo photographers, Ueno Hikoma, who lived his whole life in Nagasaki, did not appear. Kinoshita Naoyuki, “The Early Years of Japanese Photography,” pp. 16-35, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 25.

⁶⁶ “次第に串熟せるもの出来、玉川三次、信夫何某[姓名のわからないときに使う語]、大鐘隆慶なんどいへるもの、江戸に於て弘んとしける頃、肥州長崎より内田九一といふもの、夙齡の頃よりこの地に羈寓しれこれを学び...” “Around the same time that Gyokusen Sanji and Ōgane Ryūkei began business in Edo, Uchida Kuichi who had studied photography from an early age in Nagasaki and mastered it with great effort, came from Nagasaki to Edo...” Information entry date: 5th of December, 1854 (*Ansei gan nen*). 斎藤月岑『武江年表』、東京：国書刊行会、大正1年 (Saitō Gesshin, *Buko Nenpyō*, Tokyo: Kokushokankōkai, 1912), vol. 9, p. 267.

photography was perceived as an object of commerce, might be illustrated in the professional careers of Uchida Kuichi⁶⁷ and Kizu Kōkichi.⁶⁸ The former departed from Nagasaki and the latter from Hokkaido. The source upon which Satō Morihiro depends,⁶⁹ while claiming the existence of two different photographic products, *shashin* (寫眞), usually referred to as portrait photographs in the early years of photography and *shashin-e* (寫眞繪), designated as hand-colored landscape photographs. The *Kyoto Trading Guide* (京都賣買ひとり案内), published in 1878 by Harada Yosomatsu,⁷⁰ exhibits that by the end of 1870s the photograph and the technical equipment of photography were being consumed as commercial products. The category of “Wholesale Stores for Photography” took place in the *Ranking of Tokyo Photographers*⁷¹ and numerous advertisements of photography supply depots⁷² as well as photography studios, appeared in the publications

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ 渋谷四郎『北海道写真史幕末・明治』、東京：平凡社、1983年 (Shibuya Shirō, *Hokkaidō Photography History: Bakumatsu and Meiji*, Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1983).

⁶⁹ 佐藤守弘「観光・写真・ピクチャレスク：横浜写真における自然景観表象をめぐる」、茨城大学、2001年 (Satō Morihiro, “Sight-seeing, Photography, Picturesque: The Representation of Nature in the Scenes of Yokohama Photographs,” Ibaraki University, 2001), Footnote 6.

⁷⁰ 原田與三松編『京都賣買ひとり案内』、清文堂、明治11年 (Harada Yosomatsu, ed., *Kyoto Baibai Hitori Annai*, Seibundō, 1878).

⁷¹ It is mentioned as the category of *Sho Shashin-e Tonyashō*, Wholesale Stores for Photography, (諸寫眞繪問屋所) apart from the category of photography studios. Miyata Uhei, *Tokyo Shashin Mitate Kurate* (東京写真見立競) (Ranking of Tokyo Photographers), Tokyo, 1877.

⁷² One of the latest examples of these advertisements published in *The City of Yokohama Past and Present* of 1908 was introducing Kusakabe Kinbei's enterprise as storing “Cameras and Photographic Supplies.” The advertisement was republished in 横浜開港資料館編『明治の日本：横浜写真の世界：彩色アルバム』、横浜：有隣堂、1990年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *Japan of Meiji Period: the World of Yokohama Photography*, Yokohama: Yūrindō, 1990), p. 231. Another Kusakabe studio advertisement took place in the 8th edition of *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan*, published in 1907 and edited by B. H. Chamberlain and W. B. Mason, mentioned the venture as “Photo Supply Depot: Wholesalers and Retailers of Eastman's Kodaks, Films, Dry plates, etc.” The advertisement was republished in Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, p. 204.

of the time, in *Japan Directory*, or in the Yokohama local newspapers such as *Yokohama Bōeki Shinpō* (横浜貿易新報), which was a newspaper issued on the commercial activities in Yokohama, present details through which discerned that not only photographs in different sizes but also photographic equipments and materials ranging from chemicals to albumen papers or glass plates, were attracted attention in a dynamic supply and demand balance.

While the *Ranking of Tokyo Photographers* evinces that photography gained acceptance as a profession, the *Kyoto Trading Guide* attests that photograph was being perceived as merchandise. The ubiquity of photography has been ratified with the technological developments in photographic methods and processes. The 1880s marked the transition from the wet-collodion glass plate process to silver gelatin dry-plate⁷³ photography. The dry-plate process was another milestone in the photography technology, ensuing the invention of calotype, which enabled multiple prints. In Britain during the commercial phase of dry-plate production, many publications such as small books and pamphlets were produced by the emerging plate-making industry to promote the effective use of their products.⁷⁴ Even the presence of such publications gives clues to how this new

⁷³ In 1871 Dr. Richard Maddox discovered a way of using gelatin as a basis for the photographic plate, and this was the breakthrough in the production of dry-plates. It was not until 1878, however, that the first commercially viable plates were manufactured. Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, p. 310.

⁷⁴ George Dawson's *The Russell Dry Plates* (1871), The Liverpool Dry Plate Company's *Rapid Collodio-Bromide Plates* (1872), and Mawson & Swan's *On the Collodio-Bromide Process* (1872) serve as typical exemplars of the material being published. Helmut Gernsheim, *Incunabula of British Photographic Literature 1839-1875*, London and Berkeley: Scholar Press, 1984; in John Hannavy, "Books and manuals about photography: 1870s," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-century Photography*, ed., John Hannavy, New

technology aroused considerable interest. The wet-collodion process imposed numerous constraints on the photographer. The collodion had to be applied on to glass plates, sensitized immediately before the picture was taken and then developed immediately afterwards.⁷⁵ The glass plate had to be kept wet throughout the whole process. Dry-plates, however, could be developed much more quickly than any previous wet-plate technique and were easier to transport and store. Photographers required fewer chemicals. Shorter exposure times meant that it was easier to photograph movement. The advent of the dry collodion plate allowed photographers to prepare their plates in advance, and gave them greater freedom while choosing their subject to shoot and developing it in the dark room. Dry-plates began to be imported into Japan in the early 1880s. The first successful application of the process in Japan occurred in May of 1883, when the Tokyo photographer Esaki Reiji (江崎礼二) (1845-1910) photographed the controlled explosion of a torpedo during a naval review in the Sumida River.⁷⁶ This occasion serves as an advertisement not only for Esaki Reiji⁷⁷ but also for the introduction of new photography technology. Low

York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2008, vol.1, p. 181.

⁷⁵ Bryan Clark Green, "Wet-collodion negative," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-century Photography*, ed., John Hannavy, New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2008, vol.1, pp. 1485-1486.

⁷⁶ 郵便報知新聞、明治十六年六月 (*Yūbin Hōchi Shinbun*, June 1883) in 小沢健志『幕末・明治の写真』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1997年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu, Meiji no Shashin*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1997), p. 282; Sebastian Dobson, "Japan," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-century Photography*, ed., John Hannavy, New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2008, vol.1, p. 771.

⁷⁷ The Esaki studio benefited from a proliferation of demand in portraits of children, who could now be photographed with greater ease, and in the following three years Esaki produced over 3000 negatives of infants. Sebastian Dobson, "Japan," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-century Photography*, ed., John Hannavy, New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2008, vol.1, p. 771. The collage of the photographs of 1700 infants under the age of two, photographed and composed by Esaki Reiji by 1893, combined the meticulous selection of these children portraits. 小沢健志『幕末・明治の写真』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1997年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu, Meiji no Shashin*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1997), p. 289.

production costs, wider range of subjects to be framed, and at a certain level, fluid connotations of vogue for visual consumption, brought photographs within reach of a wider

Table 1. Kusakabe Kinbei 日下部金兵衛, *Japan Directory*, 1883

Colored, 8 by 10 inches	per dozen	\$ 3.50
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Table 2. Kusakabe Kinbei 日下部金兵衛, *Japan Directory*, 1892

A Choice of 2,000 Views and Costumes, 8 inches by 10 inches	per dozen	\$ 2.00
Colored Photographs 17 inches by 22 inches	each	\$ 2.00
Beautifully Colored Magic Latern Slide	per dozen	\$ 6.00

population. It can be deduced from the social status of the figures who adopted the variation in the visual-representations of themselves, that the nascent demand of the market consisted of a group of people who could afford to be photographed; such as the *samurai* and *Kabuki*-performers. The two advertisements for “Photographer and Painter” Kusakabe Kinbei, published in *Japan Directory* indicates a reduction of almost 50 percent in the price⁷⁸ of a dozen of 8 inches by 10 inches (205 x 260 mm) colored photographs from 1883 to 1892. Although Saitō Hisashi elucidates that during the 1880s and 1890s common people did not have a chance to get their photograph taken so many times in their lives,⁷⁹ it

⁷⁸ For a general view of the average dollar-yen parity in the second half of 1890s, in 1896, 100 yen was equal to 52 dollar 75 cents. 内閣統計局編『日本帝国統計年鑑』、東京：東京統計協会、大正2-15 (Naikaku Tōkeikyokuhen, *Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Nenkan*, Tokyo: Tokyo Tōkei Kyōkai, 1913-1925).

⁷⁹ “庶民には一生に何度も写真を写す機会はなかった” 斎藤久「昔の写真料金」、『写真館のあゆみ：

is irrefutable that the demand for photography market diversified in nature and the increasing circulation of photographs pervaded the visual perceptions of the time. Accordingly, the need to insure the adequate supply eventuated in a change in the scale of photography studios. They were functioning no less than factories in the words of Annabelle Simon. In 1891, the Italian photographer based in Yokohama Adolfo Farsari (1841-1898) employed 19 colorists, while, five years later the studio of Tamamura Kōzaburō employed 105 assistants and colorists to fulfill a special order.⁸⁰ When the 1890s arrived, photographs produced in Japan were already targeted at foreign market as well as local. During the Meiji Period seeking ways to attract the attention of not only Japanese but also foreign residents and visitors, photographers chose to frame this or that subject, to develop photographs in a certain quality, and to present albums in embellished packages.

日本営業写真史』、桜井始編、日本写真文化協会、1989 (Saitō Hisashi, "Mukashi no shashin ryōkin," in *Shashinkan no Ayumi: Nihon Eigyō Shashinshi*, ed., Sakurai Hajime, Nihon Shashin Bunka Kyōkai, 1989), p. 114; in 横浜開港資料館編『明治の日本：横浜写真の世界：彩色アルバム』、横浜：有隣堂、1990 年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *Japan of Meiji Period: the World of Yokohama Photography*, Yokohama: Yūrindō, 1990), p. 229.

⁸⁰ Annabelle Simon, "Les Photographies Japonaises du XIXe Siècle: Techniques, Conservation, Restauration", Paper presented at the Association France Japon-Nord / Japan Society Symposium *Les Collections d'Art Japonais en Europe* held in Lille during 4-5 October 1997, <http://www.old-japan.co.uk/>, 1998, pp. 6-7.

Conclusion

In the beginning of 1860s a *nishiki-e* master, Issen (Utagawa) Yoshikazu (一川芳員) recurrently depicted camera as an oculus of “Westerners” into the Japanese world. His *nishiki-e* titled “Foreigners photographing” (1860), and “French photographing” (1861),⁸¹ as well as his illustrations of camera in *Illustrated book of manners of Westerns in Yokohama* (1861)⁸² were documenting the functioning of this instrument in an informative way. Ironically in the following years photography supplanted earlier forms of visual depictions such as *nishiki-e* (*ukiyo-e*) and *kibyoshi* that played critical roles in information circulation. Initially photography in Japan flourished under the patronage of local *daimyō*, and techniques and technologies of photography were probed as part of “Western / Dutch” studies (*Yōgaku* / *Rangaku*). Port cities such as Nagasaki and Yokohama⁸³ were the cradles of photographic tutelage and later of commercial photography. It was 1870s that individually prompted photography studios prevailed especially in Nagasaki and Yokohama. Ueno Hikoma and Shimooka Renjō were the two initiators of these

⁸¹ 一川芳員「外国写真鏡之図」、万延元年 (Issen Yoshikazu, “Foreigners photographing,” 1860); 一川芳員「仏蘭西」、文久元年 (Issen Yoshikazu, “French photographing,” 1861); in 小沢健志『幕末写真の時代』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1996 年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu Shashin no Jidai*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1996), p. 32; *The Advent of Photography in Japan*, Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1997, p. 78.

⁸² 一川芳員『正写横浜異人図画』、文久元年 (Issen Yoshikazu, *Seisha Yokohama Ijin Zuga*, 1861), pp. 15-16.

⁸³ Yokohama was the epitome of these port cities where commercial activities intensified. For an evaluation on the beginning of photographers in Yokohama, see 横浜貿易新報社編『横浜開港側面史』横浜：横浜貿易新報社、明治 42 (Yokohama Bōeki Shinpōsha, ed., *Yokohama Kaikō Sokumenshi*, Yokohama: Yokohama Bōeki Shinpōsha, 1909), pp.102-118.

photography studios. The 1880s, in turn, was marked by the introduction of dry-plate process to Japan, which conduced to widespread consumption of photographs. Photography was gradually established as a profession while photographs as commercial items. It was those years that Ogawa Kazuma, Tamamura Kōzaburō, and Kusakabe Kinbei, whose photographs composed the photography collection of Abdulhamid II together with those of Abdullah *Frères*, came into prominence as photography entrepreneurs in Japan and beyond. Like Felice Beato and James Robertson who began their journeys from the Ottoman capital, Ogawa, Tamamura, and Kusakabe were part of a transnational network of information accumulation, which not only connected the American and European territories to the “Far East,” but also bridged the Ottoman Empire and Japan through an informative and representative exchange of photographs.

CHAPTER 3

TRANSNATIONAL CONNECTIONS IN THE ART OF PHOTOGRAPHY BETWEEN CONSTANTINOPLE AND YOKOHAMA

The historicity of the image derived from its link to the history of the individual. Ultimately, of course, this relationship was reciprocal: each confirmed the testimony of the other.¹

This chapter focuses on the photographers who contributed to the “transnational processes”² with their photographic careers connecting the Ottoman Empire and Japan, *Dai Nippon*³ of the long-nineteenth century. James Robertson (1813-1888) and Felice Beato (1834-1907) were the epitomes of these transnational photographers who were active beyond the vague and fluid boundaries of the empires, the key figures in the transmission of knowledge, experience, technologies and viewpoints through photographs and photographic networks.

The approach to the accumulation of experience and work left behind by people

¹ Jülide Aker, “Sight-Seeing: Photography of the Middle East and Its Audiences,” in *Harvard University Art Museum Gallery Series 30*, Cambridge: Harvard University Art Museums, 2000, pp. 2-13.

² Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc define “transnationalism” as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. It is these transnational processes referred here in a cultural context. Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, eds., *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*, New York: Gordon and Breach, 1993, p. 7.

³ The *Dai Nippon* is the abbreviation of *Dai Nippon Teikoku* (大日本帝国) which can be translated as the Empire of Japan or the Great Imperial Nation of Japan.

who lived their lives across borders, was prone to have a romanticized nature. Rather than such an attitude in a paroxysm of nostalgia, these figures deserve to be treated as case studies with respect to cultural interactions of their journeys as in the notion of “transmigrant” which is defined by Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton as immigrants who develop and maintain multiple relations – familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political – that span geographic, cultural, and political borders.⁴

Felice Beato, a Venetian photographer already famous for his war reporting, opened a studio in Yokohama, and within 20 years has assembled an exceptional archive of material on Japan, a society in full flux: landscapes and monuments, dignitaries, street scenes and scenes of everyday life.

Pierre Loti, an unregenerate traveler and a celebrated novelist, arrived in Japan, and after initial reservations, soon fell under its spell. Casting a nostalgic gaze on a world that was changing under his very eyes, he painted a fascinating portrait of Japan, its landscapes and ceremonies, in *Madame Chrysanthèm* (1887) and *Japoneries d'automne* (1889).⁵

In her book *Once Upon a Time, The Japan of Pierre Loti*, Chantal Edel reconfigures the nostalgic image of Japan through the visual and textual narrations of Levantine photographer Felice Beato and French writer Pierre Loti (1850-1923). This is a collage of

⁴ Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, eds., *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*, New York: Gordon and Breach, 1993, p. 7.

⁵ Chantal Edel, ed., *Mukashi-mukashi: Le Japon de Pierre Loti, photographies par Beato et Stillfried*, Paris: Les éditions Arthaud, 1984.

Beato's photographs and of fragments of Loti's novels, which were arranged as the captions to those photographs. This collage of Edel is deficient in sketching out the whole perspective of the lives of these figures, due to its romanticized approach and its emphasis solely on the Japanese phase of the journeys of Beato and Loti. The former began his photographic career in Constantinople as an assistant of photographer-engraver James Robertson (1813-1888) who also ended up in Japan, and the latter produced his novels *Aziyade* (1876), and *Le Roman d'un Spahi* (1881) as an inhabitant of this Ottoman megalopolis. To trace Pierre Loti's pursuit of his imaginary "Orient"⁶ in the Ottoman lands and in Japan which was personified in the characters of tragic romances set in exotic locations of his novels⁷ necessitates a comprehensive research and deserves to be treated in an another article. Yet it is essential to depict the complete interwoven journey of photographers James Robertson and Felice Beato, to illustrate the cultural, social, economic networks of these transmigrants itinerated from Constantinople to Yokohama in order to present the cultural transnational context of the photography collection of Abdulhamid II composed of Ottoman and Japanese frames of Japan.

⁶ Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," *Art in America*, May 1983, pp. 119-131, 186-191.

⁷ Michael G. Lerner, "Pierre Loti's Mon Frère Yves and Zola's Naturalism," *Romance Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 4, 1994, pp. 204-208.

James Robertson (1813 - 1888)

According to the records kept at the British Consulate in Constantinople,⁸ James Robertson, who was of Scottish origin, was born in Middlesex, near London, in 1813. Trained as an engraver and a medalist, Robertson worked at the Royal Mint in London in the 1830s under William Wyon (1795-1851)⁹ who was the chief engraver there from 1828 on. He was the same Robertson who exhibited four medals at the Royal Academy in London between 1833 and 1840.¹⁰ Ensuing the enthronement of Sultan Abdülmecid, the bureaucratic layers of the Empire embarked on a renovation process for the Ottoman fiscal and monetary institutions including the Imperial Mint.¹¹ As part of this “modernization” project, the task of setting up a new mint was entrusted to the British by an imperial decree of June 1841.¹² The Imperial Mint in Constantinople was equipped with the latest machinery brought from London and a team of experts was hired from England and France. As one of the British technicians of this team, Robertson came to Istanbul in 1841. Production of the new Ottoman coins and medals whose designs were engraved by Robertson commenced in

⁸ Letters from D. Brancalone, British Vice-Consul, British Consulate General, Istanbul, 27 April and 9 May 1973; in Bridget A. Henisch, and Heinz K. Henisch, “James Robertson of Constantinople, a Chronology,” *History of Photography*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1990, pp. 23-32.

⁹ Albert Smith, *A Month at Constantinople*, London: David Bogue, 1850, pp. 91-92.

¹⁰ Algernon Groves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work, from Its Foundation in 1769 to 1904*, London: Henry Graves and Co. Ltd. and George Bells and Sons, 1906; in Bridget A. Henisch, and Heinz K. Henisch, “James Robertson of Constantinople, a Chronology,” *History of Photography*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1990, p. 23.

¹¹ For the long-term changes in the Ottoman fiscal, monetary and financial institutions, see Şevket Pamuk, “The evolution of financial institutions in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1914,” *Financial History Review*, Vol. 11, 2004, pp. 7-32.

¹² Cüneyt Ölçer, *Sultan Abdülmecid Devri Osmanlı Madeni Paraları*, Istanbul, 1978, p. 7.

1844.¹³ The office of imperial engraver engendered the opportunity for James Robertson to discover the city of Constantinople through several excursions.

In addition to his professional connections with his colleagues like Frederick Taylor and with the Ottoman officials who were in office at the Imperial Mint,¹⁴ Robertson got acquainted with various distinguished figures from Britain, who traveled to Constantinople in the 1850s. Charles MacFarlane (1799-1858), who was an historian and a traveler, was one of the acquaintances of Robertson. In his book accounting his travels to Istanbul in 1847 and 1848, MacFarlane mentioned the medal commemorative of the restoration of "Santa Sophia," whose "design had been put into the hands of our friend Mr. James Robertson, engraver to the Mint."¹⁵ A journalist and an entertainer known for his immensely popular shows based on his travels and staged at the London theatre, Albert Smith (1816-1860) was another figure whom Robertson came into contact during his years in Istanbul. Smith referred to James Robertson while narrating the establishment of a new mint: "Mr. Taylor received orders to get in order and set up a beautiful English engine, which Redched Pacha had formerly imported; and the office of chief engraver was given to Mr. Robertson."¹⁶ These figures constituted one dimension of his direct contact with a

¹³ Ibid., p. 17. For the medals engraved by James Robertson, see Edhem Eldem, ed., *Pride and privilege: a history of Ottoman orders, medals and decorations*, Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2004.

¹⁴ In the words of Charles MacFarlane, an "Armenian Dooz-Oglous who control the imperial Mint" was among these officials. Charles MacFarlane, *Turkey and Its Destiny: the result of journeys made in 1847 and 1848 to examine into the state of that country*, Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1850, Vol. 2, p. 179.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 179-180.

¹⁶ Albert Smith, *A Month at Constantinople*, London: David Bogue, 1850, pp. 91-92.

network of associates in Europe, mainly in England. Another dimension was the journals and publishers for which Robertson produced many engravings in the early and later years of his stay in Istanbul. "A *Bashi-Bozouk* from a drawing by J. Robertson of Constantinople" was published in the supplement of the 3 June 1854 issue of the *Illustrated London News*, and "Turkish Dervishes, from an original drawing by James Robertson of Constantinople" appeared in the 29 July 1854 issue.¹⁷ By means of his connections with the publishing circles and the eminent figures of the English society, Robertson ensured the circulation of his photographic work and its engraved reproductions far beyond Europe.

Although it is obscure when exactly James Robertson engaged in a photographic career, it is possible to trace the chronology of his photographic work. In 1853 Robertson compiled an album entitled *Photographic Views of Constantinople*,¹⁸ which was composed of the twenty of his photographs, depicting the architectural structure of Constantinople with its streets and buildings. This was a folio album prepared for the London market and it seems that it was a success in attracting attention of quite an audience including the Royal family. On the entry dated July 4th, 1853 of his *Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters*, George William Frederick Howard, the Earl of Carlisle (1802-1864) notes: "Later in the

¹⁷ The *Illustrated London News*, Supplement, 3 June 1854, p. 517; The *Illustrated London News*, 29 July 1854; in Bridget A. Henisch, and Heinz K. Henisch, "James Robertson of Constantinople, a Chronology," *History of Photography*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1990, pp. 24-25.

¹⁸ James Robertson, *Photographic Views of Constantinople*, London: Joseph Cundall, 1853. For an evaluation on Robertson's photographs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Athens, see Banu Kaygusuz, "The photographic career of James Robertson from 1852 to 1867: an essay on the photographs of Istanbul, Athens, and Jerusalem," Boğaziçi University, History Department, Fall 2004, HIST 453 Seminar in the history of art and architecture: visual encounters between the east and the west, Ahmet Ersoy.

day, I required some good photographs of the buildings here by Mr. Robertson, who holds an office in the imperial mint."¹⁹ Furthermore, at some time between November 1853 and March 1854, Prince Albert (1819-1861), the husband of Queen Victoria, bought views of Constantinople by Robertson from the Photographic Institution, at 168 Bond Street, a London business with several owners,²⁰ amongst whom were Joseph Cundall (1818-1895),²¹ a writer, a photographer and a London publisher, and Philip Henry Delamotte (1820-1889),²² who was a calotype photographer and one of the first to use photography for documentary purposes. David Bogue, who also published Alberts Smiths's *A Month at Constantinople*, Joseph Cundall and Philip Henry Delamotte were the publishers to whom Robertson owed much of the popularity of his photographs. David Bogue published the engraving collections reproduced from Robertson's *Photographic Views of Constantinople*,²³ for a wider circulation of images from Constantinople to satisfy the public's interests in the city whetted ensuing the beginning of the Crimean War. It was

¹⁹ George William Frederick Howard Carlisle, Earl of Carlisle, *Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters*, Boston: Hickling, Swan, and Brown, 1855, p. 44.

²⁰ Frances Dimond and Roger Taylor, *Crown and Camera: The Royal Family and Photography 1842-1910*, London: Penguin, 1987, p. 14; in Bridget A. Henisch, and Heinz K. Henisch, "James Robertson of Constantinople, a Chronology," *History of Photography*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1990, p. 24.

²¹ John Hannavy, "Cundall, Joseph (1818-1895): English painter, photographer, and publisher," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-century Photography*, ed., John Hannavy, New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2008, vol.1, p. 354.

²² John Hannavy, "Delamotte, Philip Henry (1820-1889): British photographer, author, and teacher," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-century Photography*, ed., John Hannavy, New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2008, vol.1, pp. 404-406.

²³ Théophile Gautier, *The Constantinople of Today*, London: David Bogue, 1854. Inside the book appears the note: "The engravings that illustrate this volume have been copied from Photographic Pictures by Robertson, kindly lent for this purpose by the Proprietor of the Photographic Institution, 168, New Bond Street." In Bridget A. Henisch, and Heinz K. Henisch, "James Robertson of Constantinople, a Chronology," *History of Photography*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1990, p. 25.

Philip Henry Delamotte who organized the photographic section of the 1857 Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, in which Robertson was represented.²⁴ Yet Joseph Cundall was the publisher who produced Robertson's following photographic work. In 1854 a selection from Robertson's photographs of the historical monuments in Athens was compiled in an album under the title *Grecian Antiquities* published in Constantinople and another version of this album appeared in London published by Joseph Cundall.²⁵ According to Bahattin Öztuncay, Robertson opened a studio in *Péra*, the convivial quarter of the European-side of Constantinople, at some time between 1854 and 1856,²⁶ and it was probably the same studio that was operated by James Robertson until September 1867,²⁷ at No. 293 of *Grande Rue de Péra* at the corner of *Rue de la Poste*. This photography studio provided the occasions for James Robertson to meet his customers from Constantinople at first hand.

The year 1855 was a turning point in Robertson's photographic career, since it was when Robertson's photographs attracted the attention of the international market and Robertson got the opportunity to acquaint himself with his potential audience. In January

²⁴ Helmut Gernsheim and Alison Gernsheim, *The History of Photography from the Earliest Use of the Camera Obscura in the Eleventh Century up to 1914*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969, p. 266; in Bridget A. Henisch, and Heinz K. Henisch, "James Robertson of Constantinople," *History of Photography*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1984, p. 306.

²⁵ James Robertson, *Grecian Antiquities*, Péra of Constantinople: The Photographic Establishment, 1854; in Bridget A. Henisch, and Heinz K. Henisch, "James Robertson of Constantinople, a Chronology," *History of Photography*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1990, p. 23. James Robertson, *Photographic Views of the Antiquities of Athens, Corinth, Aegina, etc.*, London: Joseph Cundall, 1854; in Bridget A. Henisch, and Heinz K. Henisch, "James Robertson of Constantinople," *History of Photography*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1984, p. 304.

²⁶ Bahattin Öztuncay, *James Robertson: Pioneer of Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, Beyoğlu: Eren, 1992, p. 24.

²⁷ *The Levant Herald*, 5 September 1867, in Bahattin Öztuncay, *James Robertson: Pioneer of Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, Beyoğlu: Eren, 1992, p. 24.

1855, the twenty wet-collodion prints of Constantinople photographed by James Robertson were displayed in an exhibition of the Photographic Society at 5 Pall Mall East in London.²⁸

*Nous regrettons que M. Robertson n'ait pas ajouté à cette nombreuse collection quelques spécimens de ses types et costumes. Il y a trop d'intérêt dans ces études, si vraies et si instructives, pour que nous ne reprochions pas à l'auteur d'en avoir privé le public et surtout les artistes.*²⁹

A selection of photographs by Robertson made in Constantinople and Athens were exhibited at the 1855 *Exposition Universelle de Paris*,³⁰ and it seems that the audience who were familiar with Robertson's work of art, preferred to see the pictorial depictions of the habitants of these cities rather than the photographs of the buildings and historical monuments. Between September 1855 and June 1856, Robertson photographed nearly one hundred and fifty scenes in Crimea,³¹ which constitute the early examples of war-photography or photojournalism. The fifty-eight of these Crimean War scenes were displayed in a photography exhibition opened in London in 1856 and advertised in the

²⁸ The *Illustrated London News*, 27 January 1855, p. 95; in Bridget A. Henisch, and Heinz K. Henisch, "James Robertson of Constantinople, a Chronology," *History of Photography*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1990, p. 25.

²⁹ Ernest Lacan, *Esquisses Photographiques à propos de l'Exposition Universelle et de la Guerre d'Orient*, Paris, 1856, p. 105; in Bridget A. Henisch, and Heinz K. Henisch, "James Robertson of Constantinople," *History of Photography*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1984, p. 307.

³⁰ Bridget A. Henisch, and Heinz K. Henisch, "James Robertson of Constantinople, a Chronology," *History of Photography*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1990, p. 25.

³¹ For further information on James Robertson's photographic expedition of the Crimean War, see Bridget A. Henisch, and Heinz K. Henisch, "James Robertson and his Crimean War Campaign," *History of Photography*, Vol. 26, No. 4, 2002, pp. 1-11.

Illustrated London News of December 22nd, 1856 as “views taken after the *Fall* of Sebastopol by Robertson of Constantinople.”³² Most of Robertson’s Crimean views, together with those by Roger Fenton (1819-1869), who was a pioneering British photographer and one of the first war photographers photographed the Crimean War, were exhibited at various locations in London for many months throughout 1856, and some of Robertson’s war photographs were chosen for the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition in 1857.³³

James Robertson was the photographer who taught the photography techniques to the Beato Brothers, one of which was Antonio, who set up in a photography business in Cairo in 1860 following his arrival to Egypt in January 1860,³⁴ and the other was Felice Beato, who sailed to Japan just like Robertson and achieved great fame and success there. According to Colin Osman, the first use of the signature “Robertson and Beato,” or the more interesting variants “Robertson, Beato and Co.,” or “Robertson Beato et Cie,” was subsequent to the photographic expedition of Malta in 1856.³⁵

³² The *Illustrated London News*, 27 December 1856; in Bridget A. Henisch, and Heinz K. Henisch, “James Robertson of Constantinople, a Chronology,” *History of Photography*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1990, p. 28.

³³ Frances Dimond and Roger Taylor, *Crown and Camera: The Royal Family and Photography 1842-1910*, London: Penguin, 1987, p. 14; in Bridget A. Henisch, and Heinz K. Henisch, “James Robertson of Constantinople, a Chronology,” *History of Photography*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1990, p. 28.

³⁴ For further information on Antonio Beato, see Colin Osman, “Antonio Beato: Photographer of the Nile,” *History of Photography*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1990, pp. 101-111; Colin Osman, “The Beato Brothers, with reference to some of their lesser known images,” *Photoresearcher*, No. 7, 2004, pp. 11-13; 古川薫「コロジオン伯爵の行状」、『ザビエルの謎』、東京：文藝春秋、1997年 (Furukawa Kaoru, “Korojion Hakushaku no Gyojo” *Zabueru no Nazo*, Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1997), pp. 151-178.

³⁵ Colin Osman, “The Later Years of James Robertson,” *History of Photography*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1991, pp. 72-73.

Mr Robertson has left the Island for England on a visit of a few months; an assistant remains in charge who will be happy to exhibit the pictures of Crimea, Greece, and Constantinople to visitors.³⁶

It is very likely that this assistant was one of the Beato Brothers, and depending on Osman's reasoning, it was Antonio Beato who had been in Malta, while Felice Beato had assisted Robertson during the Crimean photography expedition. Although there were no Crimean photographs have been attributed to any Beato, in the 21 July 1860 issue of the *Illustrated London News* there was a reference to "Signor Beato, who has taken so many scenes in the Crimea."³⁷ Moreover, General Wolseley (1833-1913), who had served in the Crimean War, mentioned in the entry dated April 30th, 1885 of his diary: "Beato, the photographer whom I remember in the Crimea."³⁸ Yet in the 18 June 1856 issue of the *Times*, the following new item was printed:

Mr. Robertson, the Superintendent of the Imperial Mint at Constantinople, has send up an intelligent photographer to the Crimea, and he is now engaged in fixing, as far as possible, every remarkable spot on paper.³⁹

1857 was the year when Robertson and Beato made a joint expedition to the Holy Land.

Many dated prints of major buildings in Jerusalem, and some undated ones of Egypt and

³⁶ The *Times of Malta*, 30 September 1856; in Colin Osman, "The Later Years of James Robertson," *History of Photography*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1991, p. 73.

³⁷ The *Illustrated London News*, 21 July 1860; in Colin Osman, "The Later Years of Felice Beato," *The Photographic Journal*, November 1988, p. 513.

³⁸ Colin Osman, "The Later Years of Felice Beato," *The Photographic Journal*, November 1988, p. 513.

³⁹ The *Times*, 18 June 1856; in Bridget A. Henisch, and Heinz K. Henisch, "James Robertson of Constantinople, a Chronology," *History of Photography*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1990, p. 28.

Damascus,⁴⁰ were put on the Istanbul and London markets either individually or as compiled into albums. Bahattin Öztuncay states that the series published in Istanbul bears on each card printed descriptions and biblical references in French.⁴¹ For the albums marketed in London, a catalogue entitled *Description of a Series of Views of Jerusalem and its Environs, executed by Robertson and Beato of Constantinople*⁴² was published listing thirty-two photographs. Beato Brothers accompanied James Robertson during various photographic expeditions from Athens to Jerusalem as assistants and later business partners. It seems that this relationship of tutelage between master and apprentice gained another dimension when Robertson had married Maria Matilda, sister to Felice and Antonio Beato, on April 19th, 1855.⁴³

The photographic career of James Robertson during 1850s through 1870s, coincided with his official position in the Imperial Mint at Constantinople as chief engraver. The last medal engraved by Robertson was dated 1876.⁴⁴ Robertson retired from the Imperial Mint in 1881 and a farewell banquet was given for him in Constantinople on

⁴⁰ For these photographs of the "Holy Land," see Bahattin Öztuncay, *James Robertson: pioneer of photography in the Ottoman Empire*, Beyoğlu: Eren, 1992.

⁴¹ The albums produced for the Istanbul market, were published by Köhler and Weiss. Bahattin Öztuncay, *James Robertson: Pioneer of Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, Beyoğlu: Eren, 1992, p. 26.

⁴² This undated catalogue, *Description of a Series of Views of Jerusalem and its Environs, executed by Robertson and Beato of Constantinople* was published by E. Gambart and Co., 25 Berners Street, London, and 8 rue de Bruxelles, Paris. Bridget A. Henisch, and Heinz K. Henisch, "James Robertson of Constantinople, a Chronology," *History of Photography*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1990, p. 30.

⁴³ Church records, Book I: Births, p. 10; in Bahattin Öztuncay, *James Robertson: Pioneer of Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, Beyoğlu: Eren, 1992, p. 25.

⁴⁴ Engin Çizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, Istanbul: İletişim, 1987, p. 95.

October 29th, 1881, which was reported in the *Levant Herald* of November 2nd, 1881.⁴⁵ Shortly after his retirement Robertson was due to sail for Japan on November 9th, 1881, and arrived in Yokohama with his wife Maria Matilda and all three of his daughters on the French steamer *Volga*, from Hong Kong on February 2nd, 1882.⁴⁶ Felice Beato, who came to Japan around 1863, had already established himself as a prolific photographer in Yokohama, when his mentor and his sister Maria Matilda Robertson got in Japan. Robertson died in Japan, probably in Yokohama, on April 18th, 1888 according to a paid notice in the local newspaper, the *Japan Daily Herald* the following day.⁴⁷

Felice Beato (1834 - circa 1907)

Felice Beato, who was born in Corfu,⁴⁸ a British protectorate of the time, was a “Levantine,”⁴⁹ who resided in Constantinople during his adolescent years. A Beato family,

⁴⁵ The *Levant Herald*, 2 November 1881; in Colin Osman, “The Later Years of James Robertson,” *History of Photography*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1991, pp. 72-73.

⁴⁶ The *Japan Mail*, 11 January 1882; in Colin Osman, “The Later Years of James Robertson,” *History of Photography*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1991, pp. 72-73.

⁴⁷ The *Japan Daily Herald*, 19 April 1888; in Colin Osman, “The Later Years of James Robertson,” *History of Photography*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1991, pp. 72-73.

⁴⁸ Colin Osman, “The Beato Brothers, with reference to some of their lesser known images,” *Photoresearcher*, No. 7, 2004, pp. 11-13.

⁴⁹ İlber Ortaylı explains that Levantine was perceived as the Italian, Catalan and French residents in the Ottoman Empire, who came from the Mediterranean, and that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the word encompassed the people from Europe, who settled in the Ottoman lands. İlber Ortaylı, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 2006, p. 23. According to Edhem Eldem, the “Levantine” was the “other” of the Ottoman Empire. Edhem Eldem, ““Levanten” Kelimesi Üzerine,” in *Avrupalı mı Levanten mi?*, eds., Arus Yumul and Fahri Dikkaya, Istanbul: Bağlam, 2006, pp. 11-22. For the Levantine network and neighborhoods in Istanbul from a contemporary perspective, see Bertrand Bareilles, *Constantinople: Ses Cités Franques et Levantines*, Paris: Edition Bossard, 1918.

including a Felice Beato aged 10, was registered with the British Consul in Constantinople in 1844.⁵⁰ According to Okabe Masayuki, Beato was using the name “Felix” by virtue of his British “citizenship.”⁵¹ Yet during an autobiographical talk that Felice Beato gave to the London and Provincial Photographic Society on February 18th, 1886, he was introduced as “a Venetian by birth, but now a naturalized Englishman.”⁵²

Felice Beato and his younger brother Antonio learned the techniques of photography from their master and later brother-in-law James Robertson, accompanying him on many excursions in Constantinople, Athens and Jerusalem. Felice Beato first achieved reputation during the photographic expedition of the Crimean War in 1855, as the assistant of Robertson who substituted for another British photographer Roger Fenton after his health problem.⁵³ The next outstanding assignment of Felice Beato was to photograph the aftermath of the Indian Mutiny, or the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857.⁵⁴ Beato was

⁵⁰ Colin Osman, “The Beato Brothers, with reference to some of their lesser known images,” *Photoresearcher*, No. 7, 2004, pp. 11-13.

⁵¹ 岡部昌幸「幕末来日写真家ビヤトの研究」、『明治美術研究学会第 17 回研究報告』、14 号、1986 年 8 月 (Okabe Masayuki, “Bakumatsu Rainichi Shahinka Biyato no Kenkyū,” *Meiji Bijutsu Kenkyū Gakkai Dai 17 Kai Kenkyū Hōkoku*, No. 14, August 1986); in 横浜開港資料館編『F. ベアト幕末日本写真集』、横浜：便利堂、1987 年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*, Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), p. 176.

⁵² The *British Journal of Photography*, 26 February 1886; in Colin Osman, “Antonio Beato: Photographer of the Nile,” *History of Photography*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1990, Endnote 1, p. 110.

⁵³ Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: a cultural history*, London: Laurence King, 2006, pp. 101-103. For further information on the life and photographs of Roger Fenton, see Roger Fenton, *Roger Fenton: Photographer of the Crimean War: his photographs and his letters from the Crimea*, With an essay on his life and work by Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, London: Secker & Warburg, 1954.

⁵⁴ 岡部昌幸「幕末来日写真家ビヤトの研究」、『明治美術研究学会第 17 回研究報告』、14 号、1986 年 8 月 (Okabe Masayuki, “Bakumatsu Rainichi Shahinka Biyato no Kenkyū,” *Meiji Bijutsu Kenkyū Gakkai Dai 17 Kai Kenkyū Hōkoku*, No. 14, August 1986); in 横浜開港資料館編『F. ベアト幕末日本写真集』、横浜：便利堂、1987 年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*, Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), p. 176.

commissioned by the British Navy to document this rebellion as a reporting photographer. These early examples of documentary photography, rather than photo-journalism, since Beato was appointed to such positions by the British Forces not by the individual publishers in London as in the case of the Crimean War, was followed by another commission to photograph the Anglo-French military expedition to Beijing, China, during the second Opium War in 1860.⁵⁵ In an advertisement of Felice Beato in *The Japan Weekly Mail* dated February 12th, 1870, it was mentioned that Beato came to Japan six years earlier, which indicates some time between 1863 and February 1864.⁵⁶ The date 1864 was the year that Beato, as attached to the British Navy, recorded the military expedition by the British navy forces joined by the French, Dutch, and Americans to Shimonoseki, at the southwestern tip of Honshū island, in response to the firing on the allied ships in the Shimonoseki Strait by anti-foreign inhabitants of Chōshū domain.⁵⁷ Engaged in such commissions, Felice Beato had already attained a professional success, which provided the personal connections and the opportunity to set up a photography business where he arrived in Japan. Antonio Beato, younger brother of Felice Beato, was photographing Japanese

⁵⁵ 斉藤多喜夫『幕末明治横浜館物語』、東京：吉川弘文館、2004年 (Saitō Takio, *Bakumatsu Meiji Yokohamakan Monogatari*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2004), pp. 62-63.

⁵⁶ *The Japan Weekly Mail*, 12 February 1870; in 横浜開港資料館編『F. ベアト幕末日本写真集』、横浜：便利堂、1987年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*, Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), p. 177.

⁵⁷ Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, p. 94. For the origins and the background of the conflict at the bombardment of Shimonoseki in 1864, see Mitani Hiroshi, "The Transformation of International Relations in East Asia: From Ambiguity to Singularity in Diplomatic Discourse," *Tokyo University Pacific and American Studies*, Vol. 4, March 2004, pp. 35-43; William G. Beasley, "the Basis of Japanese Foreign Policy in the Nineteenth Century," in *Collected Writings of W. G. Beasley*, Richmond; Surrey: Japan Library, Tokyo: Edition Synapse, 2001, pp. 23-40.

envoys to Europe (遣欧使節) in 1863 in front of the pyramids in Egypt,⁵⁸ by the time Felice Beato arrived in Japan. Charles Wirgman (1832-1891), an English illustrator in China and Meiji Japan for the *Illustrated London News*, whom Beato met during the photographic expedition in China,⁵⁹ referred to a “Signor B.” as his companion and partner in the July 13th, 1863 edition of the *Illustrated London News*,⁶⁰ and reported in the September 12th, 1863 edition of the *Illustrated London News*,⁶¹ that Beato is staying at his house in Yokohama and receiving many visitors who came to look at his photographs. Next year Wirgman accompanied Beato during the bombardment of Shimonoseki. In the “Yokohama Section” of the *Directory of Commerce* dated 1865 published in Shanghai, there was an entry for “Beato and Wirgman, Artists and Photographers.”⁶² This partnership continued to flourish during the following years. Although Felice Beato was an astute merchant active in various ventures besides his photography business in Yokohama, the photographic commissions he received beyond Japan was the source of his commercial reputation. In 1871 Beato documented the American expedition to Korea as an official

⁵⁸ 古川薫「コロジオン伯爵の行状」、『ザビエルの謎』、東京：文藝春秋、1997年 (Furukawa Kaoru, “Korojion Hakushaku no Gyōjō” *Zabueru no Nazo*, Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1997), pp. 151-178; 小沢健志『幕末写真の時代』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1996年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu Shashin no Jidai*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1996), pp. 70-71.

⁵⁹ John Clark, John Fraser, and Colin Osman, “A Revised Chronology of Felice (Felix) Beato (1825/34?-1908?),” Appendix E, in *Japanese Exchange in Art 1850s-1930s*, John Clark, London, 1989, p. 323.

⁶⁰ The *Illustrated London News*, 13 July 1863; in 齊藤多喜夫『幕末明治横浜館物語』、東京：吉川弘文館、2004年 (Saitō Takio, *Bakumatsu Meiji Yokohamakan Monogatari*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2004), p. 65.

⁶¹ The *Illustrated London News*, 12 September 1863; in Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, p. 94.

⁶² 横浜開港資料館編『F. ベアト幕末日本写真集』、横浜：便利堂、1987年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*, Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), p. 177.

photographer of the American Navy.⁶³ It was in 1877 that Baron Raimund von Stillfried (1839-1911), who established a photography studio in Yokohama around 1871, acquired the stock and studio of Felice Beato.⁶⁴ After leaving Japan in 1884, Beato opened a furniture and curio business in Burma, in India.⁶⁵

As a transmigrant traveler over long distances, Felice Beato developed multiple connections beyond borders and prompted various cultural interactions throughout his itineraries. First of all, he was part of the Levantine community in Constantinople, depending on the origins of Beato family, presumably close to the Venetians⁶⁶ who were allowed to conduct overseas trade and had already established overseas commercial connections. Being a British citizen from birth, and furthermore the apprentice and the associate of James Robertson, a Britisher himself, Beato possibly had certain connections with the British residents in Constantinople, for example, with the administrative cadre of the Levant Company⁶⁷ which was active in the Ottoman geography from 1580s onwards.

⁶³ The *North China Daily News*, 28 June 1871; in Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, pp. 95-96 For Beato's photographs of the Korean expedition, see Terry Bennett and Martin Uden, *Korea: Caught in Time*, London: Garnet Publishing, 1998.

⁶⁴ Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, pp. 95, 134; Kinoshita Naoyuki, "The Early Years of Japanese Photography," pp. 16-35, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 29.

⁶⁵ Colin Osman, "New Light on the Beato Brothers," *British Journal of Photography*, No. 34, 16 October 1987, pp. 1217-1221; Colin Osman, "The Later Years of Felice Beato," *The Photographic Journal*, No. 128, November 1988, pp. 511-514; 齊藤多喜夫『幕末明治横浜館物語』、東京：吉川弘文館、2004年 (Saitō Takio, *Bakumatsu Meiji Yokohamakan Monogatari*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2004), pp. 93-94.

⁶⁶ For the functioning of and the administrative figures in the Levant Company, see Allan Cunningham, *Anglo-Ottoman Encounters in the Age of Revolution: Collected Essays: Allan Cunningham*, ed., Edward Ingram, Vol. 1, London: F. Cass, 1993, pp. 51-102.

⁶⁷ For the commercial network of the Venetian community in Constantinople, see Eric R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean*,

Yet through his professional attachment to Robertson, Beato probably got acquainted with the London publishers in various occasions. It is relatively easy to trace the commercial network and the companions of Felice Beato in the later years of his career. Beato had accompanied the British armed forces on several campaigns prior to arriving in Japan. These professional appointments, apart from being the source of his photographic experience and reputation, served as the occasions that he made friends among officers and even extended his connections to members of the diplomatic corps.

Beato's sustained association with such figures was the epitome of the transnational interactions on cultural grounds. Captain Sydney Henry Jones-Parry, a British naval officer, was one of these figures. In his book *My Journey Round the World*, Captain Jones-Parry gave significant details with regard to his associate:

I must not forget to mention that I met my old friend Signor Beato here. I had first made his acquaintance whilst engaged in photography under the walls of Sebastopol; I next accosted him amidst the blood and carnage at Lucknow; and now finally we met in the streets of Yokohama. Could anyone have chosen three more distant places, or more varied circumstances, to meet under? I have seen some splendid specimens of his art taken at all these places. I mention Beato here because he may be said to be the father of photography in Japan, and many of the best negatives there now are his productions. He was a true artist and not only manipulated well, but chose his subjects carefully and treated them artistically. He established his studio at Yokohama, but finding he had larger fish to fry, he sold his business; and I am sure scores

Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.

of my old comrades will be glad to hear he is doing well. I think ... Beato is as well known to the British army as any private individual.⁶⁸

Obviously, Captain Jones-Parry had met Beato for the first time during the Crimean war, later in India where Beato was present to photograph the Indian Mutiny, and then in Japan. While praising his photographic work, the account of Henry Jones-Parry reveals that he was not the only person from the British navy, knew Felice Beato personally. Interestingly enough, "Woods Pasha" of the Ottoman Empire, who was the *Aide-de-Champ* to Sultan Abdulhamid II, was also a friend of Beato's. Henry Felix Woods (1843-1929), a British naval officer who spent several years in service in Constantinople, arrived in Yokohama in July 1865 as commanding officer of the gunboat *Kestrel*. In his autobiography *Spun yarn: Strands from a Sailor's Life Afloat and Ashore*, Henry Woods, not only depicted his adventure of photographing Edo with the wet-collodion technique, but also he gave a comprehensive account of his "great friend" Beato's life:

There was at the time, residing in Yokohama, a photographer who had attained a high reputation for the excellence of his work in respect of both portraiture views and landscapes. ... He had taken up photography in the Crimean War, and going off to India in the Mutiny, worked there for some time, and went on to China. He followed our Army, and was at the sack of the Summer Palace, and made a nice little sum by the purchase and subsequent sale of loot with which he returned to Constantinople. ... His name was Beat

⁶⁸ Sydney Henry Jones-Parry, *My Journey Round the World*, London: Hurst and Blacklett, 1881, Vol. 2, pp. 25-26.

[sic.]. No one knew his real origin, and no one troubled themselves about it. He spoke funny English, and it was an amusement to draw him into a long argument. His most usual expression of welcome was: "I am delight!" He used it on every occasion.⁶⁹

Henry Woods, soon an eminent "Pasha" in the entourage of Abdulhamid II, and Captain Henry Jones-Parry, an old comrade from the Crimean years, Felice Beato was in contact with such figures with whom he shared an economic, social, and political experience that span geographic borders.

While his extensive range of connections stimulated cultural interactions in Constantinople, throughout Asia and in Japan, his ideological visual baggage formed the photographic styles embroidered his photographs which served the formation of a photographic genre at the coasts of Yokohama. When Beato arrived in Yokohama, it was one of the newly established ports opened to foreign ships in 1859 by the shogunate due to the foreign pressures especially between 1853 and 1860. In these port cities citizens of foreign countries were allowed to perform commercial activities. Yokohama which had until then been a small fishing village, became a bustling place with the arrival of the foreigners, among which photographers played a significant role in the development of commercial photography in Japan. Not only foreigners but also Japanese populated

⁶⁹ Henry Felix Woods, *Spunyarn: Strands from a Sailor's Life Afloat and Ashore: Forty-seven Years Under the Ensigns of Great Britain and Turkey*, London: Hutchinson and Co., 1924, Vol. 2, pp. 194-197; in Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, pp. 89-90, 306-307. For the complete quotation especially the section on the application and difficulties of the wet-collodion photography technique, see Appendix E.

Yokohama. People from all over Japan flooded in this incipient port city, either on duty or seeking one. Discerning the potential buoyancy in the demand of illustrated journals of the time, Edo publishers dispatched eminent *ukiyo-e* illustrators to Yokohama for capturing scenes of this “exotic” city with its new-comers, which were referred as *Yokohama-e* (横浜絵) (Yokohama pictures).⁷⁰ The *Yokohama-e* became prevalent and functioned as an important means to spread information, just like the traditional woodblock prints, *ukiyo-e*. The *Yokohama-e* prints were created to satisfy Japanese curiosity and thus the artists' aim was not artistic perfection but information. The *Yokohama-e* depicted the types of westerners recently settling down in Japan essentially from the perspective of Japanese artists.

The “foreign” of westerners was Japan, which was remote and unknown, depicted repeatedly by the tourist as “a world of timeless customs and rituals, untouched by the historical processes.”⁷¹ Felice Beato was one of those who viewed this culture through western eyes and western assumptions. While mentioning the establishment of a major tradition of travel photography in the nineteenth century, Graham Clarke argues that in his images the photographer is “cultural interpreter and witness to the world,” but only because his assumptions place him at the centre of the geographies through which he moves.⁷² Photographing his “exotic,” Beato contributed to the formulation of a new genre called

⁷⁰ 稲垣進一『図説浮世絵入門』、東京：河出書房新社、1990年 (Inagaki Shinichi, *Zusetsu Ukiyoe Nyūmon*, Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha), p. 114.

⁷¹ Linda Nochlin, “The Imaginary Orient,” pp. 119-131, 186-191 in *Art in America*, May 1983, p. 122.

⁷² Graham Clarke, *The Photograph*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, pp.48-49.

Yokohama-shashin (横浜写真) (Yokohama photographs),⁷³ which captured scenes of Japanese customs and manners, often staged and stereotypical as well as views of famous sights. With the easing of travel restrictions, more and more Western tourists came to visit Japan from the 1870s onwards.⁷⁴ Concentrating on their target audience: tourists, various curio shops opened in Yokohama, which without exception provided the albums of *Yokohama-e* in addition to porcelain and lacquerware that was already established as a traditional export material.⁷⁵ Photographs and postcards were circulated as popular souvenir objects.⁷⁶ Having a commercial approach, Beato combined scenes from Japan with exotic fantasies to meet the expectations of western buyers thus these photographs, *Yokohama-shashin*, were mainly for foreign tourists whereas the woodblock prints, *Yokohama-e*, were primarily for the Japanese market. As the commercial base of photography expanded, a photograph-production industry developed as the intermediary

⁷³ For further elaboration on *Yokohama-shashin*, see 斉藤多喜夫『幕末明治横浜館物語』、東京：吉川弘文館、2004年 (Saitō Takio, *Bakumatsu Meiji Yokohamakan Monogatari*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2004), pp. 205-213; 横浜開港資料館編『F. ベアト幕末日本写真集』、横浜：便利堂、1987年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*, Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), pp. 4-6; 横浜開港資料館編『明治の日本：横浜写真の世界：彩色アルバム』、横浜：有隣堂、1990年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *Japan of Meiji Period: the World of Yokohama Photography*, Yokohama: Yurindo, 1990), pp. vi-viii.

⁷⁴ For the increasing tourist visits to Japan from a wider perspective, see Allen Hockley, "Foreigners on the Tourist Circuit in Meiji Japan," in *Globetrotters' Japan: Places and People*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Visualizing Cultures, 2008, <http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/home/index.html>; Allen Hockley, "Packaged Tours: Photo Albums and Their Implications for the Study of Early Japanese Photography," in *Reflecting Truth: Photography in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, eds., Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere and Mikiko Hirayama, Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2004, pp. 66-85.

⁷⁵ Monika Bincsik, "European collectors and Japanese merchants of lacquer in 'Old Japan': Collecting Japanese lacquer art in the Meiji period (1868-1912)," *Journal of the History of Collections*, 2008, 20(2), pp. 217-236.

⁷⁶ Margarita Winkel, *Souvenirs from Japan: Japanese Photography at the turn of the century*, London: Bamboo, 1991.

between the photographer and the consumer, and this industry employed craftsmen with well-developed hand-coloring expertise.⁷⁷ Charles Wirgman, as an illustrator, was the first to attempt to apply color to the photographs of Felice Beato.⁷⁸ The *Yokohama-shashin*, the hand-colored photographs of landscapes and illustrations of Japanese customs were put into market as compiled in albums usually with lacquer covers decorated with ivory inlay of Japanese traditional motifs in flower and bird. These albums were comprised of fifty to hundred photographs out of which preferably a variety of introductory scenic photographs in the first pages, was followed by shots that depicted the ways of the Japanese life.

Signor F. Beato,

Begs to announce to the Public of Yokohama and Travellers visiting to the East generally, that he has just completed a handsome collection of Albums of various sizes, containing views &c., of Japan, with descriptions of the Scenes, Manners and Customs of the people; compiled after visiting all the most interesting localities in the country during six years residence.

No. 17 on the Bund⁷⁹

Employing a panoramic style for his landscape photographs, and using an ethnographic approach to his photographs of daily life in Japan, Beato's work spanned a wide range of

⁷⁷ Kinoshita Naoyuki, "The Early Years of Japanese Photography," pp. 16-35, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 28.

⁷⁸ Annabelle Simon, "Les Photographies Japonaises du XIXe Siècle: Techniques, Conservation, Restauration", Paper presented at the Association France Japon-Nord / Japan Society Symposium *Les Collections d'Art Japonais en Europe* held in Lille during 4-5 October 1997, <http://www.old-japan.co.uk/>.

⁷⁹ Felice Beato Advertisement, *Japan Weekly Mail*, 2 February 1870; in 横浜開港資料館編『F. ベアト幕末日本写真集』、横浜：便利堂、1987年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*, Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), p. 9.

subjects including his previous photographs of Levant, China and India, which were on sale also in Japan.

Table 3. The Price List of Beato Photographs⁸⁰

Japan Albums complete	\$ 200
Japan half Albums	\$ 100
Views of Japan	\$ 2
Do. Levant	\$ 2
Do. China	\$ 2
Do. India	\$ 2
Cartes de Visite	\$ 15 per doz.
Do. 2nd Dozen	\$ 10
Large Portrait 7x9	\$ 15
Do. 10x15	\$ 25

Beato published many photographic albums among which *Views of Japan*, and *Photographic Views* were widely circulated in Japan between 1868 and 1869.⁸¹ These albums included the photographs of Yokohama, Edo and environs, Hakone and Mount Fuji,

⁸⁰ This price list was published in an album of Beato which is in possession of the British Embassy of Japan. The first reference to this price list was in Clark Worswick, ed. *Japan: Photographs, 1854-1905*, New York: Knopf, 1979. 横浜開港資料館編『F. ベアト幕末日本写真集』、横浜：便利堂、1987年（Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*, Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), pp. 178-179, 183.

⁸¹ 横浜開港資料館編『F. ベアト幕末日本写真集』、横浜：便利堂、1987年（Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*, Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), pp. 4-11; 齊藤多喜夫『幕末明治横浜館物語』、東京：吉川弘文館、2004年（Saitō Takio, *Bakumatsu Meiji Yokohamakan Monogatari*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2004), pp. 69-105; “Photography in Japan” Exhibition, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 20 September 2001 - 3 February 2002, <http://www.vam.ac.uk/>.

Lake Biwa in central Honshū, the Inland Sea, and Nagasaki.⁸² Among his photographs of “Japanese customs,” there are many that illustrate social class and occupation. He used models to illustrate how the Japanese slept at night or how they drank sake. Beato shaped the style employed in photographs of Japan, especially those intended for sale to foreigners, through his albums of Japanese scenes and customs. As far as a war photographer, Beato was a travel photographer whose transmigrant experience formulated and imaged the artifacts and values of cultures in his photographs, which were circulated beyond borders.

Conclusion

During the nineteenth century on many occasions photographers engaged in various expeditions as land survey photographers or war photographers, so their journey began from one end of the Asian continent through the other. No matter if it is referred as “Middle” or “Far,” the geography was the locus of an intense circulation of knowledge and experience. Individual or institutional, all photographic expeditions were meant to appeal to a certain audience, which prompted the context of photographs. At the end photographs had to have a market to be purchased and consumed. In the institutional level of imperial commissions, the aim was to create a public opinion in the international arena for the sake

⁸² 横浜開港資料館編 『幕末日本の風景と人びと：フェリックス・ベアト写真集』、東京：明石書店、1987年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *Bakumatsu Nihon no Fūkei to Hitobito: Ferikkusu Beato Shashinshū*, Tokyo: Meiseki Shoten, 1987).

of the empire, a “modernized” image of the empire through the visual representations. Significant roles were attributed to the practice of photography as a means to frame judicial decisions, to orient imperial policies and to convey international messages. The reign of Abdulhamid II was the paragon of politicization of photography, in other words, the integration of photography into the international and domestic politics.

CHAPTER 4

POLITICS OF PHOTOGRAPHY DURING THE HAMIDIAN PERIOD

This chapter discusses the politics of photography policies implemented in the Ottoman Empire and Japan, in a comparative perspective with an emphasis on the reign of Abdulhamid II. The circulation of visual images and the visual perceptions of the masses were manipulated and kept under control by the Hamidian governance in the Ottoman geography and by the Meiji Emperor in Japan. Photographs were introduced into the “invented tradition”¹ of the intimate imperial gift exchanges between Abdulhamid II and different dynasties of Europe and Japan. Photographic albums representing the “modernized” face of the Ottoman Empire were presented to the libraries of certain geographies. Photographic production served as a medium of documentation and as a means for intelligence and policing in the Ottoman Empire, mainly throughout Anatolia. All these functions embedded in photography put into practice through the employment of photographers for photographic assignments contributed to the imperial purposes. Abdullah *Frères* were among these photographers who fulfill the position of “Photographer the Laureate” at the Ottoman court, which was not officially institutionalized but active on an irregular basis.

¹ Selim Deringil, “The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 1993, pp. 3-29.

A talented Frenchman, Daguerre, has captured the reflected outlines of objects in sunlight, using various artistic and scientific methods. The production of this marvel is a scientific advance of some twenty years. This invention has met with great success and universal admiration. ... How strange is that at the same time that Daguerre made this discovery, Talbot, an Englishman was using sunlight in the same way.²

The invention of photography and the pioneering photography techniques, specifically, the silver-coated copper plate prints of Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851) and the paper negative method of William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877), were announced for the first time in the Ottoman Empire with an article appeared in the first official newspaper *Takvîm-i Vakâyi'* dated 28 October 1839. The August 15th issue of *Cerîde-i Havâdis* in 1841 mentioned that a daguerreotype manual had already brought to Istanbul and translated, while focusing on the invention of *fotoğrafya* (photography) alluding the photographing device itself and on the “unerring accuracy” of its recording.³ “The invention of the century” had not just sparkled for a short period of time throughout the Ottoman Empire,

² *Takvîm-i Vakâyi'*, No. 186, 19 Şaban 1255, 28 October 1839; in Şinasi Barutçu, *Foto Konuşmaları*, Ankara: Milli Eğitim, 1947, pp. 10-11.

³ “... Avrupa’da Daguerre dedikleri zât bir âlet icâd edip Daguerre’in basması ma’nasında “Daguerreotype” tesmiye etmiş ve ... kitâbı dahi İstanbul’a gelmiş ve terceme edilmiş olmağla bilenlerin ma’lûmudur. Kaldı ki ol-âleti ihdâs ettiği nakl olunan Monsieur Daguerre bu def’a ... “fotoğrafya” nâmıyla ya’ni ateş yazması ‘ünvânıyla bir âlet dahi i’câl edip...” “A man named Daguerre invented an object ... in Europe called it “Daguerreotype” meaning the print of Daguerre, and ... it is known that his book was brought to Istanbul and translated. Moreover, Monsieur Daguerre who was announced as the inventor of this instrument has now produced an instrument called “photography”, that is, the inscription of light.” What is referred here as “*fotoğrafya* / photography” was the camera, the device which had the mechanism that enables fixing the images of a camera obscura. *Cerîde-i Havâdis*, No. 47, 26 Cemaziyülahir 1257, 15 August 1841; Engin Çizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, Istanbul: İletişim, 1987, p. 27; Bahattin Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople: Pioneers, Studios and Artists from 19th Century Istanbul*, Istanbul, Aygaz, 2003, Vol. 1, p. 37.

but it flourished through the experience of traveling photographers and the pioneering photography studios of 1860s during the reign of Abdulaziz (1861-1876).⁴ Although Abdulaziz himself contributed to the training of photographers,⁵ it was Abdulhamid II (1876-1909), who took the initiative to exploit this new technology. Photography gradually became the core for the governing policies of a ruler, who is prying, inspecting, and recording. Photograph which was the intimate and sincere gift of the dynasty members to each other, turned into an efficient means for control. To be informed was the core of control, and Abdulhamid II had been informed of what was new throughout the empire, an event, a building, and an invention through photographs.

Politics of Photography during the Hamidian Period

The Hamidian regime was marked by the politicization of photography.⁶ Abdulhamid II invested photography with a political vocation. While the idea that camera would never fail

⁴ For a further elaboration on the photography in the Ottoman Empire from 1850s to 1870s, see Gilbert Beaugé, *Images D'Empire: aux origines de la photographie en Turquie*, Istanbul: Institut d'etudes françaises d'Istanbul, 1993; Ken Jacobson, *Odaliques and Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925*, London: Quaritch, 2007; Önder Erkarlan, "A Retrospective View of Photography in Turkey," *Photoresearcher*, No. 6, 1997, pp. 20-26; Engin Çizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, Istanbul: İletişim, 1987, p. 27; Bahattin Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople: Pioneers, Studios and Artists from 19th Century Istanbul*, Istanbul, Aygaz, 2003.

⁵ Abdulaziz dispatched Lieutenant Hüsnü to Paris to learn photography. BOA, İ.HR 244/14524, 11 Rebiyülahir 1287 / 10 July 1870.

⁶ Here the "politicization of photography" is elaborated with the same approach to the "politicization of history." Harry Harootunian, *History's Disquiet: Modernity, Cultural Practice, and the Question of Everyday Life*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2000, p. 102. For a further evaluation on the "aestheticization of politics" and the "politicization of aesthetics," see Banu Kaygusuz, "Benjaminian Approach to History," Boğaziçi University, History Department, Spring 2006, HIST 502 Historiography II, Selçuk Esenbel.

to depict the reality, dominated the aura of the century, photographic albums were produced and consumed within the institutional frameworks to establish a new “regime of truth.”⁷ Photographs were used to construct photographic meaning, visual messages, and photography became implicated in representing, archiving and in surveillance during the reign of Abdulhamid II.

Photograph, which had already established its circulation practices by 1870s was a perfect method for the Hamidian politics that focused on the international image-making processes. The efforts of the Ottoman state to avoid the perception of “exotic” and to rebuild a “Self Portrait”⁸ in the international arena was formulated into visual representations with photography, which provided technological and ideological convenience. The photomechanical reproduction techniques were ubiquitous and the belief in photographic accuracy was pervasive in this half of the century. Photography was employed in the revision projects of the Ottoman imperial image in many ways. The portraits of the German Emperor Wilhelm I (1797-1888) and the crown prince which was presented to the sultan Abdulhamid in December 1883,⁹ was part of an imperial gift

⁷ John Tagg, “Evidence, Truth and Order: Photographic Records and the Growth of the State,” in *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988, pp. 60-65.

⁸ Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*, London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998, pp. 150-165.

⁹ BOA, Y.PRK.TKM 7/18, 9 Safer 1301 / 9 December 1883. “Hâkpây-ı hümayûn cenâb-ı şâhen-şâhîlerine takdîm olunmak üzere i’tâ kılınan Alman imparatoru ile velî-’ahdî hazerâtının fotoğrafları.” Although the name of the German Emperor was not mentioned in the document, depending on the dates, obviously it was Wilhelm Friedrich Ludwig, Wilhelm the Great, while “the crown prince” was referring to Wilhelm II (1859-1941), *Kaiser* in 1888, who paid two visits to the Ottoman Empire in 1889 and in 1898. For the German interest and involvement in the Ottoman Empire, see Ulrich Trumpener, “Germany and the End of

exchange practice as a sincere sign of close relationship, and took their place in the photographic album of Abdulhamid II that arranged for the photographs of the royal families of Europe and Japan.¹⁰ In March 1887 the German Empress gave her thanks to the sultan with a telegram for the photographs of Naile Sultan (1884-1957), the daughter of Abdulhamid II.¹¹ It was in October 1887, *Fürst* von Bismarck (1815-1898), the imperial chancellor to the German Empire, expressed his gratitude upon the photographs he received.¹² In her introduction to *The History of Japanese Photography*, Anne Wilkes Tucker asks if other rulers also used photography to alter their image, or if the Japanese ruler was the first to use photography for this kind of revision.¹³ A series of photographic portraits of the Meiji emperor in a Western-style military uniform was made in 1872, so that emperor could exchange them for portraits of foreign heads of state, as required under the diplomatic protocol of Western countries.¹⁴ Abdulhamid II not only participated in this diplomatic tradition of exchanging photographs, the photographs of his children rather than

the Ottoman Empire,” in *The Great Powers and the End of the Ottoman Empire*, ed., Marian Kent, London; Boston: G. Allen and Unwin, 1984, pp. 111-140; Naci Yorulmaz, “Ottoman Empire and Germany (1871-1908): Military-economic Relationship, Trade Activities of German Armaments Industry in the Ottoman Market,” Free University, Berlin, unpublished paper.

¹⁰ One of these albums in the *Yıldız* Collection of Abdulhamid II was Album No. 90899, which was of most likely the first years of the sultan on the throne. Istanbul University Library Rare Department.

¹¹ BOA, Y.PRK.NMH 3/42, 2 Cemaziyülahir 1303, 8 March 1886.

¹² BOA, Y.PRK.EŞA 7/5, 16 Muharrem 1305 / 4 October 1887. In the document Otto von Bismarck was mentioned as “Prince Bismarck.” The title “Prince” was referring to the rank of *Fürst*, to which Bismarck was raised in 1871.

¹³ Anne Wilkes Tucker, “Introduction,” pp. 2-13, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 7.

¹⁴ Uchida Kuichi, who by then had gained a reputation as the best portrait photographer in Tokyo, was the photographer of the portraits of the Meiji emperor. Kinoshita Naoyuki, “The Early Years of Japanese Photography,” pp. 16-35, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 27.

his own portrait, but also created one within a representation policy of the Empire by presenting certain photographic albums as gifts to the Library of Congress in 1893 and the British Museum in 1894.¹⁵ This imperial self-representation project encompassed a vast collection of photographs portraying the military, naval and rescue services, the military and industrial establishments, the educational institutions and their students in addition to scenic views, historical monuments, imperial palaces and mosques.¹⁶ The motive was to compose a “modern” image of the Ottoman Empire through photographs. This was a claim to modernity supported by the convincing evidence of the period, photography. The photographs of governmental buildings to be presented to the American library began to be arranged in 1891.¹⁷ It was May 1894 that the photographic albums apart from the books prepared for the British Museum were ready to be send.¹⁸ In April 1895 it was reported that London and Washington libraries were delighted to receive the photographs and books, which were granted by the sultan.¹⁹ The visual representation policy of the Hamidian period was implemented in practice not only through this long-run gift project but also

¹⁵ For a comprehensive analysis of these albums, see Carney E.S. Gavin, and the Harvard Semitic Museum eds., *Imperial self-portrait: the Ottoman Empire as revealed in the Sultan Abdul-Hamid II's photographic albums, presented as gifts to the Library of Congress (1893) and the British Museum (1894)*, Cambridge: Harvard University Publisher, 1989. For an evaluation of the albums within the Ottoman “Self Portrait,” see Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*, London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998, pp. 151-152.

¹⁶ For the complete list of these photographs, see BOA, Y.PRK.NMH 6/22, 29 Zilhicce 1311 / 3 July 1894.

¹⁷ “Amerika kütübhanesine irsâli mukarrar olan hedâyâ-ı seniyye meyânında gönderilmek üzere ba’zı devâ’ir-i resmîyye fotoğraflarıyla ... tanzîm ve tertîb ettirilmekte olduğu” BOA, Y.A.HUS 244/67, 20 Recep 1308 / 1 March 1891.

¹⁸ “Hazret-i hilâfet-penâhîden İngiltere müzehânesine ihdâ buyurulmuş olan kitâblar ile fotoğraf resimlerini hâvî on iki sandığın ilk posta ile mahalle irsâl buyurulacağını...” BOA, Y.A.HUS 296/43, 5 Zilkade 1311 / 11 May 1894.

¹⁹ BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 40/47, 11 Şevval 1312 / 4 April 1895.

during the world expositions. The World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 was not the first time that the Ottoman authorities consulted photographs to display realistic cross-sections from the Empire, retouched the desire for an idealized imperial image. The photographs of Abdullah Brothers exhibited in the Turkish pavilion in the Paris Universal Exposition in 1867,²⁰ and the photographic record of Ottoman costumes prepared for the 1873 World Exposition in Vienna,²¹ generated the ideological agenda for the representations of the Ottoman world. The photographs that depicted the "Orient" from a non-Orientalist perspective, were included in the Ottoman exhibits in Chicago in 1893.²² The experience of world fairs and the process of preparation for the display of the Empire in these occasions engendered the prevision and the perception for the persuasive value and propaganda-potential of photography.

As an effective form of information, photography served the documentation practices of the Hamidian regime within the Ottoman Empire. The ways to be informed were the tools of control. John Tagg asserts that what gave photography its power to evoke a truth was its mobilization within the emerging apparatuses of a new and more penetrating form of the state.²³ The photographs, which were produced by order of the sultan,

²⁰ Önder Erkarlan, "A Retrospective View of Photography in Turkey," *Photoresearcher*, No. 6, 1997, pp. 20-26.

²¹ For a comprehensive analysis of this photographic album entitled *Elbise-i 'Osmâniyye: Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie*, see Ahmet Ersoy, "A Sartorial Tribute to *Tanzimat* Ottomanism: the *Elbise-i 'Osmaniyye* Album," *Muqarnas*, 20, 2003, pp. 187-207.

²² Daniel Martin Varisco, *Reading Orientalism: Said and the Unsaid*, Seattle; London: University of Washington Press, 2007, p. 167; Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004, pp. 207-209.

²³ John Tagg, "Evidence, Truth and Order: Photographic Records and the Growth of the State," in *The*

functioned as a means of record and a source of evidence in the governing apparatus and for the policies of the period. In 1889 the Hamidian regime initiated a photographic survey of schools, hospitals, prisons, governmental buildings, military barracks, mosques and *âsâr-ı 'atîka* (antiquities) throughout the Empire, which was build and renovated from the enthronement of Abdulhamid II onwards. This photographic documentation project was implemented mainly in Kastamonu, Bursa, Edirne, Trabzon, Samsun, Rize, Gümüşhane and Ankara provinces of Anatolia.²⁴ Although an important technical problem was encountered at the beginning as not having enough photographers in the provinces and in general to be employed in this survey, various solutions were produced immediately: Individual photographers were recruited and dispatched to the areas to carry out the photographic documentation, and in the long-run with the aim of forming a cadre of photographers, a group of military officers were appointed and trained to be employed in similar projects.²⁵ Major Mehmet Ali Sami *Bey* and Captain Mehmet Ali *Efendi* who were sent to Hüdavendigar province,²⁶ and Battalion secretary Fuad *Efendi* who was transferred from the *Cerîde-i 'Askeriyye Matba'ası* (The Army Newspaper Press)²⁷ to photograph

Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988, pp. 60-65.

²⁴ BOA, DH.MKT 1604/50, 10 Recep 1306 / 12 March 1889; BOA, DH.MKT 1619/131, 26 Şaban 1306 / 27 April 1889; BOA, DH.MKT 1620/116, 1 Ramazan 1306 / 1 May 1889; BOA, DH.MKT 1658/59, 21 Muharrem 1307 / 17 September 1889; BOA, DH.MKT 1662/76, 6 Safer 1307 / 1 October 1889; BOA, DH.MKT 1775/95, 14 Rebiyülevvel 1308 / 28 October 1890.

²⁵ BOA, Y.PRK.UM 14/47, 18 Recep 1306 / 20 March 1889.

²⁶ BOA, DH.MKT 1632/113, 29 Şevval 1306 / 28 June 1889.

²⁷ The *Cerîde-i 'Askeriyye* (The Army Newspaper), which was founded by the Seraskerate in 1863, was a Tanzimat newspaper. Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976, Vol. 2, p. 129.

Trabzon,²⁸ Samsun, Rize and Gümüşhane of the Black Sea coast,²⁹ were among this cadre of photographers.

In a similar light, the objective of the photographic surveys of “modern” buildings conducted during the Meiji period in Japan, apart from being an architectural survey, was an infrastructural inquiry, which were premised on the desire to inspect the every administrative practice of the period through a systematized photographic archive. In 1872 the pioneering photographer Yokoyama Matsusaburō (横山松三郎) under commission by the government, photographed buildings, treasures and shrines in Kyoto and Nara, which were later exhibited at the Vienna World Exposition in 1873,³⁰ like the photographs from the Hamidian surveys displayed in the World’s Columbian Exposition in 1893. Another photographic survey serving the intention of the state to keep its implementations under control through recording processes occurred from 1870s to 1880s in Japan. There are two photographic albums, in this respect, prepared by the celebrated photographer of Yokohama port city, Suzuki Shinichi (鈴木真一) (1855-1912) who was a friend and former partner of the photographer Felice Beato. One of these albums was *Yokohama and Its Environs in the Early Meiji Period* dated around 1877, which was composed of the photographs of the recently built urban structure of Yokohama with its

²⁸ BOA, DH.MKT 1658/59, 21 Muharrem 1307 / 17 September 1889.

²⁹ BOA, DH.MKT 1662/76, 6 Safer 1307 / 1 October 1889.

³⁰ Kinoshita Naoyuki, “The Early Years of Japanese Photography,” pp. 16-35, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 19.

railways, ports and parks, and the other that entitled *the Photographic Album of Yokohama Waterworks* dated 1887, documented the construction process of the waterworks in Yokohama in the same year.³¹ By the 1890s a series of postcards with photograph vignettes printed in collotype by Ogawa Kazuma and “issued by The Imperial Government Railways of Japan,”³² were already in circulation in Japan.

The railway was also an important subject for Abdulhamid II, an issue worth to be photographed. An official document of October 23, 1892, which was signed by the Ottoman imperial secretary, reported that eight photographs concerning the Anatolian railway were submitted to the Imperial Library.³³ While photographing a recently built hospital, or a military establishment became a ritual for the recording process, the operation to document the prisons and the prisoners photographically went one step further. At first it was an indiscriminate attempt or at least it had a limited scope, in time it developed into a systematic effort to record as many as prisoners all over the empire, prisoners in their new

³¹ *Yokohama and Its Environs in the Early Meiji Period* (明治初期二於ケル横浜及其附近) (circa 1877) is registered under the inventory of the Yokohama Archives of History and *the Photographic Album of Yokohama Waterworks* (横浜水道写真帳) (1887) is in *Kunaichō Shoryōbu* (宮内庁書陵部), the Archival Department of the Imperial Household Agency, in other words the Imperial Library of Japan. 横浜開港資料館編『明治の日本：横浜写真の世界：彩色アルバム』、横浜：有隣堂、1990年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *Japan of Meiji Period: the World of Yokohama Photography*, Yokohama: Yurindō, 1990), p. 226.

³² George C. Baxley Collection of Japanese Photography, <http://www.baxleystamps.com/>.

³³ “Anadolu şimendiferine müte’allik fotoğraf resim: ‘aded 8. Bâlâda muharrer sekiz parça resim ... kütübhâne-i hümayûna teslîm edilmiştir. Ser-kitâbet-i hazret-i şehîr-yârî” BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 28/3, 2 Rebiyülahir 1310 / 23 October 1892. For the significance of the Anatolian railway in terms of domestic and international trade, see Donald Quataert, “The Age of Reforms, 1812-1914, Commerce,” in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, eds., Halil İnalcık, and Donald Quataert, Vol. 2, pp. 824-842, especially pp. 836-838; Şevket Pamuk, “Commodity Production for World-markets and Relations of Production in Ottoman Agriculture, 1840-1913,” in *The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy*, ed., Huri İslamoğlu-Inan, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp. 178-201, especially pp. 199-200.

“uniforms” and in “order”.³⁴ *Fotoğrafhâne* (photography studios) containing a darkroom were built as a component for prisons,³⁵ and instead of commissioning an individual photographer from “outside,” photographers from the military personnel were employed by the departments of justice, and of public security to photograph the criminals.³⁶

Recording of *âsâr-ı ‘atîka* (antiquities) via photography is another issue that overlaps with the inspection desire of the governing. Like anyone else who wanted to photograph any object anywhere in the Empire, the “outsider” on the pursuit of photographing *âsâr-ı ‘atîka* (antiquities) was also subordinate to the permission of the authority.³⁷ While strengthening the claim for the photograph as an objective reporter, the practice to document *âsâr-ı ‘atîka* under the auspices of the Imperial Museum, served the ideological gist of the museum in its inchoate phase.³⁸ The role of photography in the documentary practices of Abdulhamid II encompassed a wide range of subjects, embodied in a penetrating governing policy.

As archival tasks were assigned to the photography in the governing and

³⁴ BOA, DH.MKT 2017/74, 13 Rebiyülahir 1310 / 3 November 1892; BOA, DH.MKT 2045/58, 6 Recep 1310 / 24 January 1893.

³⁵ BOA, DH.MKT 94/16, 24 Muharrem 1311 / 7 August 1893.

³⁶ BOA, DH.MKT 2026/37, 10 Cemaziyülevvel 1310 / 30 November 1892; BOA, DH.MKT 2047/ 110, 13 Recep 1310 / 31 January 1893.

³⁷ BOA, DH.MKT 415/54, 28 Safer 1313 / 19 August 1895. The document reported the necessity to keep two *Messieurs* who were intent to photograph *âsâr-ı ‘atîka* under observation.

³⁸ For the attempts of Osman Hamdi to photograph the finds of his excavations at Nemrut Dağ and at Sakçagözü and to make the Ottoman archaeological activity visible on the European stage, see Wendy Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, p. 109. For an assertion that photography and archaeology as technologies side by side providing new modes of documentation and transportation of information, see *ibid.*, p. 131.

supervising mechanisms of Abdulhamid II, the necessity for technical personnel and photographic equipment was felt more than ever. With the aim of alleviating this necessity, while incorporating the owners of commercial photography studios, namely the photographers, who already had the experience and the photographic apparatuses, into the imperial commissions, Sultan Abdulhamid II inaugurated a new policy of training a cadre of photographers to be employed especially in the Ottoman military and educational institutions, and ensured the provision of the photographic equipments required for the photographic commissions. The professional photography studios, which first appeared in the Ottoman geography in 1860s, prevailed and prospered by 1890s especially in Constantinople. The photographic career being established as a lucrative and prosperous profession in *Dersa'âdet* (Istanbul), and in the provinces, caught the attention of the Hamidian regime in 1892 and it was decreed that taxes would be levied on the earnings of the photographers in general, who were not subjected to any kind of taxation until then.

Memânik-i Mahrûsa-ı Şâhâne'de icrâ-ı san'at eden bi'l-cümle esnâfin taşralarda temettu' vergisi ve Dersa'âdet'de ise ta'rife-yi müveccehe-i esnâf tezkeresi rûsûmu ahz ve istîfâ olunmakta bulunduđu hâlde şimdiye kadar fotoğrafçılardan bir gün resm-ü vergi alınmamaktadır. 'Arz ve beyândan irâde olduđu üzere mezkûr fotoğrafçıların az bir sermâye ile küllî ticâret ede gelmekte ve san'atlarının revâci cihetle bu gün ... haylice servet ... sâhibi olmakta bulunduklarından gerek taşralarda ve gerekse Dersa'âdet'de bulunan bi'l-cümle fotoğrafçılardan ticâretlerine göre bir mikdâr münâsib

vergi alındığı³⁹

In this way or by means of allotments of money from photographers' personal gains to the Ottoman institutions of philanthropy as *Dârü's-şafaka* and *Dârü'l-'aceze*,⁴⁰ the commercial photographers would be under inspection by the Ottoman state, by the Imperial Palace through sharing their profit. The Palace was in cooperation with some of these commercial photographers in certain commissions, and yet for the purpose of educating photographers to be entrusted with the task of documenting various subjects of interest visually within the framework of imperial surveys and infrastructural projects, *fotoğrafhâne* (photography studio) was added in the Ottoman school complex. It was decreed that a *fotoğrafhâne* (photography studio) would be built in *Hendese-i Mülkiye Mektebi* (the Engineering School) in 1891 to provide the "ideal" circumstances for the application of the lesson on photography that was included in the school curriculum.⁴¹ *Mekteb-i Harbiye* (the Military Academy), and *Mühendishâne-i Berr-i Hümayûn* (the Royal School of Military Engineering) were other educational establishments, which possessed *fotoğrafhâne* with a

³⁹ BOA, Y.PRK.ML 14/26, 21 Rebiyülahir 1310 / 11 November 1892.

⁴⁰ "veyâhûd ... işbu vâridâtın ya *Dârü's-şafaka*'ya veyâhûd *Dârü'l-'aceze*'ye tahsis buyurulması lüzûmu" BOA, Y.PRK.ML 14/26, 21 Rebiyülahir 1310 / 11 November 1892. *Dârü's-şafaka* refers the schools for orphans in Istanbul and *Dârü'l-'aceze* stands for the poorhouses. For an evaluation of *Dârü'l-'aceze* and *Dârü's-şafaka* within the philanthropic activities of Abdulhamid II, see Nadir Özbek, "Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism and the Hamidian Regime, 1876-1909," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 1, 2005, pp. 59-81; Nadir Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşruiyet 1876-1914*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2002.

⁴¹ "Hendese-i Mülkiye-i Şâhâne Mektebi şâkirdânına tadrîs kılınmakta olan fotoğrafya dersinin bir sûret-i mükemmelede tadrîsiyle şâkirdân-ı mûmâ-ileyhimin istihsâl-i meleke ve mûmâreseleri için bir bâb fotoğrafhanenin inşası lâzime-i hâl ve maslahattan bulunduğu" BOA, İ.DH 1257/98714, 17 Cemaziyülevvel 1309 / 19 December 1891.

darkroom.⁴² By the end of the 1890s the photography studios, which were built within *Erkân-ı Harbiyye-i Umûmiyye* (the General Staff) and *Matba'a-i Bahriyye* (the Naval Printing Office), provided efficient services and the technically trained personnel employed in these departments were rewarded by promotions to a higher position or bestowed a *Mecîdî* order.⁴³ In 1893 by order of the sultan a *fotoğrafhâne* (photography studio) constructed in the *Yıldız* Palace, the photographic tools and implements were supplied, and *Miralây* (Colonel) Ali Rıza (?-1907), who was one of the eminent photographic personnel trained and experienced under the aegis of the sultan through the military education of photography, was charged with overseeing the imperial *fotoğrafhâne*.⁴⁴

As cited before in another previous case, in 1860s, the *daimyō* Kuroda Nagahiro (黒田長溥) of Fukuoka domain in the northwest Japan, who had sponsored the photographic training of his retainer, *samurai* Furukawa Shunpei (古川俊平) exemplified the political authority presiding over the photographic patronage system and stimulating production, consumption, and cultural meaning of photographs. He had appointed him as supervisor to the photography chamber with a darkroom (舎密(*chemie*)館付属の写真室)

⁴² BOA, İ.TAL 148/1316/R-101, 18 Rebiyülahir 1316 / 5 September 1898; BOA, İ.TAL 119/1315/R-161, 21 Rebiyülahir 1315 / 18 September 1897. For further information on the Ottoman education, and the chronology regarding the Ottoman schools, see Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976, Vol. 2, pp. 106 -113.

⁴³ BOA, İ.TAL 19/1310/L-35, 13 Şevval 1310 / 30 April 1893; BOA, İ.TAL 87/1313/C-46, 27 Cemaziyülahir 1313 / 14 December 1895; BOA, İ.TAL 94/1313/L-112, 28 Şevval 1313 / 11 April 1896.

⁴⁴ BOA, Y.PRK.MYD 13/48, 4 Safer 1311 / 16 August 1893. For a brief bibliography of *Miralây* (Colonel) Ali Rıza, see Engin Çizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, Istanbul: İletişim, 1987, p. 162; Bahattin Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople: Pioneers, Studios and Artists from 19th Century Istanbul*, Istanbul, Aygaz, 2003, Vol. 1, p. 342.

that was established within the Fukuoka Palace.⁴⁵ Similarly, the political approach of Abdulhamid II towards photographic techniques and technologies, which was nourished by his personal interests, envisaged the training of military photographers and the establishment of essential departments for the sake of a new way of acquiring information.

The political patronage of photography in the Ottoman Empire emanated from the need to employ methods of visual representation and photographic documentation with political concerns. During the Hamidian period commercial photographers were incorporated into the photographic commissions to fill the personnel vacancies and to supply technical requisites urgently. The prominent photographers of *Grande Rue de Péra* which was the heart of the photography business in Istanbul, Gülmez *Frères*, Yervant, Kirkor, and Artin Gülmez were commissioned to photograph the famous scenic spots, historical monuments, and the mosques of *Dersa'âdet* (Istanbul) to be exhibited in the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago,⁴⁶ and for their services, in May 1893 Gülmez' were authorized to carry *Tuğrâ-yı Garrâ-yı Hümâyûn* (the Illustrious Imperial Cipher) and the Ottoman coat of arms on the door of Gülmez photographic studio upon their request.⁴⁷ For a commercial photographer located in Constantinople, the privilege and

⁴⁵ 小沢健志『幕末写真の時代』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1996年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu Shashin no Jidai*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1996), p. 134.

⁴⁶ BOA, Y.A.HUS 263/55, 15 Muharrem 1310 / 8 August 1892; BOA, İ.HUS 2/1310/M-123, 17 Muharrem 1310 / 10 August 1892; BOA, Y.MTV 70/69, 12 Rebiyülahir 1310 / 2 November 1892.

⁴⁷ "Gülmez cânibinden dârü'l-sinâ'alarının kapısı bâlâsına Tuğrâ-yı Garrâ-yı Hümâyûn ile 'Osmanlı arması ... istid'â edildiğinden" BOA, İ.HUS 11/1310/L-51, 14 Şevval 1310 / 1 May 1893. In the same document, the address of Gülmez photography studio was stated as "Beyoğlu'nda Cadde-i Kebîr'de 397 numara" (Cadde-i Kebîr, No. 397, Beyoğlu).

prestige of bearing the imperial *tuğrâ* (monogram) symbolizing the court patronage ensured and acknowledged the commercial reputation. The imperial degree (*irâde-i seniyye*) dated August 30, 1895 ordained that the photographs of the recently constructed *Dârü'l-‘aceze* building should be taken and submitted to the palace,⁴⁸ and this imperial will was fulfilled in September 1895.⁴⁹ The regularity of the photographing practice of *Dârü'l-‘aceze* was ensured by the designation of Salih *Efendi*, who was the owner of the Hamîdiye photography studio at the Galata district of Constantinople, as *Dârü'l-‘aceze Fahrî Ressâmı* (the voluntary photographer of *Dârü'l-‘aceze*),⁵⁰ and subsequently Salih *Efendi* was asked for a photographic documentation of the institution in May 1899.⁵¹ The prestige of imprinting *Tuğrâ-yı Hümâyûn* (the Imperial Cipher) and the Ottoman coat of arms on the photographic albums as part of a photographic brand, the position of voluntary photographer for an imperial institution, and the title of *Ressâm-ı Hazret-i Şehr-yârî* (the court photographer) bestowed upon Abdullah *Frères* by sultan Abdulaziz and maintained during the Hamidian period, all these indicated the existence of a notion of “court photographer” in the Ottoman Empire even though it was not fully institutionalized. Within the practice of Ottoman court photographer which was the epitome of the official patronage system, the photographers, whose experience was called upon at need, were rewarded with

⁴⁸ “mezkûr binânın bi’l-cümle nevâkısı ikmâl edilerek ve fotoğrafla resimleri aldırılarak ...” BOA, İ.HUS 41/1313/Ra-11, 9 Rebiyülevvel 1313 / 30 August 1895.

⁴⁹ BOA, Y.A.HUS 336/28, 18 Rebiyülevvel 1313 / 8 September 1895.

⁵⁰ “Her masârifî kendi tarafından tesviye olunmak üzere Dârü'l-‘aceze fahrî ressâmlığına Galata’da Yüksek Kaldırım’da Hamîdiye Fotoğrafhânesi sâhibi Salih Efendi’nin ta’yîni” BOA, DH.MKT 2151/95, 8 Şaban 1316 / 22 December 1898.

⁵¹ BOA, DH.MKT 2205/2, 9 Muharrem 1317 / 19 May 1899.

the imperial orders and decorations in addition to the remunerations for their services. For the commercial photographers, the title "Photographers to His Majesty the Sultan" was of vital importance since they benefited from this prestigious appellation as an integral part of their trade name. As in the case of Abdullah *Frères*,⁵² the court photographers were paid salary on a regular basis toward the end of their photographic careers or ensuing their retirement if they sought pecuniary assistance from the palace.

In Japan a similar concept embodied in the system of imperial arts and crafts experts (帝室技芸員の制度), which was established in 1890 by the Meiji government. The imperial court artists, *Teishitsu Gigeiin* (帝室技芸員) of the Meiji period were chosen from a diverse range of artists, artisans and crafters specialized in painting, architecture, plastic arts, lacquerware, casting, and they were paid rewarding salaries to promote the expansion of handicrafts.⁵³ Ogawa Kazuma who was the first photographer deemed worthy of the imperial court artist, *Teishitsu Gigeiin* (帝室技芸員) title in 1890,⁵⁴ undertook important tasks in the photographic documentary projects of Japan in the following years. The equivalent of Ogawa Kazuma in the Ottoman Empire was Abdullah *Frères* in terms of their

⁵² It seems that Abdullah *Frères* sought for pecuniary assistance from the palace in 1897. BOA, İ.HUS 55/1315/Ra073, 19 Rebiyülevvel 1315 / 18 August 1897; BOA, İ.ML 23/1315/Ca-10, 19 Cemaziyülevvel 1315 / 15 October 1897. The imperial degree (irâde-i seniyye) dated June 28, 1900, authorized the payment of salary to Abdullah *Frères* upon their retirement. BOA, İ.ML 39/1318/Ra-01, 1 Rebiyülevvel 1318 / 28 June 1900.

⁵³ “現今の制度に於て、繪畫建築彫塑漆工鑄金其他に至るまで、技藝に卓絶せる者を撰擇し、帝室技芸員として、優遇せらるることなる” 佐久間健寿著、末松青萍評『鉄園画談』、東京：佐久間健寿、明治40年4月 (Sakuma Kenju, *Tetsuen Gadan*, commented by Suematsu Seihyō, Tokyo: Sakuma Kenju, 1907), p. 25.

⁵⁴ 小沢健志『幕末・明治の写真』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1997年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu, Meiji no Shashin*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1997), pp. 292-293.

photographic career and the patronage relations in which they were engaged. Considering the quality and quantity of the imperial commissions that they received, Abdullah *Frères* were the “Photographer the Laureate” of the Hamidian period, serving the photography politics of the sultan.

Abdullah *Frères*: Vichen (1820 - 1912) and Kevork (1839 - 1918)

There is a need to elaborate on Abdullah *Frères* for two reasons: Firstly, their photographic career divulges the functioning of the notion of Ottoman court photographer and displays the share of technology and experience within the transnational network of relationships. Secondly, the Abdullahs were the photographers who documented photographically the Japanese delegation and the two warships, *Hiei* (比叡) and *Kongō* (金剛), that visited Istanbul in January of 1891.

The two of the Abdullah Brothers⁵⁵ renowned for their photographic work were Vichen and Kevork, the former began his photographic career as a hand-colorist of daguerreotype portraits in 1856 in the studio of a German chemist and photographer named Rabach located in Istanbul,⁵⁶ and the latter was educated in Venice until 1858, and began

⁵⁵ The Abdullahs, who was of Armenian origin, were five brothers, three of which were interested in the fine arts. Hovsep Abdullah (1830-1908), whose name was concealed under the “Abdullah *Frères*” brand, was also specialized in the photography. Engin Özendes, *Abdullah Frères: Ottoman Court Photographers*, Istanbul: YKY, 1998.

⁵⁶ Yesayi Dayetsi, *Court Photographer Kevork Abdullah's Memoirs, Life and Work*, Venice: St. Lazare Press,

working alongside his brother Vichen at the *Péra* studio of Rabach subsequent to his return to Constantinople at the same year.⁵⁷ Vichen and Kevork, together with their brother Hovsep (1830-1908), purchased Rabach's studio in 1858,⁵⁸ and operated the same studio located at No. 274 opposite *Hôtel d'Angleterre* until 1899, when it was taken over by the photographic enterprise of Sebah and Joaillier.⁵⁹

In the early 1860s, Vichen and Kevork went to Paris to gain first-hand knowledge about the latest developments in the wet collodion process. A letter of introduction from the chief secretary of the French embassy in Istanbul gave the two brothers access to Count Olympio-Clemente Aguado (1827-1895), a founding member of both *Société Française de Photographie* and *Société Héliographique*.⁶⁰ Vichen and Kevork stayed in Paris for about a month. When they returned to Istanbul, they were carried with them another letter of introduction: this one from Count Aguado and addressed to René-Leonel Marquis de Moustier (1819-1869), the French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. In this letter, Aguado wrote: "These young men are artists who are deserving of every assistance and encouragement. I beg you to introduce them to important people and pashas in Turkey and

1929, pp. 23-24; in Bahattin Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople: Pioneers, Studios and Artists from 19th Century Istanbul*, Istanbul, Aygaz, 2003, Vol. 1, p. 179.

⁵⁷ Bahattin Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople: Pioneers, Studios and Artists from 19th Century Istanbul*, Istanbul, Aygaz, 2003, Vol. 1, p. 183.

⁵⁸ Engin Çizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, Istanbul: İletişim, 1987, pp. 136-137.

⁵⁹ Bahattin Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople: Pioneers, Studios and Artists from 19th Century Istanbul*, Istanbul, Aygaz, 2003, Vol. 1, pp. 181-183.

⁶⁰ Dickinson Jenkins Miller, *The Craftsman's Art: Armenians and the Growth of Photography in the Near East (1856-1981)*, Beirut: American University, 1981, p. 20; in Bahattin Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople: Pioneers, Studios and Artists from 19th Century Istanbul*, Istanbul, Aygaz, 2003, Vol. 1, p. 183.

aid them in their advancement.”⁶¹ Moreover, due to their close association with Grand Vizier Keçecizade Mehmed Fuad Pasha (1815-1868), Abdullah *Frères* photographic enterprise prepared a series of portraits of many of the statesmen of Abdulaziz’s cabinet, as well as of leading military officers around 1862 onwards.⁶²

The year 1863 was a landmark in the establishment of the studio as an illustrious and lucrative photography business under the name of “Abdullah *Frères*.” It was when Vichen Abdullah was commissioned to paint a miniature portrait of Abdulaziz on ivory, and subsequently the Abdullah Brothers were appointed as the official court photographers.⁶³ In February 1863, the Abdullah *Frères* photographs were displayed in *Sergi-i ‘Umûmî-i ‘Osmânî* (the Ottoman National Exhibition) held in Atmeydanı, the site of the ancient Byzantine hippodrome, as one of the thirteen categories of the exhibition.⁶⁴ The Ottoman displays in the *Exposition Universelle de Paris* in 1867 were enriched by numerous photographs of the Abdullah Brothers of Istanbul depicting the daily life and the inhabitants of the city.⁶⁵ Owing to both the photographic experience they gained through

⁶¹ Yesayi Dayetsi, *Court Photographer Kevork Abdullah’s Memoirs, Life and Work*, Venice: St. Lazare Press, 1929, p. 27; in Bahattin Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople: Pioneers, Studios and Artists from 19th Century Istanbul*, Istanbul, Aygaz, 2003, Vol. 1, p. 183.

⁶² Bahattin Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople: Pioneers, Studios and Artists from 19th Century Istanbul*, Istanbul, Aygaz, 2003, Vol. 1, p. 185.

⁶³ Engin Çizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, Istanbul: İletişim, 1987, p. 136; Bahattin Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople: Pioneers, Studios and Artists from 19th Century Istanbul*, Istanbul, Aygaz, 2003, Vol. 1, p. 185.

⁶⁴ Semra Germaner, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Uluslararası Sergilere Katılımı ve Kültürel Sonuçları,” *Tarih ve Toplum*, No. 95, 1990, p. 35.

⁶⁵ Victor Marie de Launay and Salahattin Bey, *La Turquie à l’Exposition Universelle de 1867*, Paris, 1867, pp. 142-144; in Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World’s Fairs*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992, p. 40.

the international market via their entrepreneurial connections and the title of the court photographer, Abdullah *Frères* attained a reputation beyond the Ottoman Empire for the quality of their collodion prints as shown in the visit of Prince and Princess of Wales.

April 8th – A quite morning. The Princess went with Mrs. Grey, incognita, wandering through the bazaars, under the guidance of Mr. Sanderson, interpreter to the Embassy. The Prince, accompanied by Captain Ellis, visited Abdullah's photographic studio...

April 10th – Our last day in Constantinople... Abdullah attended early, photographed the Royal party, and took some cabinet photographs of the Prince, which were very good.⁶⁶

Being one of the first war correspondents, reported the Crimean War for *The Times* for almost two years,⁶⁷ William Howard Russel (1820-1907) was in the entourage of Prince Albert Edward (1841-1910) of Wales and heir to the British throne, during his second visit to Constantinople with his wife, Princess Alexandra in April 1867. In his *A Diary in the East*, Russel briefly mentioned the acquaintance of Abdullah *Frères* with Prince Albert Edward. Not only they had the chance to photograph the Prince personally in their photographic studio, but also Abdullahs were commissioned to document the imperial gathering held in honor of the Prince and his retinue. Kevork of Abdullah *Frères*, together with his brother Hovsep, moved to Cairo in late 1886 and began to operate a photographic

⁶⁶ William Howard Russel, *A Diary in the East during the Tour of the Prince and Princess of Wales*, London: G. Routledge, 1869, Vol. 2, pp. 507, 512.

⁶⁷ Michael S. Sweeney, *From the Front: the Story of War, Featuring Correspondents' Chronicles*, Washington, DC: National Geographic Society, 2002, pp. 22-30.

studio there under the aegis of Tevfik Pasha, the khedive of Egypt.⁶⁸ In January 1887, Kevork accompanied Khedive Tevfik Pasha on a voyage along the Nile and had the opportunity to photograph the area up until the city of Luxor,⁶⁹ where Antonio of Beato Brothers settled after leaving Cairo in the early 1860s and operate his photographic studio until the 1900s.⁷⁰ Although it remains as a question mark if Antonio Beato had ever met Kevork Abdullah who lived in Egypt until 1895, it is true that the both set off from Constantinople, photographed the same scenes throughout the Nile from different angles.

At the end of the 1880s, it was Vichen who ran the photographic business in Constantinople under the same trade name “Abdullah *Frères*.” Vichen Abdullah, who was deemed worthy of the title of *Fotoğrafçı-i Hazret-i Şehr-yârî* (Photographer to His Majesty the Sultan), who was granted the fourth class ‘*Osmânî*’ order (*Nişân-ı ‘Osmânî*),⁷¹ and the third class *Mecîdî* order (*Nişân-ı Zîşân-ı Mecîdî*),⁷² and who was paid a salary at the time of retirement, received numerous commissions from the palace during the Hamidian period. “Photographer Abdullah *Frère*” as referred in an archival document, was employed immediately, “*derhâl*” in a short period of time because of the photographer shortage, to photograph Kastamonu province and the environs near the Black Sea that was incorporated

⁶⁸ Yesayi Dayetsi, *Court Photographer Kevork Abdullah's Memoirs, Life and Work*, Venice: St. Lazare Press, 1929, p. 54; in Bahattin Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople: Pioneers, Studios and Artists from 19th Century Istanbul*, Istanbul, Aygaz, 2003, Vol. 1, p. 222.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Colin Osman, “Antonio Beato: Photographer of the Nile,” *History of Photography*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1990, pp. 101, 107.

⁷¹ BOA, İ.DH 1078/84619, 22 Şaban 1305/ 3 May 1888.

⁷² BOA, İ.DH 1179/92155, 6 Ramazan 1890 / 25 Nisan 1890.

into the 1889 photographic survey of Anatolia by order of Sultan Abdulhamid II.⁷³ Furthermore, an invoice submitted to the Yıldız Palace, bearing the seal of Abdullah *Frères*, reveals that Vichen was responsible for documenting the visit of the Japanese delegation and the crew of Japanese cruisers *Hiei* and *Kongō* which arrived to Istanbul in 1891 ensuing the Ertuğrul incident.⁷⁴ The participation of Abdullah *Efendi* in photographing the military and educational establishments throughout the empire, as an effort to document the “evidences of modernity,” was not limited to the Kastamonu area. In November 1892 Vichen was given the duty of photographing the every single military school in the empire as well as the military students in pairs.⁷⁵ The reason why Abdullah *Frères*, who were commissioned to photograph the military offices and the panoramic views of Istanbul in April 1894 to be sent to the Library of Congress as an imperial gift,⁷⁶ came into prominence among the other photographers contributed to this project, was that Abdullahs already had an experience of being displayed in the world expositions, and produced vastly for the international market. As being the Photographer to His Majesty the Sultan, the photographer Abdullah Brothers were present in the every occasion of which Abdulhamid II considered the documentation necessary.

⁷³ BOA, DH.MKT 1612/79, 2 Şaban 1306 / 3 Nisan 1889.

⁷⁴ BOA, Y.MTV 48/76, 19 Recep 1308 / 28 February 1891.

⁷⁵ BOA, Y.MTV 70/ 67, 12 Rebiyülahir 1310 / 2 November 1892.

⁷⁶ BOA, DH.MKT 230/6, 20 Şevval 1311 / 27 April 1894; BOA, İ.DH 1312/1311/Za-07, 9 Zilkade 1311 / 15 May 1894; BOA, DH.MKT 376/ 23, 21 Zilkade 1312 / 16 May 1895.

Conclusion

The elaboration of photography as a medium of historical investigation exposes the role of photographs in the documentary practices and the representational policies of the authorities and in the transnational circulations of ideas, viewpoints, technologies, knowledge, and experience. Through the dispersal of photographic technology, the politics of photography policies embedded in the representations of an "imperial/national image" abroad and in the decision-making processes within an empire/nation. The transmigrant photographers like James Robertson, Felice Beato, and Abdullah Brothers contributed to the politicization processes of photography by virtue of an intricate web of personal, professional, social and economic interrelationships. While conveying their knowledge and experience to the geographies to which they got access, these figures shot the photographs of the areas they passed through with their personal baggage and commercial intentions and distributed these visual depictions for the consumption of their personal connections and to the commercial markets. Or, these photographers were incorporated into the photography policies of the prevailing and penetrating regimes. As in the case of the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Abdulhamid II, the need to concretize an imperial image of the empire on photographs and a desire to supervise the political operations through photography, resulted in a series of new policies, which conduced to the policization of photography. The official patronage of commercial photography and the training of a new cadre of

photographers within the military personnel were among these policies in the Hamidian period. Like Robertson, Beato and Abdullaḥs who served to the Hamidian visual politics by means of their transnational experience, photographic knowledge and personal connections, the Japanese commercial photographers Ogawa Kazuma (小川一真) (1860-1929), Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎) (1856-circa1923), and Kusakabe Kinbei (日下部金兵衛) (1841-1934) undertook responsibilities for the parallel commercial and political projects in Japan and beyond.

CHAPTER 5

RECONSTRUCTING THE REPRESENTATION OF JAPAN IN THE
INTERNATIONAL ARENA

With the introduction of dry-plate printing techniques in 1880s, while the subject of the photograph became diversified, the circulation of photography increased due to the shortened printing-time, the possibility of multiple copying and the production of photograph inexpensively. The businesses promoted from photography studios to photography “companies” which took the initiative in exporting photography albums. The photographic enterprises of Ogawa Kazuma (小川一真) (1860-1929), Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎) (1856-circa1923), Kusakabe Kinbei (日下部金兵衛) (1841-1934), who framed the photographs in the collection of Abdulhamid II, were the entrepreneurial endeavors that fostered the efficient international functioning of the photography business. These photographers exemplifies at the same time the commercial agencies took part in the political use of photographic narratives during the Meiji period. The photographic careers of Ogawa, Tamamura, and Kazuma attain a transnational level of exchange like that of James Robertson and Felice Beato. Ogawa, Tamamura, and Kazuma themselves did not come to Istanbul, but their “products,” the photographic albums conveyed the images of Japan from the Meiji era to the Ottoman capital through these transnational processes.

Tamamura Kōzaburō (1856 - circa 1923)

Mr. Tamamura is one of the most popular, perhaps the most popular of the professional photographers in Yokohama, the principal 'Open Port' in Japan, and had promised us an article on his studio experiences. Readers will be sorry to hear that, at the last moment, he sent word that on account of the sudden death of his wife he was unable to keep his promise. The subject of his communication was to have been 'The Foreign (European and American) Sitter from the Japanese point of view,' and would probably have been very interesting.¹

As being a *Yokohama-shashin* photographer, Tamamura Kōzaburō widely contributed to the tradition of "Japanese customs and manners" series of photography and initiated the export of photography. Tamamura was one of the firsts who exported colored lantern slides² and picturesque photographs of Japanese sceneries abroad.³ This urge to enter into the international market, prompted Tamamura to observe the palate of the potential

¹ *The Practical Photographer*, September 1896, Vol. 7, No. 81, p. 243; in Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, Footnote 86, p. 302.

² A lantern slide is a gelatin silver positive image on a glass plate that is projected onto a screen with the use of a slide projector, or "magic lantern." Before photography, lantern slide images were either stenciled or drawn, but in the 1850s, photographic lantern slides with albumen positive images became available. Beginning in the 1870s, gelatin silver lantern slides were commercially produced to meet the ever-increasing public demand. Lantern slides were used for popular entertainment, education, scientific study, and travelogues. William Johnson, Mark Rice, Therese Mulligan, eds., *Photography: from 1839 to today: George Eastman House, Rochester, NY; Cologne: Taschen*, 1999.

³ "始めて本邦風景写真並びに幻灯映画に著色して之を海外に輸出し、大に歓迎" 小川同窓会編『(小川写真製版所)創業記念三十年誌』、東京：小川写真製版所、1913年 (Ogawa Dōsōkai, ed., *(Ogawa Shashin Seihanjo) Sōgyō Kinen Sanjū Nenshi*, Tokyo: Ogawa Shashin Seihanjo, 1913), p. 169; in 横浜開港資料館編『明治の日本：横浜写真の世界：彩色アルバム』、横浜：有隣堂、1990年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *Japan of Meiji Period: the World of Yokohama Photography*, Yokohama: Yūrindō, 1990), p. 227.

customers beginning with the foreign residents of Yokohama. His landscape photographs as well as portraits were widely applauded by *gaikokujin*⁴ (foreigners) both inhabitants in and visitors to Japan. The photography technique of Tamamura was praised by his contemporaries,⁵ depicting Tamamura Studio as a leading enterprise in photography, whose fame spread far and wide.

Tamamura, who was born in Edo in 1856,⁶ began his career apprenticed to photographer Kanemaru Genzō in 1868 (*Meiji gan nen*)⁷ at the age of thirteen. Following the first attempt to open own business in Asakusa in 1875,⁸ Tamamura decided to go to Yokohama. An advertisement in *Yokohama Bōeki Shinpō* of March 11th, 1908, celebrating

⁴ *Gaikokujin*, which is a Japanese word, means foreigner in English. “肖像並びに風景写真の優秀なること他に其の比を見ざる程の逸品を出し在留外国人は勿論一般来遊外人の賞讃”『横浜貿易新報』明治41年3月11日号 (*Yokohama Bōeki Shinpō*, 11 March 1908); in 横浜開港資料館編『F. ベアト幕末日本写真集』、横浜：便利堂、1987年 (*Yokohama Archives of History*, ed., *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*, Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), pp. 196-197.

⁵ “写真術の妙技を以て其名声を世上に馳せ市内第一流の写真館なり” “having a striking technique of photography, his fame spread through his surroundings and his enterprise became the first-class photography studio of the city” 日比野重郎編『横浜社会辞彙』、横浜通信社、1917年 (Hibino Jūrō, ed., *Yokohama Shakai Jii*, Yokohama Tsūshinsha, 1917), p.83; in 横浜開港資料館編『F. ベアト幕末日本写真集』、横浜：便利堂、1987年 (*Yokohama Archives of History*, ed., *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*, Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), pp. 196-197; 横浜開港資料館編『明治の日本：横浜写真の世界：彩色アルバム』、横浜：有隣堂、1990年 (*Yokohama Archives of History*, ed., *Japan of Meiji Period: the World of Yokohama Photography*, Yokohama: Yūrindō, 1990), p. 231.

⁶ 小川同窓会編『（小川写真製版所）創業記念三十年誌』、東京：小川写真製版所、1913年 (Ogawa Dōsōkai, ed., *(Ogawa Shashin Seihanjo) Sōgyō Kinen Sanjū Nenshi*, Tokyo: Ogawa Shashin Seihanjo, 1913), p. 169; in 横浜開港資料館編『明治の日本：横浜写真の世界：彩色アルバム』、横浜：有隣堂、1990年 (*Yokohama Archives of History*, ed., *Japan of Meiji Period: the World of Yokohama Photography*, Yokohama: Yūrindō, 1990), p. 227.

⁷ 梅本貞雄『日本写真界の物故功労者顕彰録』、日本写真協会、1952 (Umemoto Sadao, *Nihon Shashinkai no Bukko Kōrōsha Kenshōroku*, Nihon Shashin Kyōkai, 1952), p.29; in 横浜開港資料館編『F. ベアト幕末日本写真集』、横浜：便利堂、1987年 (*Yokohama Archives of History*, ed., *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*, Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), pp. 196-197.

⁸ *Ibid.*

the twenty-fifth anniversary of Tamamura Photography studio,⁹ states that Tamamura opened his Yokohama studio in 1883. Although the address is specified as *Sumiyoshi-chō*, 4-*chōme*, *Bashamichi-dōri*,¹⁰ in a Tamamuro studio advertisement published in *Mainichi Shinbun* of November 22th, 1890, there are various publications in which recorded that Tamamura was operating his business in a studio on *Benten* Street in Yokohama. The advertisement in *Japan Directory* dated 1883 (Figure 5), was the first where “*Benten-dōri*, 1-*chōme*, No. 2, Yokohama” appears as the address of “Photographer Tamamura.”¹¹ Containing the photographs of interior and exterior of the building on *Benten* Street, the advertisement in *The Japan Advertiser Directory* of 1903 confirms the address, while exhibiting the spacious and elaborate rooms of where “Art Photographer Tamamura”¹² was located. With its sales room, studio, and parlor, this residence, which was renovated in 1908,¹³ allowed Tamamura and his staff to supply multifarious orders in large quantities.

⁹ “弊館は明治十五年の開業に係り本年は創業二十五年に当るを以て其記念として” 『横浜貿易新報』明治41年3月11日号 (*Yokohama Bōeki Shinpō*, 11 March 1908); in 横浜開港資料館編『F. ベアト幕末日本写真集』、横浜：便利堂、1987年 (*Yokohama Archives of History*, ed., *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*, Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), pp. 196-197.

¹⁰ Tamamura Photography Studio was referred as *Gyokushindō* [玉真堂]. 『毎日新聞』明治23年11月22日号 (*Mainichi Shinbun*, 22 November 1890); in 横浜開港資料館編『明治の日本：横浜写真の世界：彩色アルバム』、横浜：有隣堂、1990年 (*Yokohama Archives of History*, ed., *Japan of Meiji Period: the World of Yokohama Photography*, Yokohama: Yūrindō, 1990), Footnote 56, p.231.

¹¹ “弁天通1丁目2番地” Tamamura Kōzaburō Studio Advertisement, *Japan Directory*, 1883; in Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, p. 199.

¹² Tamamura Kōzaburō Studio Advertisement, *The Japan Advertiser Directory*, 1903; in 横浜開港資料館編『明治の日本：横浜写真の世界：彩色アルバム』、横浜：有隣堂、1990年 (*Yokohama Archives of History*, ed., *Japan of Meiji Period: the World of Yokohama Photography*, Yokohama: Yūrindō, 1990), p. 231.

¹³ The anonymous article titled “The Expansion of Tamamura Photography Studio,” (玉村写真館の拡張), 『横浜貿易新報』明治41年12月30日号 (*Yokohama Bōeki Shinpō*, 30 December 1908); in 横浜開港資料館編『明治の日本：横浜写真の世界：彩色アルバム』、横浜：有隣堂、1990年 (*Yokohama Archives of History*, ed., *Japan of Meiji Period: the World of Yokohama Photography*, Yokohama: Yūrindō, 1990), p.231.

Tamamura's business expanded into a full capacity functioning company through his partnership with Adolfo Farsari, who was an Italian-born American photographer traveled South America, West Africa and Asia with the US army and came to Japan around 1878,¹⁴ began in 1885 and with Takagi Teijirō (高木庭次郎), a photographer based in nearby Kobe, began around 1900. Although his cooperation with Farsari did not last long,¹⁵ it was an experience that Tamamura profited from the stock, negatives and the entrepreneurial network of Farsari,¹⁶ which Farsari himself had acquired from the photographer Baron Franz Stillfried who was an Australian aristocrat, soldier, painter, entrepreneur, world traveler, diplomat, and photographer arrived at Yokohama in 1868.¹⁷ Tamamura's collaboration with Takagi Teijirō, functioned as a Kobe branch to the Tamamura enterprise although Takagi acquired ownership of the Kobe store in 1904.¹⁸ The Kobe office which

¹⁴ Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, pp. 219-220.

¹⁵ The anonymous article titled "Foreigner lost the lawsuit," (外人の敗訴), 『時事新報』 明治 19 年 9 月 6 日号 (*Jiji Shinbō*, 6 September 1886). According to Saitō Takio, Farsari and Tamamura work together only for six months. 横浜開港資料館編『明治の日本：横浜写真の世界：彩色アルバム』、横浜：有隣堂、1990 年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *Japan of Meiji Period: the World of Yokohama Photography*, Yokohama: Yūrindō, 1990), p.231.

¹⁶ When Farsari did set up his own studio in 1885, he acquired the stock and negatives of Baron Franz Stillfried, and for his business he began to use *Stillfried and Anderson*, which was an established photography company, as a trading name. Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, p. 221.

¹⁷ Gert Rosenberg, *Wilhelm Burger: Ein Welt und Forschungsreisender mit der Kamera, 1844-1920*, Wien; Munchen: Christian Brandstatter, 1984; in Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, p. 134.

¹⁸ George Baxley claims that Tamamura sold his business operation in Kobe to Takagi in late 1903 to early 1904, and refers to the colophon of *The Festival of the Ages* published in 1906 stating "The name of this firm 'The TAMAMURA' has been changed to 'T. TAKAGI,' which is the name of the proprietor" as a later example. George C. Baxley Collection of Japanese Photography, <http://www.baxleystamps.com/>. Terry Bennett notes that Takagi Teijirō was shown as the proprietor of Kobe Store continued to trade under the Tamamura name in 1904 *Japan Directory*. Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, p. 199.

continued to use the commercial name “Tamamura Photographic Studio and Art Gallery” until 1912,¹⁹ served both as a marketing agent for the product range that was also offered in Yokohama, and as a focal point for the marketing and manufacturing of collotype illustrated books comprised of Tamamura’s photographs. Not only the joint ventures in which Tamamura was involved, but also the positions to which he was appointed, reveals the extent of interaction between the individual and institutional networks in the photography industry. In 1909 Tamamura was the director of Japan Dry-plate Company,²⁰ the first company of Japan manufacturing dry-plates,²¹ which was established in the year 1907. When the Association of Yokohama Photography Profession (横浜写真業組合) was founded in 1910, Tamamura was recommended and chosen as the president and his studio was used as the association office.²²

Tamamura Kōzaburō’s photographs and illustrated books were circulated in the

¹⁹ The colophons of the illustrated books composed of Tamamura’s photographs, indicate that until around 1912 these books were published by “Tamamura Photographic Studio and Art Gallery, Kobe” pointing out Takagi as the proprietor. Different editions of these books produced later than 1912, were published under the trade name of “(T.) Takagi Photographic Studio and Art Gallery, Kobe.” For the colophons of certain editions, see George C. Baxley Collection of Japanese Photography, <http://www.baxleystamps.com/>.

²⁰ 森田忠吉編『開港五十年記念 横浜成功名誉鑑』、横浜商況新報社、明治42年 (Morita Chūkichi, ed., *Kaikō Yonjūnen Kinen: Yokohama Seikō Meiyōkan*, Yokohama Shōkyō Shinpōsha, 1909), pp. 707-709; in 横浜開港資料館編『明治の日本：横浜写真の世界：彩色アルバム』、横浜：有隣堂、1990年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *Japan of Meiji Period: the World of Yokohama Photography*, Yokohama: Yūrindō, 1990), p.231.

²¹ For further information on Japan Dry-plate Company (日本乾板会社), see the series of six articles on photography industry published in 中外商業新報 (*Chugai Shogyo Shinpo*), today’s 日本經濟新聞 (*Nihon Keizai Shinbun*) in other words *Japan Economy Newspaper (The Nikkei)*, between April 17th and 24th, 1935.

²² 『横浜市第九回統計書』、横浜市役所、1912 (*Yokohama-shi Daikyūkai Tōkeisho*, Yokohama Shiyakusho, 1912), pp. 70-80; in 横浜開港資料館編『明治の日本：横浜写真の世界：彩色アルバム』、横浜：有隣堂、1990年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *Japan of Meiji Period: the World of Yokohama Photography*, Yokohama: Yūrindō, 1990), p.231.

international market both through the direct purchase orders from abroad and through the commissions by domestic companies to promote their products overseas. A set of photographs for tea industry, which was shot in 1882 on demand of a Japanese tea producer to be used as a promotion instrument for exporting its product,²³ was the beginning of Tamamura's engagement in a different aspect of photography; advertising photography for different industries. An illustrated book titled *The Tea in Japan*²⁴ published in 1908, and composed of 15 hand colored collotype plates depicting cultivation, harvesting, manufacture and ceremonial activities associated with tea in Japan, proves that Tamamura used early tea photographs for his later publications. According to the commemorative book of Ogawa Kazuma Studio, *Sōgyō Kinen Sanjū Nenshi* of 1913,²⁵ the Tamamura studio was asked to produce similar photographs for other industries. It is surmised from the advertisement published in *Japan Directory* of 1883,²⁶ which offers complete sets of tea and silk farm views, that Tamamura also took advertising photographs for the silk industry. Consisting of 17 hand colored collotype plates, another publication by Tamamura,

²³ 小川同窓会編『(小川写真製版所)創業記念三十年誌』、東京：小川写真製版所、1913年 (Ogawa Dōsōkai, ed., *(Ogawa Shashin Seihanjo) Sōgyō Kinen Sanjū Nenshi*, Tokyo: Ogawa Shashin Seihanjo, 1913), p. 169; in 横浜開港資料館編『明治の日本：横浜写真の世界：彩色アルバム』、横浜：有隣堂、1990年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *Japan of Meiji Period: the World of Yokohama Photography*, Yokohama: Yūrindō, 1990), p. 231.

²⁴ *The Tea in Japan*, Kobe: Tamamura, Photographer and Art Publisher; T. Takagi, Proprietor, 1908.

²⁵ 小川同窓会編『(小川写真製版所)創業記念三十年誌』、東京：小川写真製版所、1913年 (Ogawa Dōsōkai, ed., *(Ogawa Shashin Seihanjo) Sōgyō Kinen Sanjū Nenshi*, Tokyo: Ogawa Shashin Seihanjo, 1913), p. 169; in Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, p. 200.

²⁶ Tamamura Kōzaburō Studio Advertisement, *Japan Directory*, 1883; in Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, p. 199.

The Silk in Japan, whose first edition was published in 1915,²⁷ supports this assumption. It is evident that these pictorial representations of various aspects of the Japanese silk industry with captions in English, as in the case of *The Tea in Japan*, were targeting an audience outside of Japan. Yet again the volume, *The Rice in Japan*²⁸ published in 1907, suggests that rice was another industrial sector to which Tamamura served with his photographs, and reveals that he edited a series of publications out of his earlier work for the promotion of tea, silk and rice exports. The *Mainichi Shinbun* of July 19th, 1896, reported that:

Tamamura Photography Studio, which is located in Yokohama City, *Benten* Street, 1-*chōme*, has received an order lately for 1,000,000 photographs of Japanese sceneries, customs and people from Mr. Sylvester, an American tradesman from Boston. Tamamura Kōzaburō has been temporarily employing 105 assistants and colorists ever since. Tamamura managed to export 40,000 photographs of various sizes recently, and he estimates that Tamamura Studio produce about 180,000 photographs a month.²⁹

The collotypes and hand colored albumen photographs that Tamamura exported to the Boston publishing house J. B. Millet,³⁰ were provided for a series of books titled *Japan*:

²⁷ *The Silk in Japan*, Kobe: Takagi Photographic Studio and Art Gallery, 1915; 1920 (2nd edition).

²⁸ *The Rice in Japan*, Kobe, 1907; 1913 (2nd edition, T. Takagi Photographic Studio and Art Gallery).

²⁹ “横浜市弁天通一丁目玉村写真店は予て米国ボストン府の商人シレット氏より本邦の名勝及風俗人物等の写真百万枚の注文を受け居りたるが爾來臨時に職工百五人を増加し此程大小四万枚第一回の輸出を為したり、一ヶ月凡そ十八万枚出来の見込なりと” The name “シレット氏” is interpreted as “Mr. Sylvester” whose The anonymous article titled “The export of 40,000 photographs,” (写真四万枚の輸出), 『毎日新聞』明治29年7月19日号 (*Mainichi Shinbun*, 19 July 1896); in 横浜開港資料館編『F. Beato 幕末日本写真集』, 横浜: 便利堂, 1987年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*, Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), pp. 196-197.

³⁰ For further information on J. B. Millet Publishing House, see Denise Bethel, “The J. B. Millet Company’s Japan: Described and Illustrated by the Japanese,” *Image*, Vol. 34, Nos. 1-2, 1991, pp. 3-22.

Described and Illustrated by the Japanese.³¹ Edited by Francis Brinkley who was an officer in the Royal Artillery, came to Japan in 1867 as gunnery instructor,³² this illustrated series composed of 10 volumes, was printed and distributed in the United States. Although Tamamura's work constitute the majority of the photographs used in these publications, through the perusal of the books, it can be deduced that Tamamura was one of the photographers and artists contributed to such a project to introduce Japan to the outside world, to depict Japanese daily life, commercial activities, historical monuments and excursion spots. This compact image of Japan was not just exported through intermediaries, but it was also presented directly to a foreign audience through tourist souvenir albums in photography stores as that of Tamamura. Apparently Tamamura Kōzaburō's sales yielded a sizable income by 1909 that let Tamamura and Company to be the largest tax-paying photography business in Japan as stated in the business publication *Yokohama Seikō Meiyōkan* (*Yokohama's Paragons of Success and Fame*)³³ compiled to commemorate the fifteenth anniversary of the opening of Yokohama Port.

Tamamura was one of the representatives of a new genre called

³¹ Frank Brinkley, ed., *Japan, Described and Illustrated by the Japanese*, 10 vols., Boston: J.B. Millet Company, 1897. For further information on this volume, see Elmer Funkhouser, "Japan: Described and Illustrated by the Japanese," *Arts of Asia*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 1999, pp. 133-138.

³² James E. Hoare, "Captain Francis Brinkley (1841-1912): Yatoi, Scholar and Apologist," *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. 3, James E. Hoare, ed., Folkestone: Japan Library, 1999, pp. 99-107.

³³ 森田忠吉編『開港五十年記念 横浜成功名誉鑑』、横浜商況新報社、明治42年 (Morita Chūkichi, ed., *Kaikō Yonjūnen Kinen: Yokohama Seikō Meiyōkan*, Yokohama Shōkyō Shinpōsha, 1909), pp. 707-709; in 横浜開港資料館編『F. ベアト幕末日本写真集』、横浜：便利堂、1987年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*, Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), pp. 196-197.

Yokohama-shashin (Photography),³⁴ which germinated ensuing the opening of Yokohama Port to foreigners and matured through the innovative presentations by the photographers such as Felice Beato and Adolfo Farsari as discussed before. When *Yokohama-shashin*, which is the standardized version of the notion of souvenir albums, is in question, it is unavoidable not to mention “Kimbei” brand.

Kusakabe Kinbei (1841 - 1934)

Master-apprentice relations played an eminent role in acquiring the photographic knowledge and experience in the nineteenth century Japan, throughout the Ottoman geography and beyond. Just as Beato was the assistant of James Robertson and accompanied him from the excursions in Constantinople to the battlefield in Crimea, Kusakabe Kinbei was assisting and accompanying Beato within and outside of Japan. *Yokohama-shashin* referred to the photographic albums composed of hand colored photographs of Japanese views and costumes, whose wooden album covers were decorated with Japanese silk cloth, or elaborate lacquer. These souvenir albums were designed and presented in a way to attract visiting tourists as well as foreign inhabitants. Like his mentor

³⁴ For further information on *Yokohama Shashin* (横浜写真), see 齊藤多喜夫『幕末明治横浜館物語』、東京：吉川弘文館、2004年 (Saitō Takio, *Bakumatsu Meiji Yokohamakan Monogatari*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2004); 小沢健志『幕末・明治の写真』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1997年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu, Meiji no Shashin*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1997), pp. 199-202.

Felice Beato, Kusakabe Kinbei concentrated on producing such souvenir albums and became one of those who conceived the genre *Yokohama-shashin*, which connotes not only the characteristics of photographs but also the packaging of the albums from the lacquer art on the cover to the quality of album paper.

Born in Kofu on October 15th, 1841, into Matsuya family of dried-fish merchants. Came to Yokohama at the age of fifteen. Learned photography techniques from French photographer Beato. Accompanied Beato on a photographic trip to Shanghai. Opened Kinbei photography studio around 1887. Engaged in export of silk fans (*uchiwa*), albums of collotype-print landscape photographs, lantern slides, and achieved a reputation for these products all around the world. Also engaged in import of camera apparatus. Passed away on April 19th, 1932 at the age of 92.³⁵

Despite the dubious dates for his arrival to Yokohama and for the opening of first studio and the false inference about the origins of Felice Beato,³⁶ this encyclopedic text enumerating biographical knowledge on Kusakabe Kinbei, bespeaks the career path focused on trading photograph-affixed materials and photography-related equipments rather

³⁵ “天保 12 年 10 月 15 日甲府に生る。号金幣家は松屋と号し干物商、十五六才横浜に出、仏人写真師ビアトに技術を学び、ビアトに随行し上階海に渡航した。帰朝後明治廿年代写真店金幣写真館を開業、絹団扇・コロタイプ印刷風景写真帳・幻灯画の海外輸出に当り、其名世界諸国に謳はれた。又、写真機材料の輸入に当った。昭和 7 年 4 月 19 日逝去、享年 92。”梅本貞雄『日本写真界の物故功労者顕彰録』、日本写真協会、1952 (Umemoto Sadao, *Nihon Shashinkai no Bukko Kōrōsha Kenshōroku*, *Nihon Shashin Kyōkai*, 1952), p.29; in 横浜開港資料館編『F. ベアト幕末日本写真集』、横浜：便利堂、1987 年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*, Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), pp.186-187.

³⁶ Felice Beato, who was born in Corfu, a British protectorate of the time, was a Levantine of Italian origin, not French, who resided in Constantinople during his adolescent years. Colin Osman, “The Beato Brothers, with reference to some of their lesser known images,” *Photoresearcher*, No. 7, 2004, pp. 11-13; Bahattin Öztuncay, *James Robertson: Pioneer of Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, Beyoğlu: Eren, 1992, p.25.

than photographing, and the extent of “Kimbei” photography enterprise.

Kusakabe, who set off for Edo at the age of seventeen, ended in Yokohama around 1859.³⁷ In early 1860s Kusakabe’s itinerary intersected with Beato’s, Felice of Beato Brothers,³⁸ who had arrived in Japan in 1863.³⁹ Assisting Beato in the hand coloring of photographs at first,⁴⁰ Kusakabe mastered the technical intricacies and professional delicacies of photography. It was October 1867, when Kusakabe accompanied Beato on a photographic trip to Shanghai, according to the document reporting “The event that British merchant Beato was appointed as an officer and was given permission to go to Shanghai,”⁴¹ in *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran* (続通信全覽),⁴² volumes in which international incidents and

³⁷ 中村啓信『日下部金兵衛：明治時代カラー写真の巨人』、東京：国書刊行会、2006年 (Nakamura Hiroto, *Kusakabe Kinbei: Meiji Jidai kara Shashin no Kyojin*, Tokyo: Kokushokankōkai, 2006), pp. 170-172.

³⁸ Antonio Beato, younger brother of Felice Beato, was photographing Japanese envoys to Europe (遣欧使節) (1863(*Bunkūjū*3)) in front of the pyramids in Egypt, by the time Felice Beato arrived in Japan. 古川薫「コロジオン伯爵の行状」、『ザビエルの謎』、東京：文藝春秋、1997年 (Furukawa Kaoru, “Korojion Hakushaku no Gyōjō” *Zabueru no Nazo*, Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1997), pp. 151-178; 小沢健志『幕末写真の時代』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1996年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu Shashin no Jidai*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1996), pp. 70-71. For further information on Antonio Beato, see Colin Osman, “Antonio Beato, Photographer of the Nile,” *History of Photography*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1990, pp. 101-111.

³⁹ In an advertisement of Felice Beato in *The Japan Weekly Mail* dated February 12th, 1870, it was written that ‘Beato came to Japan six years ago.’ Through this piece of information it is surmised that Beato arrived in Japan sometime between February 1863 and February 1864. *The Japan Weekly Mail*, February 12th, 1870; in 横浜開港資料館編『F. ベアト幕末日本写真集』、横浜：便利堂、1987年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*, Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), p. 177.

⁴⁰ 岡部昌幸「日下部金兵衛略年譜」、『市民グラフヨコハマ』、64号、横浜市発行、1988年6月 (Okabe Masayuki, “Kusakabe Kinbei Ryaku Nenpu,” *Shimin Gurafu Yokohama*, No. 64, Yokohama, June 1988), p. 63.

⁴¹ “英国商人ビアト雇小使上海行免許一件 丁卯十月” (*Teipo*, *Keio*3, 1867) in 外務省編『続通信全覽』(船艦門・海外航)、東京：雄松堂、1983-1988年 (Gaimushō, ed., *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran* (Senkanmon, Kaigaikō), Tokyo: Yūshōdō, 1983-1988).

⁴² *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran* (Complete Overview of Reports, Part II) (続通信全覽) compiled between 1861 (*Bunkū gan nen*) and 1868 (*Keio*4), is the second series of *Tsūshin Zenran* (通信全覽) on Japanese international relations after the political and economic “opening” of the country, which was collated between 1859 (*Ansei*6) and 1860 (*Manen gan nen*).

missions concerning Japan were registered, that was published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Shanghai experience of Kusakabe whose name was referred as one of the two sub-officers in *Zoku Tsūshin Zenran*, is verified by Kusakabe's granddaughter, Uchida Tama, in an interview given to Matsumoto Itsuya in 1992,⁴³ which was mentioned in Matsumoto's book *Bakumatsu Hyōryū*. Although there seems to be no trace from Kinbei's name in related documents, it is probable that he was one of the others who developed or colored the first views from Korea⁴⁴ that was photographed by Beato who was the official photographer for the American expedition to Korea in 1871. After Beato sold his stock and negatives to the Austrian photographer Baron Raimund von Stillfried in 1877,⁴⁵ Kusakabe might have worked with Stillfried, who was the former student of Beato, for some time. Throughout his tutelage period, Kusakabe Kinbei's encounter with non-Japanese photographers like Beato and Stillfried, helped him develop the intuition to seize the expectations of potential customers, and a visual perspective appealing to the foreign spectator, and paved the way for his worldwide prominence as a photographer and as a lacquer album dealer.

According to the *Yokohama City Trade Directory* of the year 1881 (*Meiji14*),

⁴³ 松本逸也『幕末漂流』、東京：人間と歴史社、1993年 (Matsumoto Itsuya, *Bakumatsu Hyōryū*, Tokyo: Ningen to Rekishisha, 1993); in Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, p. 205.

⁴⁴ For further information on Korea photographs Felice Beato, see Terry Bennett and Martin Uden, *Korea: Caught in Time*, London: Garnet Publishing, 1998.

⁴⁵ Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, pp. 95, 134. It is worth noting that Raimund Stillfried was one of the three brothers, others of which were called Franz and Karl. Ibid., p. 133.

Kusakabe Kinbei was operating a studio in “*Benten-dōri, 2-chōme, No. 36*” (Figure 13),⁴⁶ which was registered under the category of “photography merchants” (写真商之部).⁴⁷ This address, which was previously mentioned in a “K. Kimbei” advertisement appeared in *Tourist Guide to Yokohama, Tokio* published in 1880 by W.E.L. Kelling (Figure 8),⁴⁸ was the first location of Kusakabe Photography Studio. Retaining the studio at No. 36 in operation, Kusakabe expanded his enterprise by a branch store at No. 27 in *Benten* Street, as appears in his *Japan Directory* advertisement dated 1885,⁴⁹ and in the trademark insignia imprinted on the back of his *cartes-de-visite*⁵⁰ (Figure 9) produced in the following years. *Benten* Street and *Honchō* Street were the centers of commerce in Yokohama, and that Kusakabe and Tamamura took their place among the myriad of business photographers deployed in these centers, if it is remembered that Tamamura Kōzaburō was also ran his business in *Benten* Street, not far from the Kusakabe studio during 1880s. The yellow pages of *Yokohama City Trade Directory* and *Tourist Guide to*

⁴⁶ “弁天通二丁目三十六番地 日下部金之助” 横山錦柵編『横浜商人録』、東京：横浜商人録社、明治14年 (Yokoyama Kinsaku, ed., *Yokohama Shōninroku*, Tokyo: Yokohama Shōninrokusha, 1881), p. 46.

⁴⁷ It is worth noting that this category, “写真商之部,” was transcribed with an English explanation, “*Photographers*.” Depending on the *kanji* used and the nature of the book, it would be more appropriate to translate this category as “photography merchants.” Ibid., p.46.

⁴⁸ W.E.L. Kelling, *Tourist Guide to Yokohama, Tokio etc.*, Tokyo: Sergent; Farsari & Co., Sole Agents, 1880.

⁴⁹ Kusakabe Kinbei Studio Advertisement, *Japan Directory*, 1885; in Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, p. 205.

⁵⁰ *Cartes-de-visite* were paper photographs made from a glass negative mounted on a thin card measuring approximately 4 x 2 1/2 inches. *Carte-de-visite* was a popular format for portrait photography in the nineteenth century. For examples of Kusakabe's *cartes-de-visite*, see 井桜直美『セピア色の肖像：幕末明治名刺判写真コレクション』東京：朝日ソノラマ、2000年 (Izakura Naomi, *Portraits in Sepia: Carte de Visite Photography Collection*, Tokyo: Asahi Sonorama, 2000).

Yokohama, Tokio,⁵¹ have many advertisements for photographers among other professions who were located both in *Benten* Street and in *Honchō* Street (Main Street) of Yokohama. Like in Constantinople, the international commercial center of the port city provided fertile environment for the growth of photography as a business. Likewise Kusakabe moved to *Honchō-dōri*, “Grand Rue”⁵², not *de Péra*, but of Yokohama around 1890, where his prestigious contemporaries, Suzuki Togōku and Usui Kingen⁵³ had their studios. No. 7 in *Honchō* Street was the address given in the “K. Kimbei” studio advertisement⁵⁴ published in *Japan Directory* of 1892 (Figure 11). Another advertisement of Kusakabe in *The City of Yokohama Past and Present* dated the year 1908⁵⁵ while verifying No. 7 address, proves that “Kimbei” operated his photography business in *Honchō* Street at least for twenty years. The same advertisement announces the existence of a branch store in *Ginza* Strict of Tokyo, which was made into a symbol of Meiji transformation through the architectural and

⁵¹ Twenty pages in *Yokohama City Trade Directory* and seventeen pages in *Tourist Guide to Yokohama, Tokio* were devoted to advertising. Among the photographers whose advertisements were published *Trade Directory* or *Tourist Guide*, there were Suzuki Togōku, Usui Kingen, Suzuki Tochoku, Asama Futami, Hung Cheong, Baron Stillfried, in addition to the Japan Photographic Association run by Stillfried and Andersen and a lantern maker Kobayashi, who focused on “photographic pictures painted” screens, lanterns, sunshades.

⁵² Constantinople photographers of the nineteenth century mostly chose *Grand Rue de Péra* to establish their photography studios. For a plan of *Grand Rue de Péra*, which shows the addresses of photographers during the period 1840-1900, see Engin Özendes, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, Istanbul: İletişim, 1987, p. 34.

⁵³ For the exact addresses of Suzuki Togōku and Usui Kingen, see 横山錦柵編『横浜商人録』、東京：横浜商人録社、明治14年 (Yokoyama Kinsaku, ed., *Yokohama Shōninroku*, Tokyo: Yokohama Shōninrokusha, 1881) pp. 10, 19; W.E.L. Kelling, *Tourist Guide to Yokohama, Tokio etc.*, Tokyo: Sergent, Farsari & Co., Sole Agents, 1880, pp. 96-97.

⁵⁴ Kusakabe Kinbei Studio Advertisement, *Japan Directory*, 1892; in Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, p. 204.

⁵⁵ Kusakabe Kinbei Studio Advertisement, M. Nakada, *The City of Yokohama Past and Present*, Yokohama: Japan Gazette, 1908; in 横浜開港資料館編『明治の日本：横浜写真の世界：彩色アルバム』、横浜：有隣堂、1990年 (Yokohama Archives of History, ed., *Japan of Meiji Period: the World of Yokohama Photography*, Yokohama: Yūrindō, 1990), p. 231.

infrastructural reconstruction that was fostered after the two fires, one in 1869, the other in 1872. Not only commercial notices in the publications and newspapers of the time, but also promotion postcards and fans, which probably were distributed to the customers who visited “Kimbei” studio, were in circulation for self-advertising. Indicating the coexistence of the main store in *Honchō-dōri* and the branch store in *Ginza*, by the advertisement on the back, a *carte postale* with a Kusakabe photograph on the front,⁵⁶ depicted “K. Kimbei’s Photographic Gallery” as both an exporter and an importer. Like this postcard advertisement, there is also a “K. Kimbei Photographic Studio” promotion fan (Figure 10)⁵⁷ which itemizes the wide range of products that were offered: colored photographic views and costumes of Japan, portraits taken in Japanese costumes, colored magic lantern slides, silk photo fans, postcards, lacquered and cedar wood frames as well as albums with mother of pearl inlaid and gold lacquered covers and a stock of imported Eastman Kodak cameras, films and photograph supplies, which might be qualified as luxury products. Pursuing access to the desired customer profile, Kusakabe Kinbei chose central locations in the port city for the “Kimbei” studio gallery, and photographic products appealing to these mostly foreign customers.

While offering to photograph those customers, who yearned for a *carte-de-visite* as a souvenir in Japanese costumes, or providing photograph albums embroidered with

⁵⁶ Kinbei Photography Studio Promotion Postcard (金幣写真館宣伝用絵はがき), Meiji Taisho 1868-1926 Gallery, Kusakabe Kinbei Collection, <http://www.meijitaisho.net/>.

⁵⁷ Kinbei Photography Studio Promotion Fan (金幣写真館宣伝用団扇), Meiji Taisho 1868-1926 Gallery, Kusakabe Kinbei Collection, <http://www.meijitaisho.net/>.

ostentatious materials in the cover and with demanded scenes and themes in the tome, Kusakabe was au courant with the expectations of the visitors and foreign inhabitants through his social milieu. Apart from the “Kimbei Photographic Studio,” he was engaged in the formation of commercial and institutional phase of photography. The *Japan Directory* dated 1893,⁵⁸ refers to Kusakabe Kinbei as the manager of the Yokohama-based Akitsu Company, which was a Fine Art Depot and manufacturing association⁵⁹ that was located close to the Grand Hotel, which was occupied by tourists who were willing to purchase photographs as tokens of their visit. From 1897 onwards, as a member of assembly, Kusakabe was also active in the affairs of the Yokohama Chamber of Commerce (横浜商業會議所),⁶⁰ which was established in 1895.⁶¹ Kusakabe worked with Tamamura in the founding body of the Association of Yokohama Photography Profession (横浜写真業組合) in 1910s,⁶² and became the first vice-president. Kusakabe Kinbei gained eminence in the photography industry, and surpassed the photographers of his time, not only because he was in these key positions, but also because he participated in international organizations with his photographs that became part of the global obsession with exhibiting and being

⁵⁸ *Japan Directory*, 1893; in Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, p. 210.

⁵⁹ For the connection between Akitsu Company and Japanese lacquer art, see Monika Bincsik, “European collectors and Japanese merchants of lacquer in ‘Old Japan’: Collecting Japanese lacquer art in the Meiji period (1868–1912),” *Journal of the History of Collections*, 2008, 20(2), pp. 217-236.

⁶⁰ 齊藤多喜夫『幕末明治横浜館物語』、東京：吉川弘文館、2004年 (Saitō Takio, *Bakumatsu Meiji Yokohamakan Monogatari*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2004), p. 181.

⁶¹ In 1928 the name changed into the Yokohama Chamber of Commerce and Industry (横浜商工会議所). 『横浜商工会議所百年史』、横浜：横浜商工会議、1981年 (*Hundred-Years History of the Yokohama Chamber of Commerce and Industry*, Yokohama: Yokohama Shokō Kaigi, 1981), p. 813.

⁶² 齊藤多喜夫『幕末明治横浜館物語』、東京：吉川弘文館、2004年 (Saitō Takio, *Bakumatsu Meiji Yokohamakan Monogatari*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2004), p. 182.

spectators which turned into a frenzy, in the international arena throughout the nineteenth century. In this vein, World's Fairs represented the most conspicuous facet of the visual politics vying for dominance. In 1904 the photographs of Kusakabe were displayed in St. Louis World Exposition,⁶³ which was one of the World's Fairs where the photograph, or any other object on display from industrial materials including metals and textiles to geographical and architectural features of the participant countries/empires, rather than being innocently exhibited, fulfilled the function of visualizing the representations of concepts and imposing ideologies. While analyzing the spatial and ideological constructions of the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, Curtis M. Hinsley states that the world's fairs materially reiterated an ideology of linear, ineluctable progress toward a superficially diverse but ideologically homogeneous humanity.⁶⁴ Beyond simply reflecting the existing social, economical and cultural conditions, the participant countries/empires ideologically and politically constructed the settings of their pavilion, premised upon linearity, homogeneity, and progress. In St. Louis, in 1904, in the Fair's Palace of Education, the Japanese education system was depicted in photographs, photographs of the geographic territories belonging to the new empire and panoramic scenes from all over Japan, took their place alongside the miniature of *Dai Nippon*,⁶⁵ "Great Japan" that now turned toward

⁶³ 藤原秀之「早稲田大学図書館所蔵明治期彩色写真帖」、『早稲田大学図書館紀要』、第 52 号、2004 年 (Fujiwara Hideyuki, "Waseda Daigaku Toshokan Shozō Meijiiki Saishiki Shahinchō," *Waseda Daigaku Toshokan Kiyo*, No. 52, 2004), pp. 34-78.

⁶⁴ Curtis M. Hinsley, "Strolling through the Colonies," in *Walter Benjamin and the demands of history*, ed., Michael P. Steinberg, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996, p. 120.

⁶⁵ "大日本帝国" may be translated as "the Empire of (Great/Grand) Japan." As in the fifth National

Korea and Taiwan, in the Palace of Transportation during the 1904 Louisiana Exposition.⁶⁶

Amid an aura of world expositions, which standardized the nineteenth-century visual perceptions through the political and economic compartments of “industrial” versus “exotic,” the “Kimbei” photographs introduced Japan to a worldwide audience in the context of Japanese imperialist policies of the 1900s that projected the image of new “modern” Japanese Empire.

Kusakabe was not the first, nor the last of the photographers whose camera framed an idealized and expected image of Japan both for the spectator and the promoter. Nor was he the sole photographer who served to those in the context of world fairs. The St. Louis World Exposition exhibited also the photographs of Ogawa Kazuma who proved to be an astute businessman affiliated himself with different government instrumentalities through various commissions.

Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition held in Osaka in 1903, Palace of Transportation in St. Louis 1904 World's Fair, where various photographs from *Dai Nippon* territory were displayed, included the photographs of Korean Peninsula as well as *Ainu* indigenes. For an evaluation on Japanese imperialist policies reflected in the fifth National Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition, see 松田京子『帝国の視線：博覧会と異文化表象』、東京：吉川弘文館、2003 年 (Matsuda Kyōko, *The Empire's Eyes: Exhibitions and Cross-cultural Representation*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003). For the representation policies of Japan in St. Louis World's Fair, see Christ, Carol. "Japan's Seven Acres: Politics and Aesthetics at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition." *Gateway Heritage* 17: 2, 1996, pp. 2-15.

⁶⁶ 楠元町子「セントルイス万国博覧会における日本の展示品と評価」、『現代社会研究科研究報告』、第 2 号、2007 年 (Kusumoto Machiko, “Japanese Display and Evaluation in St. Louis World Exposition,” *Research on Contemporary Society*, No. 2, 2007), pp. 139-147.

Ogawa Kazuma (1860 - 1929)

Ogawa's albums of collotypes will delight every lover of the beautiful. For colored illustrations of scenery and the life of the people, the traveler is recommended to the native book-shops and print-stalls: no foreign artist has succeeded in rendering the peculiar Japanese coloring.⁶⁷

The encyclopedic work edited for the use of travelers by the Emeritus Professor of Japanese and Philology in the Imperial University of Tokyo, Basil Hall Chamberlain, under the title "Books on Japan" recommends Ogawa Kazuma photographic albums to those who desire to capture Japan from an "insider's eye." Being cognizant of the commercial and technological potential of photography, and its latency as an instrument of propaganda, Ogawa Kazuma was a photographer who mostly produced for the consumption of the international market, as well as an entrepreneur in every possible sector concerning the scope of photography, a "court photographer," a publisher and an editor.

Ogawa Kazuma, who was born into a samurai and retainer family of Oshi-han (忍藩) in Musashikoku⁶⁸ near central Tokyo in 1860,⁶⁹ developed a keen interest in photography, while studying architecture and English from 1873 to 1876⁷⁰ at Arima Gakko

⁶⁷ Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Things Japanese Being Notes on Various Subject Connected with Japan, For the Use of Travelers and Others*, Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh, 1905 (Fifth Edition), p. 72.

⁶⁸ 武蔵国, present-day Saitama Prefecture of Tokyo.

⁶⁹ アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治38年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 1.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 1.

(School) (有馬学校) in Tokyo. Following his graduation, Ogawa apprenticed to a local photographer, Yoshiwara Hideo (吉原秀雄) (1848-?),⁷¹ with whom he stayed for around six months and acquired some knowledge of the wet-plate process in his hometown Kumagaya (熊谷) in the Kantō region of the north central region of Japan. Being passionate about photography business, Ogawa opened his first photography studio⁷² in Tomioka in Gumma Prefecture of the Kantō region in 1877. In 1880 he enrolled in an English school run by the American missionary James Ballagh,⁷³ where he studied for the next twelve months. This attempt to advance his English knowledge served as a preparation process for his further decision, which was of vital importance for his photographic career path. Like his precursor Suzuki Shinichi (鈴木真一) (1855-1912),⁷⁴ Ogawa made up his mind to go to America to master various photography techniques. In June of 1882 he began his journey to New York on the American frigate Swatara where he was hired as a member of crew by the captain.⁷⁵ From the April of 1883 to the September of 1885,⁷⁶ Ogawa devoted his days to plumb the several burgeoning techniques of photography. In Boston he

⁷¹ 小沢清『写真界の先覚小川一真の生涯』、東京：日本図書刊行会、1994年 (Ozawa Isao, *Shahinkai no Sengaku Ogawa Kazuma no Shōgai*, Tokyo: Nihon Zusho Kankōkai, 1994), pp. 32-33.

⁷² “群馬県上野国北甘楽郡富岡町四十八番地 (Gumma-ken Kozukenokuni Kita Kanra-gun Tomioka-chō No. 48)” was the address for this photography studio. Ibid., p. 34.

⁷³ アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治38年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 1.

⁷⁴ Suzuki Shinichi left Japan in 1879, and apprenticed to the San Francisco-based photographer Isaiah West Taber (1830-1912) for one year. Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, pp. 172-173.

⁷⁵ アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治38年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 2.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 2.

studied portrait photography at the firm of Ritz & Hastings. He pored through the collotype printing process and copper plate process at the Albert Type Company in Boston. Then he went to Philadelphia where he mastered the dry plate process at the firm of John Carbutt.⁷⁷ Before leaving America, Ogawa was introduced to Viscount Okabe Nagamoto (岡部長職) (1855-1925)⁷⁸ who was a photography enthusiast, later the vice-president of the Photographic Society of Japan. Throughout his years in America, Ogawa not only acquired the knowledge of various photography techniques, technologies, and the experience of marketing methods at first hand in the companies which were active in photography business, but also got acquainted with the network through which he would attain patronage and career opportunities.

Ogawa Kazuma succeeded in initiating individual commercial enterprises he long craved depending on the photographic information he collected, and the prominent figures he encountered throughout his photographic exploits. Receiving the financial support of Viscount Okabe,⁷⁹ Ogawa established a commercial photography studio in Tokyo, called *Gyokujun-kan* (玉潤館) on his return to Japan in 1885. Located in “Tokyo-shi Kōjimachi-ku Idamachi 4-chōme No. 1”,⁸⁰ this studio was plausibly the reference point for

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 2-3.

⁷⁸ William Burton, “Japanese Photographers, No. 1 - K. Ogawa,” *The Practical Photographer*, June 1st, 1894, pp. 146-148.

⁷⁹ 小沢清『写真界の先覚小川一真の生涯』、東京：日本図書刊行会、1994年 (Ozawa Isao, *Shahinkai no Sengaku Ogawa Kazuma no Shōgai*, Tokyo: Nihon Zusho Kankōkai, 1994), p. 69; for further information on *Gyokujun-kan* (玉潤館), see Ibid., pp. 68-74.

⁸⁰ “東京市麹町区飯田町四丁目一番地,” アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治38年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma*,

the 1913 publication,⁸¹ which was compiled to celebrate the thirty years of existence of Ogawa's Tokyo studio. Ogawa was not merely a photographer. He endeavored to found the manufacturing companies where the required photographic material was in production. Being a close friend and a partner⁸² of Ogawa, William Kinnimond Burton (1856-1899) who was a photography pundit from Britain, active in Japan from 1887 onwards, was by Ogawa's side during his entrepreneurial attempts. In 1888, with the technical support of William Burton and financial backing by Kajima Seibei (鹿島清兵衛) (1866-1924), who was a wealthy Tokyo merchant and an avid amateur photographer,⁸³ Ogawa established a dry plate manufacturing business, *Tsukiji Kanpan Seizō-jo* (築地乾板製造所)⁸⁴ in Tokyo.⁸⁵ While in one year this enterprise was built into a full-fledged business renamed Japan Dry Plate Manufacturing Company (日本乾板製造株式会社),⁸⁶ Ogawa launched a venture into collotype printing in 1889, referred to as *Ogawa Shashin Seihan-jo* (小川寫眞製版所), which was the first collotype business of Japan. Considering the functioning of this business as a photography-printing factory during the following years, Ogawa's

from birth to his life as a photographer, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 3.

⁸¹ 小川同窓会編『(小川写真製版所)創業記念三十年誌』、東京：小川写真製版所、1913年 (Ogawa Dōsōkai, ed., *(Ogawa Shashin Seihanjo) Sōgyō Kinen Sanjū Nenshi*, Tokyo: Ogawa Shashin Seihanjo, 1913).

⁸² Clark Worswick, *Japan Photographs 1854-1905*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979, p. 145.

⁸³ Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, p. 238.

⁸⁴ *Tsukiji Kanpan Seizō-jo* (築地乾板製造所) was located in "Tsukiji, No. 20" in Tokyo. 小沢清『写真界の先覚小川一真の生涯』、東京：日本図書刊行会、1994年 (Ozawa Isao, *Shahinkai no Sengaku Ogawa Kazuma no Shōgai*, Tokyo: Nihon Zusho Kankōkai, 1994), p. 92.

⁸⁵ アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治38年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), pp. 7-9.

⁸⁶ 小沢清『写真界の先覚小川一真の生涯』、東京：日本図書刊行会、1994年 (Ozawa Isao, *Shahinkai no Sengaku Ogawa Kazuma no Shōgai*, Tokyo: Nihon Zusho Kankōkai, 1994), p. 92.

eminence in high quality color collotype printing was no coincidence. Likewise, in 1894 Ogawa began copperplate printing, photo-engraving process, which allowed photographs and letters to be printed simultaneously.⁸⁷ The introduction of this process made it possible to print descriptive titles directly onto the collotype plates. This new printing technique in photography was also a revolutionary stride in publishing, prompting the high-toned journals, one of the sectors, which Ogawa promoted extensively. Beginning in 1889 Ogawa served as the editor of the monthly photography magazine *Shashin Shinpō* (写真新報), the *Photographic News*.⁸⁸ In addition to editing, Ogawa wrote articles and translated ones from English on the latest photography techniques from all around the world, published in *Shashin Shinpō*,⁸⁹ which was Japan's first and only photographic journal at the time. 1889 was also the year that Ogawa began to cooperate with Okakura Tenshin (岡倉天心) (1862-1913) and Takahashi Kenzō, the former was the principal of Tokyo Fine Arts School,⁹⁰ later noted for his vision of Pan-Asian Art and Japanese aesthetics, and the latter

⁸⁷ アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治38年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), pp. 16-18.

⁸⁸ アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治38年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 11. For further information on *Shashin Shinpō*, see 小沢清『写真界の先覚小川一真の生涯』、東京：日本図書刊行会、1994年 (Ozawa Isao, *Shashinkai no Sengaku Ogawa Kazuma no Shōgai*, Tokyo: Nihon Zusho Kankōkai, 1994), pp. 87-90.

⁸⁹ From 1889 to 1894 almost in every issue there published an article by Ogawa Kazuma regarding especially the recent photography printing techniques such as collotype printing or copperplate printing. For instance, a series of articles titled "Photography Chemistry and Light Beams" (光線並寫眞科學) regarding collotype process was translated by Ogawa, and published in each issue of *Shashin Shinpō* during the year of 1890.

⁹⁰ Tokyo Fine Arts School (東京美術学校), which was founded in 1887, became Tokyo University of Arts (東京芸術大学) in 1949. 『東京芸術大学百年史』東京：音楽之友社、1987年 (*Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunenshi*, Tokyo: Ongaku no Tomosha, 1987), Vol. 3.

was a consultant at the same school.⁹¹

Representing the new-turn toward Japanese culture after decades of frenzied enthusiasm with contemporary Western culture, Ogawa established *Kokka-sha*, *Kokka* Company in 1889 in collaboration with Okakura Tenshin and Takahashi Kenzō, and launched the publication of *Kokka* (國華),⁹² *National Essence*, an illustrated monthly journal of the fine and applied arts of Japan.⁹³ Ogawa contributed to the publication of this magazine with his collotype plates as well. In two years, after Ogawa quit as the editor of *Shashin Shinpō*, from 1898 on, he was in charge of publishing *Shinbi Taikan* (真美大観),⁹⁴ the photography magazine published by the Kyoto Photographic Beauties Association (京都真美協會).⁹⁵ In the same year Ogawa undertook a photographic excursion to document Japanese treasures, mainly old temples and shrines, whose fruits were both issued in *Shinbi Taikan* and composed into an illustrated book titled the *Famous Castles and Temples of Japan*,⁹⁶ which was published and contributed by Kelly and Walsh Company for the

⁹¹ 小沢清『写真界の先覚小川一真の生涯』、東京：日本図書刊行会、1994年 (Ozawa Isao, *Shahinkai no Sengaku Ogawa Kazuma no Shōgai*, Tokyo: Nihon Zusho Kankōkai, 1994), pp. 85-86.

⁹² For further information on the complete collection of *Kokka* (國華), see The Jane Carnegie Oriental Art Library, <http://www.janecarnegie.com/>.

⁹³ アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治38年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), pp. 11-13.

⁹⁴ 真美大観 may be translated as *Photographic Beauties Survey*. For further information for this photography magazine, see 山口須美男「明治期の写真・印刷と出版事情：付・コロタイプ印刷の実際」(Yamaguchi Sumio, “Meiji no shashin, insatsu to shuppan jijō: tsuki, korotaipu insatsu no jissai”), pp. 1-14.

⁹⁵ アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治38年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 21.

⁹⁶ Ogawa Kazuma, *Famous Castles and Temples of Japan* by K. Ogawa, *Photographer*, Tokyo; Yokohama; Hong Kong; Shanghai; Singapore: Kelly and Walsh, 1898.

consumption of the international as well as the domestic market.⁹⁷ The objective of this publication to appeal to the foreign purchaser is manifest in each plate that has an English language descriptive caption printed on the plate directly below the image.

Being a prolific collotype-producer regarding not only photography journals but also photographic albums, Ogawa compiled multitudinous illustrated books in cooperation with William Burton, James Murdoch and others from 1890s onwards.⁹⁸ His predilection for photographic albums in mass quantities to individually produced albumen photographs imbedded in his photographic production was due to his intention to appeal to a mass, preferably international, audience. In later years Ogawa published and distributed widely under the name *Ogawa Shuppanbu* (小川出版部). As a publisher he brought out his own photography books ensuing his photographic expeditions all around Japan and abroad, as well as publications by other photographers. Herbert George Ponting (1870-1935), who was born in the south of England, emigrated to California in his twenties, and came to Japan during the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905,⁹⁹ is one of these photographers. His

⁹⁷ “真美大観ニ京都真美協會ノ出版ニ係リ写真版ヲ用い日本國寶及古社寺ノ寶物ヲ載ヤ内外ニ販賣スルモノナリ” アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治 38 年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 21. Here it is clearly mentioned that the aim to photograph Japanese treasures, old temples and shrines, was to trade these photographs in domestic and international market. Although Ogawa did not refer in his *Résumé*, this collection contained photographs of Former *Han* castles, which were mentioned in the title of the English publication.

⁹⁸ Two illustrated books, *Scenes from Open Air Life in Japan* and *Out-of-Doors Life in Japan*, dated 1893, whose collotype plates were executed by Ogawa Kazuma, whose text was written by James Murdoch, and photographed by William Burton, exemplify the collaborative photographic publications to which Ogawa contributed.

⁹⁹ *Herbert Ponting Bibliography*, Royal Geographical Society, <http://images.rgs.org/herbertponting.aspx>.

Fuji San and *Japanese Studies*,¹⁰⁰ were published by Ogawa Publishing House (小川出版部) at the beginning of the 1900s. Ogawa's "premier"s in Japan was not confined to photography technology or publishing. In the early years of his career, in 1887 Ogawa, the "Japanese photographer of wide experience,"¹⁰¹ was commissioned to accompany an American scientific team led by David P. Todd, who was a professor at Amherst College, who came to Japan to monitor the solar eclipse at Shirakawa near Tokyo.¹⁰² Ogawa contributed to the photographic record of the expedition together with Sugiyama Shoji. Mabel Loomis Todd in her book depicting the second expedition to Japan in 1896 once more led by Prof. Todd¹⁰³ to observe and photograph another solar eclipse at Esashi in Hokkaidō, the northernmost island of Japan, states:

The photographer, Mr. Ogawa (also our photographer during the former Japan eclipse at Shirakawa in 1887), was to follow within a few days, and the interpreter detailed by Government would join the Expedition at Sapporo.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Herbert George Ponting, *Fuji San*, Tokyo: Ogawa Shuppanbu, 1905; Herbert G. Ponting, *Japanese Studies*, Tokyo: Ogawa Shuppanbu, 1906.

¹⁰¹ Professor David P. Todd referred to Ogawa as "K. Ogawa of Tokio, a Japanese photographer of wide experience" in his report concerning their eclipse expedition to Japan. *American Eclipse Expedition to Japan: The Total Solar Eclipse of 1887, Preliminary Report of Prof. David P. Todd, Astronomer in Charge of the Expedition*, Massachusetts: Amherst College Observatory, 1888.

¹⁰² アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治 38 年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), pp. 3-6.

¹⁰³ アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治 38 年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), pp. 20-21.

¹⁰⁴ Mabel Loomis Todd (1856-1932), *Corona and Coronet: being a narrative of the Amherst eclipse expedition to Japan, in Mr. James's schooner-yacht Coronet, to observe the sun's total obscuration*, Boston; New York: Mifflin and company, 9th August, 1896, p. 170.

The photographic support of Ogawa and Burton was acknowledged in the preface as follows: "to Professor Burton and Mr. Ogawa warm thanks are due for fine views of the *Ainu*¹⁰⁵ and Northern *Yezo*."¹⁰⁶ Ogawa's participation in such international squads evinces his connections with international bodies of experts and promoters by virtue of his years in America and through William Burton. Like Tamamura Kōzaburō's photographs, Ogawa's color collotypes of flowers and hand colored albumen photographs were incorporated into the publication project devoted to Japan's introduction to the civilizations of economic powers alluded as the "West," in *Japan: Described and Illustrated by the Japanese*,¹⁰⁷ compiled between 1897 and 1898. Reflecting that the purpose of publishing houses like Millet Company or Kelly & Walsh¹⁰⁸ was not profit-oriented while contemplating such publication projects would be a fallacy.

While Millet Company was publishing purportedly general history books on India, Turkey, China, Korea, and Japan from the end of nineteenth century to the beginning of 1900s, which did not escaped from having an orientalist and in certain ways an

¹⁰⁵ *Ainus* are the aboriginal inhabitants of Hokkaidō, far north island of Japan.

¹⁰⁶ *Ezo* (蝦夷) in the language *Ainus* means the land of *Ainus*, or the *Ainus* themselves, was referred as Hokkaido. Mabel Loomis Todd (1856-1932), *Corona and Coronet: being a narrative of the Amherst eclipse expedition to Japan, in Mr. James's schooner-yacht Coronet, to observe the sun's total obscuration*, Boston; New York: Mifflin and company, 9th August, 1896, p. viii.

¹⁰⁷ Frank Brinkley, ed., *Japan, Described and Illustrated by the Japanese*, 10 vols., Boston: J.B. Millet Company, 1897.

¹⁰⁸ There are other examples of books published by *Ogawa Shuppanbu* and distributed by Kelly and Walsh. Apart from Brinkley's *Japan, Described and Illustrated by the Japanese* (1897), examples of other books published by Millet Company as follows: Francis Brinkley, *China Its History, Arts and Literature*, Boston: J.B. Millet Company, 1902; Angus Hamilton, Herbert Henry Austin and Masatake Terauchi, *Korea: Its History, Its People, and Its Commerce*, Boston: J.B. Millet Company, 1910; John Davis Rees, *India: The Real India*, Boston: J.B. Millet Company, 1910; Edward Frederick Knight, *Turkey: the Awakening of Turkey, the Turkish Revolution of 1908*, Boston: J.B. Millet Company, 1910.

colonialist approach that would appeal its potential customers, Kelly and Walsh Publishing House was where the majority of the Ogawa-signed illustrated books were brought out and distributed to various cities in different countries, if they were not published by *Ogawa Shuppanbu*. When Japan piqued world's interest once more with its victory of 1895 Sino-Japanese war,¹⁰⁹ guidebooks and illustrated books respecting Japan proliferated both in the United States and in Great Britain.¹¹⁰ Collaboration with Japanese photographers like Ogawa provided an approach to Japan diversified in a way that embraced not only exoticized scenes but also visual representations of Japan's industrial production and of architectural histories embroidered into these publications.

Ogawa Kazuma was the "Gülmez Frères" or "Abdullah Frères" of Japan throughout his professional career after his first visit to the United States in 1882. Receiving several Japanese government commissions during his photography career, he fulfilled the position of a court photographer. Beside his profound photography knowledge and entrepreneurial nature, it was due to his foreign experience that priority was given to Ogawa in such employments. Eventually Japan was in pursuit of nationwide and

¹⁰⁹ It was not a coincidence that this ten-volume compilation was edited subsequent to Japan's victory of Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895). Preceding the war Japan was ratified as a country having "equal treaty rights" to the "West." "For reasons of national prosperity and pride, treaty revision loomed large in Meiji-era diplomacy. In its dealings with the Powers, the government tried a variety of approaches, and the crucial breakthrough was achieved when the British government agreed to a new and equal treaty in 1894. The other Powers quickly followed suit, thus terminating a situation of inequality and injustice that had lasted for more than forty years." R. H. P. Mason and J. G. Caiger, eds., *A History of Japan*, Singapore: Tuttle Publishing, 1997, p. 264. For further information foreign affairs of Meiji era, see Akira Iriye, "Japan's drive to great-power status," in *The Cambridge history of Japan, Vol. 5, The nineteenth century*, ed., Marius B. Jansen, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp. 721-782.

¹¹⁰ For the statistical information, see Appendix 4.

international projects to stimulate a Japan image conceived in response to the perception of the “West” and being acquainted with the “West” was a privilege on these projects. Following his return from America, Ogawa was appointed as photography instructor to the Land Survey Department (陸地測量部) of the Japanese Army General Office in 1885.¹¹¹ Beginning in 1888 Japanese Government launched a project to document and catalogue cultural treasures held in shrines and temples throughout the country. Ogawa participated in this documentation project, which is referred as the *Kinai* (畿内) survey.¹¹² Accompanying the Chief of the Imperial Library, Kuki Ryūichi (九鬼隆一) (1852-1931),¹¹³ Ogawa photographed architecture, sculpture and paintings in the *Kinki* (近畿) region¹¹⁴ of Western Japan.

Mr. K. Ogawa exhibited the colossal camera with which he had made

¹¹¹ アジア歴史資料センター『小川一真に係る功績調査の件』、陸軍省、明治39年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Inquiry into the Distinguished Services of Ogawa Kazuma*, the Army Ministry of Japan, 1906), p. 3; アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治38年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 3.

¹¹² アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治38年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), pp. 9-11.

¹¹³ In his book *Fifty Years of New Japan*, Prime minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ōkuma Shigenobu (大隈重信) (1838-1922) states that the establishment of the Bureau of Art Treasures in the Department of the Imperial Household to catalogue old art works as well as the creation of the office of Court Artists, were brought about by Baron Kuki, Kuki Ryūichi (九鬼隆一), Director of the Imperial Museum. Ōkuma Shigenobu, *Fifty Years of New Japan* (開国五十年史), trans., Marcus Bourne Huish, Vol. II, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1909, p. 346.

¹¹⁴ *Kinki* region (近畿地方) refers to *Kansai* (関西) area of today, which mainly contains Kyoto and Osaka. *Kinai* survey was conducted in Kyoto, Nara, Osaka, Hyogo, Wakayama, Okayama, and Hiroshima. アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治38年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 9.

photographs direct measuring 38 by 30 inches for the forthcoming exhibition, and an enormous tripod intended to be used with it in photographing interiors. The top of the tripod reached the roof of the hall. A monster printing frame for making the pictures on paper measuring 4ft. 6in. by 3ft. 6in. was also shown.¹¹⁵

The “forthcoming exhibition” for which Ogawa prepared his mammoth size photographs and exposed in a meeting of the Photographic Society of Japan held on December 12th, 1889, was the Third National Industrial Exhibition (内國勸業博覧会), which took place in Ueno Park in Tokyo. He was not only a participant among many other photographers from all around Japan, including Tamamura Kōzaburō,¹¹⁶ but he was also appointed a committee member for this *Hakurankai*.¹¹⁷ During this period it also became customary to give special prizes to photographers in the National Industrial Exhibitions,¹¹⁸ and Ogawa's photographic works received an “Efficiency prize” (有功賞) and a “Striking Performance prize” (妙技賞) at the Third Exposition.¹¹⁹ Not surprisingly, Ogawa Kazuma, who was

¹¹⁵ *The Japan Weekly Mail*, December 21st, 1889; in Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, p. 212.

¹¹⁶ In the 15th issue of *Photographic News* (*Shashin Shinpō*), together with the number and the type of photographic printings there enumerated the names of the photographers whose photographs were displayed in the main pavilion of the Third National Industrial Exhibition. 『寫真新報』、明治 23 年、第十五號 (*Shashin Shinpō*, 1890, No. 15), pp. 88-91.

¹¹⁷ アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治 38 年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 14.

¹¹⁸ In the First National Industrial Exhibition of 1877, while Nakajima Matsuchi (中島待乳) (1850-1915) received a “Bird prize” (鳳紋賞), Ueno Hikoma was awarded a “Flower prize” (花紋賞). In 1881, in the Second National Industrial Exhibition Shimizu Tōkoku (清水東谷) (1841-1907) was doomed winner of an “Efficiency prize” (有功賞). 小沢健志『幕末・明治の写真』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1997 年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu, Meiji no Shashin*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1997), p. 229.

¹¹⁹ “同年月全印画写真及写真版ヲ同會ニ出シ同會ヨリ一等有功賞及一等妙技賞ヲ受ク” アジア歴史

awarded prizes in domestic emporium and gained experience through international commissions, was assigned by the Government to the mission to represent Japan in the international arena. In 1893 Ogawa was selected to attend the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.¹²⁰ He was a debater at the Congress of Photographers, which was held at the Exposition. Throughout his second sojourn in America he studied the photo-engraving process,¹²¹ which was predominant in this continent, to incorporate the printing technique into his enterprise. Furthermore, again in 1893 Ogawa contributed to a nineteenth-century history of Japan compiled under the direction of the Department of Education at the request of the Imperial Japanese Commission¹²² with his five black and white collotype plates. This volume, which was "intended for the use of visitors"¹²³ to the Japanese pavilion called the Phoenix Hall (鳳凰殿), *Hōden Pavilion*,¹²⁴ of the World's Columbian Exposition, played a pivotal role in historizing future political claims of Japan, in ushering Japanese history-writing to a linear historiographical perception of time,¹²⁵ in

資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治38年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 14.

¹²⁰ "明治二十六年米國閣龍世界博覽會萬國写真公會高議員ニ撰マル" Ibid., p. 15.

¹²¹ "同年同會ニ別シ傍ラ写真銅版術 PHOTO-ENGRAVING PROCESS ヲ研究ス" Ibid., p. 15.

¹²² Takatsu Kuwasaburō et al., *History of the Empire of Japan, Compiled and Translated for the Imperial Japanese Commission of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, U.S.A.*, trans., Francis Brinkley, Tokyo: the Dai Nippon Tosho Kabushiki Kaisha, 1893.

¹²³ Ibid., p. i.

¹²⁴ "同年「シカゴ」府ニ於テ同會日本政府出品鳳凰殿解説書ヲ發行ス" アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治38年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), pp. 15-16. "鳳凰殿解説書," *Phoenix Pavilion Guide*, was referring to the above-mentioned *History of the Empire of Japan*, which was published for this special occasion of the World's Columbian Exposition.

¹²⁵ "In the Occident, it is customary to divide the period of a nation's history into ancient, medieval, and modern. This method has of late begun to come into vogue in Japan also. It is doubtless a suitable method in

conformity with the opportunity that the industrial expositions presented for material restatement of evolutionary, progressive history,¹²⁶ and in epitomizing Japan-oriented international image of Japan to be regenerated during the following world expositions.

Thus photography established itself as a means for reflecting “truth” throughout the nineteenth century, which served a mission for projecting Meiji Japan as a unique historical entity that was imposed piecemeal on the photograph, apart from its character of being a commodity, a souvenir article, or an object exchanged as a gift. Implemented predominantly under surveillance by the Japanese political or judicial authorities, a multitude of photography archives with “ideological fingerprints”¹²⁷ were accumulated during the nineteenth century and onwards in order to classify, order, illustrate and inform the public of this Meiji ideology. The Army and the Navy Ministry of Japan embarked on a project to photograph/document the Sino-Japanese War between 1894 and 1895, which proceeded under Ogawa’s supervision,¹²⁸ with the employment of Ogawa’s former trainees

the case of other countries. But in Japan the salient incidents of history do not lend themselves to the adoption of such a system of division. Therefore it is not followed in the compilation of these annals.” Takatsu Kuwasaburō et al., *History of the Empire of Japan, Compiled and Translated for the Imperial Japanese Commission of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, U.S.A.*, trans., Francis Brinkley, Tokyo: the Dai Nippon Tosho Kabushiki Kaisha, 1893, p. vi.

¹²⁶ Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984, pp. 1-8.

¹²⁷ “Ideological fingerprints” is used by the writer of this thesis to allude to the subjectivity of the patron as well as the photographer as of the author. For an thorough evaluation on the notion of photography as a document and its predicaments, see André Rouillé, *La Photographie: entre document et art contemporain*, Paris: Gallimard, 2005; especially the third, fourth and fifth chapters: “Fonctions du document,” “Crise de la photographie-document,” “Régime de la photographie-expression.”

¹²⁸ “明治二十七八年戦役ニ関シ陸海軍両省ヨリ戦役ノ写真版御用ヲ受ケ並ニ民間数行ノ戦争記及戦争写真帖等ノ写真版及写真銅版ヲ担当ス” アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治38年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), pp. 18-20.

in the Land Survey Department (陸地測量部) of the Japanese Army General Staff Office. In 1895 collotypes and photogravures produced by Ogawa Kazuma during this documentation project were incorporated into a comprehensive three-volume set, *The Japan-China War*,¹²⁹ compiled by Inoue Jūkichi (井上十吉) (1862-1929), who was a graduate of London University, and later editor of *Inouye's English-Japanese Dictionary*.¹³⁰ This photography collection, which claimed to be the eyewitness of war as other material objects such as monuments, color prints and even toys,¹³¹ was oriented toward the policies of the sides, and left a history in the way that was wanted to be remembered. Ogawa was subsequently assigned either by the Government or by governmental organizations to conduct similar photographic surveys throughout Japan and further.

L'ouvrage qui vous est présenté, à l'occasion de l'Exposition universelle de 1900, par la Commission impériale japonaise, renferme la première histoire digne de ce nom que nous ayons écrite de notre art. ... Puisse-t-il, ... , faciliter l'intelligence de notre art et le classement régulier de ses richesses aux innombrables amis, connus ou inconnus, que le Japon possède en Europe et en Amérique, et qui le suivent, depuis tant d'années, d'une curiosité, mêlée de

¹²⁹ Inoue Jūkichi, *The Japan-China War: Compiled from Official and other Sources*, with plates by K. Ogawa, Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh, 1895, 3 vols. Titles of the volumes are as follows: Volume I, "The Japan-China War: The Naval Battle at Haiyang," Volume II, "The Japan-China War: On the Regent's Sword: Kinchow, Talienwan, Port Arthur," Volume III, "The Japan-China War: The Fall of Wei-Hai-Wei." Needless to say, captions were in English for the sake of the appealed audience.

¹³⁰ 大和登代「東西文化の伝達者としての井上十吉」、鳴門英語研究、鳴門教育大学、1994年 (Yamato Toyo, "Tōzai bunka no dentatsusha toshite no Inoue Jūkichi," *Naruto English Studies*, Naruto University of Education, 1994), No. 8, pp. 123-130.

¹³¹ 西尾林太郎「碑・玩具・版画に表現され、記録された日清戦争：新たな教材と資料を求めて」、『現代社会研究科研究報告』、第1号、2006年 (Nishio Rintarō, "The Japan-China War (1894-1895) Expressed in Monuments, Toys and Color Prints," *Research on Contemporary Society*, No. 1, 2006), pp. 71-88.

*sympathie, si flatteuse!*¹³²

The *ouvrage* in question was the second link in the chain of establishing a tradition to historically represent Japan in world fairs. Only this time rather than a general history, it was focused on art history, *Histoire de l'art du Japon*, published by the Imperial Japanese Commission of Paris Exposition (巴里萬國博覽會監時事務局). Although Ogawa's name was not pronounced throughout this compilation, in his *Résumé* which he submitted to the Army Ministry of Japan in 1905, Ogawa pointed out that he manufactured the photographs and photogravures incorporated into *History of Japanese Art*,¹³³ under the aegis of the Ministry of Agriculture and Trade of Japan (農商務省). This mission was paralleled by Ogawa's 1898 project conducted to document Japanese treasures, shrines, temples and castles in photographing monuments and works of art as well as in their target audience, America and Europe as named in the prefatory remarks of *Histoire de l'art du Japon*.

This album contains the very same collection of photographic pictures, which the Tokyo *Tei-koku* University (the Imperial University of Tokyo) has sent to the International Exhibition at Paris, opening in April, 1900, and which the undersigned has had the honor of preparing for that purpose.¹³⁴

¹³² *Histoire de l'art du Japon: ouvrage publié par la Commission impériale du Japon, à l'Exposition universelle de Paris*, Material collected under the auspices of the Imperial museum at Tokio, trans., Victor Emmanuel Virgil, Paris: Maurice de Brunoff, 1900, p. v.

¹³³ Ogawa referred to the above-mentioned work published for 1900 Exposition Universelle de Paris, as “日本美術史” and preferred to translate it as *Heritage de l'art du Japon*. アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治 38 年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 21.

¹³⁴ 小川一真編『東京帝国大学』、東京：小川写真製版所、明 33-37 (Ogawa Kazuma, ed., *Imperial*

Ogawa also received the commission to photograph the Imperial University of Tokyo (東京帝國大学) to be displayed in 1900 *Exposition Universelle de Paris*.¹³⁵ This collection consisting of photographs of the principal buildings, museums, laboratories, and several other important places that belonged to the University, as well as those of most of the University officers, was compiled into a two-volume photographic album entitled *Imperial University of Tokyo*, that was prepared by Ogawa himself and published by *Ogawa Shashin Seihanjo*¹³⁶ with a special permission from the University. The connection with an “Imperial” *Teikoku* University provided him with other job opportunities. It did not take long for him to be employed to photograph the architecture of the “Peking” Palace, namely the Forbidden City.¹³⁷ It was in July 1900 that Ogawa participated in this commission established by the Japanese Army and dispatched to survey cultural properties in Beijing.

In addition to Ogawa, the commission was composed primarily of Itō Chūta (伊東忠太) (1867-1954), who paid a visit to the Ottoman lands in 1904 for an academic

University of Tokyo, Tokyo: *Ogawa Shashin Seihanjo*, 1900-1904), p. 1.

¹³⁵ “明治三十三年巴里萬國博覽會へ東京帝國大学出品ノ写真撮影命セラル” アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治 38 年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 22.

¹³⁶ “明治三十三年四月同写真ヲ写真帖トナシ東京帝國大学写真帖ト名ケ出版ス” *Ibid.*, p. 22. During the following years Ogawa Kazuma used these photographs of Imperial University in his other publications such as 『東京風景 *Scenes in the Eastern Capital of Japan*』、東京：小川一真出版部、明治 44 年 4 月 (*Tokyo Fūkei, Scenes in the Eastern Capital of Japan*, Tokyo: Ogawa Kazuma Shuppanbu, 1911); 『最新東京名所寫真帖 *The Century Album of Tokyo Views*』、東京：小川一写真出版部、明治 42 年 3 月 (*Saishin Tokyo Meisho Shashinchō, The Century Album of Tokyo Views*, Tokyo: Ogawa Shashin Shuppanbu, 1909).

¹³⁷ “明治三十四年七月帝國大学ノ命ヲ受ケ清國北京ニ出張北京城内建築物ノ撮影ヲ為ス” アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治 38 年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 22.

survey on the architecture of the area,¹³⁸ Tsuchiya Junichi (土屋純一), and Okuyama Tsunegorō (奥山恒五郎),¹³⁹ the members of the College of Engineering at the Imperial University of Tokyo. The photographs from this survey were compiled into a photographic album of two volumes, *Photographs of Palace Buildings of Peking, China*,¹⁴⁰ by the Imperial Museum of Tokyo, as a sequel to *The Japan-China War* (1895) with a similar motive of the ones of its kind, and published by Ogawa Kazuma Publishing House in 1906. While in Beijing, Ogawa received the order by the Fifth Divisional Headquarter (第五師団司令部) of the Japanese Army to photograph the aftermath of the Boxer Rebellion (北清事変),¹⁴¹ 1899-1900, in the wake of political turmoil at the very end of nineteenth century and of Qing period in China. The services of Ogawa Kazuma as a photographer were adjusted to the political concerns of the various layers of the government and to the strategic stances of the military, while his photographs were channeled into an international

¹³⁸ During his visit to the Ottoman Empire, Itō Chūta received permission from Sultan Abdulhamid II to photograph Hagia Sophia, the buildings and *âsâr-ı 'atîka* (antiquities) in the cities through which he traveled, so he was one of the “visitors” who were subject to the inspection of the sultan. BOA, İ.HUS 117/1322/Ra096, 29 Rebiyülevvel 1322 / 14 June 1904; BOA, DH.MKT 863/17, 7 Rebiyühahir 1322 / 21 June 1904; BOA, İ.HR 389/1322/R-10, 20 Rebiyühahir 1322 / 4 July 1904; BOA, İ.HUS 119/1322/Ca016, 6 Cemaziyülevvel 1322, 20 July 1904. For the contributions of Itō Chūta to the architectural styles in Japan, see Jonathan M., Reynolds, “The Formation of a Japanese Architectural Profession,” in *The Artist as Professional in Japan*, ed., Melinda Takeuchi, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004, pp. 180-202.

¹³⁹ 東京帝室博物館編『清国北京皇城写真帖』、東京：小川一真出版部、明治 39 (The Imperial Museum of Tokyo, ed., *Shinkoku Pekin Kōjō Shashinchō*, Tokyo: Ogawa Kazuma Shuppanbu, 1906), 2 vols., preface.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ “同年北清事変ニ関シタル写真帖及写真版帖調製方第五師団ヨリ命セラル” アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治 38 年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 23. In 1902 Ogawa published this photographic record of the Boxer Rebellion. 小川一真編、第五師団司令部撮影『北清事変写真帖 *Souvenir of The Allies in North China*』東京：小川一真、明治 35 年 (Ogawa Kazuma, ed., the Fifth Divisional Headquarter, *Hokushin Jihen Shashinchō, Souvenir of The Allies in North China*, Tokyo: Ogawa Kazuma, 1902).

image promotion, into a visual propaganda and a means for intelligence.

By 1900s as a photographer and a publisher, Ogawa established such an alluring reputation, a consolidated position, and a committed standpoint that the commissions he received constituted the pinnacle of his career. At the request of the Railway Operations Bureau (鉄道作業局) functioning under the Ministry of Communications of Japan, Ogawa photographed railroad related equipment, support facilities and superstructure throughout Japan from June to September of 1903,¹⁴² accompanying two businessmen, Iwasaki Teruya and Watanabe Shirō, to be displayed in the Fifth National Industrial Exhibition (内國勸業博覧会) in 1905. This collection mentioned as the “Iwasaki-Watanabe Collection”,¹⁴³ included numerous photographs of steam locomotives, stations, railway bridges used by the Japanese railways at the turn of the century just before the railway nationalization implemented between 1906 and 1907. As in the photographic record of the Imperial University of Tokyo, or in the *Kinai* photography survey of 1888, the nature of these railway photographs and the way of their representation in the international arena through national and international exhibitions recall the photographic surveys of “modern” buildings, such as hospitals and schools which were commissioned by Abdulhamid II to be conducted throughout the Ottoman territory. The year 1904 was occupied with military and

¹⁴² アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治 38 年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 24.

¹⁴³ 菅建彦「交通博物館の至宝「岩崎・渡辺コレクション」」、『日本写真学会誌』(Suga Tatsuhiko, “Iwasaki-Watanabe Collection of Early Japanese Railway Photographs: a Treasure of Transportation Museum, Tokyo,” *Journal of the Society of Photographic Science and Technology of Japan*, Vol. 67, No. 2, 2004), pp. 108-112.

government commissions. Ogawa's experience of photographing the 1894-1895 Sino-Japanese war was a strong motive for his incorporation of this experience into an essay to establish a tradition of methodical documentation by means of photographs, which was executed by military units. Receiving the commission from the Imperial Japanese Army Geographical Survey Institute (陸地測量部), Ogawa organized a photographic unit in the Imperial General Headquarters (大本営), and embarked on a mission to compose this time a comprehensive collection of the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War photographs.¹⁴⁴ This anthology of war photography was published by the Ogawa Kazuma Publishing House in twenty-four volumes.¹⁴⁵ The compilation of this concise visual history of the war between Japan and Russia, to which Ogawa contributed considerably in various stages of production, achieved wide circulation due to numerous book donations to reference libraries, "Normal schools," in other words "Teachers' schools" (師範学校),¹⁴⁶ which was based on the French *École Normale*, and junior high schools.¹⁴⁷ Informing the public of

¹⁴⁴ アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治 38 年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 24.

¹⁴⁵ 『日露戦役写真帖』、大本営写真班撮影、陸地測量部蔵版、東京：小川一真出版部、明治 37-39 年、24 冊 (*Nichiro Seneki Sashinchō*, photographed by the Photographic Unit of the Imperial General Headquarters, in possession of the Imperial Army Geographical Survey Institute, Tokyo: Ogawa Kazuma Shuppanbu, 1904-1906, 24 vols.).

¹⁴⁶ "Normal schools" in other words, "Teachers' schools," which were derived from the French secular educational system, were middle and high level schools where teachers for primary and middle schools were educated. These schools established in 1872 during the reforms in the education system, continued to function until the end of Second World War. 中川隆「わが国における開発教授論の形成過程：東京師範学校を中心に」、『東京学芸大学紀要』、第 1 部門、教育科学、Vol. 25, 1974 (Nakagawa Takashi, "The Transplanting Process of the Developmental Mode of Education in Japan: Focusing on Tokyo Teachers' Schools," *Bulletin of Tokyo Gakugei University*, Series I, Science of education, Vol. 25, 1974), pp. 134-153.

¹⁴⁷ In 1910 sets of Russo-Japanese War photography albums were donated to 68 reference libraries, 51 "Teachers' schools" and 224 junior high schools. "参照図書館六八、師範学校五一、中学校二二四" アジ

this photography narration was also promoted under the aegis of the Imperial General Headquarters, by a photography exhibition, the Exhibition of Russo-Japanese War Colored Photographs, held in cooperation with Ogawa in 1905, in Ueno Park of Tokyo,¹⁴⁸ where an open-air exhibition / museum merged with an audience who had already become accustomed to such occurrences through the legacy of the National Industrial Exhibitions,¹⁴⁹ and with the efforts of the Imperial Museum. The Russo-Japanese war was still continuing when Japan showed itself off on the stage of St. Louis World Exposition in 1904. Japanese presence was visible with a predominant focus on its industry, commerce and finance throughout the Exposition. Contrary to the previous history and culture-oriented publications for the Columbian and Parisian Expositions, *Handbook of*

ア歴史資料センター『日露戦役写真帖寄附の件』、陸軍省、明治43年2月 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Donation of Russo-Japanese War Photography Albums*, the Army Ministry of Japan, February 1910), p. 2.

¹⁴⁸ アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治38年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), pp. 25-26; アジア歴史資料センター『京橋区在住者より日露戦役彩色大写真展覧会陳列大写真上納書』、陸軍省、明治38年1月 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Request by a Kyōbashi-ku resident for the Exhibition of Russo-Japanese War Colored Photographs*, the Army Ministry of Japan, January 1905).

¹⁴⁹ The First (1877), Second (1881) and Third (1890) National Industrial Exhibitions were held in the same Ueno Park of Tokyo. Together with the Exhibitions of Classical Art (観古美術展覧会) and the National Competitive Exhibitions of Pictorial Art (内国絵画共進会), the former began to be organized in 1880 with the sponsorship of the Museums Office (博物館) under the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the latter in 1882 with the sponsorship of the Ministry of Agriculture and Trade (農商務省), which were held in the same Ueno area, National Industrial Exhibitions reformulated a Tokugawa display culture of *Misemono* (見世物) and *Kaichō* (開帳), and created a tradition of exhibiting in congruous with the nineteenth-century commercial and international concerns. It is also significant to note that Tokyo National Museum (東京国立博物館) was established in 1872 in Ueno Park. カイグスズ・バス「明治期の内国勸業博覧会の再考：明治23年第三回内国勸業博覧会を中心に」慶應義塾大学日本史学専攻、2007年度、井奥成彦研究会 (Banu Kaygusuz "Reflections on the National Industrial and Agricultural Exhibitions of the Meiji Period: the Significance of the Third *Naikoku Kangyou Hakurankai*," Keio University, Japanese History Department, Fall 2007, Seminar on Modern Japanese Social and Economic History).

Japan and Japanese Exhibits at St. Louis World's Fair of 1904,¹⁵⁰ was composed of articles on manufacturing, agriculture, foreign trade, tariff system, transportation, and communication, with the claim to be included into the nations possessing political and commercial power ensuing the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Navigation in 1894, that heralded the end of the unequal treaties.¹⁵¹

As Gülmez *Frères* were assigned to a mission on behalf of the Ottoman government to compose a photography collection of significant historical spots, palaces, mosques in *Dersa'âdet* (Istanbul) for the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago,¹⁵² in 1904 once more Ogawa took his place among photographers whose work

¹⁵⁰ Not only the cautiously chosen quotations but also a voluminous section on advertisements of leading manufacturers of silk, rice, pottery, lacquered ware, including various heavy metal industries and shipping companies (pp. 133-206), took place in this publication was divulging Japanese concerns and means of participating such an exposition. "We want the power that flows from a great trade and a great prosperity at home. The efforts now making by Japan to increase the commerce between herself and the United States and the rest of the world are in themselves a guarantee of long peace. The two countries are seeking the same object, but each can obtain it best and quickest through the peaceful competition of trade..." quoted from a speech by Takahira Kogorō (高平小五郎) (1854-1926), Japanese Minister at Washington, concurrent with St. Louis World Exposition. Hoshi Hajime, *Handbook of Japan and Japanese Exhibits at World's Fair*, St. Louis: Woodward and Tiernan Printing Co., 1904, p. 6.

¹⁵¹ The events, which marked the role of Japan in the international arena did not limited to the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Navigation in 1894. Sunagami Hidemi states that the most important events for Japan's foreign relations, "from the viewpoint of Japan's status in international society, included war with China (1894-5), participation alongside the European powers and the United States in the Boxer Intervention (1900-1), the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902), war with Russia (1904-5), and the annexation of Korea (1910)." Suganami Hidemi, "Japan's Entry into International Society," in *Meiji Japan: Political, Economic and Social History 1868-1912*, ed., Peter F. Kornicki, London; New York: Routledge, 1998, Vol. I, pp. 3-15. Because the Anglo-Japanese Alliance began in 1902 to protect the respective interests in China and Korea, was in a delicate state during the world exposition in St. Louis in 1904, the representational strategies of Japan was in a way a *tour de force* for the prolongation of the alliance against Russia. For the beginning of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, see Ian Nish, "The First Anglo-Japanese Alliance Treaty," *Anglo-Japanese Alliance Symposium*, London School of Economics and Political Science, 22 February 2002.

¹⁵² BOA, Y.A.HUS 263/55, 15 Muharrem 1310 / 8 August 1892; BOA, İ.HUS 2/1310/M-123, 17 Muharrem 1310 / 10 August 1892; BOA, Y.MTV 70/69, 12 Rebiyülahir 1310 / 2 November 1892. These archival materials concern the request for the photographs of palaces, mosques and sites of high repute in Istanbul to be taken by Gülmez Brothers for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

were designated as a display material in the world fairs. Ogawa was the producer of almost all of the photomechanical printings of the transportation and communication materials, exhibited in the Japanese corner of the Palace of Transportation with which Japan received an honorary award in St. Louis World Exposition. Furthermore, Ogawa himself received a golden medal in this Exposition.¹⁵³ Gleaning occupational information from his *Résumé* and from his numerous publications, Ogawa's deployment at domestic exhibitions, international fairs and at battlefields was in some ways a nomination of Ogawa as "Photographer the Laureate" for the Meiji government in Japan.

Ogawa Kazuma's deep-rooted commitment to photography technology, his fruitful engagement in commercial activities and in the long run his constant employment by military and government authorities were reflected in his work of art in many respects. It may be said that eventually his role as a "court photographer" shaded his other titles, although it was also fed from them and from the experience and the network provided in virtue of these titles that derived from his work in the international port city environment of Yokohama. The Photographic Society of Japan, *Shashin Shinpō* and Ogawa's collotype printing, each was an integral part of the other, all depending on each other. Together with his friend and business associate William Burton, Ogawa was one of the founding members

¹⁵³ アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治 38 年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 25.

of the Japan Photographic Society (日本寫眞會), *Nihon Shashinkai*,¹⁵⁴ Japan's first organization for amateur photographers which was founded in May 1889. The Photographic Society of Japan was the institution that published the journal *Shashin Shinpō*. Likewise, Ogawa for the first time displayed his collotype printings for the public at the September 27th, 1889 meeting of the Photographic Society of Japan and this was reported in the October 12th issue of the *Japan Weekly Mail*.¹⁵⁵ This triangle of photographer, publisher and the institution guided the rhetorical agenda of photographic consumption and communication as well as the angle of the photographic framing. "The Japanese Photographic Competing Society"¹⁵⁶ (大日本寫眞品評會), which was established in 1893 by a cadre of photographers, and pundits in photography-related sciences, including William Kinnimond Burton who was teaching at Tokyo *Teikoku* University, and photographers Ishikawa Iwao (石川巖), Kajiima Seibei (鹿島清兵衛) (1866-1924), and Ogawa Kazuma, who took the lead, was another association in this triangle of photographer, publisher and institution.¹⁵⁷ In cooperation with the London Camera Club, a leading

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁵⁵ *The Japan Weekly Mail*, September 27th, 1889; in Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, p. 212.

¹⁵⁶ "The Japanese Photographic Competing Society" was the English translation of "大日本寫眞品評會," the version which was published in the Society's compilation of the photographs of Japanese art works. "Dai Nippon Photography Evaluation Society" would have been the translation of the author of this thesis. 大日本寫眞品評會『美術大觀』、東京：大日本寫眞品評會、明治29年、2冊、甲集之1-4 (Dai Nippon Photography Evaluation Society, *General Survey of Fine Arts*, Tokyo: Dai Nippon Photography Evaluation Society, 1896, 2 vols., 4 parts), English preface of Part 1 (甲集之1).

¹⁵⁷ 田中雅夫『写真130年史』東京：ダヴィット社、1970年 (Tanaka Masao, *Hundred Years History of Photography*, Tokyo: David Company, 1970), p. 94; 小沢健志『幕末・明治の写真』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1997年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu, Meiji no Shashin*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1997), pp. 292-293; 西村智弘『日本芸術写真史：浮世絵からデジカメまで』、国分寺：美学出版、2008年

photography society of Britain with an exhibition hall,¹⁵⁸ *Dai Nippon* Photography Evaluation Society, in other words “The Japanese Photographic Competing Society,” organized the first photography exhibition in Japan.¹⁵⁹ There were also institutional structures constructed through governmental regulations to support and influence the balance of art production and patronage. According to Ozawa Takeshi, Ogawa Kazuma was deemed worthy of the “Imperial Court Artist” (帝室技芸員) title,¹⁶⁰ possibly in 1890 upon his services on the organization of the Third National Industrial Exhibition. This title was allocated to painters, architects, sculptors and ceramicists (plastic artists), lacquer and casting makers within the framework of a system for arts and crafts experts,¹⁶¹ that was inaugurated in 1890 by the Meiji Emperor and his government,¹⁶² in order to preserve the traditional Japanese arts and crafts, and to promote the fledgling ones through a set of rewards and bestowals. Additionally, in 1895 Ogawa was the first Japanese photographer to be elected as a member in the Royal Photographic Society of England.¹⁶³ The initials

(Nishimura Tomohiro, *Nihon Geijutsu Shashinshi: Ukiyoe kara Dejikame made*, Kokubunji: Bigaku Shuppan, 2008), the section on “写真団体と絵画主義,” “Photography Organizations and Pictorialism.”

¹⁵⁸ John Fuller, “Frederick H. Evans,” in *Encyclopedia of Twentieth-century Photography*, ed., Lynne Warren, New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2006, Vol. 1, pp. 461-463.

¹⁵⁹ 田中雅夫『写真 130 年史』東京：ダヴィット社、1970 年 (Tanaka Masao, *Hundred Years History of Photography*, Tokyo: David Company, 1970), p. 94.

¹⁶⁰ 小沢健志『幕末・明治の写真』、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1997 年 (Ozawa Takeshi, *Bakumatsu, Meiji no Shashin*, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1997), pp. 292-293.

¹⁶¹ 佐久間健寿、末松青萍評『鉄園画談』、東京：佐久間健寿、明治 40 年 4 月 (Sakuma Kenju, *Tetsuen Gadan*, commented by Suematsu Seihyō, Tokyo: Sakuma Kenju, 1907), p. 25.

¹⁶² For an evaluation of similar practices with respect to photographers, during the reign of Abdulhamid II, juxtaposed with the Japanese case, see Chapter 3.

¹⁶³ “明治二十八年英國王室写真協會ノ會員トナリ F.R.P.S.ニ撰擧ヤラル” アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治 38 年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 18.

“F.R.P.S.” (Fellow of Royal Photographic Society) became an integral part of “Ogawa” brand, and appeared as an autograph on the colophons of his later publications.¹⁶⁴ Honorary titles and leading positions came with international fame both in Ogawa’s personal commercial enterprises and in his governmental and military responsibilities.

The photographic career of Ogawa Kazuma ushered in a new approach to photography in Japan, as a medium to introduce Japanese history, art, life, trade, and manufacturing, to a mass international audience with interlinear political and economic messages, and as a means for visual documentation with an imposing and propagandizing agenda. His commercial and commissionable identities overlapped. Several Japanese government commissions converted a perfervid individual entrepreneur into a prestigious “imperial” court photographer. Accordingly, while his commercial reputation was boosted, he had been the figure who at first hand contributed to not the fact but the aspect that photography was acquiring a niche in implementing government policies.

¹⁶⁴ The following books by Ogawa are the examples of his publications with the “F.R.P.S.” initials on the colophon. 『東京風景 *Scenes in the Eastern Capital of Japan*』、東京：小川一真出版部、明治44年4月 (*Tokyo Fūkei, Scenes in the Eastern Capital of Japan*, Tokyo: Ogawa Kazuma Shuppanbu, 1911); 東京帝室博物館編『清国北京皇城写真帖』、東京：小川一真出版部、明治39 (The Imperial Museum of Tokyo, ed., *Shinkoku Pekin Kōjō Shashinchō*, Tokyo: Ogawa Kazuma Shuppanbu, 1906), 2 vols.; 小川一真編、第五師団司令部撮影『北清事変写真帖 *Souvenir of The Allies in North China*』東京：小川一真、明治35年 (Ogawa Kazuma, ed., the Fifth Divisional Headquarter, *Hokushin Jihen Shashinchō, Souvenir of The Allies in North China*, Tokyo: Ogawa Kazuma, 1902).

Conclusion

The *Directory of Commerce and Industry in Japan* published in 1892,¹⁶⁵ registers various Japanese names under the category of “photographers” (寫眞師). Ogawa Kazuma, Tamamura Kōzaburō and Kusakabe Kinbei¹⁶⁶ were among these photographers who were identified as commercial brands. Not only photography studios retailing collotypes, hand colored albumen photographs, and illustrated books, but also photographic commissions from domestic companies or from overseas publishing houses, were the source of the photographic productivity of these photographers. As world expositions established a legacy for visual representations, the claim for a generally accepted “Japan image” gained prominence over the marketing concerns regarding the subject choices for photographic works. Beside the photographs appealing to the potential customers, photographic narrations, which contributed to the construction of an international image, were produced. Photographers played prominent roles in these photographic productions within the framework of patronage relations. Commercial and governmental aspects of patronage systems for photography-oriented visual representation projects were concurrent. While photographers were embedded to the Japanese forces in war zones and designated as the executors of cultural land surveys, the export of photographs to various countries swelled

¹⁶⁵ 白崎五郎七編『日本全国商工人名録』、東京：日本商工人名録発行所、明治 25 年 (Shirasaki Goroshichi, ed., *Nihon Zenkoku Shōkō Jinmeiroku*, Tokyo: Nihon Shōkō Jinmeiroku Hakkōjo, 1892).

¹⁶⁶ Ogawa Kazuma was registered in the section for Tokyo-*fu*, while Tamamura Kōzaburō and Kusakabe Kinbei were listed in the section for Kanagawa-*ken* which encompassing Yokohama. *Ibid.*, pp. 158, 409.

constantly from the 1880s to 1890s. The *Annual Return of The Foreign Trade of The Empire of Japan*¹⁶⁷ reports that both the number of foreign countries to which photographs (寫眞畫) exported and the total value in Yen, increased twofold from 1882 to 1895, meaning that in a decade or so Japan adopted photography as a commodity and as a visual missive for propaganda. Under the auspices of either a commercial partnership or a government / military authority, photography proved tendentious as a recording method rather than being an impartial reflection of the truth. Tamamura Kōzaburō, Kusakabe Kinbei and Ogawa Kazuma are the exemplars of the photographers, whose work would render the composition of a “Japan” image in the eyes of an audience extending to the Ottoman geography. Being the photographers of Japan’s visual depictions in the photography collection of Abdulhamid II, the entrepreneurial careers of Tamamura, Kusakabe, and Ogawa proved to be propitious in the (re)constructing the representation of Japan in the international arena.

¹⁶⁷ 『大日本外国貿易年表』、東京：大蔵省、明治 16-45 年、29 冊 (*Dai Nippon Gaikoku Bōeki Nenpyō*, Tokyo: Ōkurashō, 1883-1911, 29 vols.).

CHAPTER 6

READING OF JAPAN THROUGH THE PHOTOGRAPHY ALBUMS OF

ABDULHAMID II

What we need is a critique of visual culture that is alert to the power of images for good and evil and that is capable of discriminating the variety and historical specificity of their uses.¹

Elaborating on the narration stratum, this chapter deals with the photograph albums depicting Japan in the photography collection of Abdulhamid II, and corresponds to the photographic *reading* of Japan. Bits and pieces of information gathered through different sources, filled in the blanks of the narration how and why these albums as a whole or the photographs in groups were brought to the Ottoman Empire, and gave important clues to the reasons or motives for varied subjects of photographs. The format consists of the physical characteristics of the albums, such as the album size, and the organization of their contents, relative to the albums composed within the framework of *Yokohama-shashin* and the albums, which were part of the Abdulhamid II photography collection in general, presents introductory information on the nature and the voyage of these five albums. While expounding on the diverse range of subjects illustrated within the albums, including the

¹ W. J. Thomas Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995, p. 3.

photographs regarding the *Ertuğrul* incident, the panoramic photographs of different sceneries from all over Japan, namely the picturesque, the Japanese historical monuments and shrines, the staged “snapshots” from daily life and women portraits, this chapter was premised upon the reciprocal interplay between the expectations of the audience, the selectivity of the photographer, and the third party, the intentions of entrepreneurial and/or governmental patrons (*hâmî*).

“Bir milletin ne olduğunu anlamak ister misin? Matbû‘âtını tadmîk et...”
diyen Amerikalı Brinkley çok doğru ve musîb bir tavsiyede bulunmuştur.
Fi‘l-vâki‘, efkârın âyîne-i in‘ikâsı, ma‘lûmât-ı ‘umûmiyye-i milletin başlıca
meşhûru olmağı hissiyyesitiyle matbû‘âtın şekli, tarzı, tarz-ı tekâmül ve
tekerrürü, neşriyâtının nev‘i ve ehemmiyyeti, uslûb-ı beyânı bir milletin nasıl
bir mevcûdiyyet-i ictimâ‘iyye teşkîl ettiğini anlamak için şübhesiz pek sağlam
bir ‘ayârdır. Bu nükte-yi nazardan Japon matbû‘âtının tedkîkini fâ‘ideli
*buluyoruz.*²

In his article concerning the press in Japan from 1870s onwards, Sâmizâde Süreyya³ considered the publications of a society as the reflection of that society, and began his writing with a quotation from a “Brinkley” from America. It was the same Brinkley,

² Sâmizâde Süreyya, “Japon Matbû‘âtı,” *Utârid*, No. 1, 3 Rebiyülahir 1337 / 7 December 1919, p. 10.

³ Sâmizâde Süreyya was a multilingual writer who produced various articles on a wide range of subjects. In the preface of his book on the Japanese history and geography as well as the socio-economic situation of the country, Süreyya mentioned that he visited Japan in 1914. Sâmizâde Süreyya, *Dai Nippon: Büyük Japonya*, İstanbul: Matba‘a-i Orhaniyye, Evkâf-ı Cedîde Kütüphânesi, 1917. Along with Abdurreşid İbrahim, his articles were published in *Te‘âtüf-i Müslimîn* journal in 1910 and 1911. Nadir Özbek, “İkinci Meşrutiyet İstanbul’unda Tatar İslamcılar: Te‘âtüf-i Müslimîn Dergisi,” *Müteferrika*, Summer 2002, No. 21, pp. 45-66. Sâmizâde Süreyya also translated Alexander Pushkin’s *The Captain’s Daughter* into Turkish. Alexander Pushkin, *Yüzbaşının Kızı*, trans., Samizade Süreyya, Ankara: Akba Yayınları, 1933.

journalist Francis Brinkley who edited a series of illustrated books on Japan, namely, a photography collection of ten volumes, entitled *Japan: Described and Illustrated by the Japanese* published between 1897 and 1898.⁴ Consisting of large numbers of hand-colored photographs of landscapes and illustrations of Japanese customs, photographed by Ogawa Kazuma, Tamamura Kōzaburō, Kusakabe Kinbei, and others, this work exported an image of Japan, which appealed to a non-Japanese audience to sate their curiosity of the unknown. Interestingly enough, Sâmizâde Süreyya also referred to *The Far East*,⁵ which was “an illustrated fortnightly newspaper” as described on its cover, a periodical published by the British publisher, journalist, writer, photographer John Reddie Black (1826-1880), in Yokohama, between 1870 and 1878. *The Far East* was another effective medium for the construction of a “Japan” image through photographs. This periodical concentrated on depicting the Japanese landscape and the scenes of the significant events of the period by means of the photographs affixed to the text with the photoengraving technique.⁶ *The Far East* published approximately 750 photographs, of Japan, contributed by at least twenty different photographers.⁷ The publications upon which Sâmizâde Süreyya touched, were

⁴ Frank Brinkley, ed., *Japan, Described and Illustrated by the Japanese*, 10 vols., Boston: J.B. Millet Company, 1897.

⁵ “1872 senesinde Black nâmında bir İngiliz (Far East) ünvânlı yevmî bir gazete neşrine başladı.” Although the year given in the text for the first publication of the periodical was misleading, there is doubt that Sâmizâde Süreyya referred to *The Far East* published by John Reddie Black. Sâmizâde Süreyya, “Japon Matbû’âtı,” *Utârid*, No. 1, 3 Rebiyülahir 1337 / 7 December 1919, p. 10.

⁶ 斎藤多喜夫「幕末・明治初期の生活・風俗：「ファー・イースト」貼付写真から」、『幕末写真の時代』、小沢健志、東京：ちくま学芸文庫、1996年 (Saitō Takio, “Bakumatsu and Meiji Period Daily Life and Landscape: Through the Photographs affixed to the *Far East*,” in *Bakumatsu Shashin no Jidai*, Ozawa Takeshi, Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1996), pp. 221-222.

⁷ Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, pp. 146-149.

where text and image appeared side by side, undertaking the responsibilities and the deficiencies of informing of a culture. They were the agencies through which verbal and visual representations of Japan were formulated and circulated.

The five photographic albums of Japan in the *Yıldız* photography collection of Abdulhamid II reveal that the visual representations of Japan traversed all the way from Japan to the Ottoman Empire, from the photographers to the audience. There are certain questions to be posed while dealing with these albums, one of which was concerned with the individuals and the motives that brought about the albums in possession of the sultan. Composing a complete narration regarding the voyage of photography albums necessitates a comprehensive elaboration on the Japanese-Ottoman relations, the details as names, dates, and the political and economic dimensions of the relationship between the two countries. Although such an exploration is beyond the scope of this study, the survey conducted in the Ottoman Archives on the basis of the Japanese-Ottoman interaction contributed to the process of conceiving a thesis on the source of the photographs with a narrative approach. Beyond serving to the hypotheses about who submitted the photographs to the sultan, or if the photographs were purchased by the sultanate, the bulk of archival documents conveyed a detailed chronology of the Japanese-Ottoman relations displayed by a profuse exchange of orders, medals and decorations,⁸ during the “courtesy visits” of the political and military

⁸ For a comprehensive history of the orders, medals and decorations bestowed by the Ottoman Empire, see Edhem Eldem, ed., *Pride and privilege: a history of Ottoman orders, medals and decorations*, Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2004. Especially for the Hamidian period, see pp. 252-359.

figures, and the royal family members of Japan to *Dersa'âdet*, to the Ottoman capital. The imperial orders, medals and decorations, through which the chronology was traced, was a leading element within the reciprocal gift systems of the Hamidian period,⁹ in which photography was incorporated and shared a representative role serving to the symbolic power and the legitimacy policies of the period. A striking example of the imperial gift exchange was the presentation of Japan's highest order, the Supreme Order of the Chrysanthemum (大勲位菊花章), *Daikuni Kikkashō*, to Abdulhamid II in August 1888 ensuing the visit of Prince Komatsu Akihito (小松宮彰仁親王) (1846-1903) to Istanbul in October 1887.¹⁰ An imperial decree of July 10, 1889 divulged that Sultan Abdulhamid II dispatched the crew of Ertuğrul frigate to Japan, as commissioned to present the High Order of Distinction (*İmtiyâz nişânı-ı 'âlîsi*) to Emperor Meiji.¹¹ This diplomatic practice

⁹ For an analysis of the imperial gifts with regard to the legitimation concerns of the Hamidian regime, see Nadir Özbek, "Imperial Gifts and Sultanic Legitimation During the Reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II, 1876-1909," in *Poverty and Charity in the Middle Eastern Contexts*, eds., Mine Ener, Amy Singer and Michael Bonner, New York: State University of New York Press, 2003, pp. 203-220.

¹⁰ "Taraf-ı müstecmi'ü'l-mecd ve's-şeref hazret-i pâdişâhiye Japonya İmparatoru hazretleri tarafından takdîm ve ihdâsî ârzû edilen Krizantem nişânıyla berâtının 'atebe-i 'aliyyeye 'arz ve iblâgına" BOA, Y.A.HUS 216/57, 16 Zilhicce 1305 / 24 August 1888. For the visit of Prince Komatsu Akihito, see Appendix 3. The Grand Cordon of the Order (大勲位菊花大綬章) was established in 1876 (*Meiji*10) by Emperor Meiji. It is an interesting detail that the Order was presented to the sultan in August 1888, a couple of months later than the collar of the Order (大勲位菊花章頸飾) was added on January 4 of the same year. James W. Peterson, Barry C. Weaver and Michael A. Quigley, *Orders and Medals of Japan and Associated States*, San Ramon, California: Orders and Medals Society of America, 2000; 佐藤正紀『勲章と褒章』、東京：時事画報社、2007年 (Satō Masanori, *Kunshō to Hōshō*, Tokyo: Jijigahōsha, 2007).

¹¹ "Taraf-ı eşref hazret-i tâcdârîden haşmetli Japonya imparatoru hazretlerine ihdâ buyurulan İmtiyâz nişân-ı 'âlîsini îsâle me'mûr olan Ertuğrul fırkateyn-i hümâyûnunun cumartesi veyâhûd pazar günü sevâb-ı me'mûriyyetine" BOA, İDH 1146/89354, 12 Zilkade 1306 / 10 July 1889. The High Order of Distinction presented to Emperor Meiji by Sultan Abdulhamid II was also mentioned in the correspondence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan in 1890. 『官報通商報告欄再録』、外務省記録局、東京：不二出版、1988年、第13巻、明治23年 (*Kanpō Tsūshō Hōkoku Ran Sairoku*, Gaimushō Kirokukyoku, Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1988, Vol. 13, 1890).

of granting of orders reciprocally is to be evaluated, no doubt, within the framework of the attempts of the two rules to seek a new ally in the international arena for the sake of their economic and political interests.

Like imperial orders and decorations, photographs were attributed the symbolic value of imperial gifts in terms of power relations. That is why the five photographic albums of the *Yıldız* collection were traced through the archival documents concerning the imperial visits paid to *Dersa'âdet* of the sultan, and to Tokyo (東京) of the emperor. It appeared that there were no photographs among the gifts conferred and presented to Rear Admiral Osman *Pasha*, the captain of the Imperial Frigate *Ertuğrul* when he had an audience with Emperor Meiji, during the courtesy visit of the Ottoman delegate to Japan in 1890.¹² Any photographs or photographic albums were not ascertained to be included among the imperial gifts offered to Sultan Abdulhamid II by Prince Komatsu Akihito (小松宮彰仁親王) during his first visit to *Dersa'âdet* in October 1887 and the second time Prince Komatsu had been to the Ottoman capital in March 1894, who arrived from St. Petersburg for this special occasion.¹³ Following the *Ertuğrul* incident that the imperial frigate *Ertuğrul* sang in a typhoon near Kyūshū Province, Wakayama prefecture near

¹² BOA, Y.PRK.TŞF 2/52, 14 June 1890.

¹³ In the documents of the Ottoman archives dated 1887, a rifle was named as a gift of Prince Komatsu. It was two vases that the prince presented to the sultan in 1894. However, there is a group of *hedāya-yı muhtelif* (miscellaneous gifts), which could not be identified. BOA, Y.PRK.HR 10/46, 14 Muharrem 1305 / 2 October 1887; BOA, Y.A.HUS 291/3, 16 Şaban 1311 / 22 February 1894; BOA, İ.HUS 21/1311/Ş-062, 18 Şaban 1311 / 24 February 1894; BOA, Y.PRK.TŞF 3/92, 27 Şaban 1311 / 5 March 1894.

Kushimoto on September 18, 1890 on its way back to the Ottoman Empire,¹⁴ the two Japanese cruisers *Hiei* (比叡) and *Kongō* (金剛) set off to Istanbul from Shinagawa port of Tokyo on October 5, 1890,¹⁵ carrying the survivors back to the Ottoman Empire together with the Japanese officials who played significant roles during and after this visit. One of these officials was the commander of the cruiser *Hiei*, Captain Tanaka Tsunatsune (田中綱常). Captain Tanaka not only gave the official speech on behalf of the Japanese delegate at the night of the banquet held in the honor of the crew of the cruisers *Hiei* (比叡) and *Kongō* (金剛) in *Gümüşsuyu Kışla-i Hümayân* (The Imperial Military Garrison) in Istanbul on January 7, 1891,¹⁶ but also forged a personal connection to the *Yıldız* Palace. Tanaka compiled a letter in 1893 conveying his gratitude upon the second class *Osmânî* order (*Nişân-ı Âlî-i 'Osmânî*) that he was granted by the sultan in January 1891,¹⁷ and send gifts to the Palace as a sign of his gratitude with the aid of Yamada Torajirō (山田寅次郎) (1866-1957),¹⁸ who first arrived in Istanbul in April 1892 and stayed for couple of months,

¹⁴ BOA, Y.A.HUS 239/16, 5 Safer 1308 / 20 September 1890; BOA, Y.A.HUS 239/21, 6 Safer 1308 / 21 September 1890. For a detailed account of the incident, see 『1890 エルトウルル号事件報告書：災害教訓の継承に関する専門調査会』、中央防災会議、平成十七年三月 (1890 *Erutoururugo Jiken Hōkokusho: Saigai Kyōkun no Keishō ni Kansuru Senmon Chōsakai*, Chūō Bōsai Kaigi, March 2006); Kaori Komatsu, *Ertuğrul Faciası: Bir Dostluğun Doğuşu*, Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 1992.

¹⁵ 海軍省水路部『軍艦比叡土耳其国航海報告』、〔東京〕：水路部、明治 25 年 6 月 (Kaigunshō Suirobu, *Gunkan Hiei Torukokoku Kōkai Hōkoku*, Tokyo: Suirobu, 1892), p. 2; 海軍省水路部『軍艦金剛土耳其国航海報告』、〔東京〕：水路部、明治 24 年 7 月 (Kaigunshō Suirobu, *Gunkan Kongō Torukokoku Kōkai Hōkoku*, Tokyo: Suirobu, 1891), p. 1.

¹⁶ For the banquet, see BOA, Y.PRK.MYD 10/9, 26 Cemaziyülevvel 1308 / 7 January 1891. For the draft of Captain Tanaka Tsunatsune, see BOA, Y.PRK.TŞF 3/6, 21 Cemaziyülevvel 1308 / 2 January 1891.

¹⁷ BOA, İ.DH 1208/94561, 21 Cemaziyülevvel 1308 / 11 January 1891.

¹⁸ For the personal letter of Tanaka, see BOA, Y.MTV 87/19, 4 Cemaziyülevvel 1311 / 13 November 1893.

and came back to the Ottoman capital for the second time in 1893.¹⁹ This correspondence continued for the next two years and in August 1895 Rear Admiral Tanaka was bestowed a first class *Mecîdî* order (*Mecîdî Nişân-ı Zîşân*).²⁰ It is noteworthy that there was no record of photographs among the gifts of Tanaka Tsunatsune to the sultan. Although the inquiry on the source of the photographs through the imperial gifts presented to Abdulhamid II, was insufficient in providing the clues about who might have sent or brought the photographs of Japan to the Ottoman empire, it proved fertile in placing the photographic albums in the wider perspective of the visual culture of the Ottoman Empire and of the Meiji period Japan.

There are several other premises, which indicated the sources that might provide the photographic albums to the sultan. In August 1896 a chest full of *eşyâ-yı nefîse* (fine goods), namely, works of art arrived to the Ottoman Empire from Japan.²¹ Considering that

¹⁹ For further information on Yamada Torajirō, see セルチュク・エセンベル「世紀末イスタンブールの日本人：山田寅次郎の生涯と『土耳其画観』、『近代日本とトルコ世界』、池井優、坂本勉編、東京：勁草書房、1999年 (Selçuk Esenbel, “Seikimatsu Isutanburu no Nihonjin: Yamada Torajirō no Shōgai to Toruko Gakan,” in *Kindai Nihon to Toruko Seiki*, eds., Ikei Masaru and Sakamoto Tsutomu, Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1999), pp. 71-100; Selçuk Esenbel, “*A fin de siècle* Japanese Romantic in Istanbul: the Life of Yamada Torajirō and his *Toruko Gakan*,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 59, Part 2, 1996, pp. 237-252; 松谷浩尚「山田寅次郎：日本・トルコ友好親善」、『イスタンブールを愛した人々』、東京：中公新書、1998年 (Matsutani Hironao, “Yamada Torajirō: Nihon – Toruko Yūkō Shinzen,” *Isutanbū wo Aishita Hitobito*, Tokyo: Chūkō Shinsho, 1998), pp. 65-88; 長場紘「明治が生んだ熱血漢：山田寅次郎」、『近代トルコ見聞録』、東京：慶應義塾大学出版会、2000年 (Nagaba Hiroshi, “Meiji ga unda nekketsukan: Yamada Torajirō,” in *Kindai Toruko Kenbunroku*, Tokyo: Keiō Gijuku Daigaku Shuppankai, 2000), pp. 67-89; 『上州風』特集1「寅次郎奔る：日本と土耳其を結んだ快男児」(*Jōshūfū*, Special Issue 1, *Torajirō Hashiru: Nihon to Toruko wo Musunda Kaidanji*), Vol. 14, 2003, p. 40.

²⁰ BOA, Y.MTV 111/ 52, 27 Cemaziyülahir 1312 / 25 December 1894; BOA, İ.TAL 83/1313/S-52, 16 Safer 1313 / 7 August 1895.

²¹ BOA, Y.PRK.ZB 18/25, 12 Rebiyülevvel 1314 / 21 August 1896.

an amount of money was paid to the *Crédit Lyonnais* Bank for the customs formalities,²² these works of art were conveyed as commodity rather than being a gift. Although his name was not mentioned in the documents, it was very likely that the entrepreneurial figure Yamada Torajirō (山田寅次郎) by then the inhabitant of Constantinople brought these Japanese objects to the Ottoman capital to be sold in his newly established business in 1896. Yamada Torajirō went back to Japan in 1896 for couple of months, and after he returned to Constantinople, together with Nakamura Eiichi (中村栄一), he opened a souvenir shop located at *Grande Rue de Péra*.²³ The important question is if the *eşyâ-yı nefîse*, which were brought from Japan and displayed in the “Nakamura Store” (中村商店) of Yamada and Nakamura, contained any photographs or photographic albums. A year after the establishment of this souvenir shop, in May 1897 Yamada Torajirō submitted a detailed list of the goods merchandized by the Nakamura Store, which was in the *Cadde-i Kebîr* (*Grande Rue*) of Beyoğlu district in Istanbul at No. 81, to the *Yıldız* palace, in other words, to Abdulhamid II.²⁴ In two months Sultan Abdulhamid chose the objects, which would be purchased from the Nakamura Store, and the payment was made from *Hazîne-i Hâssa-ı*

²² BOA, Y.PRK.MYD 17/14, 29 Zilhicce 1313 / 11 June 1896. “Japonya’dan gelmiş olan eşyânın gümrükten ihrâcı için Kredi Liyone bankasına iki yüz lira teslim olununca” It was two hundred liras, which were paid to the *Crédit Lyonnais*, which opened a branch in the Ottoman capital in 1877. Jacques Thobie, “European Banks in the Middle East,” in *International banking, 1870-1914*, eds., Rondo E. Cameron, Valeri Ivanovich Bovykin, Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, pp. 406-442.

²³ Selçuk Esenbel, “*A fin de siècle* Japanese Romantic in Istanbul: the Life of Yamada Torajirō and his *Toruko Gakan*,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 59, Part 2, 1996, pp. 237-252; 『上州風』特集 1「寅次郎奔る：日本と土耳其を結んだ快男児」 (*Jōshūfū*, Special Issue 1, *Torajirō Hashiru: Nihon to Toruko wo Musunda Kaidanji*), Vol. 14, 2003, p. 40.

²⁴ BOA, Y.PRK.SGE 7/54, 27 Zilhicce 1314 / 29 May 1897.

Hümâyûn (the Sultan's Private Treasury) in June 1897.²⁵ Among these various materials indigenous to Japan, which were imported by Yamada Torajirō and bought by the sultan, no photographs or photographic albums were registered. Likewise, the *Annual Return of The Foreign Trade of The Empire of Japan*²⁶ reported that the domestic products exported to Turkey from 1885 to 1895 included toys and ceramics, which were possibly brought from Japan for the Nakamura souvenir shop of Yamada, while photograph (寫眞畫) was not one of the itemized objects in this inventory of Japan's export, suggesting that the five photographic albums of Japan in the *Yıldız* photography collection were not purchased by Abdulhamid II.

However, the argumentation up until here does not signify that Yamada Torajirō was not referenced at all in the context of photographs. Three months after he set off to Istanbul for the first time on January 30, 1892 from Yokohama Port, Yamada reached Port Said of Egypt on March 18 where he spent ten days.²⁷ During his stay in Cairo, Yamada got acquainted with Abdul-Kadir *Pasha*, mentioned as the governor of the city in Yamada's book *Toruko Gakan*, who gave Yamada an album of Cairo photographs,²⁸ which were probably shot either by Antonio Beato, or by Kevork Abdullah. At another time,

²⁵ BOA, Y.MTV 161/199, 29 Muharrem 1315 / 29 June 1897.

²⁶ 『大日本外国貿易年表』、東京：大蔵省、明治 16-45 年、29 冊 (*Dai Nippon Gaikoku Bōeki Nenpyō*, Tokyo: Ōkurashō, 1883-1911, 29 vols.), Vol. 3 (*Meiji*18) (1885) – Vol. 13 (*Meiji*28) (1895).

²⁷ 山樵亭主人『新月山田寅次郎』、大阪：岩崎輝彦、1952 年 (*Sanshōtei Shujin, Shingetsu Yamada Torajirō*, Ōsaka: Iwasaki Teruhiko, 1952), p. 9.

²⁸ 山田寅次郎『土耳古画観』、東京：博文館、1911 年 (Yamada Torajirō, *Toruko Gakan*, Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1911), p. 6; 山樵亭主人『新月山田寅次郎』、大阪：岩崎輝彦、1952 年 (*Sanshōtei Shujin, Shingetsu Yamada Torajirō*, Ōsaka: Iwasaki Teruhiko, 1952), p. 11.

subsequent to his return from Tokyo in 1899 (*Meiji* 32), Yamada brought back to Istanbul various gifts from those members of the Meiji aristocracy and the imperial family who had an audience with the sultan in Istanbul.²⁹ Among these gifts, the one from General Count Terauchi Masatake (寺内正毅) (1852-1919) is of interest to this thesis.³⁰ It was the photograph album of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, which was prepared by photographer Ogawa Kazuma and his former trainees in the Land Survey Department (陸地測量部) under the commission of the Japanese Army General Staff Office. This photography collection of Sino-Japanese war, *The Japan-China War*,³¹ is not one of the five albums of Abdulhamid II, nor it was the only collection of photographs that Yamada Torajirō brought to the Ottoman Empire. Ogawa Kazuma meanwhile was one of the photographers produced some of the photographs in these five albums.

The thesis that Yamada Torajirō was the one, who presented, at least some of the photographs of Japan to Sultan Abdulhamid II, was supported by documents in the Ottoman Archives. When Yamada arrived to *Dersa'âdet* on April 6, 1892, he stated that he wished to present to the sultan a *resim* of a battle which took place “three hundred years ago” in Japan, and an armor, and a sword, which were used in this battle in addition to the

²⁹ 山田寅次郎『土耳其画観』、東京：博文館、1911年 (Yamada Torajirō, *Toruko Gakan*, Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1911), p. 11; in Selçuk Esenbel, “*A fin de siècle* Japanese Romantic in Istanbul: the Life of Yamada Torajirō and his *Toruko Gakan*,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 59, Part 2, 1996, p. 243.

³⁰ “明治三十二年七月土帝の命を啣んで歸朝し、往復六ヶ月、復た土京に歸らんとす ... 寺内正毅子より日清戦役大寫真帖” 山田寅次郎『土耳其画観』、東京：博文館、1911年 (Yamada Torajirō, *Toruko Gakan*, Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1911), pp. 10-11.

³¹ Inoue Jūkichi, *The Japan-China War: Compiled from Official and other Sources*, with plates by K. Ogawa, Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh, 1895, 3 vols.

amount of money he gathered in Japan as a donation for the survivors of *Ertuğrul* incident.³² The list of the *âsâr-ı 'atîka* (antique objects) and the photographs brought by Yamada was submitted to the *Hâriciyye Nezâreti* (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) on April 7, 1892,³³ and these gifts were presented to the *Mekâtib-i 'Askeriyye Nezâreti* (the Ministry of Military Schools) on May 4, 1892.³⁴ The striking point in these documents and in the documents concerning photography in general is the alternative reference to photographers as *ressâm* (painter) and to photographs as *resim* (image, paint) as a substitute for *fotoğrafçı* (photographer) and *fotoğraf* (photograph). The *resim* presented by Yamada was probably a photograph of the scene of the Battle of Sekigahara of 1600 (関ヶ原の戦い). This battle, which consolidated the “unification” of Japan and marked the monopolization of the office of *shōgun* by Tokugawa family, took place in Gifu prefecture of central Japan,³⁵ whose photographs were included in the photography collection of Abdulhamid II. The document dated May 4, 1892 reported that there were more than one photograph which Yamada presented to the sultan by means of Abdulhalim Noda *Efendi*,³⁶ in other words, Noda Shōtarō (野田正太郎) (1868-1904), who was a journalist came to Istanbul on board of the cruisers *Hiei* or *Kongō*, published a series of articles regarding the *Ertuğrul* incident and the

³² BOA, Y..PRK.ASK 80/107, 8 Ramazan 1309 / 6 April 1892.

³³ BOA, Y.MTV 61/19, 9 Ramazan 1309 / 7 April 1892.

³⁴ BOA, Y.MTV 62/19, 7 Şevval 1309 / 4 May 1892.

³⁵ For the Battle of Sekigahara and its consequences, see John Whitney Hall, “The *bakuhau* system,” in *The Cambridge history of Japan, Vol. 5, Early Modern Japan*, ed., John W. Hall, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 128-182; Harold Bolitho, “The *han*,” in *The Cambridge history of Japan, Vol. 5, Early Modern Japan*, ed., John W. Hall, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 183-234.

³⁶ BOA, Y.MTV 62/19, 7 Şevval 1309 / 4 May 1892.

Ottoman Empire in the daily newspaper *Jiji Shinpō* between 1890 and 1893,³⁷ and was learning Turkish in *Mekteb-i Fünûn-ı Harbiyye-i Şâhâne* (the Military School) when Yamada arrived to the city.³⁸ Torajirō was bestowed with a fourth class *Mecîdî* order (*Mecîdî Nişân-ı Zîşân*) in June 1892,³⁹ ensuing the submission of his gifts to the palace including the photographs, which were certainly welcomed by Abdulhamid II. In an another *Yıldız* document dated January 11, 1910, various items, which were brought to the Ottoman Empire by Yamada Torajirō, were listed in two categories: the ones which were presented to the sultan as gifts, and the ones which were imported to the empire as commodity.⁴⁰ Among the objects enumerated under trade items, there were fifty photographs of *Mikado* (御門),⁴¹ that is, the Meiji emperor, which were produced possibly by the eminent portrait photographer Uchida Kuichi (内田九一) (1844-1875), and ten photographs of Japanese shrines, and temples.⁴² Although the number of photographs, which were attributed to Yamada Torajirō in this document, does not correspond to the number of photographs, which were explored in this study, it is certain that this

³⁷ 三沢伸生「1890～93年における『時事新報』に掲載されたオスマン朝関連記事：日本人初のイスラム世界への派遣・駐在新聞記者たる野田正太郎の業績」、『東洋大学社会学部紀要』(Misawa Nobuo, "Reports about the Ottoman Empire carried on *Jiji Shinpō* (1890-1893): Achievements of *Shōtarō Noda*, the first Japanese journalist who was sent to the Islamic World," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Sociology*, Tōyō University), Vol. 73, No. 41-2, February 25, 2004, pp. 109-146.

³⁸ BOA, Y.MTV 62/19, 7 Şevval 1309 / 4 May 1892.

³⁹ BOA, İ.DH 1277/100452, 23 Zilkade 1309 / 18 June 1892.

⁴⁰ BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 81/115, 29 Zilhicce 1327 / 11 January 1910.

⁴¹ The term *Mikado* (御門), literally means the gate of the imperial palace, and indicates the Japanese emperor who resides and possesses the palace. For earlier usage of the title *Mikado*, see Asakawa Kanichi, *The Early Institutional Life of Japan*, New York: Paragon, 1963.

⁴² "Mikado'nun resimleri: esb-süvâr olarak 25 'aded, yalnız 25 'aded; Japonyalıların ibâdât-ı milliyyelerini gösterir muhtelif resim 10 'aded" BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK 81/115, 29 Zilhicce 1327 / 11 January 1910.

transmigrant figure contributed extensively to the Hamidian photography collection of Japan.

The photographers who composed the photographs in this collection of *Yıldız* palace, is one of the concerns of this inquiry, since each and every photograph, which was produced throughout the photographic careers of these photographers, embodied the Japan through their cultural baggage and reflected not the “absolute truth” of what was behind the camera, but the personal and professional relations of these photographers with the political and commercial centers of authority. The photographs regarding the visit of Japanese cruisers *Hiei* (比叡) and *Kongō* (金剛) to Istanbul in 1891, were compiled in an album entitled *Les Corvettes Japonaise Hiyei et Kongo, Photographes de S.M.I. Le Sultan* in the same year.⁴³ Both the album cover and the correspondence within the *Yıldız* palace, between *Münir Pasha*, who was the *Teşrifât-ı ‘Umûmiyye Nâzırı* (the Minister for the General Protocol), and the Minister of the Sultan’s Treasury, *Nâzır-ı Hazîne-i Hâssa*, documenting the payment made from *Hazîne-i Hâssa-ı Hümayûn* (the Sultan’s Private Treasury) for this album, together with the invoice dated February 28, 1891, revealed that this was another photographic commission which *Abdullah Frères* received from *Abdulhamid II*.⁴⁴ The document, which was submitted to the palace from the *Hâriciyye Nezâreti* (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) on December 13, 1893 with regard to the

⁴³ *Abdullah Frères, Les Corvettes Japonaise Hiyei et Kongo, Photographes de S.M.I. Le Sultan*, Constantinople, 1891.

⁴⁴ BOA, Y.MTV 48/76, 19 Recep 1308 / 28 February 1891; BOA, Y.MTV 53/72, 17 Muharrem 1309 / 23 August 1891.

commemorative gravestone constructed on the site of the *Ertuğrul* cemetery in Japan with the contributions of Wakayama inhabitants, evinces that it was “Monsieur” Shibata Kōichirō (柴田コウ一郎), a photographer of Wakayama prefecture, who photographed the three “pictures” (*resimler*) of the commemorative gravestone located in “Ōshima-mura” (Ōshima village), which were attached to the document.⁴⁵ Although the document referred to three photographs, there is only one accompanying the document, and this photograph bears the colophon of the photographer Shibata’s Studio (寫眞士柴田杏堂). With the aim of identifying the other photographers, first, the photographs concerning Japan in the *Yıldız* collection were inventoried depending on their captions.⁴⁶ Secondly, these photographs were juxtaposed with the photographs of Japan in the other photography collections. The “Japanese Old Photographs in Bakumatsu-Meiji Period” of the Nagasaki University Library Digital Collection, and the albums of Japanese photographs in the *Musée Nicéphore Niépce* provided the data basis while seeking the photographs identical to the ones in the photography collection of Abdulhamid II.⁴⁷ The first find as a result of the survey conducted in the Keio University Library was a photograph, which was captioned “The Orchestra” (Figure 18) in the illustrated book entitled *Illustrations of Japanese Life* by Ogawa Kazuma (小川一真).⁴⁸ The copy of the same photograph in the *Yıldız* collection,

⁴⁵ BOA, Y.A.HUS 286/33, 4 Cemaziyülahir 1311 / 13 December 1893.

⁴⁶ For this inventory, see Appendix B. There is a partial list of the albums in the Rare Department of Istanbul University Library where the original photographs are preserved today.

⁴⁷ Nagasaki University Library Digital Collection, “Japanese Old Photographs in Bakumatsu-Meiji Period,” <http://oldphoto.lb.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/>; the *Musée Nicéphore Niépce*, <http://www.museeniepce.com/>

⁴⁸ Ogawa Kazuma, *Illustrations of Japanese Life*, Tokyo: K. Ogawa, 1896.

which depicts a group of Japanese women in *kimono* playing traditional Japanese instruments, carries the caption "Playing at Musical Instruments." The other photographer identified by virtue of a photograph captioned "Tamadare Tea House at Yumoto" (Figure 19) in the Nagasaki collection was Kusakabe Kinbei (日下部金兵衛), who depicted, in this photograph, a scene from Hakone near Tokyo, a tourist spot of the time and today. An appreciable number photographs by Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎) was ascertained through the *Musée Nicéphore Niépce*. Finally, although there are no photographs of Japan in the *Yıldız* collection that could be attributed to him, it is very likely that Felice Beato was one of the photographers of Abdulhamid's photographs of Japan, depending on the frequency of the subjects pertaining to the *Yokohama-shashin* genre, of which Beato was a pioneer.

The physical characteristics of the albums suggest the source of the photographs as well as the political and commercial aspirations of the producers of these albums. The photographic album entitled *Les Corvettes Japonaise Hiyei et Kongo* (Figure 20) composed of twenty-five sepia photographs measuring 26 x 20 cm, which were taken by Abdullah *Frères*. This album (44 x 33 cm), which was numbered as No. 90816 in the Istanbul University Library Rare Department, has a velvet cover with the imperial *tuğrâ* (monogram) of Abdulhamid II in the middle and below, the silvered inscriptions of the title, the year and the photographer of the photographic work, which were framed by a gold leaf embroiderer composed of flowers. Although the photographs in this album were not

captioned, some of them bear the brand name of Abdullah *Frères*. Symbolizing the court patronage, the imperial *tuğrâ* divulges that the album was the outcome of a Hamidian photographic commission. The album No. 91222 (50 x 40 cm) has neither a title nor captions for each photograph. Carrying the Ottoman coat of arms on its front cover and a moon and star imprint on the back, this album was comprised of eighty-one sepia photographs. Although the cover embellishment suggests that the album was composed in the Ottoman Empire, its photographs of various sizes depicting Japan, reveals that individual photographs of Japan, brought to the Ottoman Empire on different occasions, were compiled into this album afterwards. The album No. 91345 (40 x 33 cm) (Figure 21) contains hundred hand-colored photographs measuring 27 x 21 cm, with captions in English. The striking point of this album is the lacquer album cover decorated with a Japanese landscape which depicted a lady holding her *wagasa* (umbrella) in a *jinrikisha* (rickshaw) with Mount Fuji on the background embroidered by gilt and indigo (藍) on the black lacquer. This album cover whose leather spine was obviously affixed after the album arrived to the Ottoman palace,⁴⁹ is the epitome of Yokohama souvenir albums with its ornamentation. The album No. 91353 (Figure 22) and the album No. 91354 (Figure 23) in identical formats measure 40 x 33 cm and each consists of fifty hand-colored photographs of 25 x 20 cm, which were captioned both in English and in Ottoman Turkish. It is very likely that the secretary who entered the captions in Ottoman Turkish on the photographs

⁴⁹ The typical Yokohama souvenir album cover was made up of two lacquered wood boards mounted without a spine.

by hand after the photographs were presented to the sultan, did not know English, because the English words such as “bridge,” and “village,” were inscribed as private names of the places beneath the captions in English imprinted on the photographs by the photo-mechanical process. Both of these albums have a wooden album cover with lacquer coating. The former was decorated with a scene of Mount Fuji, which was regarded as sacred, and the latter with a pair of cranes, which symbolizes a long life in Japan. The photographic albums of approximately 40 x 30 cm sizes, which were lacquer-covered and decorated with painted Japanese landscape scenes containing typical motifs such as Mount Fuji, *jinrikisha*, and *geisha*, and which consists of fifty to hundred hand-colored photographs depicting Japanese views and customs constitute the *Yokohama-shashin* genre, in other words, the Yokohama souvenir albums.⁵⁰ Likewise, the albums Nos. 91345, 91353, and 91354 in the photography collection of Abdulhamid II, were designated as belonging to this genre in this thesis.

The subjects depicted in these five albums of the *Yıldız* collection not only

⁵⁰ For an example of Yokohama souvenir albums, namely *Yokohama-shashin*, see Figure 24. This album in the photography collection of the Keio University Library was discovered by virtue of a photography exhibition held in 2005 in Keio University: 『古写真で見る幕末・明治初期』慶應義塾大学三田メディアセンター、2005年4月11日～24日 (*Bakumatsu and Early Meiji Periods Traced Through Old Photographs*, Keio University Mita Media Center, 11-24 April 2005). For the physical characteristics of *Yokohama-shashin*, see 佐藤守弘「観光・写真・ピクチャレスク：横浜写真における自然景観表象をめぐって」、茨城大学、2001年 (Satō Morihiro, “Sight-seeing, Photography, Picturesque: The Representation of Nature in the Scenes of Yokohama Photographs,” Ibaraki University, 2001); 藤原秀之「早稲田大学図書館所蔵明治期彩色写真帖」、『早稲田大学図書館紀要』、第52号、2004年 (Fujiwara Hideyuki, “Waseda Daigaku Toshokan Shozō Meijiiki Saishiki Shahinchō,” *Waseda Daigaku Toshokan Kiyo*, No. 52, 2004), pp. 34-78; 横浜開港資料館編『明治の日本：横浜写真の世界：彩色アルバム』、横浜：有隣堂、1990年 (*Yokohama Archives of History*, ed., *Japan of Meiji Period: the World of Yokohama Photography*, Yokohama: Yūrindō, 1990), p. 227.

sketched out the line of events ensuing the *Ertuğrul* incident, but also revealed the concerns of photographers in Japan to present a vivid embodiment of Japanese life to the tourist and the foreign inhabitants of Japan. For the sake of the appealing presentation of Japan, vibrant colors like indigo blue and cinnabar red were applied to *Yokohama-shashin*, namely, Yokohama tourist photographs including the photographs of Japan in Abdulhamid's photography collections. The albums, apart from the one produced by Abdullah *Frères*, which belong to the *Yokohama-shashin* genre, embrace many different subjects, predominantly famous natural and historical sites, such as the shrine and waterfalls at Nikkō and Hakone, the Great Buddha at Kamakura, the recently built urban structure of Yokohama and Tokyo, and of course, Mount Fuji. Tourists and foreign residents, who were restricted to travel in Japan, and to photograph whatever they like until 1870s, required and ordered similar photographic illustrations of Japan. The Nikkō photographs of Tamamura Kōzaburō (Figure 25) in the album No. 91353 of the *Yıldız* collection, which were also published in Frank Brinkley's ten-volumes work *Japan, Described and Illustrated by the Japanese* in 1897,⁵¹ and the Yokohama photographs of Kusakabe Kinbei (Figure 26) in the album No. 91354, were among these scenic representations from Japan. Moreover, Japanese customs, and snapshots from daily life constitute another subject depicted in *Yokohama-shashin*. The photographic albums presented to Abdulhamid II contain relatively less photographs of such scenes, compared to the typical Yokohama souvenir

⁵¹ Frank Brinkley, ed., *Japan, Described and Illustrated by the Japanese*, 10 vols., Boston: J.B. Millet Company, 1897.

albums whose one portion out of five was reserved for the mostly staged settings of traditional ceremonies, or daily routines of Japanese culture.⁵² Photographers like Ogawa Kazuma and Tamamura Kōzaburō chose to depict such aspects of Japan that seemed exotic to “westerners” and to manufacture the *mise en scène* of the photographs to give the purchasers what they expected to see.⁵³ Together with Felice Beato and Kusakabe Kinbei, these photographers not only promoted the commercial photography in Japan, but also exported the “orientalized”⁵⁴ representations of Japan through the photography technology. In addition to the domestic market for the ready-made portraits of famous Kabuki actors, and *geisha*,⁵⁵ there was a foreign demand for Japanese women portraits many of which were included into the photographic albums submitted to the Yıldız Palace. Compared to Beato’s half-naked women figures in the Japanese daily life settings, the women portraits presented to Abdulhamid II, were posed sitting in a *jinrikisha* (rickshaw), holding a *sensu* (Japanese fan) or a *wagasa* (Japanese umbrella) in their delicately dressed *kimono*. Among

⁵² For such albums of *Yokohama-shashin* preserved in Waseda University Library, see 藤原秀之「早稲田大学図書館所蔵明治期彩色写真帖」、『早稲田大学図書館紀要』、第 52 号、2004 年 (Fujiwara Hideyuki, “Waseda Daigaku Toshokan Shozō Meijiiki Saishiki Shahinchō,” *Waseda Daigaku Toshokan Kiyo*, No. 52, 2004), pp. 34-78.

⁵³ The photographic albums by Ogawa and Tamamura which comprised staged photographs of Japanese customs and daily life, as follows: Ogawa Kazuma, *Illustrations of Japanese Life*, Tokyo: K. Ogawa, 1892, 4 vols.; Ogawa Kazuma, *Costumes and Customs in Japan*, Tokyo: Ogawa, 1895, 2 vols.; Tamamura Kōzaburō, *The Ceremonies of a Japanese Marriage*, Kobe: Tamamura Shashin Seihanbu, 1905; Tamamura Kōzaburō, *The New Year in Japan*, Kobe: Tamamura Shashin Seihanbu, 1906; Tamamura Kōzaburō, *The Fishermen's Life in Japan*, Kobe: Tamamura Shashin Seihanbu, 1906.

⁵⁴ For an evaluation on Roland Barthes’ approach to photography in the context of Edward Said’s orientalism, see Diana Knight, “Barthes and Orientalism,” *New Literary History*, Vol. 24, No. 3, Textual Interrelations, (Summer, 1993), pp. 617-633.

⁵⁵ Kinoshita Naoyuki, “The Early Years of Japanese Photography,” pp. 16-35, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 16.

these women portraits, one photograph in the album No. 91345 was from an illustrated book entitled *Types of Japan, Celebrated Geysha of Tokyo* (Figure 27),⁵⁶ which was photographed and published by Ogawa Kazuma. Composed of collotypes, each one from a posed photograph of a famous Tokyo *geisha* in formal dress, this work was republished in 1895 and 1902 with two different titles in English and in Japanese appealing to both domestic and foreign markets. The English title, *Geisha of Tokyo*, promised the exotic image that the western tourist sought, while the Japanese title, *Tokyo Hyaku Bijin* (One Hundred Beauties of Tokyo), written in *kanji* (ideographs), was more geared to Japanese interests.⁵⁷

The dry-plate photographic technique of the 1880s enabled photographers to take, and to develop photographs in a shorter period of time. Accordingly, the scope of photography expanded beyond portrait photographs, covering a wide range of subjects including natural disasters, such as volcanic eruptions and earthquakes. In Japan the Nōbi (濃尾) earthquake of 1891 became a subject of interest in the implementation of dry-plate printing technique as means of documentation. In December 1891 Ogawa Kazuma accompanied the British seismologist John Milne (1850-1913) and William K. Burton, who were both professor at the Imperial University of Tokyo (東京帝國大学), on a tour of the

⁵⁶ Ogawa Kazuma, *Types of Japan, Celebrated Geysha of Tokyo in Collotype and From Photographic Negatives Taken by Him*, Tokyo: K. Ogawa, 1892.

⁵⁷ Anne Wilkes Tucker, "Introduction," pp. 2-13, in *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 8.

earthquake, and photographed the devastated Nōbi plain of Gifu region in central Japan.⁵⁸ These photographs were published in a book of the event in the following year. The five photographs in the album No. 91353 of the *Yıldız* collection (Figure 28) displaying the scenes from the areas confronted with the earthquake were the ones depicting the Nōbi earthquake, which were included in this illustrated book entitled *The Great Earthquake of Japan, 1891*,⁵⁹ published by Ogawa Kazuma in 1892. Interestingly enough, the archival documents dated November 9, 12 and 13, 1891,⁶⁰ which concerned the investigation of the earthquake in Japan, reveal that Abdulhamid II, consequently, the Ottoman state inquired about the amount of damage done by the Nōbi earthquake of November 6, 1891, and in general that the Ottoman Empire kept paying attention to what was going on in this “far-away” geography subsequent to the *Ertuğrul* incident and as a part of the diplomatic relations via the Japanese embassies in Paris, Petersburg and Berlin.

The twenty-five photographs in the album No. 90816 which were composed by Abdullah *Frères*, documented the interior and exterior of the two Japanese cruisers *Hiei* (比叡) and *Kongō* (金剛) from eighteen different angles during their visit to the Ottoman Empire in January 1891. This album also embraces the photographs of the dining hall of the

⁵⁸ “明治二十四年帝國大学教授「ミルン」「バルトン」合著日本大地震ノ出版ヲ助ケ写真及写真版ニ関スル一切ヲ担当ス” アジア歴史資料センター『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』、陸軍省、明治38年 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, *Résumé, Ogawa Kazuma, from birth to his life as a photographer*, the Army Ministry of Japan, ca 1905), p. 14.

⁵⁹ John Milne and William K. Burton, *The Great Earthquake of Japan, 1891*, with 29 Plates by K. Ogawa, 1892, 1st Edition.

⁶⁰ BOA, İ.DH 1252/98196, 7 Rebiyülahir 1309 / 9 November 1891; BOA, HR.TO 65/42, 12 November 1891; BOA, Y.A.HUS 253/61, 11 Rebiyülahir 1309 / 13 November 1891.

Gümüşsuyu *Kışla-i Hümayân* (The Imperial Military Garrison) in Istanbul at the night of the banquet held in the honor of the crew of the these cruisers on January 7, 1891, which were taken before the guests' arrival and during the banquet. The thirty photographs of the commemoration ceremony in *Kushimoto* area of Wakayama prefecture for the loss of *Ertuğrul* Frigate, which were produced by the photographer Nakamura Jōji (中村貞治) that was located in Kobe,⁶¹ were part of the album No. 91222. The two missing photographs in the document, which was submitted to the palace from the *Hâriciyye Nezâreti* (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) on December 13, 1893 with regard to the commemorative gravestone constructed on the site of the *Ertuğrul* cemetery in Japan, that alluded to the three photographs of the commemorative gravestone taken by the photographic studio of Shibata Kōichirō (寫眞士柴田杏堂) situated in Wakayama prefecture,⁶² were also included in the album No. 91222. Furthermore, in his book *Toruko Gakan*, Yamada Torajirō mentioned that in November 1899 he received the photograph album of the gravestone commemorating the captain Osman *Pasha* and the crew of *Ertuğrul* from Okura Hisashi (小倉久) (1852-1906), who was the governor of Wakayama prefecture for the moment. On December 3 of the same year, Yamada presented these photographs among many other gifts to İbrahim *Pasha*, who was the *Teşrîfât-ı 'Umûmiyye Nâzırı* (the Minister for the

⁶¹ All of these thirty photographs bear the seal of the photographer Nakamura Jōji (中村貞治) indicating that he was located in Kobe.

⁶² BOA, Y.A.HUS 286/33, 4 Cemaziyülahir 1311 / 13 December 1893.

General Protocol) (式部長官) at the *Yıldız* Palace to be submitted to Sultan Abdulhamid.⁶³

It is apparent that the photographs were dispatched and presented to the Ottoman court, by social intermediaries, as well as through the official channels.

⁶³ 山田寅次郎『土耳古画観』、東京：博文館、1911 年 (Yamada Torajirō, *Toruko Gakan*, Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1911), p. 11; Selçuk Esenbel, "A *fin de siècle* Japanese Romantic in Istanbul: the Life of Yamada Torajirō and his *Toruko Gakan*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 59, Part 2, 1996, p. 243.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The study of the photographic depictions of Japan in the photography collection of Abdulhamid II points out a number of issues. Firstly, from a general perspective the importation and the adaptation of the photography technology by Japan and by the Ottoman Empire was an attempt to incorporate the contemporary “western” world into their own case. Secondly, the transfer of the photography albums of Japan to the Ottoman Empire was enabled through the transnational networks of transmigrant figures that traveled between the two geographies. Finally, the research conducted in pursuit of the composers of the photographs of Japan in the *Yıldız* collection of Abdulhamid II yielded results, and both the photographers and the agencies that brought the albums to the Ottoman capital, were identified.

The invention of photography was widely applauded in the nineteenth century both as a medium of artistic expression and as a powerful scientific tool to be used as the self-representations of the “modern” state and society. Photographs were exploited as the photomechanical representation of reality. Presenting a cheap and unlimited method of photomechanical reproduction, photographs were widely circulated as a source of information and frequently purchased as an item of commerce as traced in the examples of

Yokohama and Constantinople. The development of photography technique coincides with the expansion and the diversification of the functions of the state in the nineteenth century. Photography served to the needs of regimes as a means for surveillance, data storage, image making, and propaganda as scrutinized in the cases of Japan and the Ottoman Empire. This thesis revealed that the photography technology was imported and adopted by the authorities, with a claim to be “modernized,” which were exemplified by Emperor Meiji and Sultan Abdulhamid II. These regimes, at the same time, provided the political patronage to the photographers in these geographies through the imperial commissions for the sake of the political utilizations of photography. Throughout the study of the photography albums of Japan in the Hamidian photography collection, it was divulged that the development and dispersal of photography technology mapped out the transnational connections of commercial, military and political figures, which used the peripatetic nature of their professional careers to build such networks and transform the techniques and experiences of photography throughout and beyond an area.

The conceptual premise upon which this study was based was that an evaluation of the photography albums depicting Japan, which was part of the *Yıldız* photography collection of Abdulhamid II would provide the contemporary development, perception and use of photography in Japan with respect to the Ottoman Empire. The interchangeable usage of *resim* and *fotoğraf* (painting and photograph) in the Ottoman archival documents for the photographic printing alludes the perplexing perception of the photographic

technology in the Ottoman Empire which provided a hint to trace the itinerary of these albums all the way from Meiji Japan to the Ottoman Empire under the Hamidian rule.

The production and consumption of these photography albums of Japan in the Hamidian collection, reveals the ways in which photographic meaning was institutionally and culturally generated, and how the very nature of the photographic meaning was profited by the Meiji rule of Japan, and the Hamidian regime of the Ottoman Empire in their claim to be “modernized” and in their attempts to be omnipresent as governments.

The five albums composed of the photographs of Japan constitute only a small part of the photography collection of Abdulhamid II which were accumulated by virtue of the photographic documentation processes justified the authority and control of the sultan over the society. The album composed by Abdullah *Frères* exemplified the incorporation of the “court photographer” into this politicization of photography in the Ottoman Empire. The photographs pertaining to the *Ertuğrul* incident including the ones of the funeral ceremony of the *Ertuğrul* crew and of the commemorative gravestone in Kushimoto in Wakayama prefecture of Japan, divulge the commemorative purposes and the informative tasks, which attributed to the use of photography technology. In the same way that the photographers James Robertson and Felice Beato were active throughout the European and Asian geographies, the transmigrant figure Yamada Torajirō took part in the transformation and the share of the photographic information, technologies and representations of Japan and the Ottoman Empire.

Ogawa Kazuma, Kusakabe Kinbei, and Tamamuro Kōzaburō, whose photographic depictions were included in the photograph albums presented to Abduhamid II, were the entrepreneurs on the subject of photography in Japan, who established photographic “companies,” which were the heart of mass photography production including the photography albums, namely “Japan” images exported to Europe, and America upon order, and finally traversed to the Ottoman capital through the system of gift circulation. The messages that the photographs of Japan in the *Yıldız* collection conveyed were formulated through the personal and professional relations of these photographers as well as their personal selectivity as a composer. The subjective nature of the photographic meaning refuted the function attributed to the photography as a tool for engraving the “authentic,” for sculpting the “truth” (真正ノ彫刻), which was referred as a justification of the politicization of photography.

This study has analyzed the self-representations of the “modern” Japan in the European context, through the photography albums presented to Abdulhamid II, which were composed of traditional, mystique images of historical sites in Japan together with the Japanese people in *kimono*, accompanied with the photographs of “modern” buildings in the recently developed port cities. These albums as the traveling images of Japan through the human migration displayed the significance of transnational processes in the transfer of photographic knowledge and representations beyond the borders of “nations.” Just like his mentor James Robertson, Felice Beato peregrinated from Constantinople to Yokohama of

Japan contributing vastly to these transnational exchanges. Through the juxtaposition of the photographs of Japan in the collection of Abdulhamid II with the other photographs in different photography collections, I have identified the photographers of the five albums as Abdullah *Frères* of Constantinople, Kusakabe Kinbei and Tamamuro Kōzaburō of Yokohama, Ogawa Kazuma of Tokyo, Shibata Kōichirō of Wakayama, and Nakamura Jōji of Kobe. Furthermore, I propounded the idea that Yamada Torajirō brought the photographs of Japan to the Ottoman Empire during his journeys between two geographies. These photography albums depicting Japan revealed how photography became part of politics, and how Abdullaḥs and Ogawa, who were recruited into the institution of court photographer in different geographies, produced for the gaze of the sultan.

APPENDIX A

THE TECHNICAL TERMINOLOGY OF PHOTOGRAPHY¹

Ambrotype: A process whereby a very thin underexposed negative is placed in front of a dark background making the image look like a positive. The glass plate is produced using the wet-plate collodion process. The process was announced by the sculptor Frederick Scott Archer in 1851 and quickly became an inexpensive alternative to the daguerreotype, particularly when used in the portrait studio. Although ambrotypes slightly resemble daguerreotypes, the method of production was very different, and much cheaper. Ambrotypes required shorter exposure times, the image reversal seen with daguerreotypes could be avoided, and they could be viewed from any angle. As a result, daguerreotypes were almost completely displaced by 1860. Ambrotypes in the West peaked in popularity in the mid-1860s, but continued their popularity in Japan until around 1900. (Bennett, 2006)

Albumen paper: The technique of developing on albumen paper was discovered in 1850 by the French photographer Louis-Desire Blanquard Evrard. The process itself involves two layers: the protein emulsion, albumen, supported by the backing paper, invariably of very good quality, and quite fine. Albumen is prepared by beating the whites of eggs to which salt (sodium chloride or ammonia) has been added, then letting the mousse return to its liquid state. Sheets of paper are albumenized by being floated on top one at a time, and are then hung vertically to dry. The sheets of albumenized paper were thus sold and the photographer himself had to prepare them for photo-sensitivity. For this, the sheets were placed with the albumenized surface face down in a bath containing a 10% solution of

¹ George C. Baxley Collection of Japanese Photography, <http://www.baxleystamps.com/>, 1999; Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006; John Hannavy, ed., *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-century Photography*, New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2008, vol.1, pp. 1485-1486; Ken Jacobson, *Odaliques and Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839-1925*, London: Quaritch, 2007; William Johnson, Mark Rice, Therese Mulligan, eds., *Photography: from 1839 to Today: George Eastman House, Rochester, NY*; Cologne: Taschen, 1999; Annabelle Simon, "Les Photographies Japonaises du XIXe Siècle: Techniques, Conservation, Restauration", Paper presented at the Association France Japon-Nord / Japan Society Symposium *Les Collections d'Art Japonais en Europe* held in Lille during 4-5 October 1997, <http://www.old-japan.co.uk/>.

silver nitrate. Combining with the salt already present in the albumen layer, the silver nitrate formed photo-sensitive silver-chloride. The paper prepared in this way could not be kept for very long, and so the sensitization, the exposure and development often had to take place in the same day. Exposure was done in a printing frame, which held the negative in contact with the sensitized paper. Because of the low sensitivity of the paper at that time, a large amount of lighting was necessary, and exposure had to be done in sunlight, and enlargement, as we know it today, was seldom practiced. (Simon, 1997)

Cabinet card: A large version of the *carte de visite*, the cabinet card's approximate mount measurements were 4 1/4 x 6 1/2 (108 x 165 mm). Introduced in 1866, the cabinet card gradually overtook the smaller *carte de visite* in popularity. Interest in this format peaked between 1875 and 1895, but by around 1910 it had all but disappeared. Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz was an early exponent of this format in Japan and issued cabinet cards in the early 1870s. (Bennett, 2006)

Calotype: Invented and patented by William Henry Fox Talbot in 1841, the calotype anticipated modern photographic needs by using a negative, which enabled multiple positive prints to be made. The negative was a sheet of high-quality writing paper which had been made light-sensitive with chemicals. (Bennett, 2006)

Carte de visite: The *carte-de-visite*—a paper photograph mounted on a thin card measuring approximately 4 x 2-1/2 inches—was the most popular format for portrait photography in the 19th century. A *carte-de-visite* was roughly the same size as the visiting cards that gave the format its name. *Cartes-de-visite* were often exchanged between friends and family members and were collected in specially made albums. The format became popular in the 1850s when a technique was developed for making multiple negatives on a single glass plate (thereby reducing the cost of portrait photography), and it remained popular through the 1860s. The larger cabinet card format gradually eclipsed the popularity of the *carte-de-visite*. (Johnson; Rice; Mulligan, 1999)

Collotype process: This is a photo-mechanical process where gelatin is applied to a glass plate which is allowed to dry and then exposed to a photographic negative. Once exposed, a fine grained image is created on the reticulated gelatin. The exposed plate can be used to print onto paper. The fragile gelatin surface and glass plate limit the number of impressions that can be made. In a collotype image the detail is reticulated and appears like a mosaic with similar size pieces of irregular shapes. The size of the reticulation varies from print to print but cannot be seen by the naked eye. This process was invented in 1855 by Alphonse Poitevin and was immensely popular in Japan from the 1890's to the 1920's. Because of the high cost of copper associated with gravure printing, collotype became Japan's preferred method of printing over the gravure process. This process was recognized as a superb method of producing black and white and color images. However, it was an expensive labor intensive process and not suitable for high volume printing requirements. For many printing applications, it was replaced by the much lower quality off-set process beginning in the 1910s. (Baxley, 1999)

Daguerreotype: Daguerreotypes are sharply defined, highly reflective, one-of-a-kind photographs on silver-coated copper plates, packaged behind glass and kept in protective cases. Introduced in 1839 by Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre, the daguerreotype process was the first commercially successful photographic process, and is distinguished by a remarkable clarity of pictorial detail. Although early daguerreotypes required exposures of several minutes, advances in the process quickly reduced exposure times, to the relief of many sitters. Daguerreotypes were popular through the 1840s and into the 1850s, especially for portrait photography; they were primarily replaced by less-expensive and more easily viewed ambrotypes and tintypes, as well as by the improved negative-positive techniques of collodion on glass negatives and albumen prints. (Johnson; Rice; Mulligan, 1999)

Dry-plate process or gelatin silver print: This term refers to an array of processes, such as those using silver-chloride and silver-bromide developing-out paper and gelatin-bromide printing-out paper. The surface of this family of prints might vary from highly glossy to completely matt. These prints generally arrived after the albumen era, though also

overlapped with it, gelatin silver papers beginning to replace albumen as the dominant process by the 1880s. Many gelatin silver prints (or gelatin prints) were made using the newer gelatin dry plate negatives that began to replace the slower wet collodion process by around 1885. It should be noted that gelatin silver prints can be indistinguishable from the less common collodion prints of the same period. Gelatin silver prints were commonly used between 1885 and 1920. (Jacobson, 2007)

Hand coloring: The coloring of photographs with watercolors or oil. The process, introduced in Europe but never popular there, became an art form in Japan from the 1860s onwards. William Saunders seems to have been the first to use it in China and Japan, but Felix Beato was the first to employ it consistently. The quality of the finished product depended upon the photographic paper used, the ability of the artist, and the time taken to complete the work. (Bennett, 2006)

In Japan, each artist bought his pigments and colors in powder form, in varying degrees of granulation, then after any necessary further grinding, the artist mixed each pigment which he intended to use with a small quantity of buckskin glue called *nikawa*, applied in a 2% solution. The mixing was always done with the finger, taking due care if the pigments were toxic, such as the yellow orpiment, or king's yellow (arsenic trisulfide). A small porcelain bowl, *ezara*, was reserved for each color, the gradation of each tone being done afterwards in a sectioned dish known as the 'plum flower dish,' *orumezara*.

A prepared color did not last very long, especially in summer when the heat would cause the binding agent to lose its adhesiveness. In photograph studios, where consumption was heavy, the preparation of colors took place almost every day. The painter had to determine precisely the quantities of pigment and fixative, as well as their concentration. Too weak a solution could give the color a yellow hue and create tensions when the color dried, while the reverse would result in a lack of adhesion in the pigment. Once the preparation was complete, the color was left to dry before being used for the first time. Certain colors such as indigo (*ai* - *polygnum tinctorius*) were sold in the form of sticks, which had already been mixed with *nikawa* glue. The artist then rubbed the dried color on an ink stone (*suzuri*) with a little water in the same way as Chinese ink (*sumi*).

On colored photographs, we usually find indigo and Prussian blue comprising the blue palate, gamboge (*shiô* - garcinia morcella) yellow, and vermilion or cinnabar (mercuric sulfide) red and orange-red, but also safflower (*beni* - carthamus tinctorius), and Tokyo violet (*murasaki* - lithospermum erythrorhizon). These are basically the organic pigments traditionally used in Japan and are very sensitive to light.

If certain colors appear to us today as loud or crude, there are two reasons for this. Firstly, from the 1880s and 1890s very vivid aniline colors came into use, which contrasted with the softness of natural pigments and albumen. Furthermore, the decrease in density of the silver image, which, becoming more faded than it did originally, brings out the colors. (Simon, 1997)

Lantern slide: A lantern slide is a gelatin silver positive image on a glass plate that is projected onto a screen with the use of a slide projector, or "magic lantern." Before photography, lantern slide images were either stenciled or drawn, but in the 1850s, photographic lantern slides with albumen positive images became available. Beginning in the 1870s, gelatin silver lantern slides were commercially produced to meet the ever-increasing public demand. Lantern slides were used for popular entertainment, education, scientific study, and travelogues. (Johnson; Rice; Mulligan, 1999)

Photogravure: A photomechanical process invented by W. H. Fox Talbot in the 1850s and improved by Karl Klic in 1879, photogravure is a mechanical method of reproducing photographs. A copper plate is first etched by the use of a gelatin relief image that has been produced photographically. The resultant etching is then inked and printed on a press. The fine etching-like qualities of good examples were often preferred by "art" photographers and were commonly used between the years 1890 and 1915. Prominent examples of photogravure can be seen in books by P. H. Emerson and in many plates published in Alfred Steiglitz' groundbreaking American journal, *Camera Work*. The use of photogravure has continued to the present. (Jacobson, 2007)

Souvenir albums: These were albums of various sizes containing photographs of what were called Japanese views and costumes (landscape and portraits), usually hand colored. The wooden album covers were decorated with Japanese silk cloth or elaborate lacquer designs such as *shibiyama*. Produced for the export market, they were very popular with visiting tourists from the late 1860s to around 1920. The majority was produced by Yokohama photo studios, and are sometimes therefore called Yokohama Albums. (Bennett, 2006)

Stereoview or stereograph: A stereograph comprises two nearly identical photographic prints that have been recorded with a specially designed camera that has two lenses that are eye-width apart. Stereograph negatives are exposed simultaneously and later printed on heavy card stock. When a stereograph is viewed through a special viewer called a stereoscope, the viewer sees the image with a third dimension, giving a sense of depth and "reality" to the scene. They were a popular form of entertainment from the 1850s to the 1920s. In the 20th century stereography found renewed popularity in the form of Viewmaster reels and viewers. (Johnson; Rice; Mulligan, 1999)

Wet-plate or wet-collodion process: The wet-collodion negative process was developed in 1848 by F. Scott Archer (1813-1857) and first published in 1851. The process achieved popularity by the mid-1850s, dominating all other negative processes until 1881, gradually displacing both the daguerreotype and the calotype processes. The wet-collodion on glass negative process was desired both because the transparency of the glass yielded high-resolution images, and because exposure times were shorter than for daguerreotype or calotypes. Finished negatives were usually to produce albumen or salt prints.

The process derived its name from the use of collodion in liquid suspension to coat glass plates at the beginning of the sensitizing process before exposure. In the nineteenth century, the collodion used to coat glass plates was made from guncotton, a commercially available medical dressing. Guncotton was derived from ordinary cotton that had been soaked in nitric sulfuric acids, thoroughly washed, and dried. The guncotton was then dissolved in a mixture of alcohol and ether to which potassium iodide had been added. The resulting collodion was a syrupy mixture. This mixture could be prepared in advance in

a shop or laboratory and transported into the field.

Immediately before the image was to be made, collodion was poured onto a clean glass plate, which was continuously tilted to produce an even coating. The size of the plate was dependent upon the required size of the finished print, and plates varied in size from under two inches square, to mammoth plates, measuring in excess of 20 x 24 inches. When the collodion had set but not dried (a matter of seconds), the plate was sensitized by bathing it in a solution of silver nitrate. During this bath, the silver nitrate reacted with the potassium iodide in the collodion to produce light-sensitive film of silver iodide. This sensitizing process could be carried out under yellow light.

While the plate was being sensitized, the camera operator finished composing the scene, set up the camera, and focused on the subject. After removal from the silver nitrate bath, the glass plate, now light-sensitive, was placed in a light-proof holder and transported to the camera while still wet. When the subject ready and the film holder loaded into the camera, the "dark slide," a movable cover on the film holder, was moved to uncover the plate. The plate was finally exposed to the subject by removing the lens cap; exposure times ranged from less than one second to several minutes, depending upon the intensity of the light, and the age and quality of the collodion. When the proper exposure was made, the lens cap was replaced, and the "dark slide" returned to its closed position.

After exposure, the holder containing the plate was removed from the camera, returned to the darkroom and immediately developed in a solution of pyrogalllic and acetic acids (a later refinement of the process used ferrous sulfate as a developer). The image became visible within a few seconds as the areas struck by light in the camera turn to metallic silver. After fixing – usually in a tray of sodium thiosulfate (commonly called sodium hyposulphate in the nineteenth century) – to remove the unused silver halides, the plate was no longer sensitive to light, could be removed from the darkroom and washed in fresh water. An alcohol lamp was then used to dry the plate. Once dry, and while still warm, the plate was coated with a protective varnish made from gum sandarac, alcohol and oil of lavender. The glass plate was then a negative, could be used to make a wide variety of paper prints. (Hannavy, 2008)

APPENDIX B

THE LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS FROM JAPAN IN THE PHOTOGRAPHY

COLLECTION OF ABDULHAMID II¹

ALBUM No. 91345

1. "399 Autumn View of Maples, Ōji, Tōkiō."
2. "481 Iris Garden, Horikiri, Tōkiō."
3. "100. TEA-PICKING." Photographer: Kusakabe Kinbei (日下部金兵衛)
4. "1000 Lespedeza Temple Garden, Tōkiō."
5. "463 Palace Garden, Tōkiō."
6. "526. 100 STEPS, YOKOHAMA."
7. "577 BLUFF YOKOHAMA."
8. "1631 Pilgrimages"
9. "No. 518. JIMPOORO No. 9. KANAGAWA."
10. "469 Mito Garden Kōrakuyen, Tōkiō."
11. "511 Daibutsu, Kamakura"
12. "951. OYAMA."
13. "523 Cave of Enoshima"
14. "No. 412. FUJI FROM KAMIDE."
15. "No. 407. FUJI FROM TAGONO-URA."
16. "527 Tōnosawa."
17. "958 TAMADARE TEA HOUSE AT YUMOTO" Photographer: Kusakabe Kinbei (日下部金兵衛)
18. "584 Lake, Hakone."
19. "952 VIEW OF TONOSAWA."

¹ Album No. 90816, and Album No. 91222 have no captions. Album No. 90816 entitled *Les Corvettes Japonaise Hiyei et Kongo, Photographes de S.M.I. Le Sultan*, Constantinople, 1891, are composed of twenty-five photographs taken by Abdullah Frères, and Album No. 91222 comprises eighty photographs.

20. "No. 674. KIGA, HAKONE."
21. "985 VIEW OF KIGA."
22. "No. 677. MIYAGINO-GAWA (RIVER), HAKONE."
23. "982 VIEW OF SOKOKURA"
24. "No. 429. FUJIGAWA SUSPENSION BRIDGE, SURUGA."
25. "562 Fujiyama from Kawaibashi"
26. "823 View of Matsushima."
27. "No. 410. FUJI FROM TEA GARDEN, SHIZUOKA"
28. "No. 807. YUMOTO ROAD, NIKKO."
29. "No. 702. NIKKO IMAICHI."
30. "200 View of Yumoto, Nikkō."
31. "4 Manganji Garden, Nikkō."
32. "NO. 734. YOMEIMON, NIKKO"
33. "71 Stone Images Gamman, Nikkō."
34. "No. 795. CHOOZENJI ROAD, NIKKO"
35. "No. 781. GAMMANBASHI, NIKKO"
36. "120 Karamon Iyeyasu Temple, Nikkō"
37. "78 Urami road, Nikkō."
38. "20 Revolving Lantern, Nikkō."
39. "67 GANMAN ROAD NIKKO."
40. "0 GANMAN RIVER NIKKO."
41. "334 Shiba Temple, Tōkiō."
42. "83 Ichinotaki Waterfall, Nikkō."
43. "390 Autumn View of Maples, Ōji, Tōkiō."
44. "1677 SHUZENJI VILLAGE AT PROVINCE OF IDZU."
45. "3 Sacred Bridge, Nikkō."
46. "679 Playing Deers Kasuga Avenue at Nara."
47. "No. 866. HARUNA ROAD."
48. "548. Tea House, Honmoku" Photographer: Kusakabe Kinbei (日下部金兵衛)
49. "837 Papenberg, Nagasaki."
50. No caption [Monk]

51. "232 KAGO TRAVELLING CHAIR"
52. "1507 Street singer."
53. "305. ORNAMENTED CAR DRAWN AT FESTUVALS."
54. "No. 308. CHARCOAL SELLER IN A COUNTRY."
55. "44. BLIND SHAMPOOER." Photographer: Kusakabe Kinbei (日下部金兵衛)
56. No caption [Three Japanese Women]
57. "88. POST RUNNER." Photographer: Kusakabe Kinbei (日下部金兵衛)
58. "1504 Teaching of writing."
59. "1556 Blind street musician."
60. No caption [Japanese Woman with a *wagasa* (Japanese umbrella)]
61. No caption [Japanese Woman with a *shamisen* (Japanese musical instrument)]
62. "164 TOILET"
63. No caption [Japanese Woman with a *sensu* (Japanese fan)]
64. No caption [Japanese woman portrait]
65. "86. SNOW COSTUME." Photographer: Kusakabe Kinbei (日下部金兵衛)
66. No caption [Japanese Woman]
67. "1542 Dressing hair"
68. No caption [Japanese woman portrait] Anonymous
69. "156 WHISPERING"
70. No caption [Japanese woman portrait with a *sensu* (Japanese fan)]
71. No caption [Portrait of Two Japanese women]
72. No caption [Japanese woman portrait with a *sensu* (Japanese fan)] Photographer:
Ogawa Kazuma (小川一真)
73. No caption [Portrait of Two Japanese women]
74. No caption [Japanese woman portrait]
75. No caption [Japanese woman portrait]
76. No caption [Japanese Woman with a *wagasa* (Japanese umbrella)] Photographer:
Kusakabe Kinbei (日下部金兵衛)
77. No caption [Japanese Woman with a Japanese musical instrument]
78. "50. NEW YEARS DAY."
79. No caption [Japanese woman with a *sensu* (Japanese fan)]

80. No caption [Japanese woman with a *sensu* (Japanese fan)]
81. "33. COREANES."
82. "64. WEAVING SILK." Photographer: Kusakabe Kinbei (日下部金兵衛)
83. No caption [Japanese woman with a *sensu* (Japanese fan)]
84. "1549 Playing at Musical Instruments 1581 Jinrikisha." Photographer: Ogawa Kazuma (小川一真)
85. "No. 356. COUNTRY PEOPLE."
86. "89. GIRLS IN BED ROOM."
87. "1586 Spinning cotton."
88. "4. KAGO, TRAVELLING CHAIR HAKONE ROAD."
89. No caption [Japanese women]
90. No caption [Japanese woman reading]
91. "49. KAGO, TRAVELLING CHAIR."
92. "No 323 RESTING GIRLS"
93. "No. 93. TRAVELERS."
94. "1603 Writing letter."
95. "No. 95. LOWER CLASSES DRINKING SAKE (A KIND OF WINE)"
96. "No. 362. GIRLS OF JINPOORO, KANAGAWA No. 9"
97. "No. 97. A GIRL WHO IS PAINTING A PICTURE."
98. No caption [Two Japanese women]
99. "1608 Playing on musical instruments."
100. "7. JINRIKISHIA"

ALBUM No. 91353²

1. *Japonya menâzır-ı latîfesi*
2. "No. 525 SHIBA AT TOKYO." *Tokiyo'da Şiba ma'bedi*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
3. "No. 965. TEA HOUSE AT OJI" *Tokiyo'da Oji çayhânesi*
4. "No. 495 UYENO, TOKIO." *Tokiyo'da Uyeno nâm mahallin manzarası*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
5. "743 IMAICHI ROAD NIKKO." *Nikko'da Imaiçi ormanı*
6. "748 SACRED BRIDGE AT NIKKO." *Nikko'da mukaddes köprü namıyla ma'rûf köprünün resmidir*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
7. "709 TORII AT NIKKO." *Nikko'da Torici nâm mahallin nazarası*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
8. "713 MIZUYA AT NIKKO." *Nikko'da Mizuya ma'bedinin manzarası*
9. *Japonya manzaralarından bir güzel mahallin manzarası*
10. "704 KORO AT NIKKO." *Japonya'da Nikko'da Koro nâm garîb tarz mi'mârî binâsı*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
11. "A 715 YOMEIMON GATE AT NIKKO." *Japonya'da Nikko'da Yomeimon mesîre-gâhı*
12. "761 HORIMONO AT NIKKO." *Japonya'da Nikko'da horimono tezeyyünâtı*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
13. "715 YOMEIMON GATE AT NIKKO" *Nikko'da Yomeimon ma'bedi*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
14. "No. 353 DAINICHIDO GARDENS AT NIKKO." *Nikko'da Daniçon bahçesi*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
15. "1133 DAINICHIDO GARDEN AT NIKKO" *Nikko'da Daniço bahçesinin manzarası*
16. "807 STONE IDOL'S AT NIKKO" *Nikko'da sütûn putları denmekle ma'rûf mahall*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
17. "B 787 DAIYAGAWA RIVER AT NIKKO" *Nikko'da Davagama nehrinin manzarası*
18. "1153 CHUZENJI" *Japonya'da Çuzenji kasabası*

² Captions in italic, refers to the captions in Ottoman Turkish on the original photographs.

19. "1155 CHUZENJI" *Japonya'da Çuzenji kasabasının manzarası*
20. "1139 CHUZENJI" *Japonya'da Çuzenji kasabasının diğer bir cihetden görünen manzarası*
21. "B 792 IKAU" *Japonya'da İkao mevki'-i latîfenin manzarası*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
22. "No. 1020 A YOKOHAMA." *Japonya'da Yokohama şehrinin manzarası – Tokiyo'dan sonra en mühim şehir de budur*
23. "1006 MAIN ST, OF YOKOHAMA." *Japonya'da Yokohama'da "men" sokağının manzarası*, Photographer: Kusakabe Kinbei (日下部金兵衛)
24. "984 MISSISSIPPIBAY YOKOHAMA." *Japonya'da Yokohama'da Misisipi körfezinin manzarası*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
25. "1104 A FERRY BOAT" *Japonya'da aferi salları*
26. "No. 227 KAMAKURA" *Japonya'da Kamakura nâm mahallin manzarası*
27. "576. DAIBUTSU AT KAMAKURA." *Japonya'da Kamakura'da Dabuçuti'nin resmidir*
28. "1219 NAKANO TAKE MIOGI" *Japonya'da Nakano'da Take Miyoji nâm mahallin manzarası*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
29. "617 ROAD AT MIYANOSHITA" *Japonya'da Miyanoçita ormanı*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
30. "No. 397 B MIYANOSHITA" *Japonya'da Miyanoçita nâm mahallin manzarası*, Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
31. "630 MIYANOSHITA" *Japonya'da Miyanoçita kasabasının manzarası*
32. "613 HAKONE LAKE" *Japonya'da Hakone gölünün latîf manzarası*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
33. "861 FUJI FROM HAKONE LAKE." *Japonya'da Hakone gölünün manzara-ı latîfesi*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
34. "604 HAKONE LAKE" *Japonya'da Hakone gölünün diğer cihetden görünen manzarası*
35. "No. 1064 FUJIYAMA FROM TOKAIDO."³ *Japonya menâzır-ı lathifesi ve*

³ The version of the photograph has no caption in English. Since the photograph has a copy in Musée

- Japonlara mahsûs bir sal*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
36. "1065 NAGOYA TOWN" *Japonya'da Nagoya kasabası*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
37. *Japonya menâzır-ı latîfesinin bir nehir üzerindeki bambu köprüsü*
38. *Japonya bir köyün manzarası*
39. *Japonya bir hareket-i arz tahrîbâtı*
40. *Japonya'da büyük bir yangın mahalli*
41. *Japonya Ohaki kasabasının manzarası*
42. "1087 Lake of Biwa From Miidera" *Japonya'da Biva köyü ve Midera kasabası*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
43. *Japonyada latîf manzaralı bir göl*
44. "930 B KIOTO TOWN FROM MARUYAMA" *Japonya'nın en büyük bilhadından Kiyoto'da Maruyama nâm mahallin resmidir*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
45. *Japonya'da bir ormanın manzarası*
46. "950 SARUSAWA AT NARA." *Japonya'da Saruzava ma'bedi*, Anonymous
47. "956 KASUGA AT NARA." *Japonya'da Nara'da Kazuga ziyâretgâhı*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
48. *Japonya emâkin-i mukaddesesinden biri*, Photographer: Tamamura Kōzaburō (玉村康三郎)
49. "938 HARBOR OF KOBE." *Japonya'da Kobe şehri civârının manzarası*
50. "No. 460 TAKABOKU. NAGASAKI." *Japonya'da Nagasaki kurbunda Takaboku kasabasının manzarası*

ALBUM No. 91354⁴

1. "519 NOGE HILL, YOKOHAMA." *Japonya'da Yokohama şehri menâzırı*
2. "507 MAIN STREET YOKOHAMA" *Japonya'da Yokohama şehri "mein" sokağı*
3. Grand Hotel Yokohama, *Yokohama'da büyük otel*, Photographer: Kusakabe Kinbei
(日下部金兵衛)
4. Motomma, Yokohama, *Yokohama'da Motoma sokağı*
5. "510 100 STEPS. YOKOHAMA." *Yokohama'da Steps Semti*
6. The complete bird eye view Yokohama, *Eski Yokohama'da bir mahalle*
7. Honmaku near Yokohama, *Yeni Yokohama'da Honmaku semti*
8. "516 MISSISSIPPI BAY, YOKOHAMA." *Yokohama'da Misisipi körfezi*
9. "183 TOMIOKA" *Tomiyoka*
10. Palace in Tokyo, *Tokiyo sarâyı*
11. "308 Wadagura Castle Gate, Tōkiō" *Tokiyo'da Vadagura semti*
12. "401 House Boat Sumida river, Tōkiō" *Tokiyo'da Sumida salları*
13. "424 Wisteria Flower, Kameido, Tōkiō." *Tokiyo'da Vistarya semti*
14. "359 Uyeno Daibutsu, Tōkiō" *Tokiyo'da Daibuçu – resmi*
15. "1 Imaichi Nikkō Road" *Japonya'da İmaçi Nikko ormanı*
16. "68 Gamman, Nikkō" *Gaman Nikko*
17. "2 Sacred Bridge, Nikkō" *Nikko'da Sakre Bric köprüsü*
18. Pagada at Nikko, *Nikko'da Japon ma'bedi "Pagod"*
19. "124 Sambutsudō, Nikkō" *Nikko'da Sambuçudo nâm mahall*
20. "127 YOMEIMON NIKKO" *Nikko'da Yome'imon ma'bedi*
21. "135 KARAMON NIKKO" *Nikko'da Karaman âsâr-ı 'atîkası*
22. "58 Bronze Tomb Iyemitsu, Nikkō" *Nikko'da İyemiçu'nun tunc – "Bu – kâmile-i tunc
–"*
23. "198 Double Temples, Nikkō" *Nikko'da Çifte ma'bedler*
24. "208 Urami and Aioi Waterfall, Nikkō" *Nikko'da Aio'i Valarfal çağlayanı*
25. "161 ICHINOTAKI WATERFALL" *Nikko'da İşiyotaki şelâlesi*
26. "75 Dainichidō Garden, Nikkō" *Nikko'da Danişid bahçesi*

⁴ Captions in italic, refers to the captions in Ottoman Turkish on the original photographs. Captions underlined are the hand-written notes on the photographs.

27. "979 View of Matsushima" *Japonya'da Maçuşima manzarası*
28. "823 View of Matsushima" *Maçuşima'nın güzel manzaralarından biri*, Photographer: Ogawa Kazuma (小川一真)
29. "821 View of Matsushima" *Japonya'da Maçuşima menâzır-ı latîfesi*
30. "826 View of Matsushima" *Japonya'da Maçuşima'da denizin manzarası*, Photographer: Ogawa Kazuma (小川一真)
31. "803 Hatsukari Village at Kōshiū" *Japonya'da Koçiyu köyünün manzarası*
32. "325 FUJIKAWA" *Japonya'da Fujikava – köprü*, Photographer: Ogawa Kazuma (小川一真)
33. Waterfall in Koshiu, *Japonya'da Koçiyu şelâlesi*
34. "580 Tamadare Waterfall, Yumoto" *Japonya'da Yumoto'da Tamadar çağlayanı*
35. Miyanoshita of Hakone, *Japonya'da Hakon şehrinin manzarası*
36. "539 HAKONE" *Japonya'da Hakon şehri*
37. "585 Lake, Hakone" *Japonya'da Hakon köyü*
38. "563 Fujiyama from Tagonoura" *Japonya'da Taganora'da Fucuyama nehri köprüsü*
39. "548 Fujiyama from Kanbara" *Japonya'da Fucuyama nehrinden Kanbar nâm mahall*
40. "1164 NAGOYA CASTLE" *Japonya'da Nagoya ma'bedi*
41. "890 Fishes with cormorants at Nagara river, Gifu" *Japonya'da Jifu nehri ve sâhilindeki Nagara nâm mahall*
42. "855 Miidera Temple, Biwa Lake" *Japonya'da Biva ma'bedi ve civârındaki göl*
43. "659 Kiyomidzu temple, Kiōto" *Japonya'da Kiyoto şehrinde Kiyomicu ma'bedi*
44. "866 Bamboos Grove, Kiōto" *Kiyoto'da bambu ağacı ormanı, mezkûr ağac en zarîf ve güzel mefrûşât i 'mâline harf olunur*
45. "830 Kintai Bridge, Iwakuni" *Japonya'da Ivakum köprüsü*
46. "751 View of Miyajima" *Japonya'da Miyaciyu'nun manzarası*
47. "781 View of Miyajima, Inland Sea" *Japonya'da Miyacima'da bir bahçe ve güzel bir fiskiye*
48. "746 View of Miyajima" *Japonya'da Miyacima'nın latîf manzaralarından biri*
49. "236 NAGASAKI HARBOUR" *Japonya'da Nagasaki şehrinin manzarası – memleketin en mehâmm ticâret merkezi burasıdır*
50. "784 Inasa, Nagasaki" *Nagasaki'de İnasa nâm mahall*

APPENDIX C

THE CHRONOLOGY OF JAPANESE-OTTOMAN RELATIONS 1880s-1890s

1881 February: Yoshida Masaharu (吉田正春) (1852-1921), who was the Councilor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, and other Japanese officials had an audience with Sultan Abdulhamid II.¹

1886 October: Count Kuroda Kyotaka (黒田清隆) (1840-1900), who was appointed the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce in 1887 and became the second Prime Minister of Japan in 1888 after Itō Hirobumi, visited *Dersa'âdet*.²

1886 December: Tani Tateki (谷干城) (1837-1911), who was the first Minister of Agriculture and Commerce in the Itō Hirobumi cabinet, arrived in *Dersa'âdet* with two officers and had an audience with Abdulhamid II.³

1887 October: Prince Komatsu Akihito (小松宮彰仁親王) (1846-1903) and his retinue visited the Ottoman capital and presented a personal letter of Emperor Meiji to Abdulhamid II. Ōyama Iwao (大山巖)(1842-1916), who was the first Minister of War of Japan, and Lieutenant-Colonel Koichi Morita (1865-1929) were in the royal entourage.⁴

1890 June: Rear Admiral Osman *Pasha* visited Japan with the Imperial Frigate *Ertuğrul* and had an audience with Emperor Meiji.⁵

1890 September: The imperial frigate *Ertuğrul* sang in a typhoon near Kyūshū Province,

¹ BOA, İ.HR 289/17599, 8 Rebiyülevvel 1298 / 7 February 1881.

² BOA, Y.A.RES 35/7, 2 Safer 1304 / 29 October 1886.

³ BOA, Y.A.HUS 197/134, 25 Rebiyülevvel 1304 / 21 December 1886.

⁴ BOA, Y.PRK.TŞF 2/31, 18 Muharrem 1305 / 6 October 1887; BOA, İ.DH 1049/82442, 19 Muharrem 1305 / 7 October 1887.

⁵ BOA, Y.PRK.TŞF 2/52, 14 Haziran 1890 / 14 June 1890; BOA, Y.PRK.TŞF 2/93, 14 Haziran 1890 / 14 June 1890.

Wakayama Prefecture near Kushimoto.⁶

1891 May: Noda Shōtarō (野田正太郎) (1868-1904) published his first article on the *Ertuğrul* incident in the journal *Jiji Shinbō* (時事新報) as part of a series of articles regarding the Ottoman Empire.⁷

1891 January: The Japanese cruisers *Hiei* and *Kongō* arrived to Istanbul. Captain Tanaka Tsunatsune (田中綱常), commander of the cruiser *Hiei*, Captain Hidaka Sōnosuke (日高壯之丞), commander of the cruiser *Kongō* and their crew had an audience with Abdulhamid II.⁸ Noda Shōtarō was among the committee.

1891 January: The banquet was held in the honor of the crew of the cruisers *Hiei* (比叡) and *Kongō* (金剛) in *Gümüşsuyu Kışla-i Hümayân* (The Imperial Military Garrison) in the Ottoman capital.⁹

1891 April 1 – July 31: The Third National Industrial Exhibition (内國勸業博覧会) was held in Ueno Park, in Tokyo.¹⁰

1891 July: The exhibition of 100 portraits of geisha was held by Ogawa Kazuma in the “Twelve-Story Tower,” (凌雲閣), which was Tokyo's first skyscraper, in Asakusa, in

⁶ BOA, Y.A.HUS 239/16, 5 Safer 1308 / 20 September 1890; BOA, Y.A.HUS 239/21, 6 Safer 1308 / 21 September 1890.

⁷ 三沢伸生「1890～93年における『時事新報』に掲載されたオスマン朝関連記事：日本人初のイスラーム世界への派遣・駐在新聞記者たる野田正太郎の業績」、『東洋大学社会学部紀要』(Misawa Nobuo, “Reports about the Ottoman Empire carried on *Jiji Shinbō* (1890-1893): Achievements of *Shōtarō Noda*, the first Japanese journalist who was sent to the Islamic World,” *Bulletin of the Faculty of Sociology*, Tōyō University), Vol. 73, No. 41-2, February 25, 2004, pp. 109-146.

⁸ BOA, Y.PRK.TŞF 3/6, 21 Cemaziyülevvel 1308 / 2 January 1891; 海軍省水路部『軍艦比叡土耳其国航海報告』、〔東京〕：水路部、明治25年6月 (Kaigunshō Suirōbu, *Gunkan Hiei Torukokoku Kōkai Hōkoku*, Tokyo: Suirōbu, 1892); 海軍省水路部『軍艦金剛土耳其国航海報告』、〔東京〕：水路部、明治24年7月 (Kaigunshō Suirōbu, *Gunkan Kongō Torukokoku Kōkai Hōkoku*, Tokyo: Suirōbu, 1891).

⁹ BOA, Y.PRK.MYD 10/9, 26 Cemaziyülevvel 1308 / 7 January 1891.

¹⁰ 橋爪紳也『日本の博覧会：寺下勅コレクション』、東京：平凡社、2005年 (Hashizume Shinya, ed., *Nihon no Hakurankai: Terashita Tsuyoshi Korekushon*, Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2005), pp. 24-29.

Tokyo.¹¹

1891 October: Ogawa Kazuma, alone with his friends John Milne, who was a seismologist, and William Burton, who was a professor of engineering at the Imperial University, photographed the devastating earthquake in the Gifu region of central Japan.¹²

1892 April: Yamada Torajirō (山田寅次郎) (1866-1957) arrived in Istanbul and had an audience with Abdulhamid II. Couple of months later Yamada returned back to Japan, and later in 1893 he came to the Ottoman Empire for the second time.¹³

1893 May: The Photographic Society of Japan (日本写真会) hosted the first International Photographic Exhibition of Japan in Tokyo, which was organized by William Burton.¹⁴

1893 May: Aoki Shūzō (青木周藏) (1844-1914), who was the minister plenipotentiary residing in Berlin and later the ambassador to Great Britain in 1894, paid a visit to the Ottoman Empire and had an audience with Abdulhamid II.¹⁵

1894 March: Prince Komatsu Akihito (小松宮彰仁親王) (1846-1903) visited Istanbul.¹⁶

1896 January: The Japanese intelligence officer Colonel Fukushima Yasumaşa (福島安正) (1852-1919) for the Japanese General Staff, paid a visit to the Ottoman capital.¹⁷

¹¹ Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853-1912*, London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, p. 212.

¹² Ibid., p. 212.

¹³ Selçuk Esenbel, "A fin de siècle Japanese Romantic in Istanbul: the Life of Yamada Torajirō and his Toruko Gakan," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 59, Part 2, 1996, pp. 237-252; 『上州風』特集 1 「寅次郎奔る：日本と土耳其を結んだ快男児」 (*Jōshūfū*, Special Issue 1, *Torajirō Hashiru: Nihon to Toruko wo Musunda Kaidanji*), Vol. 14, 2003, p. 40.

¹⁴ Sebastian Dobson, "Japan," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-century Photography*, ed., John Hannavy, New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2008, vol.1, pp. 769-773.

¹⁵ BOA, Y.PKR 17/29, 1 Zilhicce 1310 / 16 June 1893.

¹⁶ BOA, Y.A.HUS 291/93, 28 Şaban 1311 / 6 March 1894.

¹⁷ BOA, Y.MTV 135/95, 13 Şaban 1313 / 28 January 1896; Selçuk Esenbel, "Japanese Interest in the Ottoman Empire," in *The Japanese and Europe: Images and Perceptions*, ed., Bert Edström, Richmond; Surrey: Japan Library, 2000, pp. 95-124.

APPENDIX D

THE VALUE (YEN) OF PHOTOGRAPHS (寫眞画) EXPORTED TO VARIOUS FOREIGN COUNTRIES BETWEEN 1882 AND 1895¹

	1882	1884	1885	1886
United States of America	160,250	81,000	319,000	161,800
France	29,500	28,000		48,200
Hong Kong				
China	220,750	919,700	461,660	570,100
Great Britain	335,000	106,000	280,600	309,800
Germany				241,700
British India				
Korea				5,000
Australia			16,800	40,000
Russia	20,250	39,000	36,560	61,000
Holland	680,000		5,000	
Belgium				
Switzerland			20,000	
Italy				
Austria				

¹ 『大日本外国貿易年表』、東京：大蔵省、明治16-45年、29冊 (*Dai Nippon Gaikoku Bōeki Nenpyō*, Tokyo: Ōkurashō, 1883-1911, 29 vols.).

	1887	1888	1889	1890
United States of America	875,520	195,000	181,450	604,900
France	213,610	70,050	12,000	89,000
Hong Kong			497,500	1,029,800
China	694,550	1,049,720	189,000	183,000
Great Britain	314,500	365,200	398,000	1,815,200
Germany	84,000	10,000	514,200	88,500
British India			87,000	
Korea				18,500
Australia	8,000		25,000	850,000
Russia	12,730	31,650	58,250	205,000
Holland		7,200	109,000	
Belgium		10,000		
Switzerland		1,500		
Italy				
Austria				

	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895
United States of America	952,730	919,990	1,826,670	611,000	636,000
France	384,000	470,000	412,000	280,000	23,000
Hong Kong	935,120	1,908,840	950,500	791,980	406,900
China	228,809	46,000	452,500	191,000	210,000
Great Britain	1,505,850	2,071,700	1,498,500	991,000	1,050,600
Germany	114,900	51,500	107,000	30,000	285,000
British India	295,900	418,400	317,580	495,880	689,000
Korea		16,000	8,000	10,000	73,400
Australia	20,000	269,600	180,000	608,000	891,000
Russia	62,200	8,000	121,500		85,000
Holland					
Belgium				2,750	
Switzerland	64,600	28,000			
Italy	14,000	2,000	162,000		
Austria		20,000		15,000	80,000

APPENDIX E

AN APPLICATION OF WET-COLLODION PHOTOGRAPHY and

A COMPREHENSIVE ACCOUNT OF FELICE BEATO'S LIFE

by Henry Felix Woods¹

There was at the time, residing in Yokohama, a photographer who had attained a high reputation for the excellence of his work in respect of both portraiture views and landscapes. He was quite a character in a way and a general favorite for his openhandedness and the good temper with which he met his reverses. He had taken up photography in the Crimean War, and going off to India in the Mutiny, worked there for some time, and went on to China. He followed our Army, and was at the sack of the Summer Palace, and made a nice little sum by the purchase and subsequent sale of loot with which he returned to Constantinople. Thinking to make a fortune in a short time he took the Bourse, and soon lost it all. He was well paid for his portraits and albums of views, but the work was a "side-line," and whenever he had been able to put by sufficient money, off he went into speculation. Not long before I reached Japan he had made what some would have considered a little fortune, but lost it again in the endeavor to enlarge it. His name was Beat [sic.]. No one knew his real origin, and no one troubled themselves about it. He spoke funny English, and it was an amusement to draw him into a long argument. His most usual expression of welcome was: "I am delight!" He used it on every occasion.

We had become great friends, and when I heard of our approaching trip to Yedo I went to him and told him what I wanted to do, and he willingly fitted me out with a portable dark-room and all the necessary gear and chemicals on condition that I handed over to him the plates of any photos I might be able to take. We left soon enough in the morning for His Excellency to land at Yedo in ample time to settle down before his tiffin,

¹ Henry Felix Woods, *Spunyarn: Strands from a Sailor's Life Afloat and Ashore: Forty-seven Years Under the Ensigns of Great Britain and Turkey*, London: Hutchinson and Co., 1924, Vol. 2, pp. 194-197.

to which he invited the Captain and myself. I spoke to him about my desire to do a bit of photography, and he was kind enough to arrange that I should have a "Yakunin Guard" to meet me when I landed the next day with my outfit, so that I might start work at once. Photography in the open was no easy matter in those days, and my friend Beat's success in that line was due to his wonderful skill in manipulating his plates. There was nothing but the wet process as yet to the fore. It was still in the full vigor of employment as the dry plate had not passed beyond a very elementary stage of experimental success, and the gelatin film had not even entered the realm of thought. The reader can imagine me marching off when I landed surrounded by my escort of six fine-looking, two-sworded gentry. I was carrying the camera, fixed upon its stand, ready for use at a moment's notice, with a coolie alongside of me carting along the portable dark chamber. This consisted of a large box with all the requisites, a folding table for it to stand upon, and a large square mantle of red cotton material to serve as a covering for the whole, and screen off all rays of light but those wanted for the production of the photograph. Two small panes of red-colored glass were fitted into the sides of the covering to give a little more illumination than the cotton cloth allowed. Intense was the curiosity our appearance excited, and it wasn't long before we had a tail to our procession that developed into a big crown by the time I commenced my preparations for my first picture.

The Globe Trotter of the present day, armed with a quick-firing Kodak, knows nothing of the troubles of the Old Timer of the wet process. The former has but to touch the button and "we do the rest," as the advertisements say, whilst the latter had to carefully pour collodion over a glass plate to form a film, and then, at the right moment, dip it into the mercury bath. Then with it in the transport frame, I turned my attention to the camera, which I had previously fixed in position, and focused, with one of the guards standing by to see that no one meddled with it. Another hasty look and all was in readiness. Unfortunately I had not thought it necessary to warn the eagerly gaping crowd not to move. With watch in one hand I removed the cap cover and instantly half a dozen heads were striving to see what was inside the curious-looking machine on three out-stretched legs. I felt a bit distressed over it, but I could not feel very angry, considering the bait I had offered to their ever-growing curiosity. I got the "yakonins" to explain to them that they had spoiled the

effect of my incantations, and that the next time I approached the wonderful object they were gazing upon, they must all keep perfectly quite. I got them also to arrange that portion of the crowd near us into two lines on each side, far enough apart to be out of the field of vision. I prepared another plate, and all went well until I had taken my shot and removed the "shatter frame." I had just got into the operating tent and drawn the covering round when suddenly I found the whole thing toppling over. Fortunately I had not yet taken out the plate, and the photo was saved. I clutched at the mercury bath, and fortunately succeeded in saving about two-thirds of its contents, no sufficient to cover a whole plate, but still enough to carry on with, and succeeded in taking several rather good /p.307/ photos in my subsequent attempts. The accident had occurred through the pressure of the people behind the dark chamber in their anxiety to see what was going to happen with the hidden thing I had put into the camera and carried away again.

My next attempt was the forefront of a famous temple. The court-yard was full of people, as it was a special fete day. Warned by my previous experience, I took possession of the platform of a small shrine, with steps leading up to it, and placing my "yakonins" about, so as to prevent all access to my operating position, I got my picture al right. I followed this plan on all subsequent occasions, and was well satisfied with the result of my day's work, although in addition to the little present I felt bound to give my escort I ruined the gold lace on my left sleeve by the nitrate of silver that fell upon it from the bath. These photographs of mine, I may mention, were the very first that were ever taken in Tokio, Yedo as the place was called whilst the capital of the Tycoon.

APPENDIX E

A SELECTION FROM THE PHOTOGRAPHY COLLECTION OF ABDULHAMID II

CONCERNING JAPAN

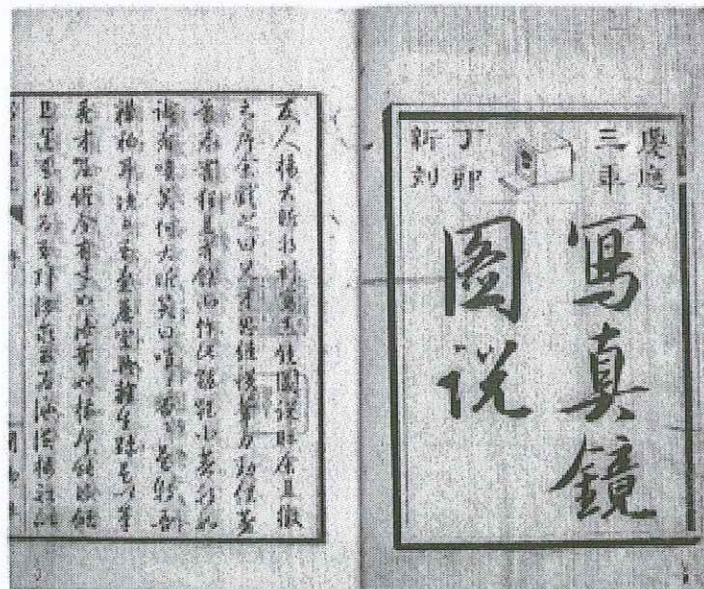
and

OTHER VISUAL MATERIALS

PLATE 1

Yanagawa Shunsan, 『寫眞鏡圖説』 *Shashinkyō Zusetsu*, 1867

Kyoto University of Foreign Studies Library



柳川春三訳述『写真鏡図説 (Shashinkyō zusetsu)』
慶応3年 (1867)

PLATE 2

Ranking of Tokyo Photographers, 1877¹

『東京写真見立競』

東京写真見立競

明治九年十二月出版

¹ 木下直之『写真画論：写真と絵画の結婚』、東京：（岩波近代日本の美術 4）岩波書店、1996 年 (Kinoshita Naoyuki, *Shashinga-ron: Shashin to Kaiga no Kekkō* (On Photography, the Marriage of the Photograph and the Picture), Tokyo: (Iwanami Kindai Nihon no Bijutsu 4 (The Iwanami Modern Japanese Art, vol. 4) Iwanami Shoten, 1996), p. 22.

PLATE 3

Anonymous Album Cover, ca.1890¹

Lacquered Wooden Cover Decorated in *Maki-e*, A Lacquer Technique



¹ Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe, eds., *The History of Japanese Photography*, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 31.

PLATE 4

Tamamura Kōzaburō Album Cover, Hand-colored, 33 x 40.6 cm,

Henry and Nancy Rosin Collection of Early Photography of Japan, Smithsonian Institution

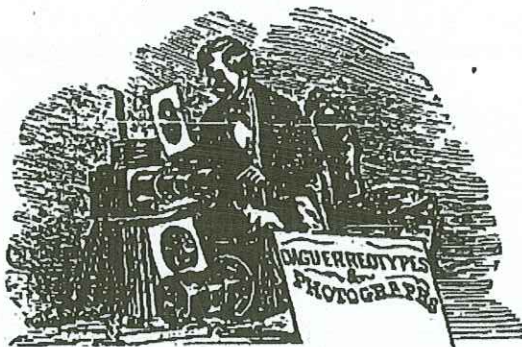


PLATE 5

Tamamura Kōzaburō Studio Advertisement

The Japan Directory, 1883

TAMAMURA, PHOTOGRAPHER.



MAGNIFICENT PHOTOGRAPHS produced. The Finest Views of celebrated places in Japan, Costumes and Groups. Complete Sets of Tea and Silk farm views. Albums made up with Choice Pictures, strongly bound, richly Lacquered and Tastefully Painted in Gold. Superior to any others in Japan. Portraits in Card, Cabinet, Imperial Size, &c. Also reproduction and Out Door Work Accurately Executed.

No. 2, Bentendori, Ichome, Yokohama.

PLATE 6

Tamamura Kōzaburō Studio Advertisement

The Japan Directory, 1898

TAMAMURA
No. 2, BENTENDORI, YOKOHAMA,
JAPAN.

The Leading Photographer

in
JAPAN.

THE FINEST COLLECTION OF VIEWS.	AN
THE FINEST COLOURED VIEWS.	INSPECTION
THE FINEST PHOTOGRAPHS	OF
IN NATIVE COSTUME.	MY WORK
THE BEAUTIFULLY COLOURED	IS
MAGIC-LANTERN SLIDES.	RESPECTFULLY
THE LARGEST COLLECTION.	SOLICITED.
THE LARGEST STUDIO.	
THE BEST ARTISTS AND	
BETTER THAN ALL.	

PLATE 7

Tamamura Kōzaburō Studio Advertisement

The Japan Directory, 1899

K. TAMAMURA,
THE LEADING PHOTOGRAPHER OF JAPAN,
No. 2, BENTEN-DORI.

IS THE PLACE FOR TOURISTS TO GET
THE FINEST
THE FINEST COLLECTION OF VIEWS.
PHOTOGRAPHS
IN NATIVE COSTUME,
THE LARGEST COLLECTION, THE LARGEST STUDIO,
THE BEST ARTISTS,
AND, BETTER THAN ALL,
THE LOWEST PRICES.

LACQUER COVERED ALBUMS CHERRY
LACQUER FRAMES
IN GREAT VARIETY.

The celebrated Artist S. Shosaku (known as the "long-haired Artist") is in my employ.
An inspection of my work is respectfully solicited.

PLATE 8

Kusakabe Kinbei Studio Advertisement

W.E.L. Kelling, *Tourist Guide to Yokohama, Tokio etc.*, Tokio: A. Farsari, 1880.

ADVERTISEMENTS. SUDZUKI TOOCOKU,  No. 12, OTAMACHI, ICHOME, YOKOHAMA. Enamelled and Plain Cards de Visite, CABINET AND IMPERIAL PHOTOGRAPHS Taken in the Best Style, and at LOW PRICES. K. KIMBEI, No. 3, Benten-Dori, Yokohama. PHOTOGRAPHIC Views of Japan and Costumes of the Japanese Neatly and Cheaply Executed. ASAMA FUTAMI,  PHOTOGRAPHER. THE BEST and FINEST PICTURES, in every style, taken at lowest terms, and with superb finish of retouching invented by Anderson. Pictures of Children are taken with artistic skill. GINZA, NICHOME, TOKIO.	ADVERTISEMENTS. R. KONISHI, SHOE-MAKER, NO. 50, ICHOME, HOMURA, YOKOHAMA. Ladies', Gent's and Childrens Shoes MADE TO ORDER. All Work equal to Foreign, and Prices much lower. TASHIROYA, PORCELAIN STORE. OWARI, HIZEN, KAGA, AND SATSUMA PORCELAIN. ENAMELED BRONZE AND PORCELAIN. A large Stock always on hand at Moderate Prices. 40, Nichome, Benten-Dori, Yokohama. TAMAYA. No. 22, Honcho-Dori, Yokohama. Lacquer Ware Merchant. All kinds of Lacquer Articles made to order. Prices Moderate.
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PLATE 9

Kusakabe Kinbei, *Carte de Visite*¹

金幣写真館 名刺判写真

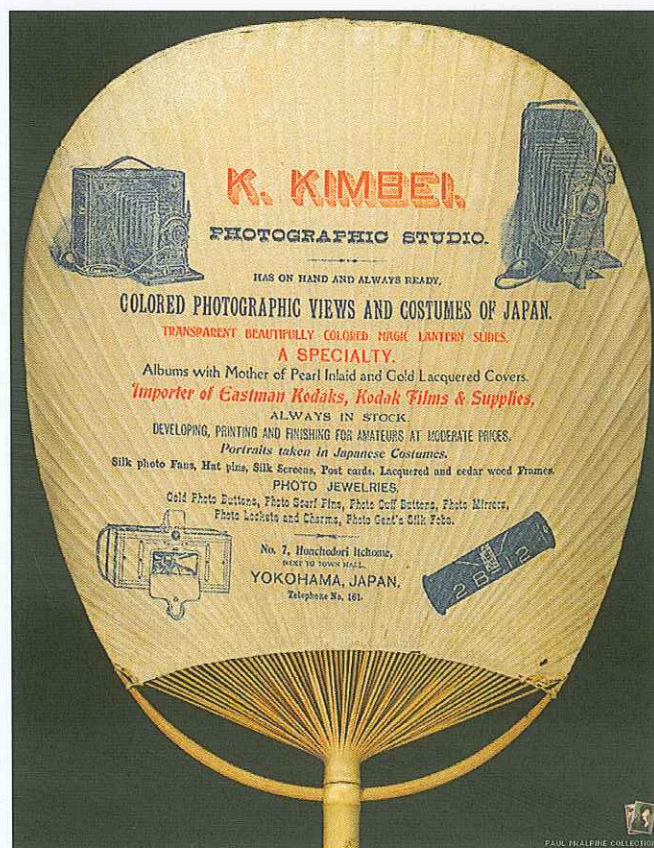


¹ <http://www.meijitaisho.net/>

PLATE 10

Kusakabe Kinbei, A Promotion Fan¹

金幣写真館 宣伝用団扇



¹ <http://www.meijitaisho.net/>

PLATE 11

Kusakabe Kinbei Studio Advertisement

The Japan Directory, 1892

Photographer AND PAINTER.	K. KIMBEI.	No. 7, Honcho-dori (Next door to the Town Hall), YOKOHAMA.
--	--------------------------	---

FINEST AND BEST PHOTOGRAPHS.

A choice of 2,000 Views and Costumes, 8 inches by 10 inches	\$2.00 per dozen.
Coloured Photographs 17 inches by 22 inches	\$2.00 each.
Beautifully Coloured Magic Lantern Slides.	\$6.00 per dozen.

Coloured views of places of note in Japan, Costumes, Groups, &c. Portraits taken in the best style in Card, Cabinet and Imperial size, &c. Albums filled to order, and made up with Choice Pictures, Richly Lacquered and Tastefully Painted in gold, &c., and strongly bound. Also reproduction and outdoor work accurately executed at the lowest possible prices.

PHOTOGRAPH MACHINES WILL ARRIVE EARLY IN JANUARY, 1892.

PLATE 12

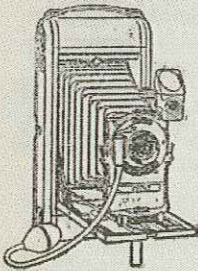
Kusakabe Kinbei Studio Advertisement

B. H. Chamberlain and W. B. Mason, *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan*, 8th edition,

New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907.

Advertisements. 9

PHOTO SUPPLY DEPOT.



*Wholesalers and Retailers
of Eastman's Kodaks,
Films, Dry plates, etc.*

The largest and cheapest photo-
graphic suppliers in town.

Developing, Printing, and Colouring
for Amateurs.

ALSO
DEALER IN
Japanese Coloured Photographs
and Coloured Magic
Lantern Slides.

K. KIMBEI. Telephone No. 161.

Main Store:—No. 7, Honcho, Yokohama.
Branch Store:—No. 22, Ginza Sancho, Tokyo.

BISANSHA

HAS THE LARGEST ASSORTMENT
AND THE BEST WORKMANSHIP
IN

SILVER WARE

PLATE 13

Kusakabe Kinbei Photography Studio Registration Entry

Yokohama City Trade Directory, 1881

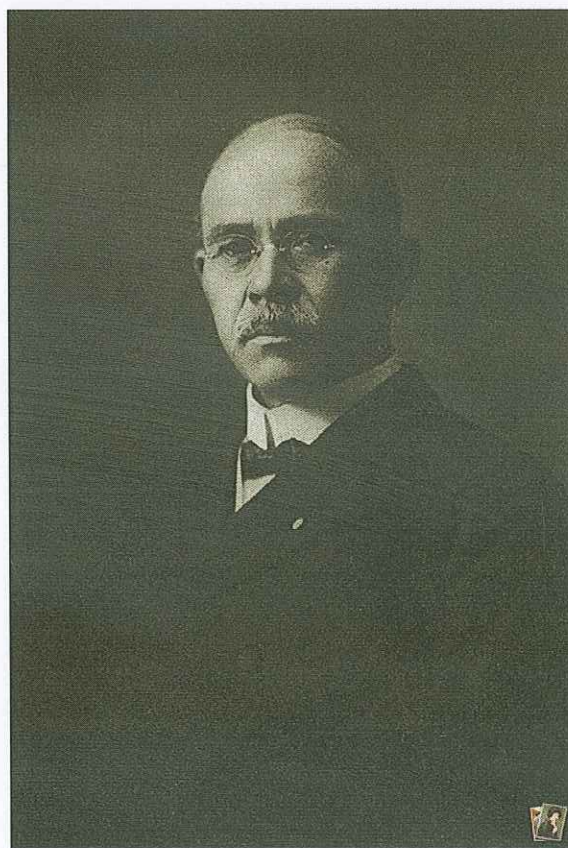
『横浜商人録』

寫真商之部 Photographers									
○横濱區									
太田町一丁目十三番地	全十一番地	全五丁目七十七番地	全四丁目五十九番地	全上町四丁目五十五番地	全五丁目七十五番地	全天目六十六番地	全四丁目六十九番地	全六丁目百二十二番地	不老町二丁目七番地
臼井	鈴木	櫻木	木村	守家	金丸	日下	前村	鈴木	今西
秀三郎	東太郎	安兵衛	惣兵衛	八十八	せ之助	金之助	幾三郎	眞一	彌惣次

PLATE 14

Ogawa Kazuma, Portrait¹

小川一眞 肖像写真



¹ <http://www.meijitaisho.net/>

PLATE 15

Ogawa Kazuma Studio Advertisement¹

小川一眞写真館 案内広告『東京案内下巻』1907

東京案内廣告（下巻）

寫眞

撮影 毎月一日、十五日を除き
毎日撮影仕候
寫眞製版は、我國に於ける
皇祖に御座候

製版 小川一眞

印刷 コロタイフ及銅版印刷は
日本に於ける皇祖に御座候

出版 風景風俗古蹟其他各種寫
眞精出版販賣仕候

東京新橋吉町三十番地
電話新橋二九三番、一六六番

明治四十年二月廿六日
小川一眞写真館

¹ <http://www.meijitaisho.net/>

PLATE 16

Ogawa Kazuma, Cabinet Card¹

東京飯田町 小川一眞写真館



¹ <http://www.meijitaisho.net/>

PLATE 17

Ogawa Kazuma *Résumé*, 1905

『履歴書 小川一真 生誕から写真師としての半生』

The National Diet Library

履歴書	
東京市麻布區宮村町七十一番地	
東京府士族	
小川一真	
一萬延元年八月武藏国舊忍藩邸ニ生ル	
一幼時同藩學校ニ於テ漢學及英學修業	
一明治六年ヨリ同九年コテ東京有馬學校ニ於テ	
英學修業	
一明治十三年ヨリ同十四年コテ東京築地居留地	
ハラ氏ニ就テ英語修業	

0542

アジア歴史資料センター
Japan Center for Asian Historical Records
<http://www.jah.go.jp/>

PLATE 18

Ogawa Kazuma

“The Orchestra” or “Playing at Musical Instruments”



PLATE 19

Tamamura Kōzaburō

“Tamadare Tea House at Yumoto”



PLATE 20

Album No. 90816

Les Corvettes Japonaise Hiyei et Kongo, 44 x 33 cm

Abdullah Frères, Constantinople, 1891



PLATE 21

The album cover, Album No. 91345, 40 x 33 cm

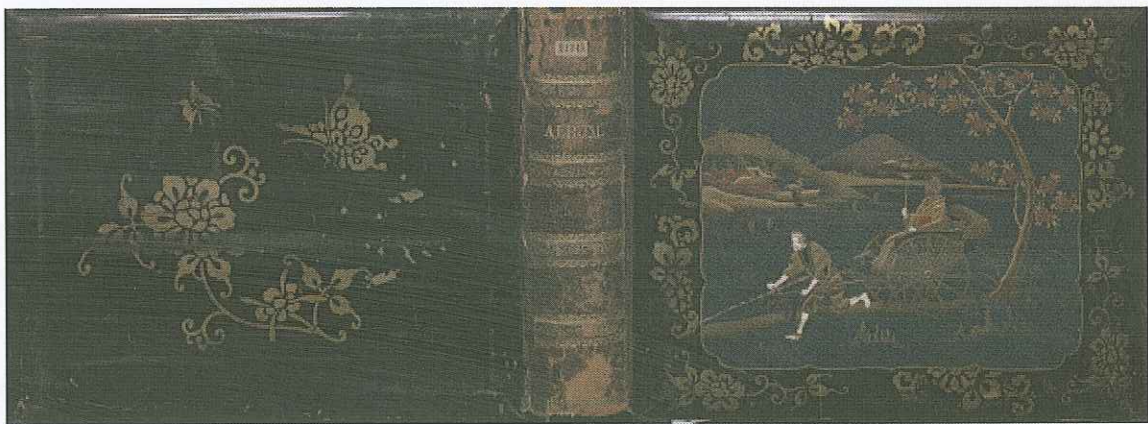


PLATE 22

Album No. 91353

The wooden album cover with lacquer coating



PLATE 23

Album No. 91354

The wooden album cover with lacquer coating



PLATE 24

Album No. 91353, Tamamura Kōzaburō

Wood Carvings in Yomei-mon at Nikkō

Frank Brinkley, *Japan, Described and Illustrated by the Japanese*, 1897

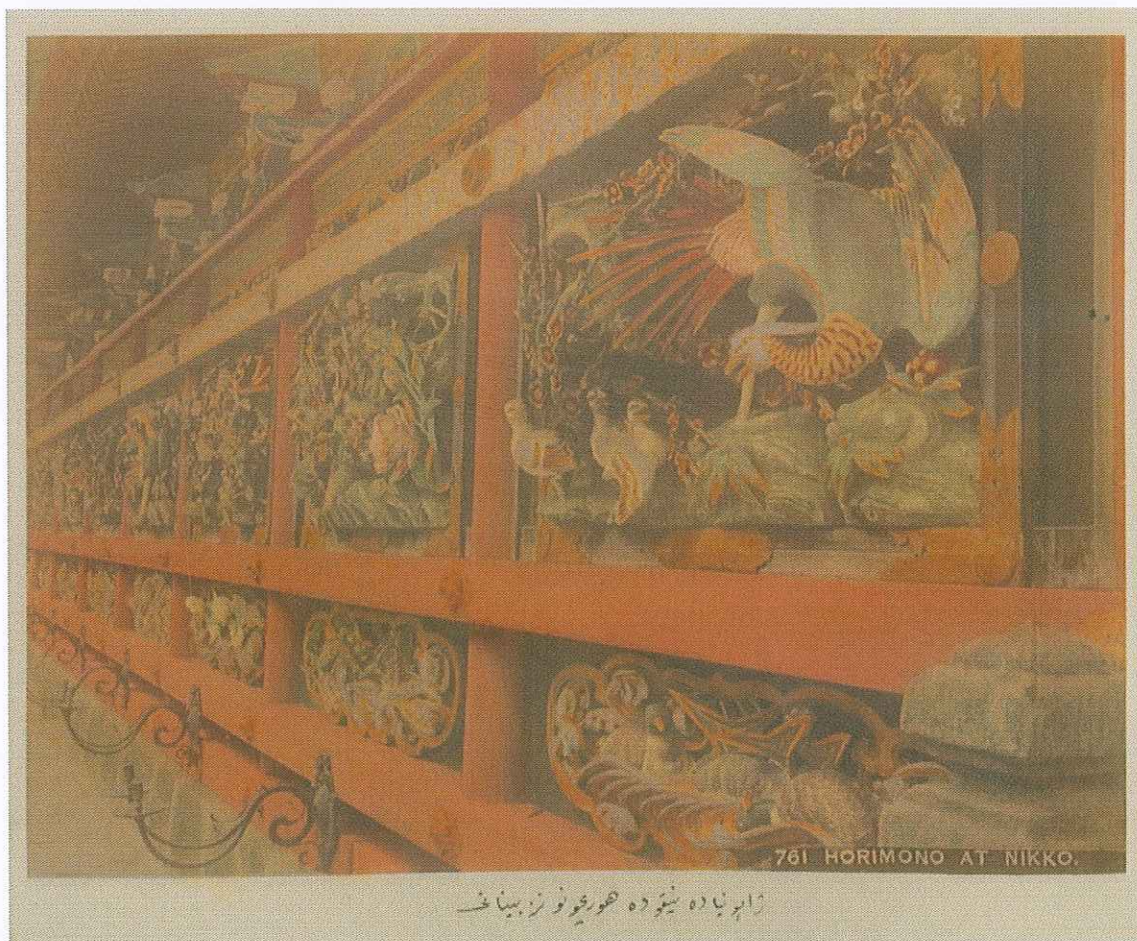


PLATE 25

Album No. 91354, Kusakabe Kinbei

Grand Hotel Yokohama

"Yokohama'da büyük otel"



PLATE 26

Album No. 91345, Ogawa Kazuma

Ogawa Kazuma, *Geisha of Tokyo*, Tokyo: K. Ogawa, 1892

『東京百美人』 *One Hundred Beauties of Tokyo*

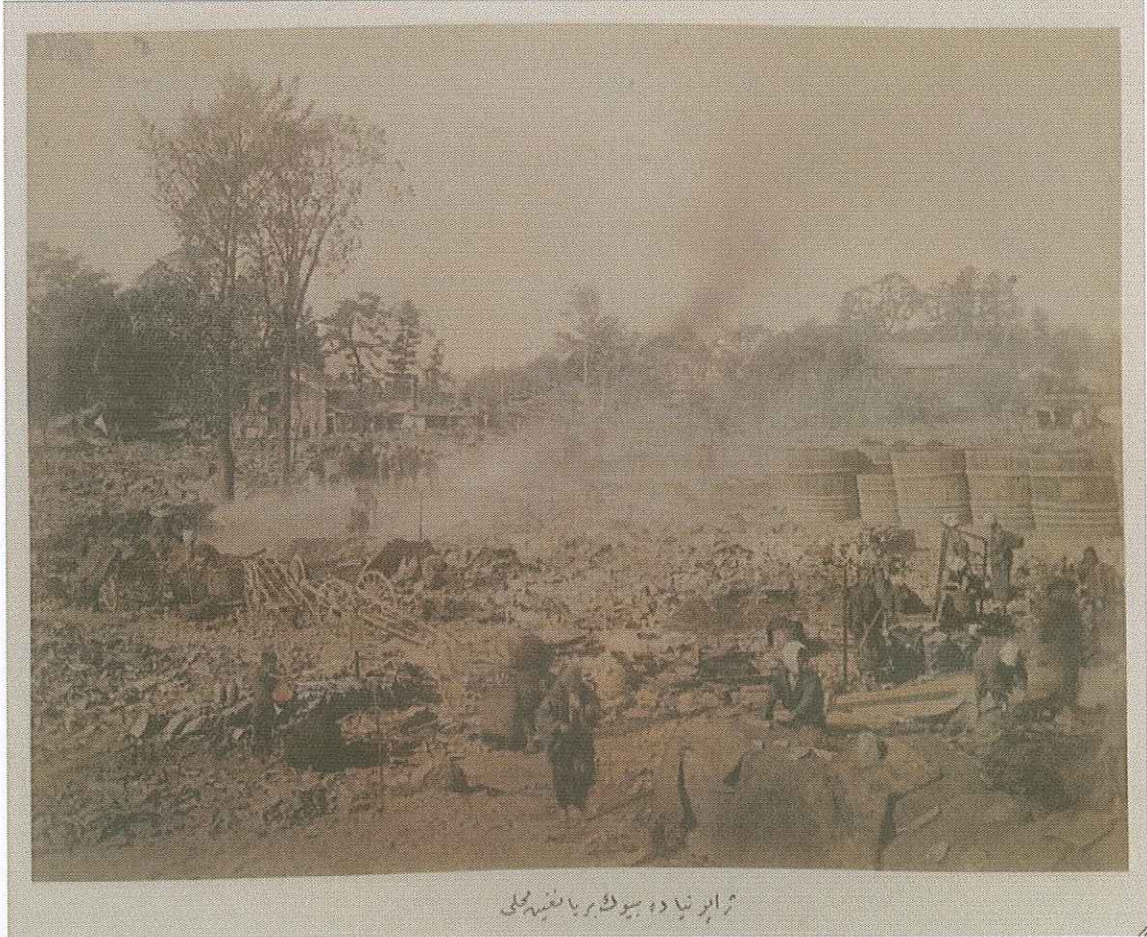


PLATE 27

Album No. 91353, Ogawa Kazuma

The Nōbi Earthquake of 1891, Kasamatsu Village in Gifu Prefecture

“Japonya’da büyük bir yangın mahalli”



نوابو نیا ده سیوک مرزا نقیہ مولی

PLATE 28

Album No. 91353, Tamamura Kōzaburō

Mount Fuji from Hakone Lake

“Japonya’da Hakone gölünün latîf manzarası”

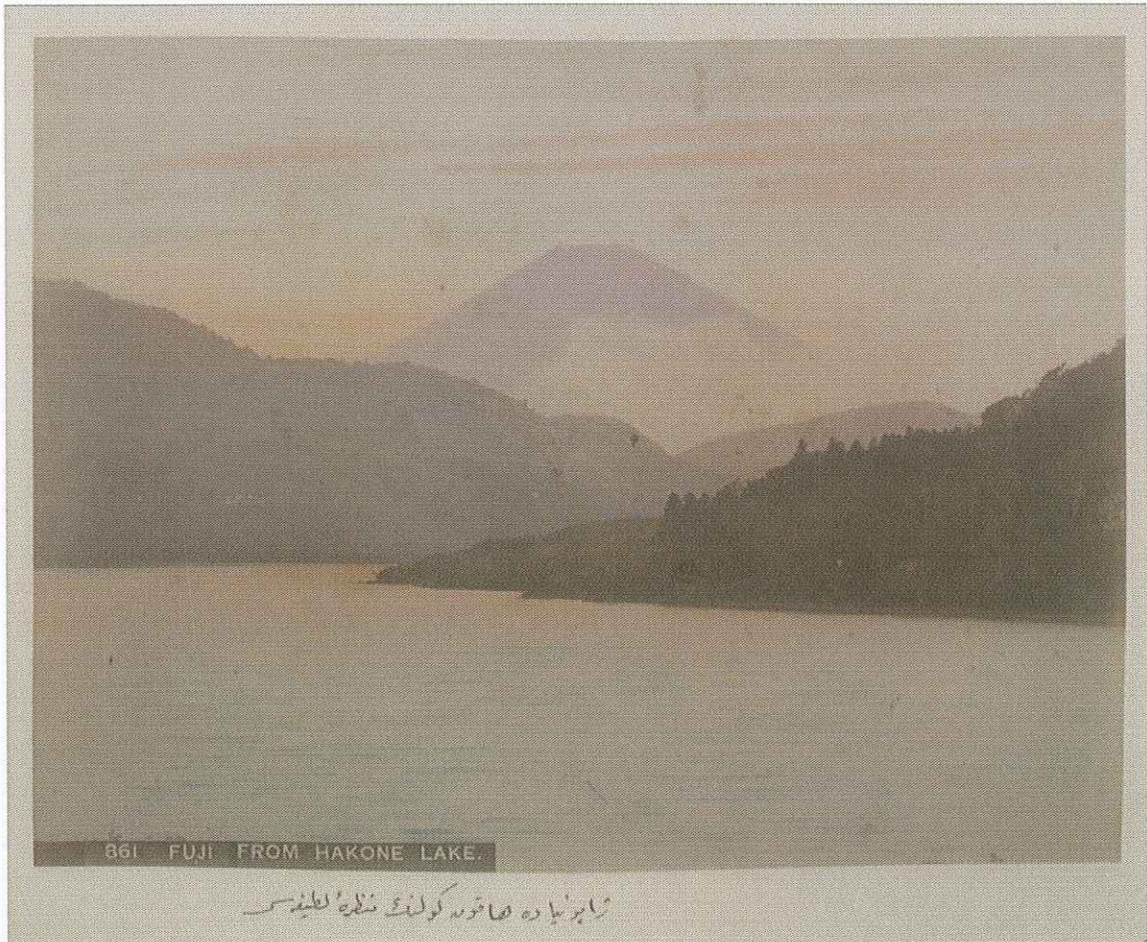


PLATE 29

Album No. 90816, Abdullah Frères

The visit of the Japanese cruisers *Hiei* (比叡) and *Kongō* (金剛)

Istanbul, January 1891

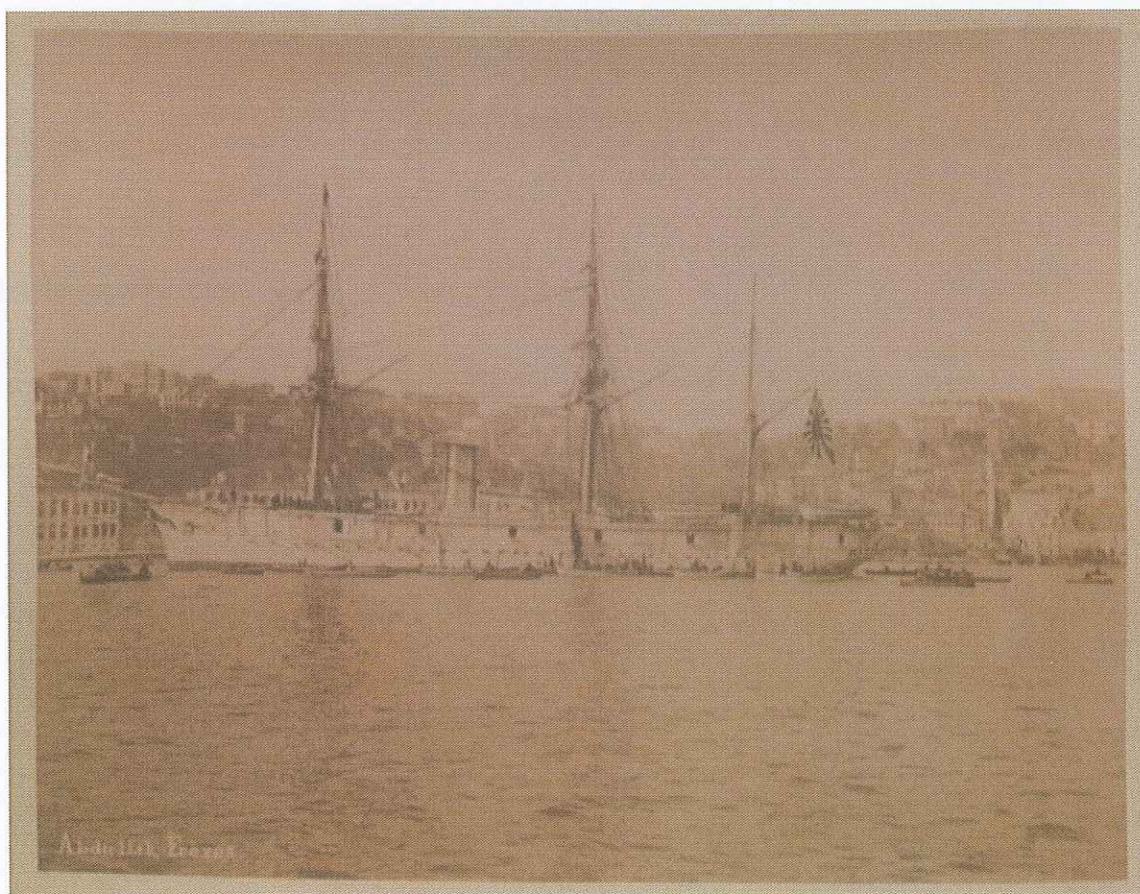


PLATE 30

Album No. 90816

The portraits of Emperor Meiji, the Empress, and the Crown Prince

Interior of *Hiei* (比叡) or *Kongō* (金剛)



PLATE 31

Album No. 90816, Abdullah *Frères*

The Japanese Naval Officers in Istanbul

January 1891

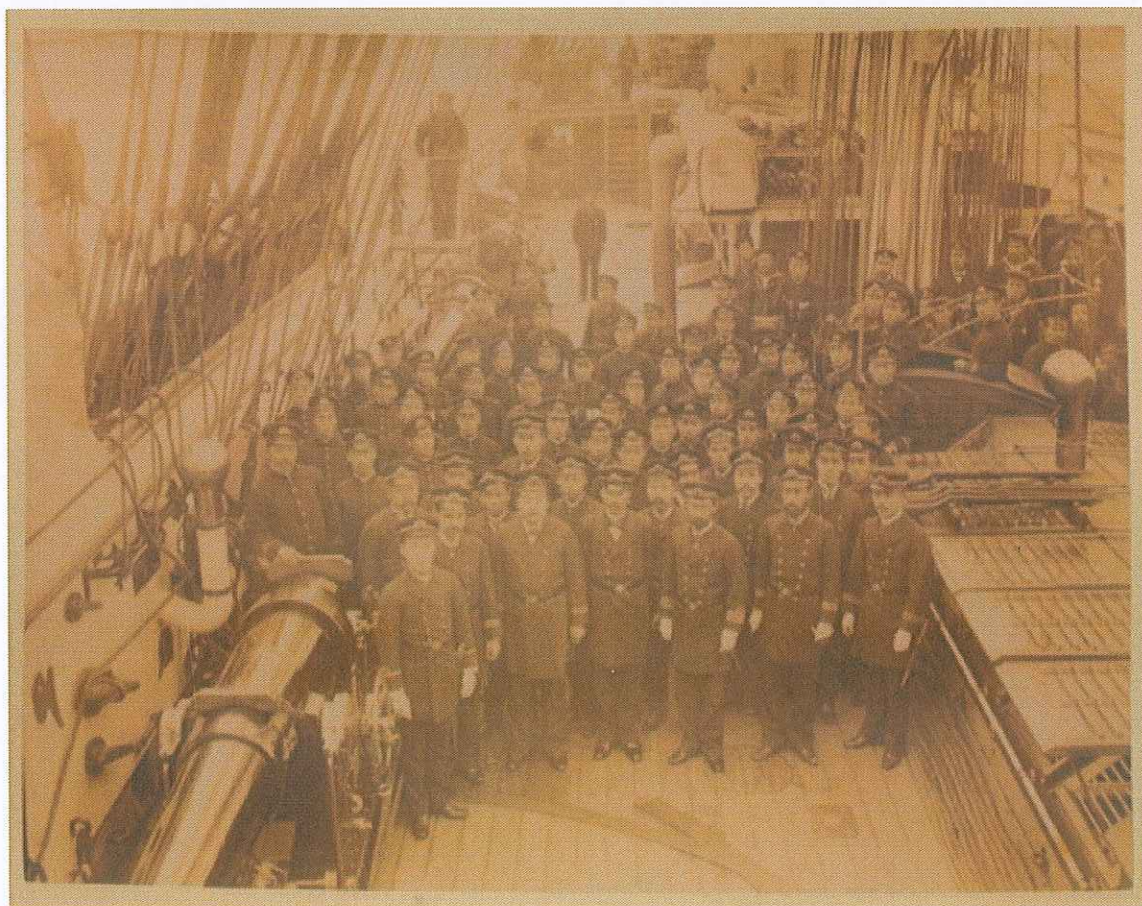


PLATE 32

Album No. 90816, Abdullah *Frères*

Gümüşsuyu *Kışla-i Hümayân*, January 7, 1891



PLATE 33

Album No. 90816, Abdullah *Frères*

The crew of *Hiei* (比叡) and *Kongō* (金剛)

Gümüşsuyu *Kışla-i Hümayân*, January 7, 1891

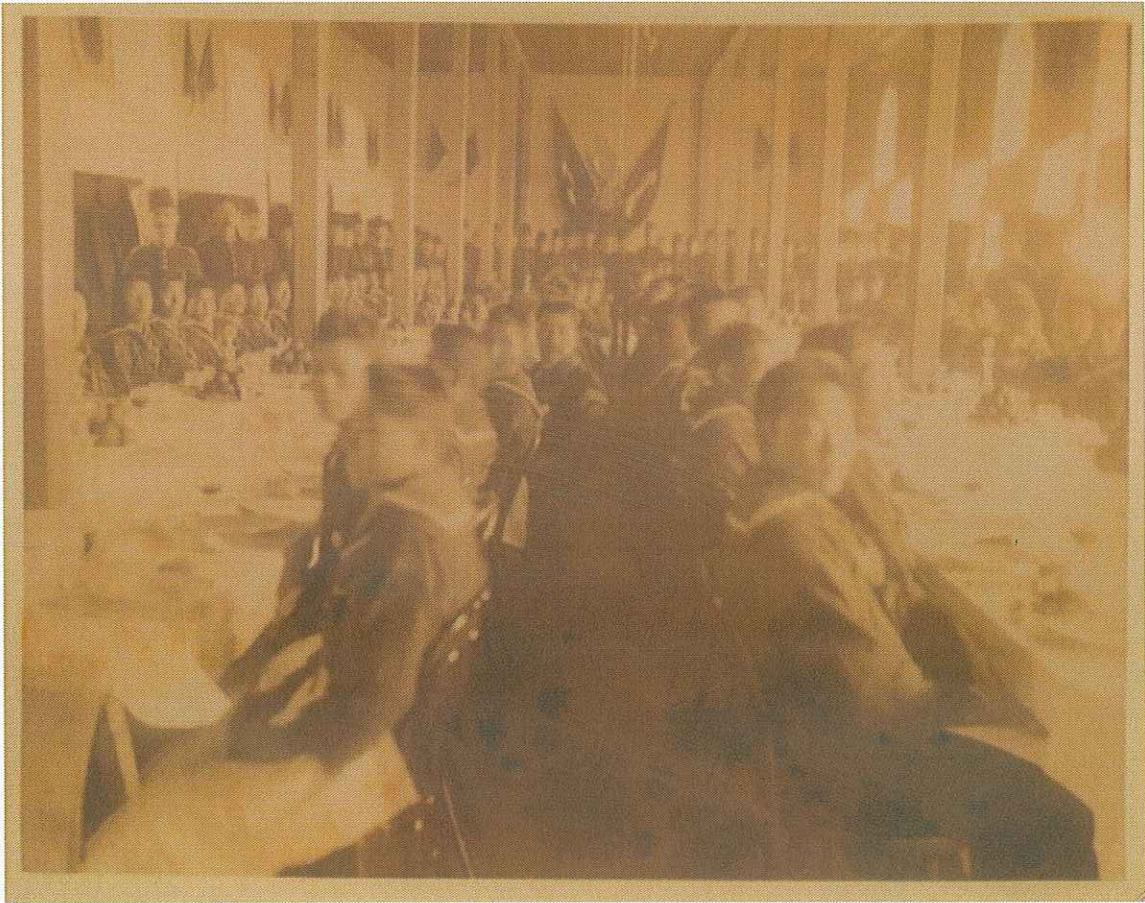


PLATE 34

Album No. 91222, Nakamura Jōji (中村貞治)

The Funeral Ceremony for the Crew of the *Ertuğrul* Frigate

Kushimoto, Wakayama, September 1890



PLATE 35

Album No. 91222, Nakamura Jōji (中村貞治)

The Funeral Ceremony for the Crew of the *Ertuğrul* Frigate

Kushimoto, Wakayama, September 1890

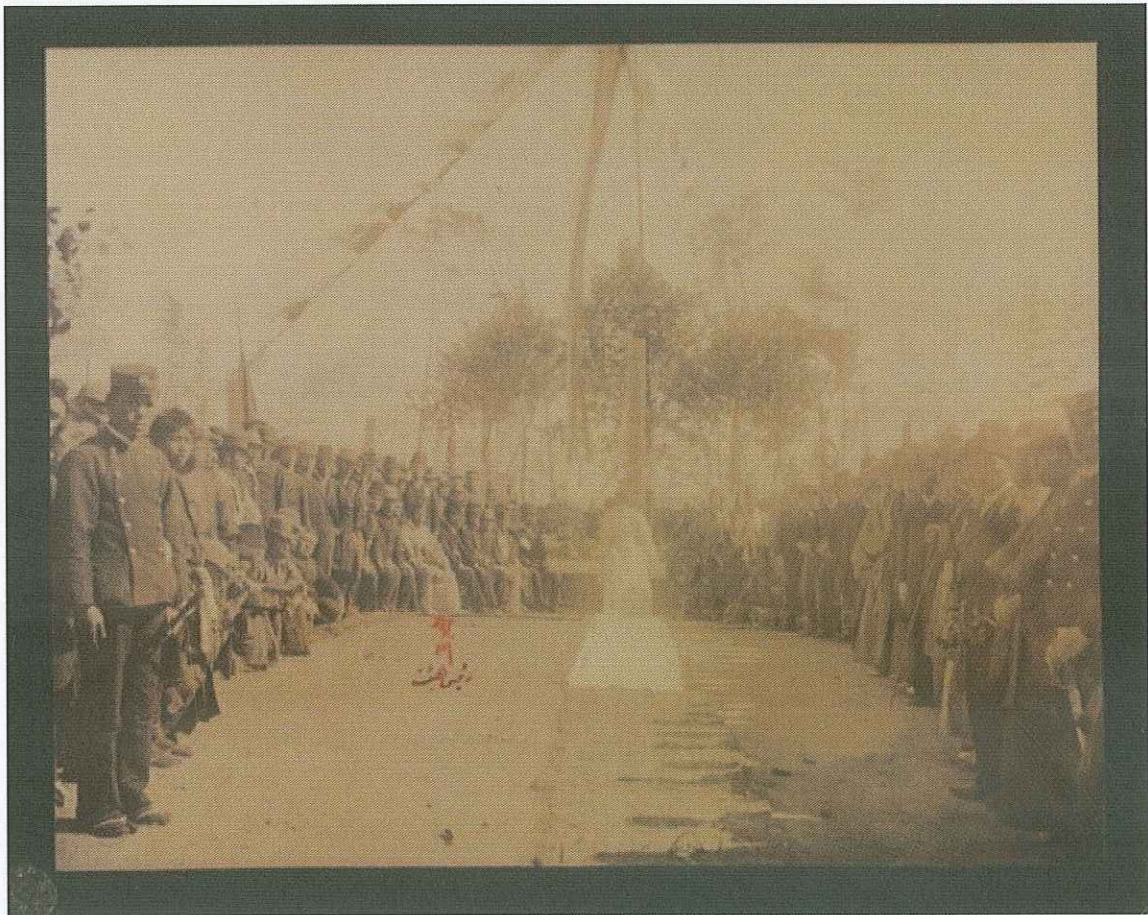


PLATE 36

Album No. 91222, Photographer Shibata's Studio (寫眞士柴田杏堂)

The Commemorative Gravestone for the Crew of the *Ertuğrul* Frigate

Ōshima village, Wakayama, December 1893



PLATE 37

Album No. 91222, Photographer Shibata's Studio (寫眞士柴田杏堂)

The Commemorative Gravestone for the Crew of the *Ertuğrul* Frigate

Ōshima village, Wakayama, December 1893

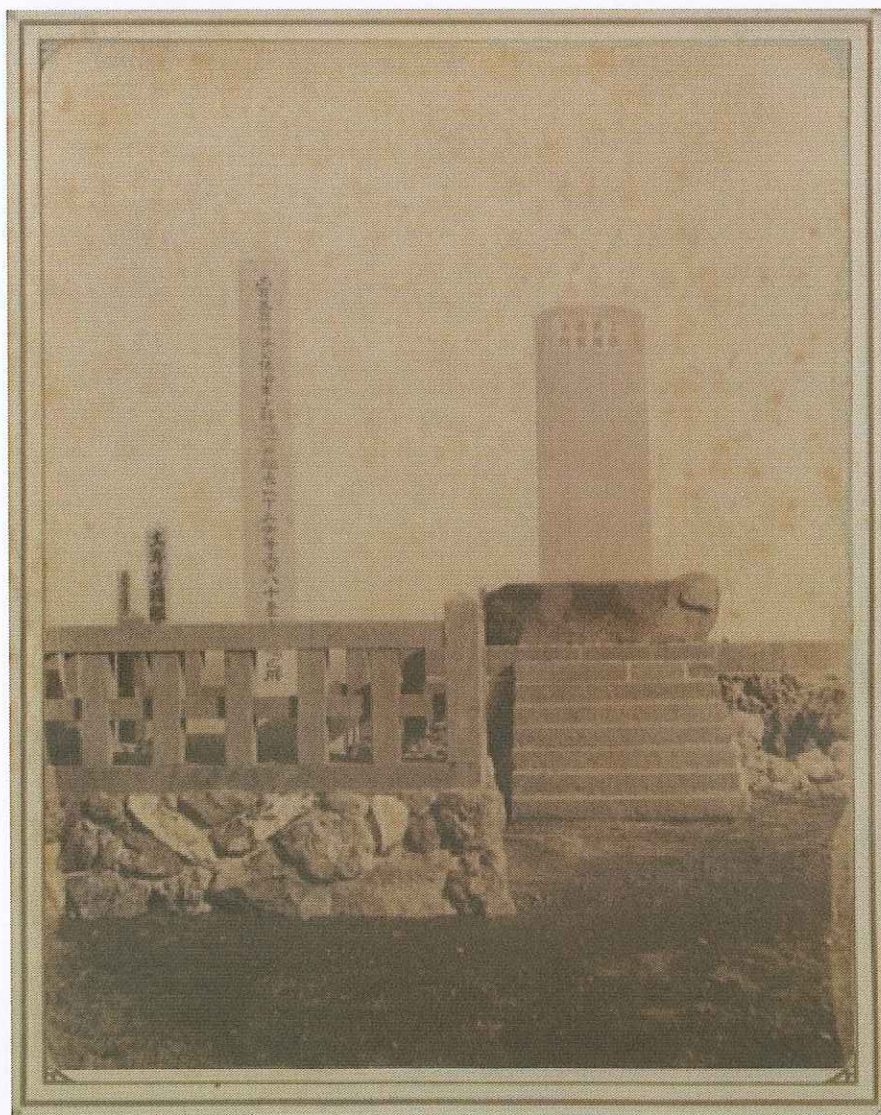


PLATE 38¹

Album No. 91222, Photographer Shibata's Studio (寫眞士柴田杏堂)

The Commemorative Gravestone for the Crew of the *Ertuğrul* Frigate

Ōshima village, Wakayama, December 1893



¹ BOA, Y.A.HUS 286/33, 4 Cemaziyülahir 1311 / 13 December 1893.

PLATE 39

Trade Signs of Abdullah *Frères*,
Photography Studio of Shibata (寫眞士柴田杏堂),
and Nakamura Jōji (中村貞治)



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İ.DH (İrade Dahiliye)

İ.HUS (İrade Hususi)

İ.TAL (İrade Taltifat)

Y.A.HUS (Yıldız Sadaret Hususi Maruzat)

Y.MTV (Yıldız Mütenevvi Maruzat)

Y.PRK.ASK (Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Askeri Maruzat)

Y.PRK.BŞK (Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Mabeyn Başkitabeti)

Y.PRK.EŞA (Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Elçilik, Şehbenderlik ve Ataşemiliterlik)

Y.PRK.HR (Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Hariciye Nezareti Maruzâtı)

Y.PRK.ML (Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Maliye Nezareti Maruzatı)

Y.PRK.MYD (Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Yaveran ve Maiyyet-i Seniyye Erkan-ı Harbiye Dairesi)

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