

Practices of Photography: Circulation and Mobility in the Nineteenth-Century Mediterranean

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To cite this article: Michèle Hannoosh (2016) Practices of Photography: Circulation and Mobility in the Nineteenth-Century Mediterranean, *History of Photography*, 40:1, 3-27, DOI: [10.1080/03087298.2015.1123830](https://doi.org/10.1080/03087298.2015.1123830)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03087298.2015.1123830>



Published online: 16 Mar 2016.



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I would like to thank Aliko Tsirgialou, Chief Curator of the Photographic Archive at the Benaki Museum, Athens, who first called my attention to the Benaki album discussed here and assisted me in my research; Maria Georgopoulou, Director of the Gennadius Library, Athens, who invited me to present my work at the Gennadius; and Eleftheria Daleziou, Reference Archivist of the Gennadius, and Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan, Doreen Canaday Spitzer Archivist, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, who facilitated my work in the Gennadius archives. I am indebted to two anonymous reviewers for *History of Photography*, whose comments significantly improved the article. Most of all I am grateful to Vasiliki Hatzigeorgiou, Director of the Photographic Archive of the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive (EIA-MIET), Athens, and Mathilde Pirli, Curator: their knowledge of the rich collections of the EIA and of nineteenth-century photography and Greek culture generally were of enormous benefit to me and I thank them wholeheartedly for their generosity and their exceptionally warm reception over a period of many months.

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1 – On Joly, see Pierre-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière, *Voyage en Orient 1839–1840. Journal d'un voyageur curieux du monde et d'un pionnier de la daguerréotypie*, ed. Jacques Desautels, Georges Aubin, and Renée Blanchet, Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval 2010. On Goupil, see Michèle Hannoosh, 'Horace Vernet's Orient', *The Burlington Magazine* (forthcoming 2016).
2 – The bibliography on Western European travellers in the Mediterranean is vast. See Nissan N. Perez, *Focus East: Early Photography in the Near East 1839–1885*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. 1988; Ken Jacobson, *Odaliques and Arabesques: Orientalist Photography 1839–1925*, London: Bernard Quaritch 2007; *Antiquity & Photography: Early Views of Ancient Mediterranean Sites*, ed. Claire L. Lyons, John K. Papadopoulos, Lindsey Stewart, and Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum 2005; *Photography's Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representation*, ed. Ali Behdad and Luke Gartlan, Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute 2013; *Gustave Le Gray 1820–1884*, ed. Sylvie Aubenas, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France/Gallimard 2002; Claire Bustarret, 'Le Grand Tour photographique au moyen orient: 1850–1880, de l'utopie au stéréotype', in *L'Image dans le monde arabe. Aux origines de la photographie en Turquie. Collection Pierre de Gigord*, ed. Gilbert Beaugé and Jean-François Clément, Istanbul: Institut d'Études françaises d'Istanbul 1993, 257–73; Paul E. Chevedden, *The Photographic Heritage of the Middle East: An Exhibition of*

Practices of Photography: Circulation and Mobility in the Nineteenth-Century Mediterranean

Michèle Hannoosh

Recent theoretical work on the Mediterranean has emphasised the sea as an agent of 'connectivity' over a highly fragmented space, bringing peoples, goods, languages, and ideas into contact. Early photography in the Mediterranean manifests this connectivity and mixedness across the whole field of its practice: among photographers, sitters, printers, dealers, consumers, patrons, and even the photographs themselves. Focusing on the eastern Mediterranean, this article treats early photography in its 'Mediterranean' context: located within a space of multiple languages, ethnicities, and religions, of personal and commercial networks between cities and across borders, and of spatial and social circulation and exchange. Such an approach complicates the two prevailing scholarly narratives of Mediterranean photography: one based on place, nationality, or ethnicity; the other on Orientalism. Seen in this light, the early history of photography in the Mediterranean may have implications for understanding the ways in which modernisation took hold and operated in the region.

Keywords: *early photography, Mediterranean photography, nineteenth-century Greek photography, nineteenth-century Ottoman empire, photographic portraits, carte de visite, costume photography, photographic albums, Mediterranean connectivity, Costumes populaires de la Turquie, Petros Moraites (1832–ca. 1888), Pascal Sebah (1823–86), Alexander C. Evangelides (1847–1905)*

Within the two months following the demonstration of the daguerreotype before a joint meeting of the Académie des Sciences and the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Paris on 19 August 1839, the Swiss-born, French-raised Canadian *seigneur* Gustave Joly de Lotbinière and the French painter Frédéric Goupil-Fesquet independently learned the process, equipped themselves with daguerreotype apparatuses and set off separately for Greece, Egypt, and the Near East.¹ Theirs were the first daguerreotypes made of these regions and they inaugurated a veritable explosion of photographs of ancient sites and modern customs of the countries of the Mediterranean basin, taken by travellers from Europe and North America such as Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (1842–44), Jules Itier (1845–46), Maxime Du Camp (1849–50), John Shaw Smith (1850–52), James Robertson (1853–58), Francis Frith (1856–60), Gustave Le Gray (1860–68), William James Stillman (1860–82), and others.² No other region of the world was so extensively represented in the early years of photography. From the very beginning, then, the history of photography was closely tied to the Mediterranean: to travel, scholarship, archaeology, art, global politics, and war.

Western European and North American visitors were not the only photographers in the Mediterranean, however. In the eastern Mediterranean, in particular – the region covered by the then Ottoman empire (including Egypt and Palestine) and a newly independent Greece – photographers learned the technique within a few years of its being made public and began to operate in the major cities and in transitional spaces such as ports and islands.³ The discovery of photography was reported in the official Ottoman state paper *Takvim-i Vekayi* ('Calendar of Events') on 28 October 1839, and the translation of Daguerre's manual on the daguerreotype was available in Istanbul before August 1841.⁴ Foreign photographers were giving lessons and selling equipment in Istanbul and Smyrna (Izmir) by 1842, in Algiers by 1843, and in Athens by 1846.⁵ With the development of reproductive photography, particularly through the use of glass negatives, studios sprang up all over the region, frequented by both a resident and a visiting clientele.

As the growing bibliography indicates, scholarship in recent years has made great strides in advancing our knowledge of early photography in specific places in the Mediterranean region. Thanks to this work, we have a good understanding of who the photographers were, where and when they practised, what type of images they produced, and for whom. Research on the Ottoman empire has notably begun to study the production, circulation, and reception of photographs.⁶ In what follows, I will take a different, but related, approach to these latter questions, to consider early Mediterranean photography in what we might call its *Mediterranean* context: located within a space of multiple languages, ethnicities, and religions, of personal and commercial networks between cities and across borders, and of spatial and social circulation and connectedness.

Theoretical work on the Mediterranean in recent years has emphasised the sea as an agent of 'connectivity' over a highly fragmented space, bringing peoples, goods, languages, and ideas into contact with one another.⁷ Not that this implies unity or homogeneity: such contacts were often unstable and shifting, violent or conflictual, reinforcing distinct identities along national, religious, ethnic, and linguistic lines, and were inflected by local circumstances.⁸ But they nonetheless occasioned an exposure to, engagement with, and/or accommodation to the practices of others which left their mark in a variety of ways.

As I shall argue here, early photography in the Mediterranean manifests this connectivity and mixedness across the whole field of its practice: among photographers, sitters, printers, dealers, consumers, patrons, and even the photographs themselves. An album in the Benaki Museum, Athens, which I shall discuss at the end of this article, provides an illuminating example of the circulation of photographs in the mid-nineteenth century Mediterranean. In general, I will focus on the eastern Mediterranean, where photography was established early on and where such connectivity and circulation in the initial period are most evident. While more work remains to be done on other parts of the Mediterranean, with their historical particularities, recent research on the high numbers of migrants in cities in the central and western Mediterranean, with the multiple languages and diverse cultural traditions associated with them, suggests a level of connectivity consistent with that of the East.⁹ Photography may indeed provide evidence of this which is lacking in so many other domains.

Communication and mobility, so central to Mediterranean existence, were crucial to the spread of photography there: photographers travelled from city to city, taking their equipment and knowledge with them, learning new techniques, acquiring equipment and supplies, and exhibiting their work; they opened up secondary branches of their businesses, partnered with locals or employed

Early Photographs of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Greece, and Iran, 1849–1893, Malibu: Undena Publications 1981; and Bahattin Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople. Pioneers, Studios and Artists from 19th-Century Istanbul*, Istanbul: Aygaz 2006.

3 – Syros and Malta, for example, had thriving photographic cultures. See Alkis Xanthakis, *History of Greek Photography 1839–1960*, trans. John Solman and Geoffrey Cox, Athens: Hellenic Literary and Historical Archives Society 1988, 98, translation of Η Ιστορία της Ελληνικής Φωτογραφίας 1839–1960, Athens: Ελληνικό Λογοτεχνικό και Ιστορικό Αρχείο 1981 (rev. edn Η Ιστορία της Ελληνικής Φωτογραφίας 1839–1970, Athens: Πάπυρος 2008, 101–03); and Margaret Harker, *Photographers of Malta 1840–1990*, Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti 2000.

4 – Engin Çizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire 1839–1919*, Istanbul: Haşet Kitabevi 1987, 20–22; and Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 16.

5 – An unidentified French daguerreotypist referred to as 'Kompá' is mentioned in the Istanbul paper *Ceride-i Havadis* of 17 July 1842 as demonstrating the technique, taking portraits and views, giving lessons, and selling equipment at the Bellevue hotel in Pera (Çizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, 64; Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 40). An article on photography in the Smyrna paper *Philologia* in January 1842 states that 'happily in our city the darkroom has become well known to almost all' (cited in Xanthakis, *History of Greek Photography*, 28, my translation; cf. his *Ιστορία της Ελληνικής Φωτογραφίας*, 153). Frances Terpak quotes an advertisement in *L'Akhbar*, 1 January–9 March 1843, for an unnamed portrait daguerreotypist ('The Promise and Power of New Technologies. Nineteenth-Century Algiers', in *Walls of Algiers; Narratives of the City Through Text and Image*, ed. Zeynep Çelek, Julia Clancy-Smith, and Frances Terpak, Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute 2009, 116).

6 – *Camera Ottomana: Photography and Modernity in the Ottoman Empire 1840–1914*, ed. Zeynep Çelek and Edhem Eldem, Istanbul: Koç University Publications 2015.

7 – For the Mediterranean as a space of 'connectivity' and 'microecologies', dense fragmentation and communication, see the now classic work by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, Oxford: Blackwell 2002. For a useful overview of the field, see Peregrine Horden and Sharon Kinoshita, *A Companion to Mediterranean History*, Chichester: Wiley Blackwell 2014.

8 – See Michael Herzfeld's critique of an 'essentialising' concept of regional unity in 'Practical Mediterraneanism: Excuses for Everything, from Epistemology to Eating', in *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, ed. W. V.

Harris, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005, 45–63.

9 – For example, Julia Clancy-Smith's work on Algiers ('Exoticism, Erasures, and Absence: The Peopling of Algiers, 1830–1900', in *Walls of Algiers*, ed. Çelik, Clancy-Smith, and Terpak, 19–61).

10 – Collaborations are documented by Perez, *Focus East*; Jacobson, *Odalisques and Arabesques*; and Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*; and are discussed by Irini Apostolou, 'Photographes français et locaux en Orient méditerranéen au XIXe siècle', *Bulletin du Centre de recherche français à Jérusalem*, 24 (2013), available at bcfrf.revues.org/7008 (accessed 3 December 2013).

11 – See Xanthakis, *History of Greek Photography*. Many were in Istanbul, and Greek photographers are also attested in Edirne (Adrianopolis), Izmir (Smyrna), Alexandria, Cairo, Beirut, Jerusalem and Port Said, and on Syros, Crete, Mytilene, Samos and Chios. See also Perez, *Focus East*, 184–85 and 218; and *Athens 1839–1900: A Photographic Record*, Athens: Benaki Museum 1985 (rev. edn Fani Constantinou and Aliko Tsigrialou, 2004).

12 – Paris, Institut du monde arabe, *L'Orient des photographes arméniens*, exhibition catalogue, Paris: Éditions Cercle d'art 2007, especially Badr el-Hage, 'Les Arméniens et la photographie au Proche-Orient'.

13 – *Ibid.*, 42–47.

14 – A. Xanthakis, *Η Ελλάδα του 19^{ου} αιώνα με τον φακό του Πέτρου Μωραΐτη*, Athens: Ποταμός 2001, 32–33.

15 – Jacobson, *Odalisques and Arabesques*, 257 and 265.

16 – Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 314.

17 – Bustarret, 'Le Grand Tour photographique', 257n3.

18 – As Julia Clancy-Smith notes, the French colonisation of Algeria transformed Algiers' orientation from networks in the Ottoman empire to a north–south axis linking it with France and the western Mediterranean ('Exoticism, Erasures, and Absence', 27). French influence in Egypt and the Levant was nevertheless considerable, and British influence in the western Mediterranean – Gibraltar and Morocco – significant as well.

19 – Perez, *Focus East*, 163; Jacobson, *Odalisques and Arabesques*, 230; and *Photographes en Algérie au XIXe siècle*, ed. Marie-Claire Adès and Pierre Zaragozi, Paris: Musée-Galerie de la Seita 1999, 103.

local assistants, bought out each other's firms and took over the negatives, and probably sent pictures back and forth.¹⁰ Photographers themselves came from mixed and varied backgrounds. Many of the examples discussed below are of Greek origin, since they were prominent throughout the Ottoman empire and beyond, starting with Istanbul, where Vassilaki Kargopoulo opened a studio in 1850; or the (later) Zangaki brothers from Milos who established an important business in Port Said with a branch in Cairo.¹¹ Armenian photographers were everywhere: the most famous of them, the Abdullah brothers, were of Armenian Christian origin and practised in Istanbul, Cairo, and Smyrna, and many others were in Salonica, Beirut, Amman, Haifa, Baghdad, and Jerusalem.¹² Yessayi Garabedian, who in 1865 would become the Armenian Patriarch in Jerusalem, learned photography from the Abdullah brothers in Istanbul in 1859, returned to Jerusalem, and opened a studio and training school in the Orthodox monastery of Saint James; in 1863 he travelled to Paris, London, and Manchester where he acquired equipment and learned the latest techniques.¹³ Levantines were also prominent: Pascal Sebah, of Syrian Melchite Catholic background, practised in Istanbul from 1857 and then, from the early 1870s, in Cairo, having spent time in Greece and collaborated with the Athenian photographer Petros Moraites.¹⁴ These are the more famous examples, but the lesser-known ones indicate that this diversity and mobility were common: the Kastania brothers, Levantines from Malta who later settled on Chios, first worked in Smyrna as part of the El Beder Company; the Athenian Yiorgos Damianos moved to the Greek island of Syros, opened a studio in 1860, worked later in Athens, and travelled around Europe; and the ubiquitous Nikolaos Pantzopoulos seems to have opened a studio in Istanbul around 1870, and subsequently practised in Smyrna, Sparta, Syra, Herakleion, Athens, and Thessaly.

Western Europeans were part of this circulation too, as they travelled to or through the East or set up shop there more permanently. The Corfu-born British subject Felice Beato collaborated with his brother-in-law, the British photographer James Robertson, himself employed for forty years as chief engraver at the Ottoman Imperial Mint in Istanbul; together they took pictures in Istanbul, the Crimea, Athens, Jerusalem, Malta, and Cairo. The Italian Carlo Naya opened a studio in the Beyoglu district of Istanbul in 1845, moved to Venice in 1857, and in the 1870s had a partnership with the Cairo photographer Schoefft; Louis Royer and Clovis Aurière ran a studio in Cairo in the early 1860s and in Marseilles from 1863.¹⁵ Many photographers began in Istanbul and spread to other cities: Paul Vuccino to Bombay; his partner in the Istanbul firm, Constantin Fettel, to Alexandria; Tancredè Dumas to Beirut; and Garabed Krikorian to Jerusalem.¹⁶ A small number even crossed the traditional divide between the eastern and western Mediterranean which had evolved for reasons of travel and politics: Spain and the Maghreb were on a different route from the eastern Mediterranean, so travelling photographers did not usually take in both on one trip;¹⁷ in historical terms, the Ottoman empire and Greece comprised a loose-knit unit, and France and its colonial holdings in North Africa another, however much these categories were blurred.¹⁸ Mobility between east and west was not uncommon among travellers (John Beasley Greene went from Egypt [1853–54] to Algeria [1855–56]; Jakob Lorent visited Egypt, Algeria, Spain [1859–60], and later Palestine [1863–64]), but was rarer for photographers with permanent studios. Luigi Fiorillo is one of the few: trained in Naples, he had a business in Alexandria in the 1870s and 1880s, and at some point took views of Algeria, Nubia, Lebanon, and Jerusalem.¹⁹ This circulation resulted in a rich transmission and exchange of knowledge, skills, and practices, as photographers encountered, joined, or competed with one another. Early photography in the region was thus a very mixed, culturally diverse, and highly

internationalised field, displaying the exchanges and intersections that mark the Mediterranean of the time as a cultural, social, economic, and political space.

This mobility and diversity complicate the two prevailing scholarly narratives of photography in the Mediterranean: one which classifies it by place, nationality, or ethnicity ('Photography and Egypt', 'History of Greek Photography', 'L'Orient des photographes arméniens', to name just a few examples);²⁰ the other which follows the model of Orientalist painting – Western Europeans creating an image of the region for audiences back home, images of desire and fantasy more than of reality or interpretative depth, reflecting a colonial or imperialist perspective. As a substantial body of scholarship has shown, photographic depictions of the Near East suggest a position of totalising domination, encompassing the foreign within a delimited frame; Western European photographers concentrated on aspects of the culture that were part of their own history (monuments, ruins), thus converting the foreign into a part of themselves, or alternatively showed it as a barbaric other, a degraded or unworthy successor to a glorious past; they drained the present of its historicity and reality, fabricating instead an artificial image outside of time; they converted people into nameless types which confirmed racial and cultural stereotypes.²¹ The work of 'local' photographers has been seen as largely imitative of Western European trends, adopting the same conventions and subjects.²² Some scholars have even expressed frustration and disappointment at the fact that local photographers, too, photographed ancient monuments rather than contemporary subjects, or took picturesque views rather than 'real' street scenes; that they used similar settings for portraiture to that used by Western Europeans or doctored their photographs in similar ways; that they catered to a market of tourists or published their work for publics abroad, thus replicating and, some have argued, internalising a western European perspective on their own history and present.²³

But a model of place, nationality, or ethnicity cannot account for a figure such as Wilhelm Berggren, a Swiss national who settled in Istanbul in 1866, gallicised his first name to Guillaume, and spent the rest of his life photographing street scenes and urban neighbourhoods in which a spontaneity and even haphazardness contravene touristic convention (figure 1). Or Alexander Svoboda (1826–96), who was born in Baghdad to a Croatian father and an Armenian mother, studied

20 – Maria Golia, *Photography and Egypt*, London: Reaktion 2010. For the other titles, see notes 3 and 12 above.

21 – There is a large bibliography on colonialist photography. See *Photography's Orientalism*, ed. Behdad and Gartlan, especially Behdad, 'The Orientalist Photograph', 11–32; *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*, ed. Eleanor Hight and Gary D. Sampson, New York: Routledge 2002; Derek Gregory, 'Emperors of the Gaze: Photographic Practices and Productions of Space in Egypt 1839–1914', in *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, ed. Joan M. Schwarz and James R. Ryan, London and New York: I. B. Tauris 2003, 195–225; and Keri A. Berg, 'The Imperialist Lens: Du Camp, Salzmänn, and Early French Photography', *Early Popular Visual Culture*, 6:1 (2008), 1–18.

22 – See Behdad and Gartlan, 'Introduction', in *Photography's Orientalism*, ed. Behdad and Gartlan, 2; and Behdad, 'Orientalist Photograph', 13.

23 – Yannis Hamilakis, *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2007; and Apostolou, 'Photographes français et locaux'.



Figure 1. Guillaume Berggren, *Port of Constantinople*, albumen print, ca. 1870. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, Ken and Jenny Jacobson Orientalist Photography Collection.

24 – See the Svoboda diaries project, University of Washington: courses.washington.edu/otap; also levantineheritage.com/data9, note 9 (information from Carole Boucherot-Düster, accessed 27 February 2015); Perez, *Focus East*, 225. Svoboda produced photographs of sites in India and Iraq, and sixty photographs of sites in Asia Minor; he published twenty of the latter in *The Seven Churches of Asia*, London: Sampson, Low, Son, and Marston; New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1869. See Amanda Herring, 'Photographing Magnesia on the Meander: Image, Exhibition and Excavation', *History of Photography*, 39:1 (February 2015), 71–87.

25 – Nassar sees the distinction between 'local' and 'foreign' as especially problematic for Ottoman citizens who were not originally from a particular city but were part of a recognised millet there. He references Arjun Appadurai's notion of the local as context rather than place: 'It is the context in which images were produced, exchanged, viewed and assigned meanings that must be placed at the core of our attempt to discern what is local about them' (Issam Nassar, 'Familial Snapshot: Representing Palestine in the Work of the First Local Photographers', *History & Memory*, 18:2 [2006], 144).

26 – On military photographers – Yüzbaşı Hüsnü (1844–96), Servili Ahmed Emin (1845–92), Üsküdarlı Ali Sami (1867–1937), Bahriyeli Ali Sami, and Ali Rıza – see Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 335–42; and Çizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, 43. Instruction in photography at the military academy seems to have begun under Abdülhamid II, after 1876.

27 – See John de St Jorre, 'Pioneer Photographer of the Holy Cities', *Aramco World*, 50:1 (January–February 1999), 45; and Mohammed Bey Sadiq, 'Médine il y a vingt ans', *Bulletin de la Société khédiviale de géographie*, 8 (May 1880), 21–32.

28 – Çizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, 16. There seem to have been few professional Jewish photographers before the end of the nineteenth century. See Perez, *Focus East*, 78–79. Perez (*ibid.*, 157) mentions Mendel Diness, a convert to Protestantism in 1849, who practised photography in Jerusalem in the mid 1850s; and also Rosenthal and Martinovicz who had a portrait studio there in 1877. Nassar ('Familial Snapshot', 146) notes Pinchas Rachman (1888–1953) in Jaffa.

29 – On the purchases of photographs by the princesses Refia and Naile, daughters of Abdülmecid, from the Abdullah brothers and Kargopoulo, see later figures 4 and 5, and also Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 210 and 239. Ellen Chennells, governess of Princess Zeyneb of Egypt from 1871 to 1876, recounts that the princess and her brother Ibrahim Pasha 'were always buying photograph books and filling them', and that photography was at the time a 'mania' in Egypt (*Recollections of an Egyptian Princess, by her English Governess. Being*

painting in Budapest and Venice, practised painting and photography in Bombay in the 1850s, and settled in Smyrna in 1858 where he opened a photographic studio in the rue Franque, producing views of Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor, as well as portraits; he later lived in London and Paris before settling at the end of his life in Istanbul.²⁴ Such a model is also inadequate to the mixed identities of most of the major native-born photographers such as Sebah, the Abdullah brothers, and Kargopoulo, Ottoman subjects coming from different ethnic backgrounds and working for a broad-based clientele, including the sultans themselves. Some photographers from Western Europe, such as Félix and Lydie Bonfils, settled permanently in the East; their children, born and raised there, eventually took over the family business. These mixed identities confound the neat classifications which have dominated our approach to the subject of Mediterranean photography, even the most basic ones of 'foreign' and 'local'. As Issam Nassar notes with respect to nineteenth-century Palestine, the millet system by which non-Muslims in the Ottoman empire were administered from their religious communities blurred the meaning of 'local' itself, making it irreducible to birthplace, residency, or ethnicity alone.²⁵

While photographic studios within the Ottoman empire were run largely by minorities – Greeks, Armenians, Levantines, resident Western Europeans – there were nevertheless Muslim photographers: these were usually 'military' photographers, trained at the military academy and employed on official assignments involving state events, public works projects, the design of equipment and weapons, and later the recording of war.²⁶ The Egyptian engineer and officer Mohammed Sadiq photographed Medina in 1862.²⁷ Sultan Abdülhamid II had a studio in the royal palace, and the royal princes were given lessons by Nikolaos Andriomenos. As Çizgen suggests, the lack of photographic studios run by Muslims may have had less to do with Muslim attitudes toward images than with the perceived status of photography as a business, less prestigious than professions such as the military or the state administration which attracted the Muslim middle classes.²⁸ Muslims who could afford to do so certainly had themselves photographed. Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–76), photographed by the Abdullah brothers in 1863 and many times thereafter, set the tone, followed by the members of his family and officials in his administration. The royal princesses were avid collectors of photographs, as were the children of Ismael Pasha, the Egyptian khedive;²⁹ in the 1880s Abdülhamid II would build a major collection of about 33,350 photographs.³⁰ Soon the middle classes joined the photographic trend, including women: an advertisement for the 'Astras' couple (the name suggests Greek origin) in 1847 indicates that Mme Astras is available to take photographs 'of ladies who are adherents of the Muslim faith' and can personally go to clients' homes.³¹

Just as our classification by place, nationality, or ethnicity fails to account fully for the practice of photography in the Mediterranean, so does our other model, Orientalism: when we look beyond a certain range of examples, as some scholars have begun to do, the critical commonplace that Mediterranean photography was principally Orientalist, at least in the sense described above, becomes difficult to sustain.³² Subjects were far more varied than the Oriental types and pristine views of ancient monuments that appealed to tourists. Photographs of public works' projects, religious and civil institutions, and public spaces such as markets or ports often contain passers-by and unpredictable details, and thus a wealth of information about the society.³³ Picturesque and panoramic views, too, may have haphazard or 'incongruous' elements – people on a balcony or path, laundry on a line, a modern structure among the antiquities.³⁴ Albums commissioned or compiled by governments usually display a 'modern' image: the fifty-one albums amounting to 1,819 photographs which Abdülhamid II gave to the USA and Britain in 1893 contain images of schoolchildren (including girls), professional and military

academies, construction works, hospitals (including a women's ward), street scenes, and industrial and public works projects. William Allen notes that these photographs, which were probably not commissioned specially but were selected from the archive of a photographic firm, were done by many of the same photographers – the Abdullah brothers, Kargopoulo, Sebah and Joaillier – who produced the well-known ones of exotic types and professions for the tourist trade.³⁵ Commercial photographers, too, produced modern images, such as Marino Vréto's bilingual *Athènes moderne/Αι Νεαι Αθηναι* of 1861.³⁶ As Michelle Woodward has argued of photography in the Ottoman empire, the conventions of representation are not monolithic or hegemonic, but rather reflect a range of perspectives, often 'negotiating' between tradition and modernity, touristic images and 'local' self-conceptions.³⁷ Perhaps most revealing is the fact that that quintessentially ordinary, unexotic genre – portraiture – had a thriving existence.

Considering early photography in its 'Mediterranean' context thus involves changing our focus from subject matter and style to the photographic experience, the ways in which photography was practised, used, received, and consumed by local, immigrant, and travelling photographers, clients from different backgrounds and classes, suppliers, printers, dealers, and the press in numerous countries and languages. This entails examining the experience of the studio for clients and photographers, the geographical and social reach of photographers, their professional and business practices, and the circulation of photographs around and across the sea via producers, merchants, consumers, and diplomats. Early photography in the Mediterranean was, to use Issam Nassar's phrase, an art of heterogeneous groups of practitioners and mixed production sites.³⁸ As such, it may in turn provide a special window onto the societies in which it operated and which it represented. Even when the subject or style seems to correspond to Western European models, or to conceptions of the 'Orient', the practice of photography, in contrast, may reveal something of the social, religious, ethnic, and linguistic variety in these societies, the degree of interaction or separation between groups, and the ways in which identities were represented, affirmed, or complicated in a period of transition, transformation, and modernisation. It may be practice, rather than subject or style, which allows us to consider this photography as a Mediterranean phenomenon and, alternatively, the Mediterranean as a photographic space.

We can start with one of the most striking features of photographic practice in the Mediterranean: the linguistic variety through which it was conducted. The backings and mounts of studio photographs, as well as advertisements and announcements in the press, are a rich source of information about photographers and their intended clientele. Multiple languages came together in the photographer's business, so much so that it is rare to find a backing, card, or advertisement in a single language. French being the cosmopolitan language of photography, as well as a key language of commerce and modernisation, they were normally in at least French and one other language, and often as many as four, especially in Istanbul: an advertisement for Vincent Abdullah's firm from around 1858 is in Turkish, Greek, Armenian, and French, with their four corresponding scripts; similarly, Pantzopoulos and Caracachian, Tsicoura & Co., N. Merakli, P. Hekimian, and Nikolaos Andriomenos have backings in these four languages (figure 2). In other places we find Arabic, Italian, German, or Russian alongside one or more of these languages.³⁹ The Athenian Xenofontos Vathis had backings in Greek, French, and English; Garabed Krikorian, in 1870s Jerusalem, in French, Armenian, and an Ottoman near-identical to Arabic (figure 3).⁴⁰ A bill from the Abdullah brothers is printed in Armenian, Ottoman, and French, and has handwritten annotations in Ottoman and French (figure 4); another, from Kargopoulo, dated 25 September 1872 – for princesses of the imperial family, purchasing *cartes de visite* and larger portraits (some coloured) – is printed in Greek, Ottoman, and

a Record of Five Years' Residence at the Court of Ismael Pasha, Khedive, Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood 1893, 155).

30 – Carney E. S. Gavin et al., 'Imperial Self-Portrait: The Ottoman Empire as Revealed in the Sultan Abdul Hamid II's Photographic Albums. A pictorial selection with catalogue, concordance, indices, and brief essays', *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 12 (1988), v. The collection is now in the Istanbul University library.

31 – *Ceride-i Havadis*, 27 January 1847, quoted in Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 44. For the Egyptian princesses too, 'as [they] could not be taken by any of the chief photographers of the town, women went into the harem to exercise the art' (Chennells, *Recollections of an Egyptian Princess*, 155).

32 – Michelle L. Woodward, 'Photographic Practice in the Late Ottoman Era', *History of Photography*, 27:4 (Winter 2003), 363–74; and Nancy Micklewright, 'Late Ottoman Photography: Family, Home, and New Identities', in *Transitions in Domestic Consumption and Family Life in the Modern Middle East: Houses in Motion*, ed. Relli Schechter, New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2003, 65–83. Behdad and Gartlan seek to complicate the binary of a 'Western' Orientalism and a 'local' authenticity in photography (*Photography's Orientalism*, 4), and several of the essays in their volume do this: see especially Nancy Micklewright, 'Alternative Histories of Photography in the Ottoman Middle East', 75–92; and Esra Akcan, 'Off the Frame: The Panoramic City Albums of Istanbul', 93–114. The editors of *Camera Ottomana* argue for 'the need to look beyond Orientalism' ('Introduction', in *Camera Ottomana*, 12).

33 – See Zeynep Çelik's discussion of three albums dealing with railways, coal mines, and medical practice and what can be gleaned from them about labour history, relationships among national identities, ethnic groups, social classes and women's history ('Photographing Mundane Modernity', in *Camera Ottomana*, 154–203).

34 – See Mark Mazower, foreword to Evi Antonatos and Marie Mauzy, *Early Photographic Panoramas of Greece*, Athens: Potamos 2003, 10–11; and Akcan, 'Off the Frame', in *Photography's Orientalism*, ed. Behdad and Gartlan, 99–100. There are many examples of such 'incongruities' in photographs of antiquities: see Fred Bohrer on Moraites's photograph of the Pandroseion of the Erechtheion, with a modern house visible through the colonnade and a man on the balcony; available at <http://www.cca.qc.ca/en/study-centre/1154-scholar-s-choice-fred-bohrer-on-early-photography-from-the> (accessed 5 March 2015). Several photographs in Henri Beck's *Vues d'Athènes et de ses monuments*, Berlin and London: A. Asher & Co. 1868, contain such details: a roof being repaired, washing on a line, a man reading a newspaper.



Figure 2. E. Pantzopoulos and R. Caracachian, backing for *carte de visite* in Armenian, Greek, French, and Ottoman, ca. 1870. EΛΙΑ-MIET, Athens, 1Φ05.73.



Figure 3. G. Krikorian, backing for *carte de visite* in French, Armenian, and Ottoman, ca. 1880. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Gennadius Library, Stephanos Dragoumis Papers, disj. memb. 0434.

- 35 – William Allen, 'The Abdul Hamid II Collection', *History of Photography*, 8:2 (April–June 1984), 119. See also Gavin et al., 'Imperial Self-Portrait'; and Muhammad Isa Waley, 'Images of the Ottoman Empire: The Photograph Albums Presented by Sultan Abdulhamid II', *British Library Journal* (1991), 111–27. Albums commissioned by the government or by a project's backers commemorated modernisation projects in Greece as well (for example, the album *Souvenir de Thessalie* records the route of the Volos–Kalambaka railway [Athens, EΛΙΑ L46]). On Ottoman 'official' photography, see Micklewright, 'Alternative Histories', in *Photography's Orientalism*, ed. Behdad and Gartlan.
- 36 – Vassiliki Chatzigeorgiou, 'La Photographie grecque entre 1860 et 1890', in *Grèce. Album de photographies (1865–1892)*, ed. J.-L. Martinez, V. Chatzigeorgiou, and H. Yiakoumis, Musée Guimet, Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux 2013, available at <http://www.guimet-photo-grece.fr> (accessed 18 March 2014).
- 37 – Woodward, 'Photographic Practice', 363.
- 38 – Nassar, 'Familial Snapshot', 143.
- 39 – Öztuncay points out that some of Pascal Sebah's early mounts have a saying in Arabic: 'With the help of magic light, the beloved does not disappear' (*Photographers of Constantinople*, 259).

French, and is made out in Greek and Ottoman (figure 5); yet another by Kargopoulo is made out in French and Ottoman.⁴¹ Crucially, these multiple languages are indications of the clientele targeted and served: the presence of the local languages alongside a foreign one indicates that foreigners were not the only market for the kinds of images the photographer produced.⁴²

Photographers themselves were usually polyglot: Kargopoulo knew Greek, Turkish, and French; Moraites operated in Greek, French, German, and probably English. They often translated their names: Dimitrios Konstantinou became Demètre Constantin or Constantine, Spiridon Venios was also the Italianised Spiro Venio. This linguistic mobility enabled the photographer to circulate among the communities which he – and sometimes she – aimed to serve, and made photography a space of encounter for people of different languages.

Indeed, photography in the Mediterranean may have been the vehicle of a kind of circulation and mobility in societies which were otherwise highly stratified socially and highly differentiated ethnically, linguistically, and religiously. For one thing, the studio was a space open to women. While most were run by men, some were operated by women. Anna Guichard ran her own studio in Istanbul's 'European' district, Pera, in the late 1860s; she also had an address in Pest at Deakgasse, 4 (figures 6, 7). In Algiers, the widow of a 'négociant', Lucien Jacob Geiser, seems to have opened a studio in 1852, before partnering with Antoine Alary in 1855; her (widowed) daughter-in-law ran a studio in 1872 at 11, passage Malakoff.⁴³ Little is known of women photographers in Greece – Xanthakis notes a Zoe Papanikolaou in Janina around 1870 and an Evangelía Petuchaki in Herakleion by 1880 – until the 1880s when the Kanta sisters opened a studio in Athens that would become extremely

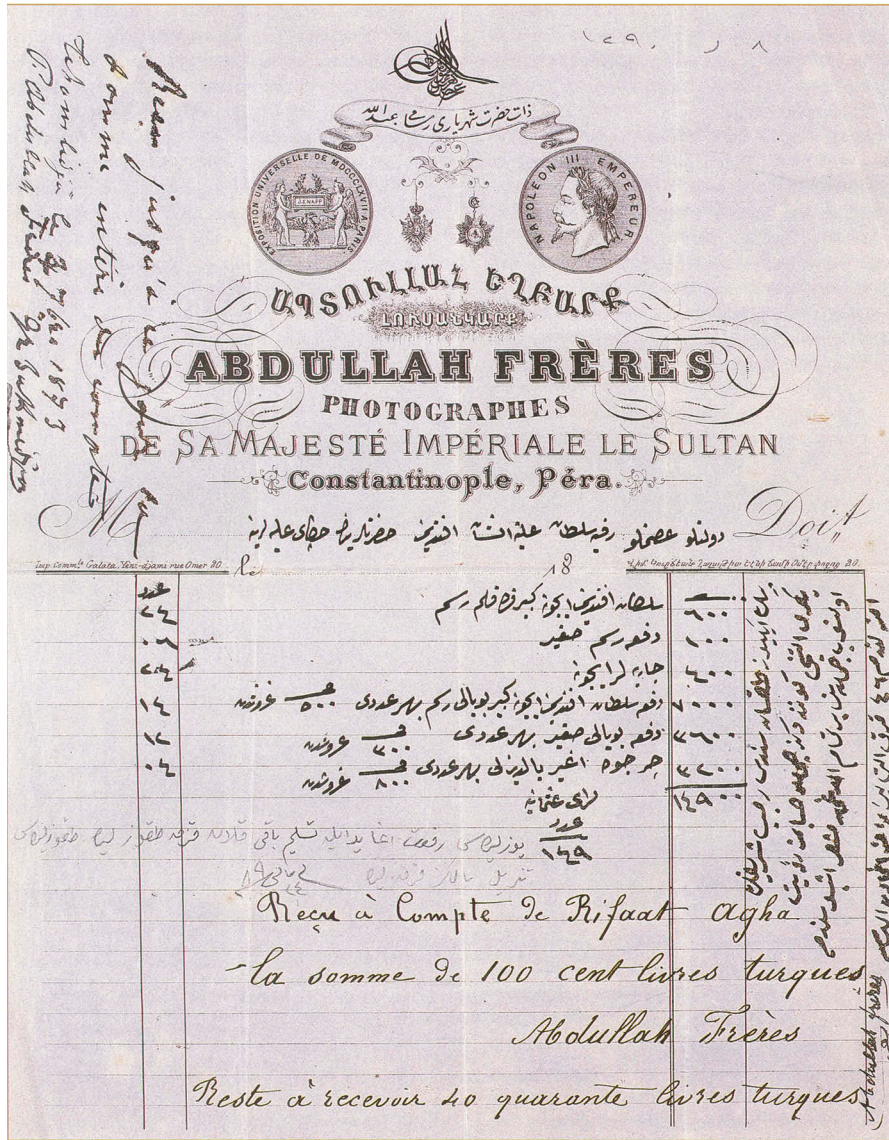


Figure 4. Bill from Abdullah Brothers printed in Ottoman, Armenian, and French. Annotated in Ottoman and French, 4 September 1873. From Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 214.

40 – ‘Fotograf Karabet Krikoriyan Quds-i sherif’: although this rendering of ‘Jerusalem’ consists of Arabic words, Arabic itself would probably have ‘al Quds’. I thank Gottfried Hagen for this clarification.
 41 – Reproduced in Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 241.
 42 – Micklewright (‘Late Ottoman Photography’, 67) rightly points out that Carlo Naya’s 1845 advertisement, in Ottoman Turkish, for his photographic services in Istanbul indicates that it was aimed at non-European residents.
 43 – See Serge Dubuisson and Jean-Charles Humbert, ‘Jean Geiser, photographe-éditeur: Alger 1848–1923. Chronique d’une famille’, in *L’Image dans le monde arabe*, ed. Gilbert Beaugé and Jean-François Clément, Paris: CNRS Editions 1995, 275.
 44 – Xanthakis, *Ιστορία της ελληνικής φωτογραφίας*, 200–03.
 45 – See *Photographes en Algérie*, ed. Adès and Zaragoza, 99–102.
 46 – Testimony cited by Dubuisson and Humbert, ‘Jean Geiser, photographe-éditeur’, 289.
 47 – Edhem Eldem, however, observes that studio portraits (as opposed to ethnographic types) of Muslim women were rare until late in the century. See ‘Powerful Images. The Dissemination and Impact of Photography in the Ottoman Empire 1870–1914’, in *Camera Ottomana*, 108.
 48 – See, for example, the advertisement by Caranza and Maggi in the *Journal de Constantinople*, 14–19 May 1853, for ‘prices reduced by half’ (quoted in Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 161).

Figure 5. Bill from B. Kargopoulo printed in Greek, French, and Ottoman. Made out in Greek and annotated in Ottoman, 25 September 1872. From Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 240.

Tur	M.	1872	Doit
9	Draps de Kapl	1 1/2	13. 1/2
1	Maja	5.	5.
2	μπικρά χρυμαλινίνα	2	2.
6	Βούζον	1	1.
1	Βούζον χρυμαλινίνα	1.	1.
Τὸν Ἄ.Μ. διὰ τῶν Παιδιῶν Ἡρακλῆ			
3	Maja	5.	15.
3	Μικρά	1 1/2	4. 1/2
2	Χρυμαλινίνα Maja	9	10.
1	μπικρά χρυμαλινίνα	1.	1.
1	Κόττα αἰὸς διὰ Maja	1.	1.
2	Τὸν Ἄ.Μ. διὰ τῶν Παιδιῶν Τὸν Κάρπας	1.	2.
2	" " " " διὰ διὰ τῶν Κάρπας	1.	2.
2	Καπὸ χρυμαλινίνα διὰ Maja Χανούρ	1.	2.
2	" " " " διὰ Σπυρί	1.	2.
6	πρωφανὸς διὰ Maja Χανούρ	1/2	1/2
6	πρωφανὸς " Σπυρί Χανούρ	1/2	1/2
Τὸ ἅγιον διὰ τῶν ἑδῶν			63
Ἐπιπλέον τῶν ἀνω τῶν ἑδῶν ἀποδοτῶν			6
Ἰσὺς 25 Σεπτεμβρίου 1872. Β. ΚΑΡΓΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ			69

political sense; but photography nonetheless provided a common, shared experience to people of different backgrounds and milieux. It was a homogenising art, the studio a mixed space, and photographers mediating figures, operating in multiple languages and scripts or a neutral *lingua franca*, creating an otherwise rare equality of experience among them.

This is particularly evident in portraits. As practised in the early period, photographic portraiture in the Mediterranean is usually considered devoid of specificity and historicity, purely formulaic in composition and effect, using stereotypical poses and conventional props, and following Western European models.⁴⁹ But portraiture was the most common of the photographer's activities, carried out for a local clientele more than for tourists or foreign markets.⁵⁰ The thousands of portrait photographs that exist in private and public archives show that portrait photography was a common feature of everyday life. Such sitters were not nameless models who served the photographer as types, but subjects who had themselves photographed, often commemorating an event or a coming of age, and exchanged their photographs with friends and family. They posed according to a stock repertoire of gestures,

49 – Apostolou, 'Photographes français et locaux', 2.
 50 – Portraiture was not subject to the law affecting pictures of sites in Istanbul, for which permission had to be obtained from the authorities. The law was introduced in 1853 and remained in force until the end of the nineteenth century. See Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 74.



Figure 6. Anna Guichard, *Portrait of a child*, *carte de visite*, 1860s. EAIA-MIET, Athens, SKO.110.

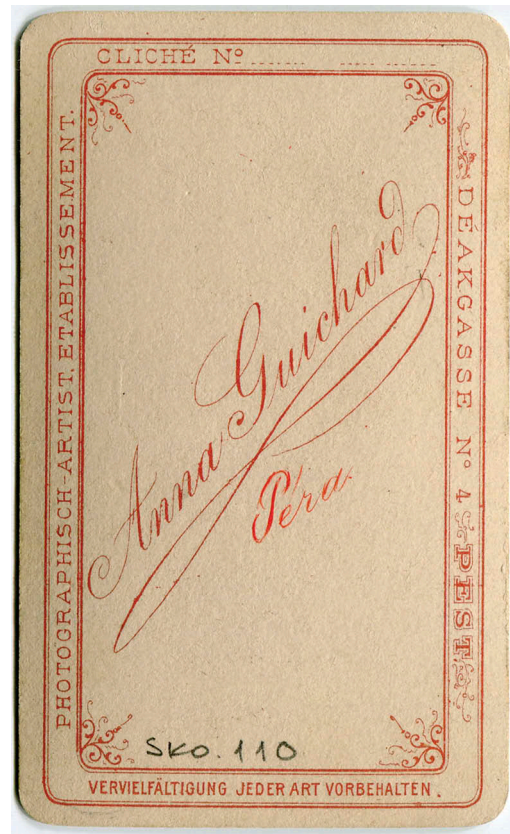


Figure 7. Anna Guichard, backing for *Portrait of a child*, *carte de visite*, 1860s. EAIA-MIET, Athens, SKO.110.

angles, expressions, positions, and décor, even as the portrait sought – or claimed – to represent them in their individuality. Focusing on Istanbul, Nancy Micklewright has called attention to the status of photography as a means by which people controlled their representation of themselves and their society, experimenting with and defining new personal and social identities as they confronted the changes brought by an emergent modernity.⁵¹ Certainly photography was associated with ‘Western’ modernisation and was a major means of projecting a modern image at the personal, professional, and governmental levels.⁵² As such, it provided the occasion for crossing well-defined boundaries between different ethnicities, nationalities, and classes.

The formulaic nature of photographic portraiture was crucial in this regard. With the advent of the *carte de visite* in the late 1850s – the small-format (6 cm × 9 cm) photograph produced on a collodion-coated glass plate allowing for multiple shots – portraiture became, as Anne McCauley observes, a ‘great equalizer’.⁵³ Little distinction was made in pose, attitude, décor, or expression between sultan or officer, king or bourgeois, cleric or clown. Roger Hargreaves remarks that early portrait photography ‘homogenized everyone into a single identity’, effecting a ‘fluidity of status’ that made the monarch an ordinary citizen and raised the ordinary citizen to the level of the monarch: ‘By the early 1860s it was possible to visit a studio and have your image reduced, formatted and packaged in exactly the same way as that of an emperor or a queen’.⁵⁴ This homogeneity of format and pose cut across cultures as well as classes: a middle-class man adopted the same pose as the king (figures 8, 9).⁵⁵ The *carte de visite* removed meaningful symbols of

51 – Micklewright, ‘Late Ottoman Photography’, 65–66.

52 – Mary Roberts has shown how Abdülaziz, the first Ottoman ruler to disseminate his own photograph and to travel abroad, used photography to project the image of a modern ruler (‘Ottoman Statecraft and the Pencil of Nature. Photography, Painting and Drawing at the Court of Sultan Abdülaziz’, *Ars Orientalis*, 43 [2013], 10–31).

53 – Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *A.A.E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press 1985, 3.

54 – Roger Hargreaves, ‘Putting Faces to the Names: Social and Celebrity Portrait Photography’, in *The Beautiful and the Damned: The Creation of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. Peter Hamilton and Roger Hargreaves, London: National Portrait Gallery, Aldershot and Burlington: Lund Humphries 2001, 45.

55 – Sarah Graham-Brown, *Images of Women: The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East 1860–1950*, London: Quartet Books 1988, 93.



Figure 8. Petros Moraites, *George I of Greece*, carte de visite, ca. 1868. EΛΙΑ-MIET, Athens, 1E00.20.

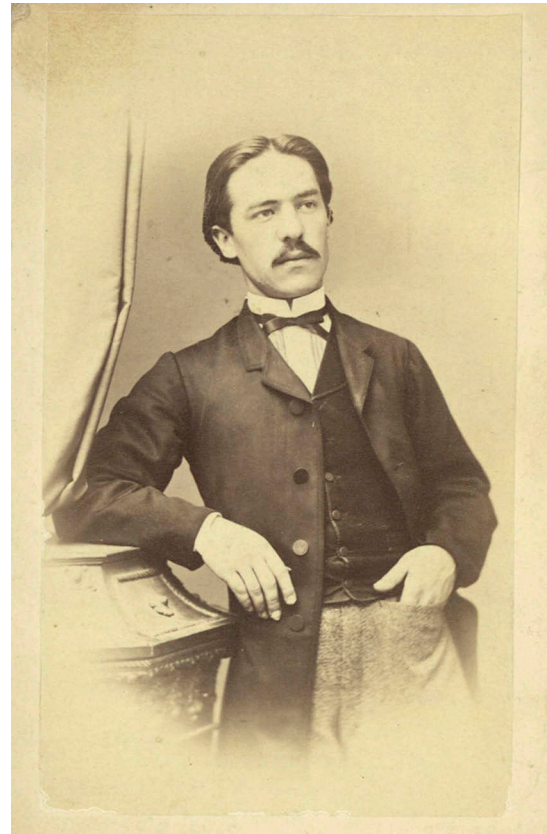


Figure 9. Petros Moraites, *Dimitrios Phinos*, carte de visite, 1863. EΛΙΑ-MIET, Athens, 1Φ03 MOR 61.

56 – Ibid.

57 – As Steve Edwards points out, the ‘disturbing’ juxtapositions in Victorian photographic shop-windows were regularly commented upon (*The Making of English Photography: Allegories*, University Park: Penn State University Press 2006, 81). Contemporary accounts cited by Öztuncay (*Photographers of Constantinople*, 328) testify that photographers in the Mediterranean also did this: ‘In [Theodoros Vafiadis’s] display window you could see military and police officers, a host of characters sporting tapered moustaches and fezzes out of kilter striking poses as if to make themselves resemble Fehim Pasha or Çerkez Mehmed Pasha, merchants from the sticks, fruit and vegetable wholesalers wearing broad cummerbunds, Arabs with their head-rags, Albanians with their slit-sleeve jackets, and Croats with their plaited breeches’. Fehim Pasha (1873–1908) was head of the secret service under Abdülhamid II; Çerkes Mehmet Pasha (1856–1909) was Abdülaziz’ son-in-law. 58 – See the illustrations in Xanthakis, *H Ελλάδα του 19^{ου} αιώνα με τον φακό του Πέτρου Μωραΐτη*, 55, 67, 111, and 134. 59 – See *ibid.*, 204 and 212.

60 – Perhaps Dimitrios Kriezis. I thank Vasiliki Hatzi Georgiou for this suggestion. 61 – See Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, ill. 355, 357, and 418.

identity, culture, or milieu, ‘isolating’ subjects from their environments,⁵⁶ bending them to a predetermined model, commodifying them to a certain extent; but it also freed them, in the delimited space of the studio and the frame of the photograph itself, from the defined hierarchies and identities in which they lived. In societies as heterogeneous as those of the nineteenth-century Mediterranean, photography thus became the agent of a certain social mixing and movement: Christian photographers photographed Muslims and Jews; sitters in traditional or local dress frequented the westernised space of the studio; middle-class Greek sitters leaned on the same table and chair as a janissary or a mullah; and the shop-window or display-case brought all these people together in a motley social gallery.⁵⁷

The conventional, interchangeable nature of studio props and décor, and their lack of strong symbolic meaning, made them especially apt vehicles of social blending. Particular chairs, tables, columns, balustrades, drapery, carpets, and backgrounds recur in pictures of very different sitters. In pictures by Petros Moraites, a woman in the dress of Megara – clearly a costume study – stands on the same carpet as a middle-class family and Queen Olga and her children (figures 10–12). A carpet and decorated column recur in portraits of a bourgeois woman, a dandy, a man in traditional costume in a theatrical pose, and King George I.⁵⁸ Another carpet recurs in pictures of two serious-looking Catholic priests and two ludicrous clowns.⁵⁹ In portraits by Xenofontos Vathis, bourgeois ladies lean on the same stand as a revolutionary fighter in traditional uniform and a naval officer in ‘Western’ dress,⁶⁰ and two have the same painted background of flower pots and Parthenon (figures 13–16). In portraits by the Abdullah brothers, royal princes lean against the same table as a captain from the Navigation Company and his friend;⁶¹ in others by Kargopoulo, the photographer’s daughter stands against the



Figure 10. Petros Moraites, *Woman in costume from Megara, Greece, carte de visite*, ca. 1880. © Benaki Museum, Athens, Photographic Archive ΦΑ 190ϕ,454.



Figure 11. Petros Moraites, *Middle-class family*, albumen print on mount (with mount 13.5 × 9.5 cm), ca. 1870. ΕΛΙΑ-ΜΙΕΤ, Athens, 1Φ03 MOR 136.



Figure 12. Petros Moraites, *Queen Olga and her children, carte de visite*, 1871. ΕΛΙΑ-ΜΙΕΤ, Athens, 1Ε00.26.



Figure 13. Xenofontos Vathis, *Portrait of the revolutionary hero and statesman Rigas Palamides in the costume of the Royal Phalanx*, carte de visite, 1860s. EΛΙΑ-MIET, Athens, 1Φ00.174.



Figure 14. Xenofontos Vathis, *Portrait of a woman*, carte de visite, 1860s. EΛΙΑ-MIET, Athens, 1Φ00.60.



Figure 15. Xenofontos Vathis, *Portrait of a naval officer (Dimitrios Kriezis?)*, carte de visite, 1860s. EΛΙΑ-MIET, Athens, 1Φ00.74.



Figure 16. Xenofontos Vathis, *Portrait of a woman*, carte de visite, 1860s. EΛΙΑ-MIET, Athens, 1Φ00.73.

same chair in which an Ottoman military officer sits.⁶² Such props said little, or even nothing, about the identity of the sitter; but this weak meaning meant precisely that they became shared and exchangeable objects, ones which interacted with, and thus linked, the various people who were photographed with them, and who became ‘interchangeable’ themselves.⁶³

One of the most interesting aspects of the studio in this regard was the availability of costumes: advertisements indicate that photographers kept a store of costumes, especially ethnic and national ones, for clients to adopt as they wished. Nikolaos Pantzopoulos’s advertisement, in both Greek and French, is typical: ‘The studio puts, for free, at the disposal of those who wish to be photographed sumptuous national costumes (country dress and court fustanellas) for men, women, and children of all ages’.⁶⁴ Photographers throughout the region did this: Kargopoulos kept a stock of costumes,⁶⁵ as did Cosmi Sebah: ‘The establishment maintains a selection of costumes for both sexes’.⁶⁶ The Krikorian–Saboungi studios in Beirut, Jerusalem, and Jaffa similarly advertised the availability of costumes, as did those of Garabed Krikorian and Khalil Ra’ad in Jerusalem and Petros Moraites in Athens.⁶⁷ Certainly, Western Europeans took advantage of this, as many examples attest: Oscar Wilde was photographed in traditional Greek costume by Moraites when Wilde visited Athens in 1877, William Holman Hunt in Turkish costume by James Robertson in 1856, Heinrich Schliemann by an unknown photographer around 1858, the amateur photographer Count du Manoir in Arab costume by the Abdullah brothers in Istanbul, in addition to countless ‘ordinary’ visitors and their families.⁶⁸ But this was not only for tourists. The fact that the practice was advertised in both the local and foreign languages indicates that it was aimed at local clients as well.

This use of costume in photographic portraiture has been little studied, but it was remarkably widespread.⁶⁹ The myriad portraits which survive of people in traditional costume thus depict not necessarily what the sitters actually identified with, or of course wore, in their normal lives, but rather a costume that they had selected in the studio for the occasion, like the background, balustrade, or table (figures 17, 18). Middle-class Greeks donned regional or peasant costume, alternating with fashionable western dress: Heinrich Schliemann’s Greek wife Sophia posed in traditional costume and also in the most European fashions (figures 19, 20); sometimes the alternation came in the same sitting, as in an example by Moraites where the sitter wears western clothes in one picture and a traditional (although non-Greek) costume in another (figures 21, 22).⁷⁰ Egyptian women dressed as peasants complete with water jugs, urbanites as Bedouins; as Mary Roberts has shown, Princess Nazlı, granddaughter of Mehmet Ali, was photographed not only in western dress, but even cross-dressed, in a picture featuring the same stereotypical props and background, a kind of parody of the Orientalist genre.⁷¹ As Micklewright notes, the use of costume allowed for a ‘trying on’ of different identities during a period of dramatic transformation in Ottoman dress and social practices, identities which could change as easily as the sitter’s clothes.⁷² Ironically, therefore, costume – the marker of tradition, stability, and continuity – became an indicator of modernity – of changing conceptions of, and possibilities for, the self and of the social hierarchies that dress represented.⁷³ Costume no longer indicated belonging (to region, town, or village, to social class, trade, or profession, to age, gender, and marital status), differentiating one group from another, establishing boundaries that enforced a social order,⁷⁴ but was, rather, a sign of the fluidity of such definitions. Like a theatre, the studio had its own costumes and sets, allowing sitters to become actors who assumed a persona that others, from different backgrounds, could also assume. It provided a common experience in which people could step outside the markers of identity with which they were usually associated; in this way, photography constituted, and indeed promoted, a shared experience among otherwise separate groups.

62 – Ibid., ill. 415 and 417.

63 – See Edwards’s discussion of the *carte de visite* as a form which established equivalencies among people, rendering them interchangeable in the circuit of exchange (*Making of English Photography*, 81–82).

64 – Reproduced in Xanthakis, *Η Ελλάδα του 19^{ου} αιώνα με τον φακό του Πέτρου Μωραΐτη*, 40.

65 – Engin Özendes, *Abdullah frères: Ottoman Court Photographers*, trans. Mary Priscilla Işın, Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Cultur, Art, Publications 1998, 16.

66 – ‘On trouvera dans l’établissement des costumes choisis servant à poser pour les deux sexes’: advertisement in *L’Orient illustré*, 30 January 1875, reproduced in Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 272.

67 – Paris, Institut du monde arabe, *L’Orient des photographes arméniens*, 58; Nassar, ‘Familial Snapshot’, 147; and Xanthakis, *Η Ελλάδα του 19^{ου} αιώνα με τον φακό του Πέτρου Μωραΐτη*, 26.

68 – For example, Jean Geiser’s ‘group of French people in Algerian costume’, 1880 (*Photographes en Algérie*, ed. Adès and Zaragozi, ill. 98). The Wilde portrait is in the Irish Institute of Hellenic Studies, Athens; the Holman Hunt is reproduced in Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*; the Schliemann is in the archives of the Gennadius Library, Athens (reproduced in David Traill, *Schliemann of Troy: Treasure and Deceit*, London: John Murray 1995).

69 – Graham-Brown, *Images of Women*, 142, notes that a ‘handful’ of such photographs of ‘dressing up’ from the Middle East can be found: ‘[...] there have always been a few people in every culture who, whether in earnest or for fun, have tried to escape these labels of class, community, and gender by dressing up as someone else’. Nassar suggests that it was a practice of the wealthy and urban segments of Palestinian society (‘Familial Snapshot’, 147).

70 – I thank Vassiliki Hatzigeorgiou for this point.

71 – Graham Brown, *Images of Women*, 142; Golia, *Photography and Egypt*, 49; Nassar, ‘Familial Snapshot’, 147; and Mary Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders: The Harem in Ottoman and Orientalist Art and Travel Literature*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press 2007, 143–49.

72 – Micklewright, ‘Late Ottoman Photography’, 73–74. She cites two portraits by the Ottoman photographer Ali Sami of Hamide Hanim, daughter of another photographer: in one, she is in western dress; in another, playing on Orientalist conventions, she is portrayed as a dancer in Oriental dress (ibid., 75). See also Micklewright’s discussion of a series of photographs of a family posing now costumed in a ‘harem’ scene, now in European dress (‘Alternative Histories’, in *Photography’s Orientalism*, ed. Behdad and Gartlan, 85–88).



Figure 17. Petros Moraites, *Portrait of a man in traditional costume, carte de visite*, ca. 1868. EΛΙΑ-MIET, Athens, 1Φ03 MOR 64.



Figure 18. Ioannis Lambakis, *Portrait of a couple, carte de visite*, ca. 1875. EΛΙΑ-MIET, Athens, 1Φ03.143.



Figure 19. Petros Moraites, *Portrait of Sophia Schliemann, née Engastromenos, in Greek costume, carte de visite*, ca. 1870. Inscribed 'To my dear spouse from your beloved wife' (Τῷ ἀγαπητῷ μου σύζυγῳ ἢ προσφιλεῖς συζυγός Σου Σοφία Σλιέμανν). American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Gennadius Library, Heinrich Schliemann Papers, series 1A Box 1, no. 7.



Figure 20. Rhomaides brothers, *Sophia Schliemann, née Engastromenos, and her daughter Andromache, carte de visite*, ca. 1877. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Gennadius Library, Heinrich Schliemann Papers, series 1A Box 1, no. 39.



Figure 21. Petros Moraites, *Young girl in western dress*, albumen print on studio mount (with mount 20 cm × 9.5 cm), ca. 1880. EΛIA-MIET, Athens, 1Φ03 MOR 173.



Figure 22. Petros Moraites, *Young girl in costume*, albumen print on studio mount (with mount 20 cm × 9.5 cm), ca. 1880. EΛIA-MIET, Athens, 1Φ03 MOR 174.

Photographic portraiture as a genre had always – and everywhere – had strong ties with the theatre.⁷⁵ Gestures and attitudes were borrowed from the theatre, and studios maintained sets like those of the stage. In the Mediterranean, such sets tended to depict iconic monuments such as the Parthenon or Pyramids, iconic views such as Istanbul's Golden Horn, or generic settings such as a villa or garden, which photographers could purchase at certain studios or supply shops.⁷⁶ These are easily recognisable and have the same 'exchangeable' status that recurrent props do. Costume was part of this repertoire. Because it was ethnic, national, or folkloric, and not overtly 'exotic', it is usually taken as a true indicator of the identity or self-identification of the sitter. But, as the advertisements make clear, a Greek fustanella or Bedouin garb might be no more individual than the background Parthenon or Golden Horn, and could be just as exchangeable.

73 – Graham-Brown, *Images of Women*, 142 and ill. 23.

74 – *Ibid.*, 122.

75 – Hargreaves, 'Putting Faces to the Names', 46.

76 – Özendes (*Abdullah frères*, 17) reproduces an advertisement from Caracachian from 1895 which mentions 'painted backgrounds'.

Such a challenge to the authenticity of costume and the stable regimes of identity which it traditionally represented became, later in the century, a matter for the law. For their genre studies, photographers had regularly employed non-Muslim models, particularly for representing women: even men sometimes served as models for commercial depictions of ‘Oriental’ women. As Abdülhamid II’s long reign grew increasingly repressive, an imperial decree of 19 January 1892 sanctioned the Abdullah brothers and other photographers for depicting non-Muslims in Muslim dress: ‘[...] it has been discovered that some Armenians have had their photographs taken in various costumes in order to malign the Muslim community and cast aspersions on Islam’. The glass plate was reportedly seized and broken, as were photographs and negatives ‘of a similar nature’ at other studios. ‘And it has been resolved to warn photographers not to take such photographs again. [...] The photograph in question shall be published in the illustrated newspaper *Servet-i Fünun*, with a caption explaining that it does not depict Islamic dress but is a photograph of an Armenian’.⁷⁷ While no such decree was issued for portraits, it is clear that the relation of costume to identity had become a contentious issue. The compilation of the photographic albums given the following year to the USA and Britain should be seen in the context of such a decree. These albums – dominated, ironically, by photographs by the censured Abdullah brothers themselves – were certainly linked to official frustration at the persistence of Orientalist clichés in the representation of the empire: Abdülhamid explicitly criticised images ‘for sale in Europe’ which ‘vilify’, ‘mock’, and ‘insult’ Islamic peoples, showing them ‘in a vulgar and demeaning light’, and he specified that all photographs by Ottoman photographers destined for the Chicago World’s Fair of 1893 should be vetted by the Palace to ensure that they did not do this.⁷⁸

Although the offending images seized in 1892 were surely of generic ‘types’ – representing different social groups, professions, ethnicities or regions, and done from models – rather than portraits which were meant to depict the sitter in his or her individuality, the theatrical use of costume in photographic portraits blurred the line between the two. To some extent, this is inherent in portrait photography as a mass-market practice: the individuality of the portrait is belied by the indistinctive, assembly-line quality of the *carte de visite* or cabinet format, with its recurrent backgrounds, props, poses, and gestures regardless of sitter. As Micklewright shows, it is often difficult to distinguish a type (and equally a costume study) from a portrait on the basis of the image alone.⁷⁹ Indeed the two were (and still are) frequently confused, depending on whether the figure has been identified.⁸⁰ This merging of the individual and the type may reflect the prefabricated, mechanised nature of modern subjectivity, but it also allows the individual to become something, and someone, else.

Given the increasing fluidity of the use of costumes from the mid-century onwards, it is not surprising that photography should have been enlisted in efforts to catalogue and inventory them. Nearly all studios produced series on ethnic costume, and many were reissued as postcards when these became widespread at the end of the century.⁸¹ Such images tended to reflect the tradition of eighteenth-century prints, with elaborate, fake settings, props, and backgrounds; they were often coloured, with a brief, sometimes handwritten indication of what the costume was, and they were meant primarily to be sold abroad or to visitors. A different enterprise, which sought to harness the realism associated with photography rather than to have it reproduce the aesthetic of earlier prints, was the photographic costume book, *Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873* (figure 23). Conceived by the Turkish painter, archaeologist and future minister of Fine Arts Osman Hamdy Bey for the Universal Exhibition of 1873 in Vienna, this work contained seventy-four phototypes from plates by Pascal Sebah and an accompanying text in French by Osman Hamdy and Victor Marie de Launay, an official of the Pera municipality and member of the Imperial Commission for the Ottoman exhibit.⁸² The photographs themselves were shown in the Exhibition and the book released afterwards.⁸³ The pictures were taken

77 – Quoted in Özendes, *Abdullah frères*, 161. I have not found the picture in this paper for 1892.

78 – Document of the Imperial Secretariat quoted in Selim Deringil, *The Well Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876–1909*, London: I. B. Tauris 1998, 156. Deringil cites other examples of imperial objections to the impersonation of Muslims; for example, ‘that certain gypsy and Jewish women should be displayed as the so-called specimens of Oriental peoples’ in a live panorama in London in December 1893 (*ibid.*, 151).

79 – Micklewright compares a ‘Turkish Woman’ by Berggren with Ali Sami’s portrait of his wife, Refia Hanun (Micklewright, ‘Late Ottoman Photography’, 74).

80 – A photograph of General Hadjipetros by Philippos Margarites elsewhere carries the caption ‘1821 Fighter’ (Benaki Museum, Athens, ΦA190ς.327).

81 – Margarites, Moraites, and Sotiropoulos in Athens; Kargopoulo, the Abdullah brothers, and Sebah and Joaillier in Istanbul; and Bonfils in Beirut, to name just a few. Photographers regularly advertised ‘Oriental’ or ‘national’ costumes.

82 – Marie de Launay had also been involved in the Universal Exhibition of 1867 and had written *La Turquie à l’Exposition universelle de 1867*. See Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 266–68.

83 – *Ibid.*, 266.

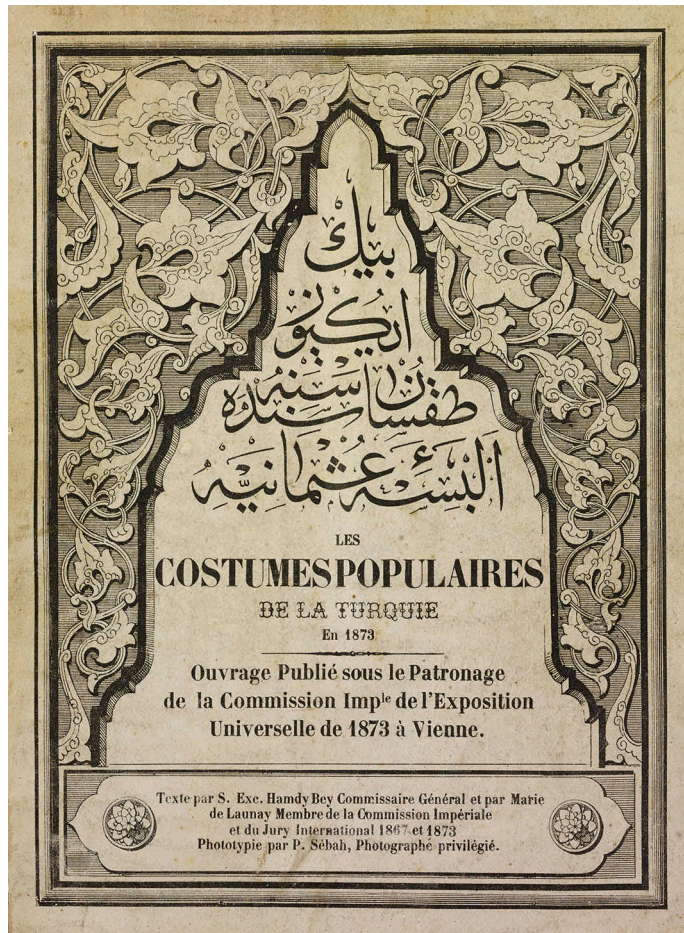


Figure 23. Osman Hamdy Bey and Victor Marie de Launay, Cover page of *Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, Constantinople, Imprimerie du Levant Times & Shipping Gazette, 1873. University of Michigan Library (Special Collections Library), Ann Arbor.

in the studio, and the same model is occasionally recognised in different ones, although most have different models.⁸⁴ Uniform in format – usually two or three figures standing on a carpet in front of a plain background with wainscoting and without accessories or props – and obviously posed, the pictures were meant to show the ethnographic range of the empire, the diversity of peoples that it encompassed (figures 24–27). Diverging from Romantic and Orientalist precedents, with their generic props and vague markers of ‘local colour’, these costume studies are precise and nuanced, reflecting the distinct characteristics of region, religion, ethnicity, and class. Accordingly, the focus in each picture is on the costume, rather than the sitter or setting, each costume representing an element of difference within the plain, non-descript sameness of the setting. Interestingly, this diversity is brought out in the Preface through a distinction made between clothing and costume: clothing is associated with the ‘caprices’ of fashion and ‘is tending to become uniform throughout the world and to erase all distinction not only between the different classes of society, but also between different nations’, whereas costume ‘is adapted to the particular behaviours, conditions of climate, and habits of each region’, providing reliable ethnographic and social information. Costume has a ‘raison d’être’ related to the profession, trade, social position, and material conditions of the wearer, from the peasant to the rich person, from the Bulgarian farmer to the Arab chieftain. Moreover costume binds together a group, creating among its members ‘strong feelings of solidarity’ and a sense of ‘mutual responsibility’.⁸⁵

Such communitarian identity and the differentiation between communities which it implies are openly acknowledged in the first chapter on Constantinople, where the dark jacket, trousers, and fez of modern ‘Europeanising’ dress are presented as equalising all the religions, nationalities, and social classes: ‘[...] they have helped, and still help, to placate the hatred which all too often divided

84 – The same models are used for a Muslim from Rhodes (pl. VI, p. 120) and a Christian from Mytilene (pl. VIII, p. 123); a Christian horseman from Chania (pl. I, p. 104), a Christian villager from Chanoia (pl. II, p. 106), and a Christian from Magossa (pl. IX, p. 125); a labourer from Erzeroum (pl. XIX, p. 215) and an Armenian priest from Aghtamar (pl. XX, p. 218). Öztuncay (ibid., 268) identifies Marie de Launay, author of the text, in two of the plates (pl. XIII, p. 62; pl. XXIII, p. 91). On the *Costumes populaires*, see Ahmet Ersoy, ‘Osman Hamdi Bey and Victor Marie de Launay: The Popular Costumes of Turkey in 1873’, in *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770–1945): Texts and Commentaries*, Ahmet Ersoy et al., here vol. 2, *National Romanticism: The Formation of National Movements*, ed. Balász Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček, Budapest and New York: Central European University Press 2006, 174–77.

85 – Osman Hamdy Bey and Victor Marie de Launay, *Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, Constantinople: Imprimerie du Levant Times & Shipping Gazette 1873, 5–6 (my translation): ‘Le vêtement tend à devenir uniforme dans le monde entier, et à effacer non seulement toute distinction entre les diverses classes de la société; mais encore entre les diverses nations [...]. Tout au contraire, le costume, en s’adaptant aux convenances particulières, aux nécessités climatiques, aux usages de chaque contrée, offre aux études ethnographiques et sociales une source inépuisable de renseignements certains [...]. Le costume entretient naturellement chez ceux qui le portent de vifs sentiments de solidarité [et] impose [...] une responsabilité mutuelle’.

Figure 24. Pascal Sebah, *Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, Part I, pl. XIX: Peasant, Poor, and Middle-Class Arnaouts (Ottoman Albanians), phototype, 1873. University of Michigan Library (Special Collections Library), Ann Arbor.



Figure 25. Pascal Sebah, *Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, Part I, pl. XXII: Jewish woman from Thessaloniki, Christian (Bulgarian) woman from Prilep (Macedonia), and Muslim woman from Thessaloniki, phototype, 1873. University of Michigan Library (Special Collections Library), Ann Arbor.

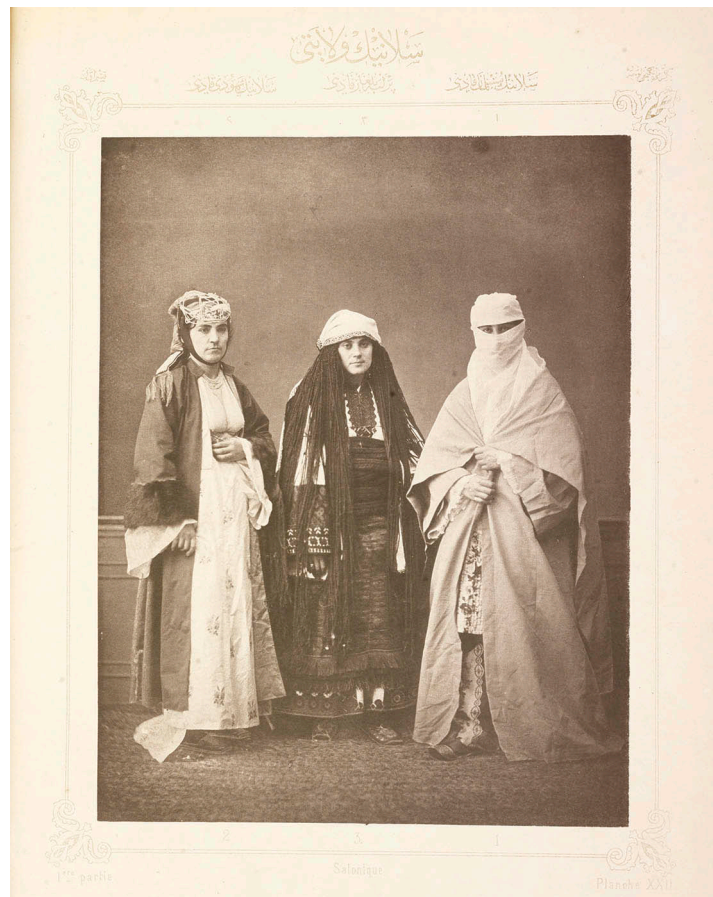




Figure 26. Pascal Sebah, *Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, Part III, pl. VIII: Greek priest, Mullah, and Armenian priest, phototype, 1873. University of Michigan Library (Special Collections Library), Ann Arbor.



Figure 27. Pascal Sebah, *Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, Part II, pl. I: Christian bourgeois, Muslim woman, and Christian horseman from Crete, phototype, 1873. University of Michigan Library (Special Collections Library), Ann Arbor.

86 – Ibid., 13: '[...] ils ont aidé, et aident encore à l'apaisement des haines qui divisaient trop souvent, autrefois, les diverses religions et nationalités de l'Empire; à effacer les différences marquantes qui signalaient les non-musulmans au mépris des fanatiques [...]; à permettre que [...] on se soit habitué à appeler *effendi*, *bey*, *pacha*, etc., des grecs, des arméniens, des latins, des étrangers'. Ibid., 6: '[...] le costume réalise la définition rationnelle du beau et du bon, qui est, comme on le sait, *la variété dans l'unité*'.

87 – Ibid., 7.

88 – This applies to different ethnicities too: pl. X (161) has an Armenian woman from Burdur, a Turkmen woman from Utmuk, and a Kurdish woman from Sarikaya.

89 – For examples, see *Athens 1839–1900: A Photographic Record*, nos 223–39.

90 – Jacobson documents many such exchanges; for example, between Pascal Sebah and Henri Béchard, between Hippolyte Arnoux and Henri Rombau, and between Félix Bonfils and Tancred Dumas (*Odaliques and Arabesques*, 46, 207, and 227).

91 – This was common wherever photography was practised. In the Mediterranean, examples include the Abdullah brothers who were bought out by Sebah and Joaillier; Pascal Sebah seems to have bought negatives from Émile Béchard in the 1870s (Jacobson, *Odaliques and Arabesques*, 212), and possibly from James Robertson in 1867 (Öztuncay, *Photographers of Constantinople*, 149); and Jean Sebah, Pascal's son, ran a studio in Cairo in which he sold pictures by Béchard, Zangaki, and Lekegian as his own (ibid., 275). Aşil Samancı took over the Istanbul studio of Gülmez frères and during the 1922 crisis moved to Athens, taking the negatives with him (ibid., 306). Nikolaos Andriomenos took over Cosmi Sebah's studio in 1879 (ibid., 307); Dimitri Michailides may have taken over the negatives from Kargopoulo's Edirne studio (ibid., 322).

92 – These were signalled in travel guides. For example, Murray's 1873 *Handbook for Travellers in Egypt* describes the Cairene bookshop of D. Robertson & Co.: 'Some very excellent photographs of Egypt by a Constantinople artist called Sebah may be obtained here' (Sir John Gardner Wilkinson, *A Handbook for Travellers in Egypt*, 4th edn, London: John Murray 1873, 118).

93 – Prominent publishers in Europe and the Near East advertised mail order from the 1860s onwards, especially for series and large orders. For an example of an early traveller's album consisting of photographs purchased in 1852–53, see Malgorzata Maria Grabczewska, 'Adam and Katarzyna Potocki's Photograph Album of the Near East', *History of Photography*, 38:2 (May 2014), 173–86. Later, photographs also circulated through reproductions in the illustrated press and through postcards (Eldem, 'Powerful Images', in *Camera Ottomana*; see also the sections 'Orientalist Reality' and 'Personalized Photo Cards' in ibid., 228 and 232).

the different religions and nationalities of the Empire in the past; to erase the essential differences that designated non-Muslims to the contempt of fanatics [...]; and to allow [...] Greeks, Armenians, Latins and foreigners to be called *effendi*, *bey*, *pacha*, etc'. Yet the differentiation of costume nevertheless enables the image of a unified empire: 'Costume manifests the rational definition of the beautiful and the good, which is, as everyone knows, *variety in unity*'.⁸⁶ As the rhetoric suggests, it thus fulfils the ideological pretensions of the empire, maintaining unity within the diversity of its peoples. The bringing together of different costumes reflects an ideal of ethnic pluralism which the organisers of the Ottoman installation at the exhibition wished to project. The book itself is structured like a 'tour' ('voyage') of the empire's territory, starting with Constantinople, continuing through the European provinces, returning to the Asian littoral and proceeding to Africa.⁸⁷ Although each plate features costumes from a single region, it freely mixes nationalities, religions, classes, and genders in one image, creating a visual pluralism within the identitarian context of a costume book (figures 24, 25).⁸⁸

The status of costume evoked by a costume book or costume studies as a marker of identity, belonging, and insertion into tradition is particularly undermined by the theatrical use of costume in photographic portraiture as something which could be adopted and exchanged at will. This ambiguity makes it difficult to interpret not only pictures of individuals in costume, but also the many family portraits which mix traditional local and modern western dress, top-hats with fustanellas.⁸⁹ Do these reflect a changing society, in which an older generation clings to traditional dress while a younger one assumes western clothes, or is the situation more complex than that? Only the contexts and circumstances of each portrait will provide an answer, but in every case the question must be asked. The idea of a Mediterranean of fixed identities is belied by practices of photographic portraiture which privileged a common, shared repertoire of forms and modes of self-presentation, and thus promoted a common, shared experience, allowing people of different groups to circulate outside their habitual identities.

In addition to photographers, photographs themselves circulated around the Mediterranean. Little is known of this, because the uncertain and sometimes haphazard nature of photographic collections makes tracking the movement of photographs difficult. But it certainly happened; photographs, especially *cartes de visite*, were exceptionally portable. Photographers who established branches of their businesses in other cities sent photographs to those branches; some exchanged negatives and photographs among themselves;⁹⁰ others took over negatives and reused them, often signing them with their own names;⁹¹ bookshops, stationers, and even hotels sold works by photographers from elsewhere.⁹² And travellers themselves moved photographs from place to place. Albums were for sale, and people could insert photographs which they acquired anywhere or even by mail.⁹³

One such album in the Benaki Museum in Athens is unusual for being inscribed with a name, place, and date: 'Alexander C. Evangelides. Alexandria 29th D[ecem]ber 1864' (figure 28). This information enables us to ascertain the owner's identity and to follow his movements in the Mediterranean and across the Atlantic. Evangelides was a Greek, the son of Christodoulas ('Christos') Evangelides who, himself an Ottoman subject originally from Thessaloniki, had as a boy fled the fighting in his native town and taken refuge in Smyrna. There, in 1828, Christos had been adopted by some American Philhellenes who were delivering aid to the Greeks and who subsequently took him to New York. They enrolled him in the Mount Pleasant Classical Institute in Amherst, Massachusetts, and then, under the patronage of the influential New York banker Samuel Ward, he entered Columbia College from which he graduated in 1836. In New York Christos moved in the circles of prominent Philhellenes and later Abolitionists such as William Cullen Bryant and Ward's daughter, the poetess Julia Ward Howe. In 1837, he returned to Greece and settled in Hermoupolis (Syros), a

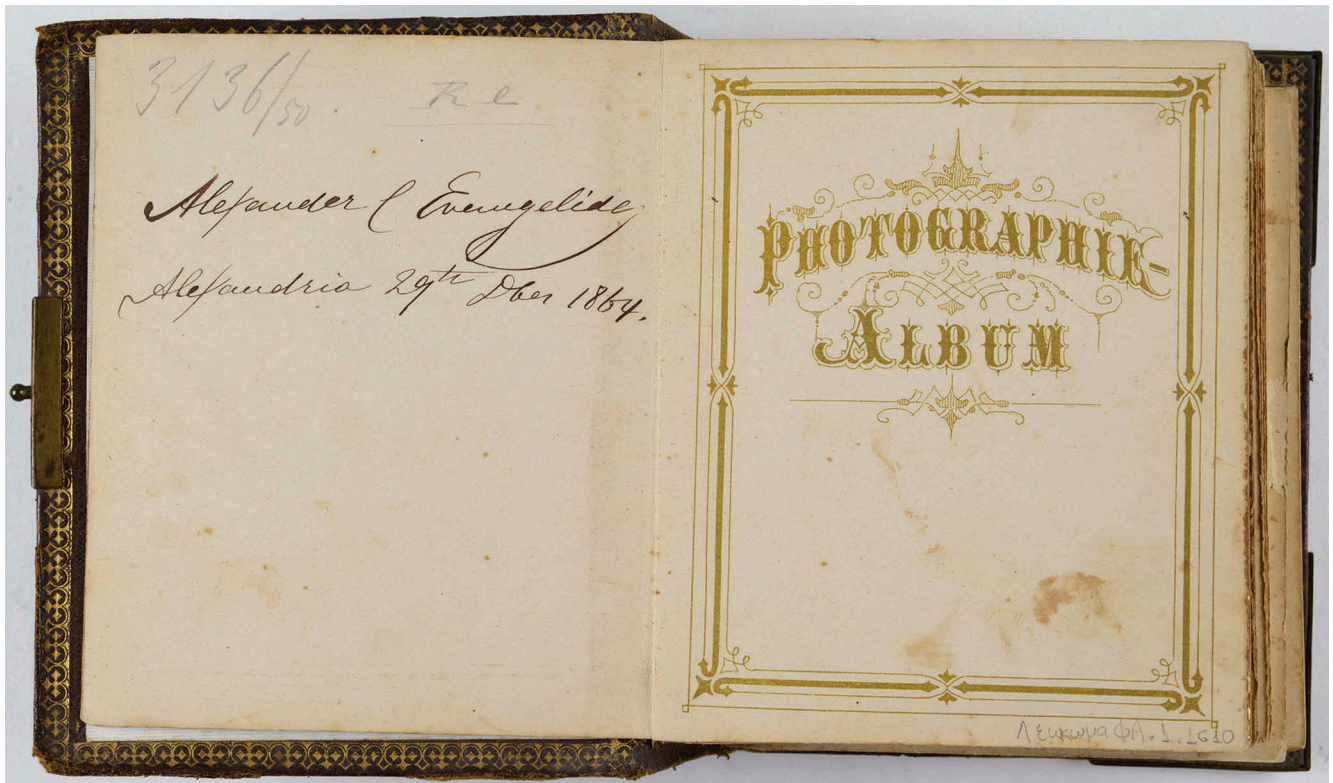


Figure 28. Photograph album inscribed 'Alexander C. Evangelides. Alexandria 29th D[ecem]ber 1864', 1864. © Benaki Museum, Athens, Photographic Archive, Λεύκωμα 2, K47.

thriving port, where he opened a lyceum and married; his eldest son Alexander, the future owner of the photographic album, was born in Athens in 1847.⁹⁴

Little is known of Alexander's early life in Greece, but by 1863 he was living in Alexandria, Egypt. From Alexandria he wrote a letter on 2 March 1863 to *Harper's Weekly* stating his enthusiasm for the Union cause in the American Civil War and his admiration of the founding fathers and democratic principles, which may account for several of the photographs in the album, as we shall see.⁹⁵ In late 1866 or early 1867 he went to the USA, where he passed his consular examination, began work in the New York Customs House, and then set out for Alexandria via Paris with the promise of a vice consulship. Having fallen out with the consul, G. M. Butler, he left Alexandria and the foreign service in 1871 and settled in the USA where he worked for the Civil Service Commission in Brooklyn, and in the late 1880s was chief clerk in the bureau of construction in the Navy Yard. He became a journalist for the *Brooklyn Eagle* and died in Brooklyn in 1905.

The Benaki album is printed in German ('Photographie-Album') and Evangelides's handwritten inscription is in English (figure 28). The list of portraits at the start (figures 29, 30), still in his hand but more regular, is written in a kind of pidgin based on French – 'Roi de Suède', 'Empereur d'Autriche', 'Le Pape' – but with obvious errors such as 'Chatobrian' for 'Chateaubriand', 'Jeanne d'Albert' for 'Jeanne d'Albret', and 'Empératrice' for 'Impératrice' (by association with 'Empereur'). There are hybrid forms mixing English and French such as 'Colombus', 'Roi de Portugese', 'Prince of Walles' (cf. French 'Galles'), and 'Empereur de China'; there is also the linguistically unidentifiable 'Gortsacoff' for 'Gortchakov'.⁹⁶ Evangelides's obituary states that he was a fluent linguist and much sought after as a translator, and these mixed forms and minor contaminations indeed suggest someone who knew multiple languages; at his father's school in Hermoupolis he would have had to learn English, French, and Italian in addition to his native Greek.⁹⁷

94 – There are many discrepancies in the biographical sources. I have compiled the version given here from Alexander's obituary, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 27 December 1905, 2; his own letter to *Harper's Weekly* (see following note); information from him contained in the *Brooklyn Citizen*, reprinted in the *Galveston Daily News* (9 April 1887), 6; his letter in the *New York Herald* (10 November 1871); John Gregoriadis, 'The Greek Boy', *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 10–11 (1994–95), 603–28, which quotes his father's diaries and letters; and Peter C. and Charles C. Moskos, *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success*, 3rd edn, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers 2014, 6. Papers of the father's and the son's are in the New York Historical Society. In 1877 Christos Evangelides opened another lyceum in Athens, and died in that city in 1881.

95 – 'A Greco-American Citizen', *Harper's Weekly* (25 April 1863), available at <http://www.sonofthesouth.net/leefoundation/civil-war/1863/april/bread-riots.htm> (accessed 12 May 2015).

96 – I have found 'Gortsacoff' in an Italian book from 1908 (Giovanni Amadori-Virgilj, *La questione rumeliota e la politica italiana*, Bitonto, N. Garofalo); nineteenth-century French usually uses 'Gortsakoff'.

97 – Gregoriadis publishes the curriculum ('The Greek Boy', 619–20).

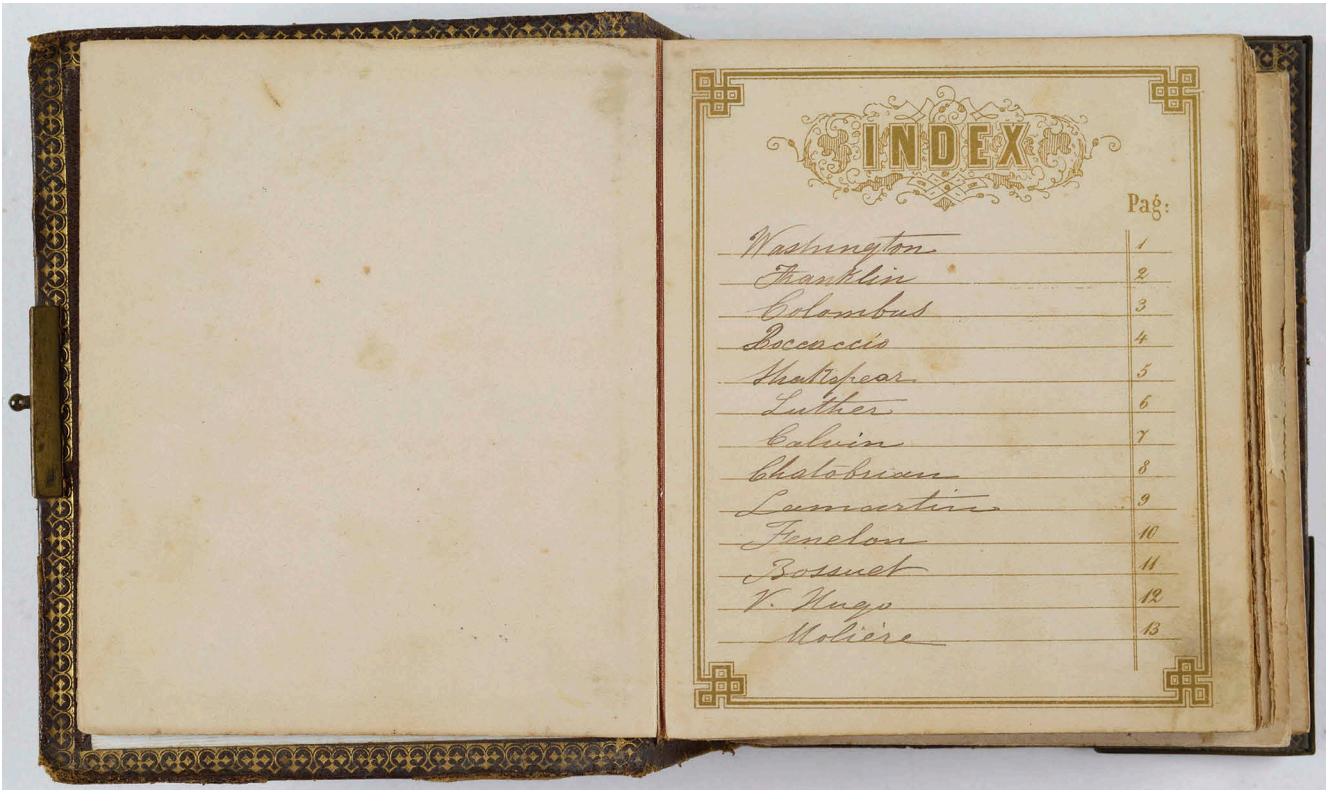


Figure 29. Photograph album, first page of index, 1864-65. © Benaki Museum, Athens, Photographic Archive, Λεύκωμα 2, K47.

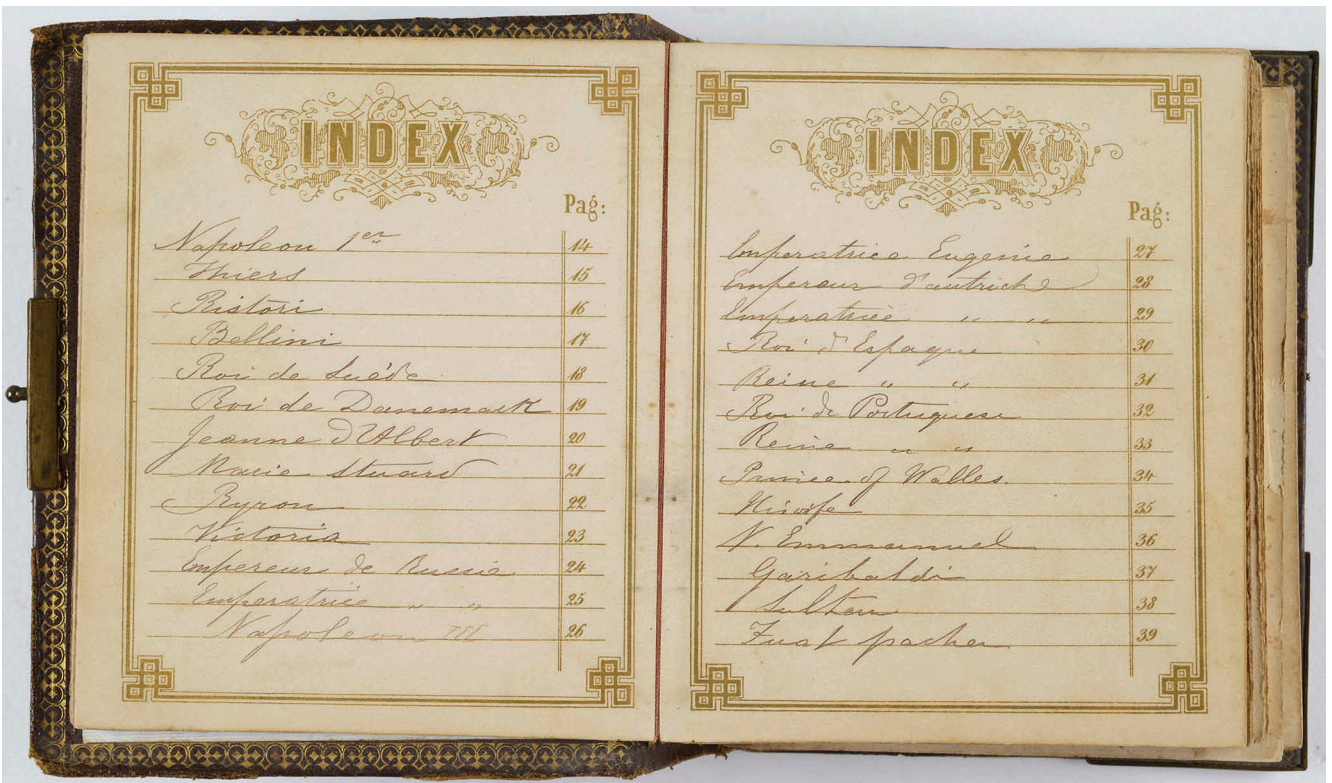


Figure 30. Photograph album, pages 2 and 3 of index, 1864-65. © Benaki Museum, Athens, Photographic Archive, Λεύκωμα 2, K47.

The album originally included forty-seven *cartes de visite*.⁹⁸ historical figures such as those he explicitly admired (for example, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin), writers and other figures from the arts past and present (Boccaccio, Shakespeare, Bellini, Adelaide Ristori and, unsurprisingly, given his political sympathies, Byron and Victor Hugo), contemporary political figures, including some prominent republicans and reformers (Thiers, Vittorio Emmanuele, Garibaldi, the Hungarian Kossuth, Fuad Pasha), and heads of state from Europe and the Ottoman empire (Queen Victoria, the emperors and empresses of France, Russia [or Prussia] and Austria, the kings of Spain, Portugal, Sweden, and Denmark, the prince and princess of Wales, Sultan Abdülaziz). As usual with such photographs, most have a pencil inscription on the back with the name or title of the sitter and a catalogue or series number; there are occasional other handwritten annotations, such as Shakespeare's name in Greek (Σακξπίρη). The photographs of historical figures and even of some contemporary ones were done after prints, by mainly French firms (Nadar, Mayer & Pierson, Neurdein & Paris, Charlet & Jacotin), with one Venetian (Cartoleria Paggi). There are two photographs by Greeks: Andreas Vlachakis, who practised in Crete in the mid 1860s and then on Syros from 1868, and A. G. Anastasakis who was active on Hydra from 1862 to 1870.

The complex mechanisms by which French, Italian, and Greek photographs ended up in a German album belonging to a Greek in Alexandria in 1864 have yet to be fully worked out – did Evangelides obtain the photographs in Alexandria or elsewhere, at this time or another, all at once or gradually? – but we can offer some hypotheses. The last few photographs in the album are not listed in the index and would have been added later: the presence of the Cretan revolutionary leader Michail Korakas by Vlachakis suggests a date during or after the Cretan uprising (1866–69), which Evangelides supported and in which he sought to interest the US government;⁹⁹ that of Abraham Lincoln, a date following his assassination; a picture of the US Capitol by an unidentified photographer (from a painting), a date around Evangelides's departure for the USA in late 1866 or early 1867. The indexed photographs would have been acquired earlier than these added ones from about 1867. They could have been bought after the date of 27 December 1864 inscribed in the album, or before, although not too long before, since most of the photographic firms responsible for the extant ones cluster around that year: Neurdein & Paris, the source of the majority of them, had a short-lived partnership in 1864 at 8, rue des Filles Saint Thomas, Paris, near the Bourse (the address printed on the backings here), and Jules Deplanque was established at 40 rue Beaubourg in the same year.¹⁰⁰ These dates make it likely that at least some of the pictures were bought in 1864–65 in Alexandria, which would thus have had a wide selection on offer from major European houses.¹⁰¹ The added ones are more difficult to situate: the portrait of Korakas by Vlachakis may have been acquired in (or from) Herakleion, where the photographer was located in the mid 1860s, or on (or from) Syros, where he moved in 1868, and where Alexander had family. It is impossible to know whether Alexander bought the photograph of the US Capitol in Alexandria before his departure for the USA, somewhere along his journey, or upon arrival in the country. The woman in the portrait by Anastasakis is not an historical figure and is probably a family member or friend, in which case it would have been either acquired on Hydra by Evangelides, sent to him, or transported by someone else and given to him.

Other albums contain pictures by photographers from across the Mediterranean: one, again in the Benaki, features portraits (and some views) by several photographers from Corfu (Bartolomeo Borri, Fratelli Marinelli, E. J. Muller, N. Jameson), in addition to Smyrna (Rubellin), Athens (Margarites, Moraites), Port Said (Grigorios Saridakis), Marseilles (D. May), Alexandria (L. Anagnostis), and Constantinople (Mathieu [Mateos] Papazian).¹⁰² While much work needs to be done on the constitution of such albums, they nonetheless

98 – Twenty-five of the original forty-seven remain, twenty-two are missing, and five others were added later. In this tally, I am tentatively counting the emperor and empress of 'Russia' in the index as a mistake for 'Prussia', since Wilhelm I of Prussia is represented in the album but not listed, whereas there are no photographs of Alexander II of Russia and his wife Maria Federovna. I have not been able to identify one of the original portraits (of a woman). The pictures are now out of order relative to the original list. The album remained in the possession of the family until 2005 when it was given to the Benaki.

99 – 'Mr. Alexander C. Evangelides, of Greece, is now in Washington on business connected with the Cretan movements now progressing' (Augusta, GA, *The Daily Constitutionalist* [9 February 1867], 1).

100 – They first appear at these addresses in the *Almanach-annuaire du commerce* for 1864. The 1865 *annuaire* has Neurdein alone. The Neurdein in question was Étienne, son of the well-known photographer Jean César Adolphe Neurdein, alias Charlet, who had established a firm with Louis Charles Jacotin (Charlet & Jacotin) on 15 January 1863. The album contains two photographs – Abdülaziz and George Washington – by Charlet & Jacotin. The firm was dissolved on 15 April 1867 (minutes du notaire Emile Fourchy, April–June 1867, available from http://www.archive.sportaleurope.net/ead-display/-/ead/pl/aicode/FR-FRAN/type/fa/id/FRAN_IR_042359/dbid/C113101144 MC/ET/LVIII/807 - MC/ET/LVIII/889, MC/RE/LVIII/22 - MC/RE/LVIII/25 - MC/ET/LVIII/871 [accessed 12 November 2015]).

101 – Öztuncay notes the high number of sales of royal portrait photographs, especially of English, French, and German royalty, in this period ('The Origins and Development of Photography in Istanbul', in *Camera Ottomana*, 92).

102 – Benaki Museum 19^{os} K36. The photographs are datable largely to the 1870s.

provide a rare record of, and a potentially rich source of information on, the photographic field in the nineteenth-century Mediterranean. Their mixed character, bringing together photographers of diverse origin practising in different places, photographs produced in one place and made available in others, mass-produced images sold across the region (and beyond) alongside more personal ones meant for family and friends, bears witness to the contacts and networks of communication which defined the Mediterranean historically.

The features of early photography discussed here suggest the special role that photography can play in advancing our understanding of the Mediterranean in this period. The spatial mobility, social circulation, and ethnic and linguistic diversity evident in photographic practice may suggest ways in which the technologies, systems, spaces, and institutions of modernisation were accommodated in, and to, the region, as their 'homogenising' tendencies confronted the mixed character of Mediterranean societies, and modernity's 'global' phenomena were calibrated to the heterogeneity and variety of everyday life. Photography thus offers an important – and instructive – example of the experience of modernisation in the nineteenth-century Mediterranean.