

**Reza Shah's 27-Day Official Visit To Turkey
and
The Opera Özsoy For The Honour Of Reza Shah**

Supervisor: Dr. Gabrielle van den Berg

Second reader: Prof. Dr. Touraj Atabaki

By

Aysel Yildiz

1264893

2013

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	3
INTRODUCTION.....	3
CHAPTER ONE.....	6
1.Reza Shah's 27-Day Official Visit To Turkey.....	6
1.1. Reza Shah Pahlavi.....	6
1.2. Deciding the visit and correspondences between Turkey and Iran.....	8
1.3 Arrangements for the visit.....	11
1.4. The process of the 'visit'.....	16
1.4.a. From border to Trabzon.....	16
1.4.b. From Trabzon to Ankara.....	19
1.4.c. Ankara leg of the official visit.....	20
1.4.d. From Ankara to Istanbul.....	27
1.5. Press and Reza Shah's Visit to Istanbul.....	29
CHAPTER TWO.....	34
2. An Opera For The Honour Of Reza Shah (Özsoy).....	34
2.1. The idea of writing an opera.....	35
2.2. The emergence of Özsoy.....	36
2.3. Opera Özsoy (Feridun).....	39
2.4. Analysing of the libretto.....	43
CONCLUSION.....	49
Appendix.....	50
Bibliography.....	62

Abstract

This thesis is an analysis of Reza Shah Pahlavi's 27 day first official state visit to Turkey. Throughout the study, I try to show how this visit took place, also how media reflected this meeting. While analysing this visit I try to examine and pay close attention to opera 'Özsoy' since I believe that it had an importance especially for Atatürk. I will refer to the message which was the brotherhood and friendship of Turkey and Iran. As for me that message was trying to given to Reza Shah with opera Özsoy. During the study the translations were belong to me unless stated otherwise in the footnotes.

INTRODUCTION

After the end of First World War, it could be seen that both Turkey and Iran underwent some radical transforms in the governmental and social fields. Before the very first meeting between Reza Shah and Atatürk that took place in June 1934, Ankara, Turkey-Iran relations had not been always positive. With the exception of border problems during the Caliphate¹, Turkey had a grudge against Iran for not recognising their Sultan as Caliph of all Muslims, but after the meeting of the two heads of state, relations between Iran and Turkey started to improve. According to Hassan Arfa, this was because of the wisdom of the Shah's and Atatürk's policies.² It could be observed that these two states followed similar and parallel social and political reforms. After having some problematic relations between Iran and Turkey for centuries it could be claimed that Reza Shah and Atatürk turned a new page in their state relations. Obviously one of the most significant proofs of this new relation process is the formal state visit of Reza Shah to Turkey. Reza Shah did this visit as his first and last foreign visit.³

It could be seen that this visit had some contributions to the developments of social and political relations between these two countries. Clearly that visit should be counted as a success, especially for Reza Shah since he had hopes of obtaining positive results from that

¹ On 3 March 1924, Caliphate was abolished in the Turkish Great National Assembly.

² General Hassan Arfa, *Under Five Shahs*, (Edinburgh: 1964), p. 252.

³ Gavin R. G. Hambly, "The Pahlavī Autocracy: Rizā Shāh, 1921 - 1941," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. Gavin Hambly et al. Vol:7, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 236. See also; Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (Istanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 117-118.

visit.⁴ Additionally, in terms of Atatürk, thanks to the visit he had an opportunity to show the reforms in the young Turkish Republic and, in any case, a great and durable brotherhood and friendship was established between these two states.

This 27 day visit of Reza Shah to Turkey was obviously important for both states, in terms of political relations, and also important for an emerging narrative of modern culture. Since this official state visit has such an importance it also took the attention of media not only in two states but also foreign press paid close attention to this meeting. It also might be due to the meeting between Mussolini and Hitler whose meeting took place in the same week in Venice. Press have coverage about both meetings, it can be seen newspapers such as Cumhuriyet in Turkey and Ettela'at in Iran.⁵ In another foreign press coverage it is reported that:

“While the attention of Western Europe has been riveted upon the meeting at Venice of the dictators of Germany and Italy, another similar meeting is now being held in the capital of Turkey. At Angora the Ghazi Pasha is entertaining with full ceremonial honours his ‘good friend and brother’, Reza Shah of Persia.”⁶

Although some research has been conducted about that important visit and Turkey - Iran political relations, no extensive study exists which adequately covers the visit in detail. There is insufficient data for the actual ‘visit days’ and what was experienced during the visit for both states. Additionally, it is hard to find a study about how the media interpreted this important meeting. Inevitably, the rendezvous of these two heads of states inspired interest in both the media of the two countries and international media.

With this thesis I would like to examine one of the aims of Atatürk, who wanted to show the reforms and innovations in the young Turkish nation. As for Atatürk, success in the fine arts meant achieving success in all reforms, and the most difficult reform to achieve is musical reform. In a conversation with Sadi Irmak, who was one of the old chairmen of the Atatürk Research Centre, Atatürk explained why musical reform is the most difficult one. He stated that:

⁴ General Hassan Arfa, *Under Five Shahs*, (Edinburgh: 1964), p. 252.

⁵ Cumhuriyet, June 11, 14, 20 and 25, 1934; Ettela'at, June 19, 1934.

⁶ Daily Telegraph, June 19, 1934.

“Music reform is the difficult reform because you need to change person’s inner world. Yes, it is a difficult reform but we will accomplish this.”⁷

Ataturk considered performing arts as an essential part of the westernisation of Turkey. He always wanted to show how the Turkish Republic paid close attention to Western arts to the European countries. Besides that he considered the arts could serve the process of state building. Opera Özsoy can be given as an important and key example of this attitude. On behalf of the Turkish national opera, Özsoy was a significant step.⁸ Since it was the first dubbed Turkish opera, it has an importance in Turkey’s opera history. Before Özsoy, there was also opera and ballet in Turkey, especially in Istanbul many European opera was showed during padishahs such as, Murad III. (1574 - 1595), Selim III (1789 - 1807), Mahmud II (1808 - 1839), and Abdulmacid (1839 - 1861). However, there was no opera written with Turkish music mode and tempo or there were no operas composed by Turkish composers.⁹ As an example, in 1797 an Italian opera was performed in Ottoman Turkey. Since the subject of the opera was about Turkey, which is namely ‘*Assedio di Silistria*’, might be considered as native opera. It was about the Turkish army defending against Russians in 1854 in Silistria.¹⁰ It is possible to speak of a national opera in Turkey when Ataturk had the idea of producing an opera for honour of Reza Shah in 1934. The epic poem, Firdausi’s work Shahname was chosen it was composed by Ahmet Adnan Saygun (1907-1991), and the libretto was written by Munir Hayri Egeli. It was entitled Özsoy¹¹ (pure lineage) and premiered on 19th of June 1934 in Ankara at the Halkevi (People’s House) in honour of the Iranian Shah, Reza Shah’s visit to Turkey in 1934¹². Özsoy was performed two more times after the first performance, after which it was forgotten. It was performed once more for the 100th anniversary of Ataturk’s birth in 1982, but this time consisted of one act because the original script had been

⁷ Sadi Irmak, “İnkılâpların En Zoru,” *Journal of Atatürk Research Centre*, Vol: 11/IV, (March 1988): accessed July 25, 2013, URL: <http://atam.gov.tr/inkilaplarin-en-zoru/>

⁸ Cevat Memduh Altar, *Opera Tarihi (History of Opera)*, Vol: 4, (Istanbul: 2001), p. 68.

⁹ Encyclopedia of Turk, Vol: 25, s.v. “Opera”, (Ankara: 1977), p. 452 - 453.

¹⁰ And, Metin. “Opera and Ballet in Modern Turkey”, in *The Transformation of Turkish Culture*, eds, Günsel Renda and C. and Max Kortepeter, (USA: Kingston Press, 1986), p. 72.

¹¹ Later entitled ‘*Feridun*’.

¹² Kathryn Woodard, Music Mediating Politics in Turkey: The Case of Ahmed Adnan Saygun, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol:27/3 (2007): p. 555, accessed May 5, 2013, URL: http://www.academia.edu/3448208/Music_Mediating_Politics_in_Turkey_The_Case_of_Ahmed_Adnan_Saygun

lost and was neither in the archives nor in any document. Adnan Saygun tried to remember the opera and wrote so far as once more,¹³ and as a third time in 2007.

Chapter one of this thesis is the main part of the study and concerns the meeting. It focuses on three key parts of the official meeting. As far as it is concerned there are some sources, which have dealt this meeting in this thesis it will be discussed in more detail The first part starts with a biography of Reza Shah Pahlavi and it is followed by the decision-making about the visit and correspondences with Ankara in respect of the meeting. Then the last part deals with the 27-day visit from the border to Istanbul. The second chapter is concerned with the opera Özsoy. In the first and second parts I will mention about how the idea of writing an opera was decided and what was the subject of the opera. Ataturk made the decision and I will discuss how this decision was made. While writing this I will consult Sefik Kahramankaptan`s book called “Ataturk, Saygun ve Özsoy operasi.” This book is important as it has the CD of composer Ahmed Saygun`s voice record. I will translate his explanation about his memory of Özsoy, where necessary. These two parts are followed, in the same chapter, with a content of the opera in more detail. In the last part I am going to analyse the libretto by doing this I will use a book entitled “Özsoy Operasi” by Gulper Refig with the CD of the opera from the performance of 1981 in Ankara. Why an opera and what is the purpose of the opera? Is there a message in the opera? If yes, what is the message? These are similar questions are discussed throughout this part. My aim is in this part, to answer these questions and to manifest the message inside the opera that was trying to show to Reza Shah. The second chapter will be followed by a conclusion.

CHAPTER ONE

1- REZA SHAH’S 27-DAY OFFICIAL VISIT TO TURKEY

1.1. Reza Shah Pahlavi

Little is known of the early life of Reza Shah¹⁴. Even his date of birth is uncertain. His official birthday was known as 16th of March 1878 and he was born in the district of Savadkuh called Alasht. He died July 26, 1944, Johannesburg. His father died just after his birth.¹⁵

¹³ Celal Metin, *Emperyalist Çağda Modernleşme*, (Phoenix: 2011), p. 310.

He had little formal education and in the first half of his adult life he was a simple soldier, obeying the rules of his ancestors. He improved himself, not only physically, but also mentally as he taught himself to write and read.¹⁶ Since he had a military talent, by the end of the Great War, he was the leader of Iranian Cossack officer.¹⁷ On October 31st, Qajar Dynasty deposed and the Majles decided on Reza Khan¹⁸ for the head of state temporally. Afterward, on the 12th of December, 1925, the Constituent Assembly made a decision for Reza Khan's accession. After four months, on April 25, 1926, Reza Shah Pahlavi placed the new Pahlavi crown on his head with a ceremony¹⁹. During Reza Shah's reign (1926-1941), Iran made progress in western style armed forces, transportation network, state sponsored schools and also urban reconstruction, this could be called "modernisation western style."²⁰ He was a key figure in the twentieth century political development of Iran and took cognizance of foreign affairs too. Some observers especially saw him as imitating the statist and westernising innovations of Mustafa Kemal. Regarding to this issue when he was talking to the ambassador Husrev Gerede²¹ he expressed that Turkey was in a progress by the guidance of Ataturk and was going to be developed day by day. Additionally, the innovations that he applied was only an imitation of Ataturk. He also suggested the Crown Prince of Hejaz, Amir Faisal that Iran was following the Ghazi's road, and suggested to them to do the same.²²

¹⁴ See for the bibliography in; Donald N. Wilber, *Riza Shah Pahlavi: The Resurrection And Reconstruction Of Iran*, editor, (New York: Exposition Press, 1975); Cyrus Ghani, *Iran and Rise of Reza Shah: From Qajar Collase to Pahlavi Power*, (London:1998).

¹⁵ Elwell Sutton, L.P., "Reza Shah the Great" in *Iran Under the Pahlavis*, ed. George Lenczowski, (California: Hoover intuition, 1978), p. 4.

¹⁶ Elwell Sutton, L.P., *ibid.*, p.6; see also <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/500867/Reza-Shah-Pahlavi>

¹⁷ Micheal Zirinsky, "Riza Shah's Abrogation of Capitulations, 1927-1928", in *The Making of Modern Iran*, ed. Stephanie Cronin, (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), p. 82.

¹⁸ He started to use the title of 'Shah' after he establish new Pahlavi Dynasty in 1926.

¹⁹ Elwell Sutton, L.P., "Reza Shah the Great" in *Iran Under the Pahlavis*, ed. George Lenczowski, (California: Hoover intuition, 1978), p. 27-28. Also see: Rıdvanbeyoğlu Hüsrev Gerede, *Siyasi Hatıralarım-1/Iran*, (Istanbul: Vakit, 1952), p. 221-223.

²⁰ Elwell Sutton, L.P., *ibid.*, p. 83.

²¹ Husrev Gerede was born in Edirne in 1886 and died in 1962, he was one of the Ataturk's friend. Except from Tehran, he also worked as ambassador in Budapest and Sofia. Fethi Tevetoglu, *Atatürk ile Samsun'a Çıkanlar*, (Ankara, 1987), p. 185.

²² Rıdvanbeyoğlu Hüsrev Gerede, *Siyasi Hatıralarım-1/Iran*, (Istanbul: Vakit, 1952), p. 266.

1.2. Deciding the visit and correspondences between Turkey and Iran

Reza Shah made an effort to move towards a developed and modern Iran. In doing so he took Turkey as a mentor model.²³ Moreover, he paid attention to international affairs. As an example of his attempts, in 1922 Iran sent an ambassador to Turkey and 1923 Turkey sent Muhittin Pasha as an ambassador to Iran.²⁴ In 1930, Turkey and Iran had some problems in the Agri Mountain, so Ataturk decided to appoint a new ambassador to Iran and he wired to Husrev Gerede. When they came together Ataturk told the people and journalists that Husrev Gerede was suitable for being ambassador to Tehran which is a hard and serious job.²⁵ So that Husrev Gerede was appointed as an ambassador to Tehran. During his time he contributed to the improvement of the relations between Iran and Turkey. These two countries' relations developed especially after 1932. Specifically, after the conclusion of a treaty between the two states on 23rd of January 1932 in Tehran by Iran Foreign Affairs Minister, Ali Foroughi Khan (1877 - 1942) and his Turkish colleague Tevfik Rustu (1883 - 1972).²⁶ After the border problem was solved in a satisfactory way for both sides Ataturk wanted to meet with Reza Shah. However, at the time Ataturk was unable to leave the county and it was not appropriate for Reza Shah too. He therefore suggested to meet Shah at the border and asked this through Husrev Gerede.²⁷ Reza Shah liked the idea and invitation and he told:

“Actually, I want to visit Ghazi Excellency in his office in Ankara. But my desire can be real at least two or three years' time. But before this for me also nice to meet him in the border, I am ready for a meeting with the wish of Ghazi.”²⁸

After a while newspapers in Istanbul and later international newspapers reported that Reza Shah and Ataturk would meet in the city of Van.

In another meeting in 1933 Husrev Gerede reminded Shah about Ataturk's wish to meet him. Shah told him that:

²³ Jacques Lapeyre, *Shâh-e Irân*, (Belgium: 1999), p. 26.

²⁴ Ömer Erden, *Mustafa Kemal Atatürk Döneminde Türkiye'yi Ziyaret Eden Devlet Başkanları*, (Ankara: 2006), p. 178.

²⁵ Rıdvanbeyoğlu Hüsrev Gerede, *ibid.* p. 14.

²⁶ Iskander Deldem, *Zendeği-ye Por Majara-ye Reza Shah*, (Tehran: Golfam, 1991), p. 366 - 367.

²⁷ Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (İstanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 116; Rıdvanbeyoğlu Hüsrev Gerede, *ibid.* p. 263.

²⁸ Rıdvanbeyoğlu Hüsrev Gerede, *Siyasi Hatıralarım-1/Iran*, (İstanbul: Vakıf, 1952), p. 264.

“It is obvious that I am a patient man. But I am running out of patience in two things, one seeing my son, who lives in Europe and the other is to visit and meet my dear friend Ghazi, my decision for this is to go to Ankara directly and make an official visit to the President of the Turkish Republic and then to see my son in Switzerland personally next summer, after about eighteen months, I will not visit another state officially.”²⁹

After Shah’s explanation that he wanted to see Mustafa Kemal in Ankara. After his explanation there were news in media about their meeting which would be in Van indeed they came together in Ankara. The Turkish government therefore made the decision to officially invite Shah by the end of the 1933 to Turkey.³⁰ After Reza Shah’s decision about the journey, Husrev Gerede started to correspond with Ankara and warned them to provide the necessary requirements for Reza Shah’s comfort and to represent the young Turkey in a good way.

In a report that Husrev Gerede sent to Ankara he told them that since Shah also had a military background it would be better to show him naval forces, air forces and army forces with a special demonstration to make a good impression.³¹ Except from those he strongly suggested to present to Reza Shah, schools, military and munitions factories. Additionally, he suggested that as Shah had many farms in Iran, agricultural zones or sample farms also could be shown.³²

In another telegram that he sent to Ankara he recommended Hamidiye³³ or Yavuz (Goeben),³⁴ which were full-equipped ships for Reza Shah’s travel.³⁵ After the road travel to Turkey was decided by Iran, Husrev Gerede sent a report to Ankara to guide the arrangements for the meeting in his report and stated that:

“I asked Shah about his idea of visiting Baghdad, since King Faisal’s ³⁶ death, as an answer by following Ghazi’s political idea with neighbouring countries, he would see the new king in Baghdad and then he was supposed to go to Turkey directly from there... I have learned information from the court, Reza Shah has a stomach ache, it is not an ulcer or a cancer and his doctor who came from Germany suggested to him to rest in a thermal spring

²⁹ Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (Istanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 117-118.

³⁰ Barış Cin, *ibid.*, p.118.

³¹ Rıdvanbeyoğlu Hüsrev Gerede, *ibid.*, p. 267-269.

³² Rıdvanbeyoğlu Hüsrev Gerede, *ibid.*

³³ <http://navypedia.org/page/6657>

³⁴ http://www.cityofart.net/bship/turc_yavuz.html

³⁵ Rıdvanbeyoğlu Hüsrev Gerede, *Siyasi Hatıralarım-1/Iran*, (Istanbul: Vakıf, 1952), p. 273.

³⁶ <http://www.the-saudi.net/al-saud/faisal.htm>

for a few days in Europe. For this reason Shah will go to Switzerland to see his son and to rest in thermal spring then after come to Turkey...”³⁷

Husrev Gerede paid great attention for that visit and he wished for Reza Shah to visit Turkey directly without visiting the king in Baghdad. He gave as a justification that it would not be appropriate to make a visit to a younger king and that it would not benefit Turkey. Obviously that would be an important point for Turkey.³⁸ Moreover, since Reza Shah wanted to see the Tabriz – Trabzon – Erzurum trade roads Gerede suggested to them to repair the Trabzon – Erzurum (Turkey side) road.

In the meantime Reza Shah expressed his Turkey journey plan in the Iranian parliament officially through the foreign affairs minister, Ali Foroughi Khan.³⁹ After the journey plan was announced to the Parliament Husrev Gerede made a report to Ankara and specified that:

“... Shah will see wrack and ruin places after the border but after keep going after Trabzon he will see Turkey’s real prosperity and movement... Since I know his sickness from the stomach I asked them to prepare a special diet for the Shah. They thanked for this special interest and understanding. They told me that Reza Shah is going to bring his ‘personal kitchen’ with him so he can eat his accustom foods, that way we do not need to provide or concern about the kitchen...”⁴⁰

Husrev Gerede also added some information about Reza Shah’s relaxation and sleep habits and also indicated that since Shah has a problem with his teeth he prefers soft foods, Husrev Gerede wanted to Ankara to take consider about that.

After Turkey invited Reza Shah officially, the Iranian prime minister made a speech in the parliament in Mach, 1934⁴¹ and briefly said that:

“In the past there were some disagreements between Turkish nations and Iran, since those conflicts took many years both side had some harms. Both Ghazi and Shah are doing everything to develop their countries. These two rescuers have understood that there is

³⁷ Rıdvanbeyoğlu Hüsrev Gerede, *ibid.*, p. 270 -271.

³⁸ Rıdvanbeyoğlu Hüsrev Gerede, *ibid.*, p. 269.

³⁹ Rıdvanbeyoğlu Hüsrev Gerede, *ibid.*, p. 270 -273.

⁴⁰ Rıdvanbeyoğlu Hüsrev Gerede, *Siyasi Hatıralarım-1/İran*, (İstanbul: Vakit, 1952), p. 272 -273.

⁴¹ Meliha Ambarcioglu, “Gazi Mustafa Kemal ve İran’da Yapılan Reformlar (Ghazi Mustafa Kemal and Reforms, which is done in Iran),” *Doğu Dilleri Dergisi (Journal of oriental languages)*, Vol: 3, issue: 4 (1983): p. 19-20. See also: Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (İstanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 118.

nothing too divisive between these two states. ...Shah accepted Ghazi's official invitation and decided to go to Turkey in a few months."⁴²

Husrev Gereke, ambassador of Tehran, played a crucial part for Reza Shah's visit to Turkey from the beginning of journey decision to the visiting day. He made a great effort for Shah's comfort and to show Turkey's innovation without any trouble or deficiency. That way he showed sensitivity with his correspondences with Ankara and he highlighted the important points.

1.3. Arrangements for the visit

After indicating Reza Shah's intention to go to Turkey on 10th of June 1934, media started to write about the visit. Turkey also started the preparation for the meeting and it was announced by the Iranian prime minister that the visit of Reza Shah was going to last twelve days.⁴³ While Turkey started preparations, Iranian nation was rather unsatisfied about Shah's visit, according to Ettela'at's coverage, it was because of Shah's absence of the country for a few weeks. However they are also happy for this meeting, it is stated that:

"Since Shah will meet Atatürk in a friendship manner, this meeting will influence and increase the two countries political relations in a positive way. Because of this reason Iranian people happy for this journey."⁴⁴

The official schedule of Reza Shah's journey was released to the public on 26th May 1934. According to the schedule Reza Shah would cross the border on 10 June 1934, from Gurgubulak⁴⁵ border gate, and then he would reach Trabzon by Beyazit, Iğdir, Kargızman, Kars, Erzurum, Bayburt, and Gumushane. From Trabzon he would pass on to Samsun with the ship Yavuz. According to the schedule Shah would go to Ankara on 19th June 1934, with a special train. It was stated that he would stay there until 19th of June and then he would go to Istanbul on 20th of June.⁴⁶

Turkey started to get ready carefully for this visit long before. Especially until the middle of May in 1934, it started to reconstruct the roads of some cities from the border to Ankara such

⁴² Hadi Vekilî "1920-1940 yıllarında Ortadoğu'daki Kültürel Söylemler" paper presented at the meeting of Iran - Turkey relations From Past to Today, Konya, December 16 - 17, 2002. p. 95.

⁴³ Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (Istanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 120.

⁴⁴ Ettela'at, May 15, 1934.

⁴⁵ It is a border check point into Iran.

⁴⁶ Cumhuriyet, May 27, 1934.

as the Iğdir, Kars, Erzurum, Gumushane, Trabzon and Samsun roads.⁴⁷ Reza Shah specifically choose the Erzurum –Trabzon road because he wished to see the trade roads by himself. The roads were fixed so that the trade between these two countries would be increase again.⁴⁸ Meanwhile, a welcoming committee⁴⁹ took the road to welcome Reza Shah in the border. According to Aksam about fifty people would go to the border to meet and help Shah for his comfort through Trabzon on 31 May 1934.⁵⁰ Sadiq Khan, Iranian Ambassador, also went with the committee and while they are traveling to the border he made a speech to the reporter of Cumhuriyet he said that:

“Although these two countries have a relationship from the old times, it was certain that there was a border problem which is a small threat to the friendship of the two countries...The two leaders wanted to meet and Shah, who wanted to see the young Turkish Republic, decided to see Ghazi in Ankara. After seeing Ghazi in Ankara and then after seeing the beauty of Istanbul Shah will return to Tehran and this is the greatest evidence of the friendship and brotherhood of these two states...”⁵¹

While Turkey continued to make the arrangements it is supposed that Reza Shah would start his journey on 3rd of June 1934 from Tehran with the people who would accompany him during the visit.⁵²

When the visit day came closer, Turkey and Iran`s flags were hung in the streets. In addition, the places where Reza Shah and his entourage were due to visit started to prepared.⁵³ Since Reza Shah would stay at the Halkevi (People`s House)⁵⁴ in Ankara, that place also prepared carefully and Mustafa Kemal controlled and checked every detail by himself.⁵⁵ How Ataturk took care of the preparation of Reza Shah`s room in Ankara Halkevi is told by Adnan Saygun:

⁴⁷ Hilal Akgul, “Rıza Han`in Türkiye Ziyareti (The Visit of Reza Khan to Turkey)”, *Journal of Turkey Research in Recent Era (Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları)*, Vol: 7 (2005): p. 18, accessed April 7, 2013, URL: <http://www.journals.istanbul.edu.tr/tr/index.php/turkiyearastirmalari/article/view/18916>.

⁴⁸ Cumhuriyet, June 6, 1934.

⁴⁹ A group of from different offices and press.

⁵⁰ Aksam, May 30, 1934.

⁵¹ Cumhuriyet, June 04, 1934.

⁵² Cumhuriyet, June 08, 1934.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Reza Shah was stay there during his time in Ankara.

⁵⁵ Cumhuriyet, June 15, 1934.

“Shah was staying in Halkevi. Ataturk paid attention to everything about Shah before Shah came. Since he likes pink colour, they made the pillows pink, curtains pink, made the bed like that and so on and so on...”⁵⁶

In the newspaper Aksam it was reported that, as the date of visit approached Ankara started to get ready arrestingly for Reza Shah’s visit.⁵⁷ Istanbul had the same arrangements like the other cities. Streets and avenues started to be reconstructed, they put a triumphal arch on the Galata bridge and elsewhere. Although Dolmabahce Palace is the place to entertain Reza Shah during his visit in Istanbul, there is another place, Hotel ‘Pera Palas’, for his stay in Istanbul. Both places were prepared for the “great guest” such as they laid Iranian carpet in his room.⁵⁸ In addition to those gifts, which were to be presented to Reza Shah began to be prepared as well. One of them was a memory medallion for him. 150 medallions were prepared, one was made of gold and the rest were made of silver and bronze.⁵⁹ It was arranged by a man named Zeynel, one side was going to have Reza Shah’s cartouche and the other side Ataturk’s cartouche picture. Under Ataturk’s pictures it was written in Turkish:

“To the memory of Great Reza Shah Pahlavi’s visit to the president of the Turkish Republic, Excellency Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Ankara - 1934”

Under the Reza Shah’s picture it was written in Persian:

“Be yâdgâr-e molâqât-e a’lîḥaḍrat-e homâyûnî Reḍâ Shâh-e Pahlavî shâhanshâh-e Irân bâ ḥaḍrat-e qâḍî Mowṣṭafâ Kamâl raîs-e jomhowr-e Towrkîyeh – 1934 Ânkârâ.”⁶⁰

In addition to the medallions, a valuable album and an airplane, which was started to completed in a plane factory in Kayseri were presented to Reza Shah.⁶¹ After making the necessary tests this plane was sent to Ankara on 2nd of June 1934. Turkish pilots would deliver the plane to Tehran.⁶²

⁵⁶ Sefik Kahramankaptan, *Ataturk, Saygun ve Özsoy Operası*, with a CD included memories of his own voice record, (Ankara: 2005).

⁵⁷ Aksam, May 29, 1934.

⁵⁸ For the arrangement see the newspaper Cumhuriyet from 17 May to 9 June, 1934.

⁵⁹ Mehmet Okur, “The Gift Given To Foreign Presidents By Ataturk,” *Journal of Atatürk Yolu*, Vol: 9, Issue: 33, (2004): p. 83-84, accessed April 18, 2013, URL: http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/detail.php?id=45&sayi_id=793

⁶⁰ Mehmet Okur, *ibid.*; Cumhuriyet, June 03, 1934, see also; Hilal Akgul, “Riza Han`in Türkiye Ziyareti (The Visit of Reza Khan to Turkey)”, *Journal of Turkey Research in Recent Era (Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları)*, Vol: 7 (2005): p. 19-20, accessed April 7, 2013, URL: <http://www.journals.istanbul.edu.tr/tr/index.php/turkiyearastirmalari/article/view/18916>

⁶¹ Mehmet Okur, *ibid.* See also; Cumhuriyet, June 04, 1934.

⁶² Mehmet Okur, *ibid.*, p. 83-84; Cumhuriyet, June 03, 1934.

The first welcome program supposed to be held as it was stated above, however, it will be mentioned in detail in the following pages. According to newspaper Aksam, Reza Shah's visit schedule would be:

“The visit of lordship Shah. Excellency Ghazi is going to throw a great banquet. The Shah of Iran will come on 16 of June and is going to stay in the presidency of parliament manor house. Shah will stay for four days in Ankara and two days in Istanbul. Great Shah will come to our border on 10th of June and is going to be met by a welcoming committee and then they will move towards Trabzon. In Trabzon Foreign Affairs Minister Tevfik Rustu and principal clerk Hasan Riza are going to accompany Shah. He will come to Trabzon with a private car and from Trabzon to Samsun they are going to travel with the ship ‘Yavuz.’ On the 16th of June Ghazi will serve a dinner for the honour of his venerable guest⁶³ (Reza Shah)...”⁶⁴

Shah was thought to have arrived in Maku⁶⁵, the closest city to the Turkish border, on 9 of June with his assistants and one day later he was supposed to cross the border from Gurbulak border gate.⁶⁶ After he was met by the committee he was going to watch a military ceremony and stately observance, which were decided months ago.⁶⁷

After arriving in Bayazit,⁶⁸ the next stop would be Agri. Then the next day they were supposed to be in Igdir. In Kars, 11th of June, Shah was going to attend to an opening ceremony for dried milk factory. After then on 14 June they were supposed to be in Trabzon through Erzurum, Gumushane and after passing the other stops. According to the newspaper Aksam, Reza Shah would be in Bayazit by noon and then in the evening was supposed to be in Igdir. On 11 June at noon they would be in Kagizman and in the evening in Kars. The next day, in the evening, in Erzurum and after that they would be in the Bayburt during the day then in Gumushane in the evening. Shah was due to be in Trabzon in 14th of June.⁶⁹ After spending one night in the ship Yavuz he was supposed to be in Samsun in the morning. There a flavoured tobacco would be present to the Shah. Then with a private train he was assumed

⁶³ To Reza Shah Turkish media most of the times used ‘*Muhterem Misafir*’ which means ‘venerable guest.’

⁶⁴ Aksam, May 27, 1934.

⁶⁵ Maku is a city in the West Azerbaijan Province, Iran.

⁶⁶ Cumhuriyet, May 27, 1934.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ It is a city and district of Agri in Turkey, the most eastern district to cross Iran.

⁶⁹ Aksam, June 01, 1934.

to be in Ankara on 16 June 1934, at about 13:30.⁷⁰ In Ankara the entire city was supposed to be covered with the Turkish and Iranian flags, and big triumphal arches were thought to be set.⁷¹ Shah was supposed to be met by Atatürk, İsmet Paşa and Kazım Karabekir Paşa in the train station. During his stay in Ankara he would stay in Halkevi, and his entourage were supposed to stay in the Palas Hotel. Within the same afternoon Shah was supposed to do a return visit to Atatürk.⁷² In the first evening Atatürk would give a dinner to the honour of Reza Shah. The following day Shah was supposed to meet with İsmet Paşa in his manor. The next day Shah was supposed to accept the ambassadors and in the evening there would be a fete for Reza Shah. According to the schedule on the last day some institutes and museums were supposed to shown to him and after a tea party he would attend a concert in the evening in the Halkevi.⁷³ After Ankara, Shah and his entourage were supposed to move towards Istanbul, passing through Eskişehir, Afyon, Kütahya, İzmir, Çanakkale and Balıkesir. While passing through these cities some military institutions and modern establishment were supposed to show to Reza Shah. In the meantime preparations in Istanbul were still continuing as all the streets and avenues were being covered in the two countries' flags. A triumphal arch was supposed to set on Galata Bridge, which was supposed to be in Iranian architecture, so that respect and love would be shown to Reza Shah. For the honour of the great quest, a special flag was made, which was light purple and had an Iranian emblem in the corner and in the middle a big crown picture.⁷⁴ In short, the cities, which Shah would pass, were making some arrangements, from reconstructing the streets to hanging flags to triumphal arches. To make the things in order and without any problem some official committees were established. After completing the visit, Reza Shah and his entourage were supposed to return from the same road with the same celebrations.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Cumhuriyet, May 27, 1934; Cumhuriyet, June 01, 1934.

⁷¹ Cumhuriyet, June 01,08,10, 1934.

⁷² Hilal Akgül, "Rıza Han'ın Türkiye Ziyareti (The Visit of Reza Khan to Turkey)", *Journal of Turkey Research in Recent Era (Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları)*, Vol: 7 (2005): p. 18-20, accessed April 7, 2013, URL: <http://www.journals.istanbul.edu.tr/tr/index.php/turkiyearastirmalari/article/view/18916>; see also Cumhuriyet, May 27, 1934; Cumhuriyet, June 01, 1934.

⁷³ Cumhuriyet, May 27, 1934.

⁷⁴ Hilal Akgül, *ibid.*, p.19-20; Cumhuriyet, June 02, 05, 07, 1934.

⁷⁵ Cumhuriyet, June 15, 1934.

1.4. The process of the ‘Visit’

1.4.a. From border to Trabzon

In May, the Turkish and Iranian governments had corresponded for Reza Shah’s forthcoming visit. The Turkish government was informed with a telegram from the Iranian consulate that Reza Shah will be moved to Turkey in the second Saturday of June.⁷⁶ Eventually, Reza Shah and his entourage started their journey from Tehran on 3 June 1934, through Turkey for his first and last official state visit.⁷⁷ After eight days Shah and his entourage reached the Turkey border, passing through Qazvin, Tabriz and Maku.⁷⁸ During his journey to the Turkish border he received a telegram from Atatürk stating his impatience to welcome his “fraternal presence.”⁷⁹ In June 1934 Reza Shah left Tabriz and crossed into Turkey with a mission of high ranking Iranian officials,⁸⁰ eight military officers, five civil officers, his secretary and Abbas Masudi, an editor of the Tehran daily newspaper, *Ettela’at*.⁸¹ Husrev Gereide joined this group in Maku, after spending a night there,⁸² the next day on the 10th of June Shah and his entourage crossed the border at 9:00 am from the Gurbulak border gate with a great ceremony.⁸³ On the Turkish side of the border the commander of the Turkish military forces, Ali Said Pasha and the military group were present to welcome Shah and his entourage.⁸⁴ According to the newspaper *Aksam* he crossed the border by passing an arch, on which “Khosamadīd” (welcome) was written in Persian. Husrev Gereide was also with him.⁸⁵ Arches had Iranian and Turkish flags on both sides with honour guards from each of the states present. When Reza Shah’s motorcade came close to the border Ali Said Pasha and some other people from the government were ready to meet them and when they faced each other

⁷⁶ *Aksam*, June 04, 1934.

⁷⁷ *Cumhuriyet*, June 04, 1934; *Milliyet*, June 04, 1934.

⁷⁸ *Ettela’at*, June 3, 13 and 19, 1934.

⁷⁹ Donald N. Wilber, “‘Work’ has been Our own slogan”, in *Riza Shah Pahlavi: The Resurrection And Reconstruction Of Iran*, ed. Donald N. Wilber, (New York: Exposition Press, 1975), p. 157.

⁸⁰ Habibullāh Mukhtārī, *Tārīkh-i Bīdārī-i Irān*, (Tehran: 1326), p. 483.

⁸¹ For the names see: General Hassan Arfa, *Under Five Shahs*, (Edinburgh: 1964), p. 244.

⁸² *Aksam*, June 10, 1934.

⁸³ *Cumhuriyet*, June 11, 1934.

⁸⁴ Mohammad Ali Amir Jahed, *Sālnāme-ye Pārs*, (Tehran: 1335), p. 88; *Cumhuriyet*, June 14, 1934; *Aksam*, June 11, 1934.

⁸⁵ *Aksam*, June 11, 1934.

under the arch both state's national anthems were played by a band.⁸⁶ At the same time, the guests were also welcomed by firing a 21-gun salute. Then Reza Shah and his entourage passed through under the arch on foot.⁸⁷ His ceremonial crossing of the border certainly had political importance.⁸⁸ Firstly, it was to verify the existence of the newly demarcated border between the two states and secondly to project a message of international cooperation between the two nations.⁸⁹ Not only Turkish media, but also Iran's press was interested in the ceremony of border crossing. Times mentioned about this visit and background relations of these two countries, it was stated that:

“The Shah of Persia reached the Turkish frontier today... Until 1929, when the first treaty between Republication Turkey and the Shah's Government was signed in Angora (Ankara), intermittent raids of Kurdish nomad tribes passing from one country to another caused constant friction between Tehran and Angora. Since then relations have steadily improved and further treaties have been exchanged, notably a treaty of arbitration concluded in January 1932, and an agreement to define frontiers signed in December of the same year at Tehran...”⁹⁰

As it was stated previously one of the Reza Shah's entourage, Abbas Masudi sent a detailed article about the border crossing ceremony to Tehran and it was published in the edition of 19 June.⁹¹ After the welcoming ceremony Reza Shah expressed his pleasure for the magnificent and intimate ceremony.⁹² There was a tent so that Shah could rest and he took a rest for a time. While he was relaxing, his entourage acquaintance themselves with to each other.⁹³ Then Shah and his entourage moved towards Bayazit with a private car. They used the private cars which Turkish government allocated for them for the journey until Trabzon. As it was

⁸⁶ General Hassan Arfa, *Reza Shah dar Ayne-ye Khaterat*, ed. Ibrahim Safayi, (Tehran: 1897), p. 65.

⁸⁷ General Hassan Arfa, *Under Five Shahs*, (Edinburgh: 1964), p. 244-245; Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (Istanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 120.

⁸⁸ See the appendix no: 1

⁸⁹ Afshin Marashi, “Performing the Nation”, in *The Making of Modern Iran*, ed. Stephanie Cronin, (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), p. 103.

⁹⁰ Times, June 11, 1934.

⁹¹ Ettela`at, June 19, 1934.

⁹² Cumhuriyet, June 11, 1934; Aksam, June 10, 1934.

⁹³ Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (Istanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 121; Son Posta, June 11, 1934.

mentioned before the roads that they travelled on, were reconstructed before the visit.⁹⁴ There they were welcomed by a military ceremony, again by national anthems, flags and cheering crowds and symbols of the two states. Then they went to Igdir, where he was welcomed by the district governor, the mayor and students with a magnificent ceremony again.⁹⁵ Reza Shah enjoyed it and thanked to the folk for an intimate welcoming. He stayed in the manor of fabricator Ali, he rested for a while and in the evening a reception was given to the honour of Reza Shah and his entourage.⁹⁶ After spending a night in Igdir, they continued their journey through Kagizman. During this journey Shah was informed about a dam. He was welcomed by the mayor and a crowd of people in Kagizman. After eating their lunch there they started their journey to Kars.⁹⁷ In the meantime people in Kars had already finished their arrangements to meet Shah in their city, and Shah came to Kars with people cheering. He was given a bunch of flowers from students.⁹⁸ After spending the night in Kars' provincial hall, early in the morning everyone continued on to Erzurum. During the way Shah took some rest in a tent near by the village of Horasan. His entourage was served lunch and they were thankful for the intimate behaviour. Moreover, Shah asked some questions about the transit trade road to Iran.⁹⁹ During his journey from Kars to Erzurum he got information about battle phases about those stops. Erzurum also made some arrangements such as setting arches to places like Cumhuriyet Square and covered everywhere with Iran and Turkish flags. According to the newspaper Aksam everyone was on the streets to welcome him. After staying one night there he was supposed to travel to Bayburt and Gumushane. In the meantime, to take Reza Shah from Samsun a private train moved to Samsun.¹⁰⁰ His welcome ceremony was so magnificent many people were on the streets to see him and in the entrance of the city it was written on an arch in Persian:

“Thanks to God for the ages of the kingship of fair Shah of the shahs... Oh Shah, quest of moon and stars, long live with sacrosanct power and throne!”

⁹⁴ Barış Cin, *ibid.*, see also: Rıdvanbeyoğlu Hüsrev Gerede, *Siyasi Hatıralarım-1/İran*, (İstanbul: Vakit, 1952), p. 283-284; Cumhuriyet, June 11, 1934; Aksam, June 11, 1934.

⁹⁵ Aksam, June 12, 1934; Cumhuriyet, June 11, 1934; Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (İstanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 121.

⁹⁶ Son Posta, June 11, 1934; Cumhuriyet, June 11, 1934.

⁹⁷ Barış Cin, *ibid.*

⁹⁸ Barış Cin, *ibid.*; Aksam, June 12, 1934.

⁹⁹ Cumhuriyet, June 13, 1934.

¹⁰⁰ Aksam, June 13, 1934,

Shah was met with full military honours, 21-gun salute and the national anthem in Erzurum, he was pleased the way of welcoming, and the same evening for the honour of Shah a meal was presented.¹⁰¹ While they were in Erzurum on 13 June, Mustafa Kemal wired that he was pleased to know Shah's journey was going well, and without any problem. As a response Shah expressed his opinion about the intimate welcoming ceremonies and he also expressed his gratitude to receive that telegram.¹⁰² It is obvious from the telegrams that these two leaders wanted to meet soon. The next day Shah said goodbye to Erzurum's people and moved towards Bayburt. Although there was rain, streets crowded again and Shah saluted the army and people and after eating their lunch they left for Gumushane.¹⁰³ When they arrived in the city, it was still raining and they spent the night in Gumshane. In the meantime, because of the heavy rain and hail, in the road between the city and Toros there was landslide. But governor Ethem sent many workers to there and made the road available for the journey and prevented any trouble.¹⁰⁴ While they were travelling to Trabzon, the ship Yavuz, which would deliver them to Samsun, had come to Trabzon on 13th of June. All the arrangements were completed before Shah came to city. When Shah arrived to Macka¹⁰⁵ he met with Tevfik Rustu, Foreign Affairs Minister in Macka. After welcoming Shah, he said that Atatürk was waiting for Shah impatiently. Then they moved to Trabzon.¹⁰⁶

1.4.b. From Trabzon to Ankara

The arrangements, which were started long before, were completed and Shah reached Trabzon on 14th of June. He was welcomed with the same intimate and glorious welcoming ceremony. The streets were full of the flags of two states and a military ceremony and the people saluted Shah.¹⁰⁷ After the ceremony Shah went to the governor's mansion and his entourage stayed in a province house. After having some rest he and his entourage moved to the seaport with a car.¹⁰⁸ After a while they reached the ship Yavuz in a big public

¹⁰¹ Aksam, June 13, 1934; Son Posta, June 13, 1934.

¹⁰² Aksam, June 14, 1934, p. 2; see also, Cumhuriyet, June 14, 1934; Son Posta, June 14, 1934.

¹⁰³ Aksam, June 14, 1934; Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (İstanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 122.

¹⁰⁴ Cumhuriyet, June 14, 1934; Barış Cin, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ It is district of Trabzon in Turkey.

¹⁰⁶ Barış Cin, *ibid.*; Cumhuriyet, June 15, 1934.

¹⁰⁷ Aksam, June 15, 1934; Barış Cin, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Aksam, June 15, 1934; Cumhuriyet, June 15, 1934.

demonstration and they played the Iranian national anthem. With his arrival he started his journey to Samsun with his entourage.¹⁰⁹ Reza Shah and his retinues spent the night on the ship and in the morning they arrived in Samsun. Shah was welcomed by another enthusiastic ceremony. After this welcoming ceremony they continued their journey to Ankara with a private train.¹¹⁰ On the way of Ankara the train stopped at some locations and Shah was again welcomed sincerely. When they came to Tokat Shah paid attention to the Turhal sugar factory construction. When they reached to the city of Kayseri, although it was early, the station was crowded.¹¹¹ Before they arrived in Ankara they stopped in Kirikkale and Shah was informed about the factory there, since he pleased with the welcoming ceremony in every stop he thanked to people with praise. While Shah was on his way to Ankara, all the arrangements were completed in Ankara and Ataturk checked every detail himself, and city folk started to wait for the great quest.¹¹²

1.4.c. Ankara Leg Of The Official Visit

Ankara had a rush in the morning of 16 June, 1934 because the entire city was waiting for Reza Shah's coming to city. All the arrangements had finally been finished. Since people were encouraged to attend the welcoming ceremony there was a great crowd in front of Ankara train station, and many flags both Iranian and Turkish, were hanged to the streets.¹¹³ It is obvious the importance of using media to transfer the political message to a large-scale audience. Ankara had the largest scale official public participation welcoming ceremony. Reza Shah's train was on the way to Ankara train station and was supposed to arrive at half past two.¹¹⁴ Mustafa Kemal was supposed to meet Shah at the station with Ismet Inonu, Tevfik Rustu and Kazim Karabekir.¹¹⁵ According to the schedule, Shah and Ataturk would leave the station together with the same car to the People's House and then Shah was supposed to make a return visit to Ataturk in the manor. After that meeting it was supposed to

¹⁰⁹ Cumhuriyet, June 15, 1934, Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (Istanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 121-122.

¹¹⁰ Barış Cin, *ibid.*, p. 123.

¹¹¹ Barış Cin, *ibid.*, Milliyet, June 17, 1934.

¹¹² Milliyet, June 16- 17, 1934; Son Posta, June 15.

¹¹³ Cumhuriyet, June 17, 1934.

¹¹⁴ Aksam, June 16, 1934; Cumhuriyet, June 17, 1934.

¹¹⁵ Cumhuriyet gave the whole program in the edition of 14 June, 1934.

give a feast in the evening for the honour of Shah's visit. In this reception both leaders, Ataturk and Shah were due to give a speech.¹¹⁶ At about two clock high state officials started to come to the train station to meet Shah. Military service were also present at the ceremony. At 14:25 Ataturk came to the station and started to wait for Reza Shah with senior members of the Turkish government. At 14:30 the train came into the station slowly and stopped in front of Ataturk, Shah disembarked from the train and was greeted by Ataturk¹¹⁷. After shaking Shah's hand Ataturk made a short speech:¹¹⁸

“When we look to the relations of the past, it could be seen that when we fell from the way of brotherhood and friendship we had trouble but when relations turned to become normal, which was necessary for both states interest, everything started to progress in the way of prosperity, power and happiness. Turkey was aware of that for this reason, the friendship with Iran will represent our foreign relations from this day forth. I am sure that his Majesty and the Iranian people have the same feeling. Moreover, friendship between Turkey and Iran will be powerful and persistent.”¹¹⁹

The meeting of Reza Shah and Ataturk was intimate, after they shake hands, first Iran's national anthem was played and then Turkey's, including 21 - gun salute fire. Afterwards they walked towards the open top car together and departed from station to People's House with a motorcade.¹²⁰ Again, the press wrote about this meeting and the official reception, which was held in the evening, in detail. One of the entourage of Reza Shah, General Arfa said about the meeting that:

“We were following Shah when he get off the train, Ataturk was looking to Shah with his sharp blue eyes and got closer to him and they shook hands, the two leaders had difference not only in appearance but also in mentality, and at that moment they were face to face, however their ideas, powerful character and authorities had a similarity. The president of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal, was a medium height and elegant person and he was looking everywhere with his blue eyes. He had a strong character, high charm and strict voice.”¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Aksam, June 16, 1934; Son Posta, June 16, 1934.

¹¹⁷ See the appendix, no: 2.

¹¹⁸ To watch the meeting see: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=osD5pfvnlD8&list=PL5A7B58C1ED0B18F1>
Also see the appendix, no: 3.

¹¹⁹ Pars Tuğlacı, *Çağdaş Türkiye*, Vol: 1, (Istanbul: Cem, 1987), p. 491-492.

¹²⁰ Cumhuriyet, June 17, 1934;

¹²¹ General Hassan Arfa, *Under Five Shahs*, (Edinburgh: 1964), p. 246.

Shah made a brief speech and he thanked to Ataturk for the invitation and he expressed his hope to greet Ataturk in Iran. According to Donald N. Wilber, the writer of Reza Shah's autobiography, Reza Shah was a bit pessimistic, he said:

“Taking a journey with car, ship and train until coming to Ankara, surprised Reza Shah, and he told his retinues that he was not expecting from Turkey to do like that.”¹²²

However, these two leaders got along well with each other. In the following sections, how Reza Shah was pleased will be pointed. The two leaders came to the People's House, where Shah was to stay during his time in Ankara. There was an Iranian flag on the top of the building. After a while Shah and Ataturk saluted people from the balcony affably. After talking for about 20 minutes with Shah, Ataturk returned to his house, Cankaya.¹²³ Shah took some rest and in the afternoon at about 16:30 he made a return visit to Ataturk with a welcoming ceremony including the Iranian national anthem.¹²⁴ When Shah returned to his place, he received Kazim Karabekir, Ismet Inonu and some senior members of Turkish government.¹²⁵ In the evening, to the honour of Reza Shah, a gala dinner reception was arranged in the Cankaya palace by Ataturk.¹²⁶ There were about forty-eight guests for the dinner, many of whom were foreign diplomats stationed in the Turkish capital. For both Ataturk and Reza Shah the dinner was the first opportunity to spend time and talked together privately. Since Reza Shah knew Azeri Turkish as a foreign language, according to Abbas Masudi the two leaders were able to speak, for the most part directly to each other.¹²⁷ In the newspaper Aksam, Reza Shah's speaking in Azeri Turkish stated that:

“Our dear guest speaks a lovely Turkish, slowly and in the Azeri accent. His entourage also speaking Azeri Turkish.”¹²⁸

At the end of the dinner both Ataturk and Reza Shah made a speech. Ataturk, in his speech, emphasised the friendship and brotherhood of the two states, and stated his happiness for Shah's visit. In addition, he expressed the powerful association, when two states improved the

¹²² Donald N. Wilber, Riza Shah Pahlavi: *The Resurrection And Reconstruction Of Iran*, (New York: Exposition Press, 1975), p. 158.

¹²³ Aksam, June 17, 1934; Cumhuriyet, June 17, 1934; Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (Istanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 123-124.

¹²⁴ Aksam, June 17, 1934; Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (Istanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 123-124.

¹²⁵ Aksam, June 17, 1934.

¹²⁶ See the appendix, no: 4.

¹²⁷ Abbas Masudi, *Reza Shah dar Ayne-ye Khaterat*, ed. Ibrahim Safayi, (Tehran: 1897), p. 346.

¹²⁸ Aksam, June 19, 1934.

relations between each other. Atatürk also spoke of the important role of Iran in Turkey's political situation.¹²⁹ Reza Shah was pleased to hear those compliments, and as a response he expressed his satisfaction and happiness to seeing intimate welcoming ceremonies. He also stated his pleasure to see the developments in Turkey.¹³⁰ As it is anticipated, Reza Shah's visit had significance; unsurprisingly this visit was a confirmation of power of brotherhood between the two states. Mustafa Kemal stated powerful relations had to be established with Iran in order to make an eternal friendship in the East. Shah and Atatürk were aware of the unnecessary conflicts between these two states for long periods of the past and now with that visit they aimed to live in a peaceful way in the future.

Reza Shah experienced a great welcoming ceremony from the border to Ankara and he also had a magnificent ceremony in Ankara too. In his second day in Ankara, people who came from far and wide cheered him in front of his place. On the same day Shah attended a reception to his honour by İsmet Paşa in his palace.¹³¹ After the feast, Shah and Atatürk were expected attend a parade at four o'clock afternoon in Ankara hippodrome. The stadium was decorated with Turkish and Iranian colours. The two heads of state entered the stadium to a huge crowd and acclamation. When they entered the field Iranian and Turkish national anthems were played, and then they watched the parade on a special platform together which continued for about one hour. Each of the soldiers saluted the leaders during their pass.¹³² This military parade was important especially girl scouts was a special notice for Persian press as an innovation. After that parade Shah and Atatürk left the field with 'bless you!' slogans and went to Atatürk Forest Farm together.¹³³ They watched the shows and competitions made by riding centre students. Shah and Atatürk paid great attention to the competitions and Shah was pleased to see that. Reza Shah was given a reception by Foreign Minister Tevfik Rustu in the Ankara Palas Hotel. The reception passed in a friendly way and Shah expressed his pleasure with Atatürk once more.¹³⁴ On the third day, on 18 June, Shah

¹²⁹ For the whole speech see; Aksam, June 17, 1934, p.2; Rıdvanbeyoğlu Hüsrev Gerede, *Siyasi Hatıralarım-1/İran*, (İstanbul: Vakit, 1952), p. 286.

¹³⁰ For the whole speech of Reza Shah see; Aksam, June 17, 1934; Rıdvanbeyoğlu Hüsrev Gerede, *ibid.*

¹³¹ Aksam, June 18, 1934; Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (İstanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 125.

¹³² See the appendix, no: 5.

¹³³ Cumhuriyet June 18, 1934; Aksam, June 18, 1934; Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (İstanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 125 -126.

¹³⁴ Cumhuriyet, June 18, 1934; Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (İstanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 126.

accepted the governor of Ankara and his five entourage, and Shah was given an Ankara photo album. At noon of the same day Kazim Pasha hosted a lunch for the honour of Reza Shah, except Shah's senior members of the Turkish government and Reza Shah's retinues also attended the reception.¹³⁵ After the reception Shah attended to a conference in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. In this conference Prime Minister Ismet Inonu made a speech and he addressed Turko – Iran relations, and thanked both leaders' judicious behaviour over the border issue. He also stated that Iran and Turkey have a common benefit in the trade roads and these two states need each other. Moreover, according to Ismet Pasha, progress in the field of freedom and civilisation was the only aim of these two states. Some basic points of the speech were:

“We welcome you your Majesty. The people who have shown such warmth to the Shah have done [so] knowing that they are showing kindness to the nation of Iran. The Turkish nation, which has just come out of a contentious period, recognises that Iran has obtained its own independence with greatness and struggle. We resolve now that both nations are strong and stable and that they will reach the path of progress and knowledge and will attain these to the fullest extent. All of these ceremonies impress on the international community that this is our goal since all of this is stated with feeling and conviction.”¹³⁶

After listening that conference Shah left from the assembly with acclaim. After Inonu made his speech it was announced that the Turkish Government sent a telegraph to Iran to declare the friendship of these two states and they got an answer from Iran as well.¹³⁷

Reza Shah's next stop was the officers' club and then he attended a reception for the honour of Ataturk in the Iranian embassy, which lasted until the late hours. Corresponding with that night Fahrettin Altay Pasha told a scene about Shah and his son:

“When Shah and Ataturk were talking, Ataturk asked about Shah's family. As an answer Shah said that his oldest son, a 16 year old crown prince, was in Switzerland to study and being far from his son was difficult for him. In response, Ataturk ordered his assistant to call the crown prince and made the arrangements for them to speak on the phone. About ten minutes later Shah and his son talked on the phone. He was so excited and after talking he thanked Ataturk, his eyes full with tears. Ataturk calmed Shah down and offered him to play poker with the ambassador of the UK. During the game Shah and Ataturk became partners

¹³⁵ Cumhuriyet, June 19, 1934.

¹³⁶ Afshin Marashi, “Performing the Nation”, in *The Making of Modern Iran*, ed. Stephanie Cronin, (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), p. 106; also see: Cumhuriyet June 19, 1934; Aksam June 19, 1934.

¹³⁷ Both telegraphs were published in the newspapers, Cumhuriyet June 20, 1934.

and they won. Whereupon Ataturk told the UK's ambassador: 'You see your excellency, when we become together luck is with us and if you join us we would be powerful.' His speech had a hidden message and it was talked in the world politic area for days."¹³⁸

Reza Shah in a speech said that:

"I have not heard my son's voice for such a long time, I am so happy to speak with him." Then he thanked to the phone company.¹³⁹

On the fourth day, June 19, Shah made some excursions. For example, he visited 'Ismet Pasha Kız Institute', he walked around an art gallery and he expressed his feelings that:

"Everything that you want is become true. Turkish girls were determined to achieve and to be success. I saw a great delicacy, clearness and regularity in the works that housewife required to do. Turkish people seem to enter the financial life."¹⁴⁰

Shah left from the institute happily, and then went to a commercial high school with his entourage and Husrev Gereade. After that visit he took some rest and went to the saloon of People's House to attend a special commissioned opera performed in his honour.

Before the visit of Reza Shah, Ataturk wanted Munir Hayri Egeli to write an opera to emphasise the brotherhood of the two states. At the request of Ataturk, an opera Özsoy (pure lineage), which is based on a version of Shahname (Book of Kings) by the famous Iranian poet Firdausi, was composed for the celebration of Turko – Iranian friendship. That opera was the first example of national opera in Turkey and was performed on 19 June at four o'clock. Additionally, it was broadcasted live in Ankara and Istanbul at the same time.¹⁴¹ The opera was based upon a common mythology of Iran and Turk. It is useful to state here shortly since the opera will be mentioned in detail in the next parts. The opera starts with Faridun and the birth of his two boys in a day. He named his children Tur and Iraj. The babies were blessed with the best wishes of seven angels, so they will never die and will live together. However, Ahriman, the representative of iniquity, cursed the brothers to forget each other in the future. Significantly, the three act opera had a subject that showed that, although there are denominational differences between the Shi'a Iranian and Sunni Turks, they have brotherhood relations in terms of culture. Ataturk was concerned with the arrangements of this opera himself. When Ataturk's aim to make new Turkish identity ideas was considered, this opera was like an emotional investment to the new Turk identity. After watching this opera, Reza

¹³⁸ Milliyet, June 21, 1934.

¹³⁹ Aksam, June 20, 1934.

¹⁴⁰ Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (Istanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 128.

¹⁴¹ Milliyet, June 19, 1934; Son Posta, June 19, 1934.

Shah and Ataturk left from the opera house with acclaims.¹⁴² After leaving the opera, they went to foreign office and they talked about it for three hours. In this meeting they talked about the issues that concern the two states, world politics and they exchanged some ideas. After talking for about three hours they came to an agreement to show a peaceful attitude towards the common issues between the two countries. According to this agreement, the first issue was the railway between two states. In the end they decided to put into action these ideas as soon as possible.¹⁴³ The visit to Ankara finished on June 20, during which Reza Shah and his retinues went to see Cubuk Dam where he asked some information about the capacity of dam and then left.¹⁴⁴ Then Shah visited the institute of agriculture and was welcomed by the students ebulliently. He looked over the library, sports centre, offices and he also investigated some surveys on cereals and animals. He did a microscopic examination on an animal illness survey. After seeing the institute he use the word ‘modern’ to explain his feelings and while he was leaving he said:

“Surely, if I had not been here to see these things, the things that I saw would be unfinished.”¹⁴⁵

After seeing the institute of agriculture Reza Shah and his entourage visited the Gazi Institute of Education and they went to Ankara Numune Hospital. After having some rest he continued his visit to an institute and then the central office of a society for the protection of children. Then he visited the *Hilal-e Ahmar Cemiyeti* (Turkish Red Crescent) and he donated a hundred thousand liras to that community.¹⁴⁶ Reza Shah completed the Ankara leg of the official visit by visiting the Presidency Of General Staff and Ministry of National Defence.¹⁴⁷ On the same evening of 20 June, Shah and Ataturk started their journey at 22:00, with a train towards Istanbul by passing from western Anatolia–Eskisehir, Kutahya, Afyon, Manisa, Izmir, Balikesir, Canakkale and finally by boat to Istanbul. They left Ankara with a ceremony including a 21 - gun salute and the national anthems of the two states.¹⁴⁸ Shah made a speech

¹⁴² Aksam, June 20, 1934; Cumhuriyet, June 20, 1934.

¹⁴³ Milliyet, June 20 - 21, 1934.

¹⁴⁴ Milliyet, June 21, 1934; *Barış Cin, Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (Istanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 128- 129.

¹⁴⁵ Aksam, June 21, 1934.

¹⁴⁶ Cumhuriyet, June 21, 1934.

¹⁴⁷ Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (Istanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 129.

¹⁴⁸ Milliyet, June 21, 1934.

to the governor and mayor who would accompany them until the provincial border of Ankara, he told them:

“I am very pleased and satisfied by the intimate welcoming ceremony of people in Ankara. I will never forget the memory of the days I spent here. I will be happy to express my feeling to the people of Ankara but I was busy and have no time to do so. I want you to thank them.”¹⁴⁹

As a memory of his Ankara trip Reza Shah was given a golden medallion, which had on the side Ataturk's cartouche picture, and Shah's on the other.¹⁵⁰

1.4.d. From Ankara to Istanbul

As it was stated above, Reza Shah and Ataturk decided to go to Istanbul by passing some western cities with their entourage. During his stay in Ankara, Ataturk asked Reza Shah to extend his visit and Shah accepted that suggestion.¹⁵¹ The first stop of the leaders and their entourage was Eskişehir on 21 June 1934. Shah and Ataturk were welcomed by a large scale public participation, and many arches were set in different parts of the city which had 'welcome' messages on them. When they arrived and got off the train they were saluted by a military ceremony and the two countries' national anthems. They attended an air show and in the meantime Shah was shown the plane, which was going to be a present to him.¹⁵² This plane also made an air show with the other planes. After watching those air shows for about four hours, they went to a sugar factory. After that Shah was presented with gifts and they moved to the train to continue their trip to Afyon.¹⁵³ Ataturk and Reza Shah's greeting was enthusiastic and they received a 21-guns salute, flags, anthems, cheering students and soldiers. After the program in Afyon they again continued their journey to Istanbul. Although

¹⁴⁹ Cumhuriyet, June 21, 1934; Milliyet, June 21, 1934.

¹⁵⁰ Mehmet Okur, "The Gift Given To Foreign Presidents By Ataturk," *Journal of Atatürk Yolu*, Vol: 9, Issue: 33, (2004): p. 83-84, accessed April 18, 2013, URL: http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/detail.php?id=45&sayi_id=793; Cumhuriyet, June 22, 1934.

¹⁵¹ Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (Istanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 129 - 130.

¹⁵² That plane later sent to Tehran by aeroplane captain Enver and an operator, Nihat. See: Mehmet Okur, "The Gift Given To Foreign Presidents By Ataturk," *Journal of Atatürk Yolu*, Vol: 9, Issue: 33, (2004): p. 83-84, accessed April 18, 2013, URL: http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/detail.php?id=45&sayi_id=793

¹⁵³ Aksam, June 22, 1934; Barış Cin, *ibid*.

they were passing from small towns and, despite traveling at midnight, they were greeted by large crowds. When they reached Usak station one of Reza Shah's entourage Hassan Arfa, witnessed a molla among the other well-wishers on the platform trying to shake Ataturk's hand. When Ataturk saw that man he shouted "How dare this so and so dammed fellow try to touch my hand, he is like all his kin, the enemy of the people, take him and destroy him."¹⁵⁴ However, the cleric disappeared into the crowd. After that day Ataturk ordered that clerics of all religions should be forbidden to wear their clerical clothes outside of the worships.¹⁵⁵ Following these days they reached Manisa, again with cheering crowds and national anthems of the two states. After this city they went to Izmir and when they reached Bornova, a district of Izmir, there was a 'welcome' arch in Persian in the entrance of the city.¹⁵⁶ They were greeted by a large number of participants, and large scale public ceremonies in Izmir. Likewise in the other cities they visited factories and military associations and they also watched air show. Wherever they were the media gave extensive coverage in the press. As an example of this, the newspaper Aksam included an article, which was written in the Bulgarian press published in Sofia named La Bulgarie, this newspaper after mentioning about the welcoming ceremony to Shah:

"This visit is not only a visit of courtesy, it is clear that this visit is going to shape all Asian nations' relations, it should be considered that there might be an agreement between Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and Arab Nations. It has been seen that Turkey, which is very active in European diplomacy, is trying to be active in Asia too..."¹⁵⁷

Another article was from a local newspaper called Yeniasır. As a headline they used 'Welcome Big and Precious Chefs'. In the article they wrote that:

"Your majesty is coming from a historical way to Ankara and then is coming from the way of independence war to Izmir. Coming with the commander in chief, who created the Turkish history of victory and reform. Two nations' common history walking together... We are sure that in these happy days the excitement which covers 'Tur', also covers 'Iraj' as well."¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ General Hassan Arfa, *Under Five Shahs*, (Edinburgh: 1964), p. 250.

¹⁵⁵ Houchang E. Chehabi, "Dress Codes for Men in Turkey and Iran," in *Men Of Order*, ed. Touraj Atabaki and Eric J. Zürcher, (London - New York: 2004), p. 221. See also; General Hassan Arfa, *Under Five Shahs*, (Edinburgh: 1964), p. 250.

¹⁵⁶ Aksam June 23, 1934; Cumhuriyet, June 23, 1934.

¹⁵⁷ Aksam, June 23, 1934.

¹⁵⁸ Milliyet, June 23, 1934; Son Posta, June 23, 1934.

On the second day in Izmir, Reza Shah and his retinues undertook some visits, and attended some military ceremonies. Shah and Ataturk also watched air shows together. Shah expressed the following feelings:

“From the moment I crossed the border, I am very pleased to experience the people’s welcoming ceremony. I see the biggest enthusiasm here in Izmir. I assume myself in my own hometown, I am not separate you from them. I am making a toast for you.”¹⁵⁹

At the end of the night Shah and Ataturk continued to their journey with a farewell ceremony including flags and cheering crowds. In the meantime, during the day in Izmir, Shah learnt that the grave of Ataturk’s mother, Zubeyde Hanim,¹⁶⁰ was in Izmir, Karsiyaka. He sent a garland to her grave by expressing his brotherhood relations to Ataturk.¹⁶¹ By doing this Shah showed his sincerity once more towards Ataturk. From Izmir to Balikesir the two leaders had crowds and acclaims. Since Shah and Ataturk were expected in Istanbul arrangements were made for them. Arches and flags were set in every street. When Shah, Ataturk and their entourage reached Balikesir, they were welcomed with same enthusiasm, and national anthems.¹⁶² After spending the night in governor's house they continued their journey in the morning. Finally, they reached Canakkale and during their visit Ataturk gave some information about the Canakkale victory to Shah. After seeing Canakkale, they started their way to Istanbul by boat. During the journey Reza Shah spoke about the reforms and innovations in Turkey with enthusiasm. He especially emphasised the secularism in Turkey and stated interception of denominational differences between these two states.¹⁶³ The journey was supposed to last one day and the next day at about four o’clock they disembarked.

1.5. Press and Reza Shah’s Visit to Istanbul

When Reza Shah decided on the visit not only the Turkish government, but also the Iranian government paid close attention to this meeting. According to Sadiq Khan, who was Iranian Ambassador expressed the importance of this meeting:

¹⁵⁹ Milliyet, June 25, 1934; Cumhuriyet, June 25, 1934.

¹⁶⁰ She was the mother of Ataturk, lived between 1857 –1923.

¹⁶¹ Aksam June 25, 1934; Cumhuriyet, June 25, 1934; Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (Istanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 131.

¹⁶¹ Aksam June 23, 1934; Cumhuriyet, June 23, 1934.

¹⁶² Aksam June 25, 1934.

¹⁶³ Son Posta, June 26, 1934.

“After seeing Ghazi in Ankara and then after seeing the beauty of Istanbul Shah will return to Tehran and this is the greatest evidence of the friendship and brotherhood of these two states...”¹⁶⁴

While the Turkish media gave wide coverage to that visit, there was also coverage in the Persian press. Below is an example of how the press presented the news on 23 June, 1934:

“Those two powerful states are tied to each other now. Both Iran and Turkey’s souls, ideas and feelings are similar. The two nations follow similar roads in history, now it is time to see the benefits of that association. The Iranian and Turkish nations have place in world peace...They are aware of their importance among the eastern countries in forming peace.”

On the same day the newspaper Ettela’at’s coverage stated:

“The session of the assembly on 20 June, was a historic moment for the Iranian parliament, because it will stay alive in the memory of the two state’s brotherhood relations...These two old nation’s friendships and brotherhoods are going to affect world peace deeply.”¹⁶⁵

Another newspaper wrote about Reza Shah’s visit:

“Reza Shah was welcomed ebulliently. It can be said that all people greeted a great friend in a kind way. Ghazi and Shah saved both nations from disaster, and they understood the significance of both nations’ friendship. Both states thanks to privileged leaders, woke up and started out to the way of happiness and prosperity...”¹⁶⁶

From another newspaper:

“Our faith to Turkey’s friendship and our affectionate feelings which are in our heart for our brother country became strong with intimate welcoming ceremonies to Shah...if other nations show sincerity like Turkey and Iran, there will be no serious trouble in international politics...”¹⁶⁷

“The visit of Shah to the brother country Turkey turned a new page between these two states. This travel will be beneficial for both sides. When looked back on in history it is obvious that the two nations depend on each other...We are happy to see these two leaders provide peace and brotherhood...”¹⁶⁸

Another example of media coverage stated:

¹⁶⁴ Cumhuriyet, June 04, 1934.

¹⁶⁵ Ettela’at, June 23, 1934.

¹⁶⁶ Sattar Jahan, June 24, 1934.

¹⁶⁷ Koushesh, June 1934.

¹⁶⁸ Shafagh-e Sorkh, June 1934.

“Istanbul is in the throes of enthusiasm. The Shah has at last arrived. Since ten o’clock this morning the streets have been thronged with excited people... About 17 thousand Persian flags have been sold here during the last few days. For the first time since the abolition of the old Turkish writing, Arabic characters have appeared in the local newspapers in a message of welcome to the Shah in Arabic.”¹⁶⁹

Here it can be seen that not only Turkish and Persian media, but also other presses paid attention to this meeting. In their news both Turkish and Persian media expressed their positive feelings about the meeting of these two leaders. As for the media a powerful friendship and relations appeared between these two states with this visit.

By the time Shah and Ataturk were on the way to Istanbul, all the arrangements and welcoming ceremony had been completed before they came to city. All the arrangements were checked by a special committee.¹⁷⁰ When the boat made its way towards Dolmabahce Palace a large scale of people were there to welcome Shah and Ataturk.¹⁷¹ When they were passing from Kiz Kulesi (Maiden's Tower)¹⁷² Shah asked wonderingly, “Is it all Istanbul?”, then he added:

“How wonderful, it is a very beautiful and big city. I had heard about it but I even could not dream it would be like this”¹⁷³

When the boat came in front of the Palace they were saluted and welcomed by a large scale public participation including national anthems and 21-gun salute over Bosphorus to declare Shah and Ataturk’s arrivals. Soldiers, police officers, students and Iranian expatriates were waiting to watch the arrival of the two heads of state.¹⁷⁴ They were welcomed first by the governor, mayor and corps commander and they expressed their pleasure to see these two leaders visit Istanbul. Then they went to Dolmabahce Palace, where Reza Shah was to stay during his time in Istanbul. Reza Shah’s retinue went to Hotel Pera Palace to stay during the visit.¹⁷⁵ For this visit the media gave extensive coverage on the front page of Aksam on 26 June 1934. Reza Shah and Ataturk’s pictures were printed on the middle of the page and two

¹⁶⁹ Daily Telegraph, June 27, 1934.

¹⁷⁰ Aksam June 25, 1934; Milliyet, June 26, 1934.

¹⁷¹ See the appendix no: 6

¹⁷² <http://www.ibb.gov.tr/sites/ks/en-US/1-Places-To-Go/towers/Pages/maiden-tower.aspx>

¹⁷³ Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (Istanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 133.

¹⁷⁴ Cumhuriyet, June 27, 1934; Milliyet, June 26, 1934.

¹⁷⁵ Aksam, June 27, 1934; Rıdvanbeyoğlu Hüsrev Gerede, *Siyasi Hatıralarım-1/İran*, (Istanbul: Vakit, 1952), p. 289.

states' flags were used as a background picture. Additionally, in the same edition, an article called 'Today's Iran' took place in the newspaper.¹⁷⁶ In the same manner, Cumhuriyet, on 26 June, put the portraits of two leaders with flags, including a schedule of the events for the leaders stay in Istanbul.¹⁷⁷

On the first day of the visit to Istanbul Shah and his entourage met with Atatürk in Beylerbeyi Palace. They then visited a maritime high school together. They took a walk in the school and watched a lesson, at the end Reza Shah expressed his pleasure about what he had seen.¹⁷⁸ In the afternoon Shah and Mustafa Kemal visited a military college with flags and cheering crowds. Having extended the length of his visit, Reza Shah was still in Istanbul at the end of June. He visited some important places of Istanbul such as Topkapı Palace, Ayasofya Mosque (Hagia Sophia Mosque) and Sultanahmet Square.¹⁷⁹ On the following day he addressed the Persian colony at Istanbul and expressed:

“The thing that has rejoiced me the most during the present trip is the fact of having been able to perceive the existence of sentiments of unity and fraternity between the Turkish and the Iranian nations. You Iranians should here after consider Turkey as your second fatherland, and the Turks as brothers; you should establish between yourself and them cordial and intimate relations.”¹⁸⁰

Shah and his entourage and Iranian press were served a tea party by the Iranian merchants who work in Istanbul. During this reception Iranian and Turkish press colleagues met with each other.¹⁸¹ While Reza Shah was in Istanbul, he also had an operation on his teeth in the Dolmabahçe Palace. Atatürk charged Professor Rustu Bey and Alfred Kantorowicz for the operation and after having worked for one week they completed the operation on 30th of June.¹⁸² On 1st of July he left from Dolmabahçe Palace with his entourage and he visited

¹⁷⁶ Aksam, June 26, 1934.

¹⁷⁷ Cumhuriyet, June 27, 1934.

¹⁷⁸ Cumhuriyet, June 28, 1934; Milliyet, June 28, 1934.

¹⁷⁹ Son Posta, June 29, 1934; Milliyet June 27-29, 1934; Cumhuriyet, June 29, 1934.

¹⁸⁰ Donald N. Wilber, “‘Work’ has been Our own slogan,” in *Riza Shah Pahlavi: The Resurrection And Reconstruction Of Iran*, ed. Donald N. Wilber, (New York: Exposition Press, 1975), p. 159.

¹⁸¹ Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (Istanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 135; Milliyet, June 30, 1934.

¹⁸² Hilal Akgül, “Rıza Han`in Türkiye Ziyareti (The Visit of Reza Khan to Turkey)”, *Journal of Turkey Research in Recent Era (Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları)*, Vol: 7 (2005): p. 35, accessed April 7, 2013, URL: <http://www.journals.istanbul.edu.tr/tr/index.php/turkiyearchastirmalari/article/view/18916>; Barış Cin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (Istanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 136.

Istanbul University. They were welcomed by university professors and students. After visiting the university, some faculties and libraries, Shah and Atatürk watched an air show performed by the army.¹⁸³ During his stay in Istanbul, he was given a photo album of Istanbul and a collection of newspapers that were published during his journey.¹⁸⁴ On the last day of his visit, which was 2nd of July 1934, Shah and his entourage started their return journey. It was planned for them to go back on the same road back to Iran. Atatürk paid close attention for the farewell ceremony. He wanted all the preparations to be same as Shah's welcoming ceremony. The ceremony was the largest public event on the Bosphorus and many people were there. Shah and Atatürk, after talking for about half an hour, went to Tophane together.¹⁸⁵ Shah and his entourage went by a ship called Ege and moved towards Trabzon also with Ali Sait Pasha, Tevfik Rustu Bey. On the ship there was also Enis Bey, who was charged as a new ambassador to Tehran, instead of Husrev Gerece. After reaching Trabzon, Shah moved to Gumushane then the next day they reached Bayburt.¹⁸⁶ On 6th of July Shah and his entourage reached the Gırcubulak border from Erzurum. Again at the border he was welcomed by a cheering crowds and flags on both sides of the border. Before return to his country Shah wanted to thank Atatürk again by sending a wire. In his wire he stated:

"... I am taking leave in this point. My Big Brother's friendly conversation and his sincerity will never be forgotten by me. Once more time, I present my thanks and infinite respect to him. During my stay I saw myself Turkish and Iranian people's unity of hearts and souls. Time will show these relations consequences. I wish safety and longevity to my Big Brother, and happiness to the Turkish nation."¹⁸⁷

As a response to the wire Atatürk sent that:

"... Days that we spent together, I witnessed your power and virtue that will never be erased from my memory. Our nations relations became established with your Excellency's visitation. While I present this sense of brotherhood in behalf of the Turkish nation and on my own, I wish, to the great Shah of a brother country, safety, happiness and a fortunate life and to the Iranian nation I wish continual comfort and safety."¹⁸⁸

¹⁸³ Cumhuriyet, July 2, 1934; Milliyet July 2, 1934.

¹⁸⁴ Son Posta, June 28, 1934.

¹⁸⁵ Barış Çin, *Türkiye - İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1923-1938*, (Istanbul: IQ Kultur Sanat, 2007), p. 137.

¹⁸⁶ Barış Çin, *ibid.*, p. 139.

¹⁸⁷ Bilal N. Şimşir, *Atatürk and Foreign Heads of State*, Vol: 2, (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2001), p. 524.

¹⁸⁸ Bilal N. Şimşir, *ibid.*

On the border Shah was met by Turkish and Iranian soldiers and with a big public demonstration. Between cheering crowds he crossed the border and with his entourage he moved to Maku.¹⁸⁹

After Reza Shah's return newspapers mentioned about the effect of this visit on Reza Shah, according to Ettela'at:

"Shah's journey to Turkey had an impact on Iranian social issues. Reza Shah made great changes on Iran's social bases. These changes took place on Reza Shah's mind during his stay in Turkey... Two things were very interesting for Reza Shah and his entourage: one was the gorgeous welcoming ceremonies in all the cities; and the other was the intimate interest for Reza Shah by Turkish people. The most important issue was during his stay in Turkey, Shah always accompanied by Ataturk."¹⁹⁰

CHAPTER TWO

2- AN OPERA FOR THE HONOUR OF REZA SHAH (ÖZSOY)

Ataturk was aware of the value of the arts. For him, it had both artistic and cultural importance as well as ideological, and political importance. According to Ataturk, the arts had a positive contribution to the progress of state-building.¹⁹¹ With regard to Turkish national opera, "Özsoy"¹⁹² was a significant step. Before Özsoy there were other operas, such as Sultan Cem 1922-23, L'Enchantement 1924, Zeybek 1926 and Celebi 1924-25, all of which were librettos by Ekrem Resit Bey.¹⁹³ However, none of them were performed but Özsoy was. It was therefore the first performed Turkish opera, composed by Ahmet Adnan Saygun (1907-1991), and the libretto was written by Munir Hayri Egeli. It was entitled Özsoy (pure lineage) and premiered on 19th of June 1934 in Ankara at the Halkevi (People's House) in honour of the Iranian Shah, Reza Shah's visit to Turkey in 1934¹⁹⁴. However, it should be asked why an

¹⁸⁹ Milliyet, July 9, 1934.

¹⁹⁰ Ettela'at, September 15, 1934.

¹⁹¹ And, Metin. "Opera and Ballet in Modern Turkey", in *The Transformation of Turkish Culture*, eds, Gunsel Rendaand C. and Max Kortepeter, (USA: Kingston Press, 1986), p. 69. See also: Aksam, June 29, 1934.

¹⁹² Later entitled *Feridun*.

¹⁹³ Metin And, *ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁹⁴ Kathryn Woodard, Music Mediating Politics in Turkey: The Case of Ahmed Adnan Saygun, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol:27/3 (2007): p. 555, accessed May 5, 2013, URL:

Gender Perception in Persian Proverbs

Abstract

Proverbs are defined as anonymous, generally accepted, advisory and wise sayings which are based on long term observations and experiences of individuals. Proverbs, which provide important clues to show the richness of a language, also play a significant role in reflecting social values. The concept of gender, in addition to expressing biological differences also includes the roles that society gives to individuals. Individuals define themselves with the role of femininity and masculinity which specified by society from the beginning of life. Therefore, the emphasis on women and men through proverbs reflects the cultural values of that community, such as beliefs, traditions and customs.

At the beginning of our study, a brief assessment of major case studies, conducted in Iran, will be made. Then, with the chosen sample proverbs, which we obtained with source-scanning method from four volume *Emsâl u Hikem*, which our primary sources and written by ‘Alî Ekber-i Dihhudâ, we will analyse the perception of sex and gender in Iranian society on physical, sexual, intellectual and economic features, human needs, social relations and love. Afterwards, an evaluation will be made by using major sample proverbs, for the image of female “mother, wife, daughter, bride, widow”, for the image of male “father, husband, boy, groom” concepts will be scanned to understand the gender perception in Iranian society.

Keywords: Persian Proverbs, Gender in Proverbs, Language and Society.

Structured Abstract

Proverb is generally defined as a short, brief and concise sayings based on the experiences of older generations; intend to teach people; give lessons; offer advice and belongs to oral culture. Proverbs, which provide important clues to show the richness of a language, also play a significant role in reflecting social values. The concept of gender, in addition to expressing biological differences also includes the roles that society gives to individuals. Individuals define themselves with the role of femininity and masculinity which specified by society from the beginning of life. Therefore, the emphasis on women and men through

proverbs reflects the cultural values of that community, such as beliefs, traditions and customs.

With this study we will see the dimensions of gender perception and how these dimensions are expressed through Persian proverbs. We come across some articles which are studied in Iran, the general conclusion of these researches is Persian proverbs include sex discrimination however, the more Iranian society improve and modernise, the less sex discrimination could be seen in Persian language. In this research, we tried to analyse gender perception on physical, sexual, intellectual and economic features, social relations and so on. Our primary sources are Ebrahim Shakourzadeh's *Dovâzdeh Hezâr Mesel-i Fârsî* (Twelve Thousand Persian Proverbs) and four-volume collection of proverbs *Emsâl u Hikem* (Proverbs and Mottos) by Ali-Akbar Dehkhoda.

With the sample sayings below on physical features of women, we can see the gender perception on Iranian society. The value of woman is equal with her physical beauty. On the other hand with the example below we see how women's value erased but masculine identity aggrandizes and reified.

از حمام می آیی برو خانه ی شوهر، از جامه شویی خانه ی مادر!

If you coming from shower, go to the house of your husband; if you coming from laundry go to your mother's house.

شوی زن زشت روی نایینا به!

It's better for ugly woman's husband, to be blind.

خوشر بود عروس نکو روی بی جهیز.

No-dowry but beautiful face bride is better.

زیور و زیب زنان است حریر و زر و سیم، مرد را نیست جز از علم و

عمل زیور و زیب

The ornament of a woman is silk, gold and silver, and the ornament of a man is nothing but science and action.

On proverbs about sexuality and religion, intellectual and economic features of women, also on social relations sex discrimination and gender perception of Iranian society also could be seen.

در کوره از مردن به که به همسران نیاز بردن.

It is better to die in a fire than a need a partner.

زن پارسا در جهان نادر است.

Religious women are rare in the world.

زن خوب و فرمانبر و پارسا کند مرد درویش را پادشا.

A good, obedient and religious woman turns the poor to sultan.

زن بیوه را برای میوه اش می خواهند.

Widow women preferred because of her wealth.

زنان در آفرینش ناتمامند.

Women are deficient from innate.

حمله با شیر مرد هم راه است، حيله کار زن است و روباه است.

To attack is the work of man however, cheating is woman and fox work.

بخانه نشستن بود کار زن بیرون کار مردان شمشیر زن.

To stay at the home, work of women; to fight at the outside is the work of men.

وفا دادند بسگ با زن ندارند.

Dog has loyalty, a woman hasn't.

دزد باش و مرد باش.

You can be a burglar but first be a man.

Men are considered superior and dominant to women, and men are also more talented, wise and stronger than women. Women are weak, trickster, unfaithful, liar, ugly, worthless, selfish and in charge of housework and they are subordinate to men. On the contrary men are handsome, loyal, and hardworking ... So Persian language includes sex discrimination through proverbs. Proverbs ignores women; and describes them as less significant than men; shortly there is a negative face for women in Persian proverbs.

Proverbs can be considered as the essence of language and they can reflect a society's views, values, attitudes, behaviours. Although Persian is not a gender language there exist gender inequality and sex discrimination. Throughout the research we see the main tendency, toward the discrimination against women. Based on the sample proverbs majority of the negative proverbs were against women.

Giriş

Yazarın ya da konuşmacının ifadesini daha etkileyici kılan, konunun ya da bir fikrin vurgulu bir şekilde örneklendirilmesine yardımcı olan atasözleri hem Türkçede hem de diğer dillerde sık sık kullanılmaktadır. Bir dilin zenginliğini göstermesi bakımından dikkate değer ipuçları sunan atasözleri ile ilgili, uzmanlar tarafından yapılmış ve birbirine benzer tanımlar bulunmaktadır. Türk Dil Kurumunun sözlüğünde atasözü için “*Uzun deneme ve gözlemlere dayanılarak söylenmiş ve halka mal olmuş, öğüt verici nitelikte söz, darbimesel*”¹ şeklinde bir tanım kullanılmıştır. Ömer Asım Aksoy yine atasözü için “*Atasözü, atalarımızın uzun denemelerine dayanan yargıların genel kural, bilgece düşünce ya da öğüt olarak düsturlaştıran ve kalıplaşmış biçimleri bulunan milletçe benimsenmiş özlü sözlerdir*”² tanımını yapmıştır.

Hemen hemen her toplumda mevcut olan atasözü; İngilizce *proverb*, Almanca *sprichwort*, Rusça *poslovitsa*, Arapça ve Farsçada atasözünü ifade etmek için en çok kullanılan sözcük tekil hali *mesel* ve çoğul hali *emsâl* sözcükleridir. Atasözleriyle ilgili kitapların adları için de çoğunlukla bu sözcükler ve bazen de asıl anlamı *atasözünü söylemek* olan *darb-ı mesel* ifadesi; bilhassa Farsçada sıklıkla adı geçen sözcüğün