

The Beginning of Ottoman-Brazilian Relations and the Visit of Brazilian Emperor Dom Pedro II and his Wife Empress Teresa Cristina to the Ottoman Empire and the Holy Lands [1876]

Osmanlı-Brezilya İlişkilerinin Başlaması ve Brezilya İmparatoru II. Alfonso Dom Pedro ve Eşi İmparatoriçe Theresa Christina'nın Osmanlı Devleti ve Kutsal Toprakları Ziyareti [1876]

Selim Hilmi ÖZKAN¹ 



¹ Corresponding author/Sorumlu yazar:

Selim Hilmi Özkan (Prof. Dr.), Yıldız Technical University, Faculty of Education, İstanbul, Türkiye
E-mail: shilmi@yildiz.edu.tr
ORCID: 0000-0001-6381-8553

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ABSTRACT

Ottoman-Brazilian relations began in the mid-19th century. After this process, diplomatic representations and mutual political and commercial relations were established. Immediately after the start of Ottoman-Brazilian political and commercial relations, there was a significant wave of migration from Ottoman territories, mainly from Syria and Mount Lebanon to Brazil. During this migration wave, Brazilian Emperor Dom Pedro II and his wife, Empress Teresa Cristina, unofficially visited the Ottoman Empire and the Holy Lands in October 1876. The most important reason for the visit is to visit the holy places in and around Jerusalem, which are considered sacred by the three divine religions of the emperor and his wife. Although the visit was unofficial, it was closely monitored by the Ottoman administration and Sultan Abdulhamid II. The king and queen returned to their country quite pleased with the Ottoman rulers' visits and attention. In this study, the purpose, impact, and consequences of this visit, which is thought to have had a significant influence on migration from Ottoman territories to Brazil, have been attempted to be elucidated. Our study's primary sources consist of documents classified under various funds in the Ottoman Archives in Turkey, documents found in the Museu da Imigração do Estado de São Paulo in Brazil, and libraries in the United States of America. In addition, direct and indirect studies on the visit have also been conducted. In our study, the document examination method, which is an indispensable method in historical research, was preferred.

Keywords: Ottoman-Brazil relations, migrations from Cebel-i Lebanon, II. Alfonso Dom Pedro, Jerusalem

ÖZ

Osmanlı-Brezilya ilişkileri oldukça geç denecek bir dönemde başlamıştır. Bu süreçten sonra karşılıklı siyasi ve ticari ilişkiler ile birlikte diplomatik temsilcilikler de açıldı. Osmanlı-Brezilya siyasi ve ticari ilişkilerin başlamasından hemen sonra Brezilya'ya Osmanlı coğrafyasından özellikle Suriye ve Cebel-i Lübnan çevresinden yoğun bir göç dalgası yaşanmıştır. Göç dalgasının

yaşandığı yıllarda Brezilya İmparatoru II. Alfonso Dom Pedro ve Eşi İmparatoriçe Theresa Christina Osmanlı Devleti ve Kutsal Topraklara Ekim 1876 yılında resmi olmayan bir ziyaret gerçekleştirmiştir. İmparator II. Alfonso Dom Pedro ve eşi imparatoriçe Theresa Christina'nın bu seyahati Resmi bir ziyaret olmasa da iki devlet arasındaki ilişkilerde önemli bir dönüm noktasıdır. Ziyaretin en önemli nedeni koyu bir Katolik olan imparator ve eşinin üç ilahi din tarafından kutsal kabul edilen Kudüs ve çevresinde bulunan kutsal mekanları ziyaret etmektir. Seyahat Osmanlı yönetimi ve Sultan II. Abdülhamit tarafından yakından takip edilmiştir. Kral ve kraliçe ziyaretten ve Osmanlı yöneticilerinin ilgisinden oldukça memnun olarak ülkelerine dönmüşlerdir. Bu çalışmada Osmanlı coğrafyasından Brezilya'ya yapılan göçlerde büyük etkisi olduğu düşünülen ziyaretin amacı, göç üzerindeki etkisi ve sonuçları ortaya konmaya çalışılmıştır. Çalışmamızın ana kaynaklarını yurtiçinde Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivinde çeşitli fonlar altında tasnif edilmiş olan belgeler, yurtdışında ise Brezilya *Museu da Imigração do Estado de São Paulo* ve *Amerika Birleşik Devletleri*'nde araştırmamız sırasında elde ettiğimiz kaynak eserler oluşturmuştur. Bunların dışında ziyareti konu alan doğrudan ve dolaylı çalışmalardan da istifade edilmiştir. Çalışmamızda tarih araştırmalarında vazgeçilmez bir yöntem olan belge inceleme yöntemi tercih edilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Osmanlı-Brezilya ilişkileri, Cebel-i Lübnan'dan Göç, II. Alfonso Dom Pedro, Kudüs

Introduction

Brazil, a country in Latin America, was discovered by the explorer Pedro Alvares Cabral on behalf of Portugal on October 22, 1500, following geographical explorations. Portugal, which established a colonial administration here, turned Brazil into an essential centre for coffee production.¹ During the 18th century, coffee cultivation in Brazil initially served local demand but later expanded across key regions like Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Espirito Santo, and Minas Gerais. By the century's end, exports to Europe, especially from Rio de Janeiro, became significant. By the 1790s, coffee emerged as a major Brazilian export,² notably from Rio de Janeiro, with exports growing substantially between 1798 and 1807. Despite early concerns about bitterness due to improper drying, Brazilian coffee became widely available across European markets by the early 1800s, including cities like Moscow, Venice, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Paris, Lisbon, and ports along the Barbary coast.³

However, the situation changed there as well after the French Revolution. In 1807, Napoleon's armies invaded the Iberian Peninsula, defeating the Habsburg and Bourbon dynasties and replacing them with pro-French puppet regimes. Into these tensions between the Brazilian elite and their masters in Lisbon crashed the reverberations of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era that followed. Against this situation Portuguese King João [1767-1826] decision to move the headquarters of his government to Brazil, sensing the danger after the occupation of Spain by Napoleon's armies, and it became a part of Portugal. King João, accompanied by 10,000 bureaucrats and aristocrats, set foot on Bahía's port in Brazil on January 22, 1808.⁴ due to the Portuguese court's move to Rio de Janeiro in 1808 to escape Napoleon's armies, the complete royal administrative structure was established in Brazil.⁵ After this operation, Brazil, which was a Portuguese colony, became the centre of the Portuguese Empire.

Britain's effort to control the Brazilian colonial market culminated in the Treaty of Navigation and Commerce, signed in 1810 after protracted negotiations.⁶ The treaty initially included Brazil as part of England's economic colonial territory.⁷ However, when public movements

1 Leslie Bethel, *Colonial Brazil*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 271, 326.

2 E. Bradford Burns, *A History of Brazil*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1993, 149.

3 Bethel, *Ibid*, p. 271, 329.

4 Skidmore, T. E., *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, 35-37; Smith, J., *A History of Brazil*, London: Longman, 2002, 39.

5 Rom. Seckinger, *The Brazilian Monarchy and the South American Republics, 1822-1831*, London: Louisiana State University Press, 1984, 6.

6 Boris Fausto, *A Concise History of Brasil*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 65.

7 J. Street, "Lord Strangford and Rio de la Plata, 1808-1815", *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (Nov., 1953), 477-510; The Strangford Treaty, signed in 1810, was an agreement between the Portuguese government, then in exile in its Brazilian colony, and Great Britain, represented by Ambassador Lord Strangford. This treaty facilitated the importation of British goods into Brazil and the exportation of Brazilian agricultural products to Great Britain. Additionally, it allowed British naval vessels to be resupplied in Brazilian ports, granted freedom of worship to British Protestants in Brazil, and stipulated that cases involving British residents in Brazil would be adjudicated exclusively by judges appointed by the British crown. The treaty granted Britain exclusive commercial privileges in Brazil. Although it initially had adverse effects on Brazilian manufacturing, it ultimately contributed to the nation's commerce in the long term (Street, *Ibid*).

began and unrest increased, King João VI returned to Portugal, leaving his son Pedro I as regent king.⁸ Brazil, whose bonds with Portugal had weakened during this process, became independent on September 7, 1822. Pedro I, as the first king, wore his crown on December 1, 1822, at the age of 23.⁹ However, Pedro I returned to Portugal in 1826 upon his father's death, King João of Portugal. Shortly thereafter, he returned to Brazil, renouncing his position from the throne in favour of his daughter Maria.¹⁰ Upon facing further difficulties in Brazil, he was renounced from the throne in favour of his son II. Pedro [II. Alfonso Dom Pedro], he returned to Portugal.¹¹ The reign of Emperor Pedro II, which continued for 58 years, lasted uninterrupted until November 15, 1889, when it was ended by a military coup.¹²

During this period, if we look at Ottoman-Brazilian relations, we can say that diplomatic relations between the two states began in the mid-19th century. The main reason for the delayed onset of these relations was the relative unfamiliarity with Brazil, even in terms of its continent and location. In later periods, due to the colony methods of the countries that went to these geographies for colonisation, there was no direct relationship with Brazil for a long time. From the mid-19th century onwards, the Ottoman Empire began to engage in political and commercial relations with states in the Far East and the Americas, directly or indirectly. Brazil established diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire after gaining independence from Portugal, as with other states. Hence, Ottoman-Brazilian relations began and gained momentum from this point onward. In this context, the first commercial treaty between the Ottoman Empire and Brazil was signed in London in 1858. With this treaty, Ottoman-Brazilian relations officially began. After this process, diplomatic representations and mutual political and commercial relations were established. Although not an official visit, the visit by Brazilian Emperor Dom Pedro II and his wife, Empress Teresa Cristina, to the Ottoman Empire in October 1876 marked a significant turning point in the relations between the two states. The primary reason for this visit was for the devoutly Catholic emperor and empress to visit the sacred sites in and around Jerusalem, which were revered by the three Abrahamic religions.

8 Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*, 37.

9 Seckinger, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*, 7.

10 Burns, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*, p. 117-131; Smith, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*, 45.

11 Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*, 41.

12 Charles Willias Simmons, *Marshal Deodoro and the Fall of Dom Pedro II*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1966, 117; Mary Wilhelmine Williams, *Dom Pedro The Magnanimous Second Emperor of Brasil*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937, p. 322-323, 344, 360; Skidmore, 74; Fausto, 141; Marshal Manoel Deodoro da Fonseca, who led the coup, became Brazil's first de facto president. The country's name was changed to the Republic of the United States of Brazil. The declaration of the republic in Brazil was made on 16 November 1889 (BOA, Y..PRK.PT., 6/2), and the information that the emperor had gone to Europe with his family was reported to Istanbul by telegram on 17 November 1889 (BOA, Y ..PRK.PT., 6/4). The situation was later described in detail by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha on 10 December 1889, and a day later by Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha to Abdulhamit. Some Brazilian newspapers welcomed the end of the imperial period with joy. Newspapers published headlines such as "The Entire American Continent Is Now Free", "Even Brazil Has Been Liberated from Oppression", "A New Republic Has Come to the World", "Democracy Has Come", "The Era of Oppression Has Ended" (BOA, Y..A... HUS, 231/36).

The primary sources of our study are documents classified under various funds in the Ottoman Archives at the Presidency of the Republic State Archives. In addition, documents found in the Museu da Imigração do Estado de São Paulo in Brazil, along with archives and libraries in the United States, have been used. Apart from these sources, works focussing on the visit have also been consulted. Among them, we can mention Hasan Türüdü's work titled "The Visit of Brazilian Rulers to Turkey", which first covered this visit with limited documentation. This study was published in *Hayat Tarih Mecmuası* in 1976. Although not separate, various studies have addressed this visit in subsequent periods. Those who addressed this issue largely took Hasan Türüdü's work as a reference. The opening of new funds in the Ottoman Archives, along with the passage of time and the availability of documents to researchers, has made it necessary to revisit the visit.

In this study, document examination, an indispensable method in historical research, has been preferred. Throughout the text, to facilitate comparison for readers, the Hijri and Rumi dates used in the documents have been converted to the Gregorian calendar year. Because the Gregorian calendar is used in foreign archives, the dates in these documents have been directly utilised. In Ottoman documents, however, Gregorian dates are rarely found. In some documents, there were discrepancies between the classification date of archive documents and the dates of the events they described. In such cases, the event date was provided in some documents, whereas the classification date of the archive was provided in others. The dates of some documents are also provided in footnotes in the Gregorian calendar. When encountering situations in which the day, month, year, and even the hour of the event were mentioned in some documents, these details were also considered. In cases where the Hijri year overlapped with the transition period to the Gregorian year, although rarely, it was represented as "1891/1892". The content of documents containing the same subject matter from different funds was analysed comparatively. The tracks of the documents were followed, and their results were pursued. For instance, if a request was made in a petition, this was attempted to be demonstrated in terms of whether it was fulfilled. If the request was indeed fulfilled, this was indicated within the study.

1. The Ottoman-Brazilian Relations and the Opening of Mutual Representative Agency

Ottoman-Brazilian relations began in the latter half of the 19th century, which could be considered quite late. The most crucial factor to this is that during the period when the Ottoman Empire's domination over the Earth and its struggle with the European states occurred, the continent where Brazil was located was unknown. In later periods, due to the colony methods of the countries that went to these geographies for colonisation, there was no direct relationship with Brazil for a long time. From the mid-19th century onwards, the Ottoman Empire began engaging in political, religious, and commercial relations with states in the Far East and the Americas, directly or indirectly. As a result, on August 29, 1850, the Ottoman Empire appointed Monsieur Samuel, upon the proposal of London Ambassador Mehmed Pasha, as an honorary

consul to Brazil. This marked the beginning of the first political relations between the two states.¹³ Brazil also announced on June 7, 1851, that it would appoint a representative in Istanbul.¹⁴

The first commercial treaty between the Ottoman Empire and Brazil, called the “Seyr-i Sefain Treaty,” was signed on February 5, 1858, in London by Kostaki Musurus Pasha, the Ottoman Empire’s envoy to London, and Francisco Sgnacio de Carvalho Moreira, Brazil’s middle ambassador in London.¹⁵ The Ottoman Empire also extended the same commercial privileges it had previously granted to many European states to Brazilian citizens. Following this process, mutual political and commercial relations were established and diplomatic representations were opened. As a sign of continued good relations, both states presented state medals to each other. As a sign of good intent, the Ottoman Empire presented medals to the Brazilian Emperor and those who contributed to the treaty’s signing.¹⁶ Furthermore, the Ottoman administration instructed the Imperial Treasury on December 30, 1858, to print the Medal of the Medjidie in various grades -two first-degree, one second-degree, five third-degree, and three fifth-degree- to be presented to Brazilian officials as a reciprocal gesture for the medals to be given by the Brazilian State to Ottoman officials. Furthermore, various degrees of decorations were conferred upon many officials, including Prince Adlir and other dignitaries. these medals were highly important.¹⁷ The Brazilian ambassador to Paris, Marquis Dezibova, expressed in a letter dated July 8, 1860, that during the signing of the treaty between the Ottoman Empire and Brazil on February 5, 1858, in London, although medals were presented to everyone present, he was not conferred with such an honour, therefore, he would be delighted if he were to be awarded a Medal of the Medjidie as well.¹⁸

After the start of political and commercial relations between the Ottoman Empire and Brazil, Ottoman foreign missions drafted various reports about the country. For instance, in a report dated 1861, the following summarised information about Brazil was provided:

“It is ten times larger than France and has a population of around five million. Some people live in the mountains and walk naked. The reason it is called Brazil is that of the paint tree used in the production of red colour. Brazil was seized by Portugal and turned into a colony. In 1550, Portugal appointed a governor here, and after this date, the city of Rio de Janeiro was built. In 1578 [H.986], gold mines were founded in Brazil, and although they contributed 194,000 bags of mite annually to the country’s economy, later, mines like silver, diamonds, and rubies were also discovered. Now [1860-1861], diamonds of 20-25 karats are being produced.”¹⁹

13 BOA, A. DVN.MHM., 8/79.

14 BOA, HR.TO., 36/14; Mehmet Necati Kutlu, “Başlangıcından XX. Yüzyıla Kadar Osmanlı-Brezilya İlişkileri Hakkında Düşünceler”, *XX. Yüzyıl Boyunca Osmanlı İmparatorluğu-Latin Amerika İlişkileri*, ed. Fatma Öznur Seçkin, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2019, 52.

15 BOA, HR.İD, 1296/3; Mehmet Temel, “Osmanlı Arşiv Kaynaklarına Göre 19. ve 20. Yüzyılın Başlarında Osmanlı-Brezilya İlişkileri”, *Belleten*, 68/251 (2004), 131.

16 BOA, A.AMD, 82/87.

17 BOA, A.DVN, 133/2; 138/18; İ.HR, 163/8759.

18 BOA, HR.TO., 434/50.

19 BOA, TS.MA.e, 515/12 [TSMA No: 2370/1].

The report provides more detailed information on diamond production and usage. It also mentions the production of coffee, rice, and sugar. The report also provides information about Brazil's independence following the arrival of the Portuguese king.

*"In 1808, the Portuguese king, fleeing from Napoleon, arrived in Rio de Janeiro. When King João VI returned to Portugal in 1821, his son Pedro I ascended to the throne of Brazil. On September 7, 1822, before the public movement, Pedro declared Brazil's separation from Portugal and established the independent Brazilian Empire. He became the country's first emperor. Emperor Pedro I was widely known as Dom Pedro. Brazil's land forces comprise 30,000 troops, while its naval power comprises 52 ships. The country's annual national income is 510,000 bags of mite."*²⁰

Due to the significant migration from Syria and Lebanon to South America, especially Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina²¹, the Ottoman Empire needed to open consulates/consular agencies in Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro in 1886.²² The reason for this decision was the arrival of thousands of Ottoman citizens in these regions, with the number increasing daily.²³ The first attempt to establish a representation was made by a person named Saloman Mubarak. This individual applied to the Ottoman administration through the consulate in Marseille to establish an Ottoman consular agency in Rio de Janeiro and was appointed as its first honorary consul. Saloman Mubarak also claimed that his appointment as consul could decrease migration.²⁴ Since there was no Ottoman consulate in Brazil, some of the migrants from Syria and Lebanon sought refuge under the protection of the French consul, returning to their home countries with French passports. It was reported to the government that because of this, the number of those who accepted French protection had reached close to 1,000. The spread of French influence among Syrian and Lebanese migrants also caused discomfort in the Ottoman Empire.²⁵

Upon investigating these developments, the Ottoman Empire appointed Oton Leonardo as an honorary consul in Rio de Janeiro on April 13, 1897.²⁶ This appointment was welcomed by the Ottoman citizens residing there. Kayser İbrahim Maoluf, who lived in São Paulo, expressed in an article published in the El-Brazil newspaper that the representation in Rio de Janeiro was inadequate to handle the affairs of nearly 40,000 Ottoman citizens. He advocated

20 BOA, TS.MA.e, 515/12 [TSMA No: 2370/1].

21 Kutlu Kayıran, *Osmanlı-Meksika Diplomatik İlişkileri (1864-1913) Elçilik Raporlarında Osmanlıların Latin Amerika Siyaseti*, İstanbul: Libra Kitap, 2018; Oswaldo Truzzi, Libanais et Syriens au Brésil (1880-1950), *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 18/1, (2002), pp. 123-147; Oswaldo Truzzi, *Sırtos E Libaneses: Narrativas de história e cultura*, São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 2005.

22 BOA, HR.TH., 69/84.

23 BOA, HR.TO., 345/39, 40; Museu da Imigração do Estado de São Paulo; L03B, L07B, L064.

24 BOA, HR.TO., 534/44.

25 BOA, A.MTZ.CL, 1/37-214-217; BEO, 908/68041-3, 4; Hamdi Genç & Bozkurt, İ, "Osmanlı'dan Brezilya'ya ve Arjantin'e Emek Göçü ve Göçmenlerin Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu", *Marmara Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, XXVIII/1, (2010), 85.

26 BOA.,HR., 354/63; BEO, 951/71269.

for the opening of a new consulate in São Paulo on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the accession of Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II to the throne. He also emphasised the need for political protection and its necessity for Ottoman citizens in Brazil, most of whom were engaged in trade. As a justification for this, he pointed out that the absence of an Ottoman representation in São Paulo led Ottoman citizens to apply to consuls of other states, which could harm Ottoman political interests. Kayser İbrahim Maoluf also expressed the desire of Ottoman immigrant citizens in Brazil to visit the Ottoman Empire on their behalf. The statements and requests made by Kayser İbrahim Maoluf were conveyed to the Ottoman administration by the consulate on November 26, 1900, and presented to the Sultan.²⁷ İbrahim Maoluf's thoughts and requests are reasonable and in line with Ottoman political interests. This is because during this period, France supported Ottoman citizens by granting some of them citizenship and issuing passports. It was essential to expand Ottoman representation to protect Ottoman citizens' rights and facilitate their commercial activities so that they could perform in peace. This was also emphasised in the reports sent to the centre.²⁸

On June 14, 1902, Sheikh Habib al-Hawari, who lived in Brazil, submitted a petition to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Hariciye Nezâreti), stating that six years ago, he had migrated to Brazil due to "certain disturbances [bir takım fesadenin iğvâsına uyarak]" but regretted his decision. With the intervention of the Paris embassy, he had been forgiven and now wished to become the consul of Rio de Janeiro. After conducting the search, the request for an appointment was found to be inappropriate because someone from the Lebanese community was already serving as an honorary consul there.²⁹ On January 25, 1908, Serkis Semean Etohel submitted a petition to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stating that he had been engaged in trade and owned property and had been managing these properties in the Pará province of Brazil for about 15 years, occasionally visiting his homeland for family reasons. He also stated that he had submitted this petition this time as he returned to İstanbul after his visit. In his petition, he stated that there were more than 2,000 Ottoman nationals living in the Pará province and over 30,000 Ottoman citizens residing throughout Brazil; these individuals were without protection and assistance and that they conducted their official affairs through the French consulate, and sometimes, French consuls forced Ottoman citizens to obtain French citizenship to conduct official transactions. While those with strong ties to the Ottoman government refused, those with weaker connexions accepted the offer, stating a request to be appointed as an honorary consul to facilitate the affairs of Ottoman citizens.³⁰ Whether his request was approved or not remains unknown, but similar requests were common.

The first official representation of the Ottoman Empire in Brazil was established in 1907. During a meeting of the Commission of Interior Affairs on December 30, 1907, it was stated

27 BOA, Y. MTV, 209/19.

28 BOA, HR, SYS, 75/12.

29 BOA, HR.TH., 269/89.

30 BOA, HR.TH., 357/95.

that although there were around 60,000 Ottoman citizens in Brazil, there was only one Ottoman honorary consul in Rio de Janeiro, and with this only working with one officer, it was deemed insufficient. Due to his proficiency in Arabic and the fact that many migrants hailed from the region where his father had served, Fevaid Bey, the son of Muzaffer Pasha³¹, the former mutasarrif of Lebanon, was appointed as the first Ottoman consul in São Paulo, receiving a salary of 1,800 kuruş, an allowance of 900 kuruş, and 500 kuruş for rental expenses. Before Fevaid Pasha was appointed as the consul in São Paulo, the appointment of Sami Arslan Bey, the former district governor of Shouf, was brought up. Arslan Bey himself requested to be appointed to this position.³² However, during the Commission of Interior Affairs meeting on August 12, 1907, despite Sami Arslan Bey's various roles, including interpretation and governorship in the Mount Lebanon region for about 12 years, the commission deemed him insufficient for consulate appointment. Consequently, the Commission of Interior Affairs did not consider his appointment to this position appropriate. If he had been appointed to this position, he would have been allocated a salary of 2,500 kuruş, an allowance of 500 kuruş, and rent expenses of 1,000 kuruş.³³ Although Sami Arslan Bey was not initially appointed to the consulate in Brazil, he was later appointed. However, the Brazilian government vetoed Sami Arslan Bey's consular appointment.³⁴ The fact that the Ottoman Empire did not permit Brazil to open a consulate in Beirut was shown as a reason for this. On January 7, 1914, Sami Arslan Bey wrote a letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stating that he worked in the interest of the country and that there were over 80,000 Ottoman citizens in Brazil. However, despite eight months having passed, the Brazilian government did not recognise him and did not confirm his consular appointment. The effect of the Ottoman Empire's cancellation of the 1858 Treaty of Navigation and Commerce with Brazil on February 7, 1912, contributed to this.³⁵ Because of Sami Arslan Bey's appointment not being confirmed during this process, it hindered and complicated Ottoman citizens' affairs. Following the 1858 revocation of the Treaty of Navigation and Commerce, a consular treaty was signed between the two states on August 14, 1913, to resolve mutual issues.³⁶

After establishing official representations in Brazil, the employment rights of officials serving there have occasionally been raised. In this regard, the chief consulate of Brazil requested an increase in the salary of the secretary, Beşare Ataullah Efendi, to 2,000 kuruş starting from January 15, 1912 [02.11.1327], effective from the Rumi calendar year 1328. During this period, Beşare Ataullah Efendi's salary was 1,000 kuruş. As a justification for this, it was stated that it was necessary for a qualified employee who speaks other languages than French, including local languages, and to work as a good translator and officer. It was

31 Muzaffer Pasha served as governor from 1902 to 1907. Tensions rose in the region during the last period of his governorship. However, in the meantime, Muzaffer Pasha also passed away.

32 BOA.,HR., 410/47; BEO, 3242/243076.

33 BOA, BEO, 3123/234191.

34 BOA, HR.HM.O, 211/21-25.

35 BOA, HR.MTV, 144/43.

36 BOA, HR.HM.O, 44/15.

emphasised that if a salary sufficient to sustain their livelihoods was not provided, officials would resort to legitimate or illegitimate alternative employment, which would also disrupt the functioning of the consulate. Due to the fact that during this period, with the majority of Ottoman citizens residing in Brazil, it was emphasised that, to manage their affairs effectively, Atallah Efendi's proficiency in Arabic and other languages made him a qualified individual, necessitating a salary similar to that provided by states like Austria and Russia.³⁷

The increase in the number of Lebanese and Syrian immigrants during the Ottoman era in Brazil escalated the workload of the Ottoman consulate. Consequently, a letter dated November 2, 1912, was sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs requesting the assignment of a Christian Arab familiar with foreign languages as consul general in São Paulo because of the large number of Lebanese immigrants in the city.³⁸ However, Münir Süreyya contradicts this claim in his report. He says Ottoman citizens living in Brazil do not register with the consulates. In a place where more than 100,000 Ottoman citizens reside, only 20-30 people register annually, with a total number of registrations around 500. These were either registered to grant authority or for mandatory services, such as passports, for which they have come to seek assistance. The fact that the annual revenue is only 176 Ottoman Lira indicates this. Although there are 6-7 thousand in the city of São Paulo, 20 thousand in the state, and 100 thousand nationwide, only 500 people have been registered. Registering births poses a separate challenge. Of the many Ottoman citizen immigrants, only 20 children have been registered. To address this issue, proposals were made to establish honorary consulates in significant cities. For example, upon the request of the consulate, an Ottoman identity document requested for the son of Mülhem Mansur Haddad and Saide İbrahim Huriye, residents of São Paulo and natives of Beirut, born and named Fuad Mülhem Haddad, was issued by the Beirut Population Administration and sent to Brazil. Additionally, two kuruş twenty coins were also requested to be sent.³⁹

Apart from revenue, the Ottoman chief consulate's annual budget is 103,300 kuruş. Its distribution is as follows.⁴⁰

Table 1. Budget of the Brazilian Consulate

NO	Explanation	Amount [Kuruş]
	Annual salary and allowance of the head consulate [salary: 4000; allowance: 4000 kuruş]	96.000
	Annual salary of the Arab secretary	12.000
	Annual expenses for postage, telegrams, returns, and other miscellaneous expenses	12.900
	Rental cost	50.000
	Subtotal	170.900
	Annual net surplus revenue of the Başşehbenderlik	-17.600
	Total annual expenditure	153.300

37 BOA, HR.HM.O, 74/10.

38 BOA, DH.İD, 85/37.

39 BOA, HR.TH., 373/2; HR.UHM, 51/21.

40 BOA, HR, SYS, 2962/1.

Until the appointment of the first head consul to São Paulo, there was no official Ottoman representation in this region, so affairs and transactions were generally conducted through the Washington embassy. For instance, a letter sent to the Washington embassy on February 27, 1893, requested the delivery of a decree of appointment to a resident in Brazil named İlyas Berekat.⁴¹

Brazil also had limited representation within Ottoman borders. These were opened as four in Egypt [Cairo, Mansoura, Damietta, Tanta] and two in the Lebanon region [Jaffa, Nazareth], six in total. According to a document dated December 12, 1875, Jevanni Pandelides was the honorary vice-consul candidate for Brazil in Cairo; Selim Selame was the honorary vice-consul candidate in Dimyat; İlyas Debo was the honorary vice-consul candidate in Tanta; and Mişel Yosef was the honorary vice-consul candidate in Nazareth.⁴² From these, the duties of Jevanni Pandelides, the honorary consul candidate in Cairo, and Selim Selame, the honorary consul candidate in Dimyat, were approved on February 1, 1878.⁴³ On October 1, 1885, Mösyö Jozef Nikola Laveyata, the honorary consul of Alexandria, was appointed the honorary consulate general of Egypt. The expression “emr-i alisi” used in the correspondence was also requested to be removed.⁴⁴

In late 1907, attempts were made to open a consulate in Izmir, but after research, it was deemed unnecessary. The appointment of Mösyö Advin Coli, the vice consul of Spain in Izmir, as consul was also considered. The reason for not opening a consulate here was a report prepared by the port authority on December 4, 1907, stating that there were no Brazilian-flagged ships or vessels in the port of Izmir, and trade with Brazil consisted solely of importing 40,000 bags of coffee annually. Additionally, it was stated that very small quantities of tobacco, figs, and grapes were exported via Genoa and Hamburg, and there were no Brazilian citizens in Izmir, very few Brazilians visited once or twice a year, and those who did spoke Spanish and handled their affairs through the Spanish consulate.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, the Ottoman administration sought to mitigate the adverse effects of capitulation. For this purpose, starting in 1896, it was stipulated that for countries with which diplomatic relations were to be established for the first time, consulate agreements must adhere to the general principles of European state law based on equality and reciprocity and must not mention privileges or capitulations from previous treaties in the treaty text. New trade agreements would not be signed without such a protocol, and no consulates or embassies would be allowed to open anywhere. During a period when the Ottoman Government was determined on this matter, despite mediation attempts by France and the United States, Brazil’s request to open an embassy in Istanbul in 1911 was rejected on June 10, and the Ottoman Government refused to recognise the embassy by withholding

41 BOA, HR. SYS, 72/39.

42 BOA, HR. MKT, 900/78; HR. TO., 79/54.

43 BOA, HR.TO., 79/74.

44 BOA, HR.TO., 82/19.

45 BOA, HR,TH, 355/79.

the exequatur for the consul appointed by the same country in Beirut the following year.⁴⁶ As explained above, the Brazilian government vetoed Sami Arslan Bey's appointment as consul during this period. This matter also had an impact on the veto.⁴⁷

2. Brazilian Emperor and Emperor's Wife's Visit to the Ottoman Empire and the Holy Land

One of the most critical turning points in Ottoman-Brazilian relations was the unofficial visit made by Brazilian Emperor Dom Pedro II and his wife, Empress Theresa Christina, to the Ottoman Empire with the aim to visit the Holy Land [Jerusalem and its surroundings] in October 1876. The purpose of the journey was not political, diplomatic, or commercial. The most essential purpose of this visit was to visit the sites considered sacred by the three divine religions in Jerusalem and its surroundings. Christian visitors generally come to the region to fulfil their pilgrimage, visiting sites such as the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, believed to be the birthplace of Jesus, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, believed to be the burial site of Jesus, Mount Tabor, accepted as sacred by Christians, the tombs of saints that Christians have attached importance to, the Dead Sea, and the Jordan River.⁴⁸ With these sentiments, the Emperor and his wife planned this visit to the Holy Land during their European journey.

The Brazilian Emperor first visited the Kings of Belgium and Sweden in Europe before arriving in St. Petersburg on August 29th, where he became the official guest of the Russian Tsar.⁴⁹ During his stay in Germany, before heading to St. Petersburg, the Emperor informally expressed his desire to visit the Ottoman Empire and Jerusalem through the Brussels embassy. Upon receiving a positive response from the Ottoman side, the Emperor included the Ottoman Empire in his unofficial travel plans and proceeded to Sweden and then Russia as a guest of the Swedish King and the Russian Tsar, respectively.⁵⁰

While the Emperor visited Sweden and Russia, his wife, the Empress, travelled to Vienna to be the guest of Austria-Hungary. After resting for a while at spas in Germany, the Empress embarked on a strenuous and adventurous journey with her officials, arriving in Istanbul via the Danube route through Varna on September 25th, 1876. In this regard, the Vienna embassy communicated in a telegram dated August 24th, 1876, that the Empress, who was in Germany then, would use the Danube route on September 25th and arrive in Istanbul via Varna. The Brazilian ambassador in Vienna, Vicomte de Porto Seguro, visited the Ottoman embassy to inquire about the Empress's travel route, seeking information on whether there was a carriage road from Shumen-Yambol to the Edirne railway or whether travelling from Ruse to Yambol.

46 Temel, "Osmanlı Arşiv Kaynaklarına Göre 19. ve 20. Yüzyılın Başlarında Osmanlı-Brezilya İlişkileri", 142.

47 BOA, HR.HM.O, 211/21-25.

48 İhsan Satış, "Kutsal Topraklara Yolculuk: Bazı İmparator, Velihaht Prens ve Devlet Adamlarının Kudüs Ziyaretleri (1855-1901)", *Tarihin Peşinde Uluslararası Tarih ve Sosyal Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 13, (2015), 241.

49 BOA, HR.TH., 20/40.

50 BOA, HR.TO., 37/79; 89/22.

The Ottoman embassy conveyed that while there might be a road, it was unsuitable for travel. Upon this, it was decided to proceed from Varna. However, in the case of a storm hindering sea travel, the embassy sought information on whether there was a place for the Empress and her officials to stay in Varna, and the embassy confirmed the possibility. During the planned journey, the Empress was accompanied by Brazil's envoy to Vienna, Vicomte de Porto Seguro, along with two attendants, four palace ladies, an official, a physician, and two servants. If the Empress chose to travel by land, it was requested that four palace carriages and one dray be prepared at the Şeytanck⁵¹ location. The main route of the journey was planned as Pest [Budapest]-Niş-Varna. Meanwhile, Emperor Pedro II departed for Petersburg from Sweden to Istanbul and arrived in Petersburg on August 29th.⁵² During his stay in Petersburg, Emperor Pedro declined to accept any feast held in his honour. On September 8th, the Emperor departed from Petersburg to Moscow, then visited Warsaw⁵³ and travelled by road to Odesa on the coast of the Black Sea, from where he took the Russian steamship "Vladimir" to Istanbul on September 30th, 1876.⁵⁴ During the Emperor's journey, occasional changes were made to the itinerary. These alterations were reported to the Ottoman authorities and İstanbul daily.⁵⁵ Since there was no Brazilian representation in Istanbul, Ottoman officials were appointed to oversee the Emperor's accommodations and customs procedures. Additionally, sufficient tents were provided for the Emperor's officials, consisting of approximately 20-25 individuals.⁵⁶

The Emperor and Empress, undertaking this journey to the Ottoman territories for personal and religious purposes, were not officially received by the Ottoman State with a reception or ceremony in the capital city of İstanbul. They only visited notable sites in İstanbul. During this journey, the sites visited included the Bosphorus, village of Büyükdere, the Kağthane River, Hagia Sophia Mosque, Church of Hagia Irene, Military Museum, Beykoz Palace, Tokat Palace on the Bosphorus, Süleymaniye and Chora Church Mosque, Maslak, Emirgan park, and Justinian aqueduct.⁵⁷

The Emperor and his officials travelled by sea to İstanbul before heading to Jerusalem after visiting Istanbul. In İzmir, the Emperor was greeted with a grand ceremony and received significant attention. The Emperor, pleased with his warm reception and attention in Izmir, conveyed his gratitude to the Sultan through the Governor of Aydın and the Governorship of Jerusalem.⁵⁸ Departing from İzmir⁵⁹ on November 12, 1876, the Emperor first went to Haifa and then to Jerusalem. The Emperor visited the holy sites in Jerusalem and its surroundings and

51 It is a district of Şumnu.

52 BOA, HR.TH., 20/40.

53 BOA, HR.TH., 21/28.

54 BOA, HR.TH., 20/72; BOA, HR.TO., 108/46; 122/128.

55 BOA, HR.TH., 21/26.

56 BOA, HR.TO., 89/22.

57 Hasan Türüdü, "Brezilya Hükümdarlarının Türkiye'yi Ziyareti", *Hayat Tarih Mecmuası*, 133 (1976), 69.

58 BOA, İ.DH, 736/6035.

59 BOA, İ.HR, 272/16409.

expressed satisfaction with the warm and kind treatment they received, conveying his gratitude to İstanbul separately.⁶⁰ According to the report kept during the Empress's visit to Beirut, the Empress, who arrived in Beirut on November 24, 1876, visited Beirut, Ba'albek, Damascus, and Lebanon from November 25 to November 29, from December 2 to December 9, she visited Haifa, and from December 5 to December 12, she visited Mount Tabor,⁶¹ Nazareth, the Jordan River, and the Dead Sea, reaching Jerusalem. From December 13 to 17, the Empress travelled from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, Jesus's birthplace. From there, they departed on December 18 and arrived in Jaffa on December 19.

The Emperor and Empress, who are devout Catholics, consider it important to visit the holy sites and places associated with the birth, upbringing, and life of Jesus Christ. The primary purpose of the visit is precisely this. Because of this, while there was no official reception for the Emperor in İstanbul, the visit was also not recognised as an official one. Notwithstanding this, the Emperor and his officials were shown extraordinary attention and hospitality everywhere, befitting the traditional dignity of the Ottoman Empire. As in other places, during the Empress's journey to the holy sites, a palanquin for her travel, one for her belongings, three for the women who accompanied the Empress and did not ride a horse, and one for those coming from behind were provided.⁶² After they visited the Holy Land and Beirut, the Emperor and his officials, before returning to their countries, also visited Egypt, where they explored historical sites and pyramids.

The Ottoman administration monitored the journey of the emperor and his wife departing from the Ottoman Empire's borders until their return to their own country. The Ottoman Empire was informed that the Brazilian Emperor had also returned safely to his country.⁶³ The Brazilian Emperor was highly pleased with his stay in İstanbul and his visits to Syria and Jerusalem. Due to the attention and interest, with treats, and the lack of any mishaps occurring throughout his journey,⁶⁴ the Emperor expressed his gratitude to the Ottoman State and Sultan Abdulhamid II and presented them with the first-degree Brazilian state medal honour.⁶⁵ The Emperor's journey to visit several European countries, including Berlin, Vienna, Belgium, Sweden, and Petersburg, concluded in Ottoman territories.⁶⁶

The visit of the Brazilian Emperor, being the region experiencing the most migration from

60 BOA, İ.HR, 272/16462; HR.TO., 553/92.

61 It is a mountain located in the north of Israel today. The mountain, which is 575 metres high and shaped like a tray, is considered sacred by Christians. In some studies, it was read as "Tabur Ağası" (Satiş, "*Kutsal Topraklara Yolculuk: Bazı İmparator, Velihaht Prens ve Devlet Adamlarının Kudüs Ziyaretleri (1855-1901)*", p. 259; Türüdü, "*Brezilya Hükümdarlarının Türkiye'yi Ziyareti*", p. 69). But this mountain is on the Empress's travel route. It was also visited by the Empress. "Mount Tabor" is not "Tabur Ağası Hasan or Ahsen Bey" accompanying the Empress, as read by those who used the document in their previous studies.

62 BOA, HR.TO., 516/100.

63 BOA, İ.HR, 275/16759.

64 BOA, Y.PRK.HR., 1/13; HR.TO., 115/107.

65 BOA.,HR., 273/16513, 16525.

66 BOA, HR, SYS, 75/8.

the Ottoman territories in Latin America, especially during the most intense years of migration and to the areas where migration takes place, holds great significance.⁶⁷ Although there was no political agenda, the timing and location of this visit to the holy lands for purely sincere religious duty added a distinct importance to the visit. The general purpose of visits made to the region, whether civilian or mainly official, has often been driven by political motives and resulted in political consequences. According to Khatlab⁶⁸, after Dom Pedro II's visit to the Middle East, migration to Brazil from the surrounding areas of Lebanon and Syria accelerated. Because the king invited the people from these lands, where he was well received, to his own country.⁶⁹ According to Oswaldo Truzzi, Muslims preferred Egypt and African countries instead of migrating to America and European countries. He bases this on religious reasons. Muslims did not see it as a suitable option for themselves to live in a distant country where they would have more difficulty in maintaining their faith and where they would be a minority. According to him, '*religion played a decisive role in the fate of immigrants.*'⁷⁰ From the mid-nineteenth century, steamships regularly plied the seas between the Middle East and Europe on the one hand and Europe and Latin America on the other, thereby making it easier and ever cheaper to migrate. Population shifts and economic hardship, military conscription, and political and religious reasons are common themes, yet the internal dynamics that may have convinced Arabs to contemplate emigration from their home countries must be understood in conjunction with the perception of political, social, and economic development in Latin America that made these emigrants into immigrants.⁷¹

Conclusion

Ottoman-Brazilian relations began in the mid-19th century. Immediately after the initiation of these relations, thousands of people from Ottoman geography migrated to Brazil for various reasons. During the years when migration occurred, the visit of the Brazilian Emperor and his wife to the Ottoman Empire and the holy lands resulted in various political, religious, and economic outcomes. Although the visit initially had no political agenda and was solely intended as a sincere religious duty to visit the holy lands of Jerusalem, its timing and location gave it special significance. Following Dom Pedro II's visit to the Middle East, migration to Brazil from the surrounding regions of Lebanon and Syria accelerated. The king invited the people of these lands, who welcomed him warmly, to his own country as a gesture of gratitude. In the mid-19th century, steamships revolutionised migration between the Middle East, Europe, and

67 O. M. Serra Truzzi, *Patrícios, Sírios Libaneses Em São Paulo*, São Paulo: Editora Hucitec, 1997, 23-27.

68 Roberto Khatlab, *Brasil-Libano: Amizade Que Desafia A Distancia*, Bauru [SP]: Edusc, 1999.

69 M.R. Saloum, *Entre o imaginário e o vivido no contexto de imigração para o Brasil: a produção de sentidos no discurso do imigrante árabe-libanês [Master Thesis]*, Universidade De São Paulo Faculdade De Filosofia, Letras E Ciências Humanas Departamento De Letras Orientais, São Paulo 2022, 32.

70 Truzzi, *Patrícios, Sírios Libaneses Em São Paulo*, 23.

71 Ignacio Klich and Jeffrey Lesser, 'Introduction: "Turco" Immigrants in Latin America', *The Americas*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (Jul., 1996), 6.

Latin America, reducing accessibility and cost barriers. Multiple factors, including population shifts, economic hardships, military conscription, and political or religious motivations, drove this migration. Arabs' decision to emigrate was shaped not only by internal factors but also by their views on Latin America's political, social, and economic progress, transitioning them from emigrants to immigrants. Today, Brazil is the country with the largest population of Syrians and Lebanese. The descendants of Syrian and Lebanese immigrants living in Brazil identify themselves as Brazilians. Some of them have been successful in their political lives, reaching critical positions. Those who have been successful in business are among the wealthiest families in the country.

The general purpose of civilian and official visits to the region has often been political, resulting in political consequences. The Emperor's journey, undertaken to visit several European countries, concluded in Ottoman territories following visits to Berlin, Vienna, and Petersburg. The Emperor's travel was closely monitored from İstanbul and by II. Abdülhamit.

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Appendix



Picture 1. The Dead Sea -Palestine [<http://nek.istanbul.edu.tr>]



Picture 2. The Dead Sea -Palestine [<http://nek.istanbul.edu.tr>]



Picture 3. Mount Tabor - Mount Lebanon [<http://nek.istanbul.edu.tr>]



Picture 4. Mount Tabor - Mount Lebanon [<http://nek.istanbul.edu.tr>]



Picture 5. Passports of Immigrants

Foto: Selim Hilmi Özkan, 2023. [Museu da Imigração do Estado de São Paulo]



Picture 6. Lebanese Passport from 1955

Foto: Selim Hilmi Özkan, 2023. [Museu da Imigração do Estado de São Paulo]

