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## OTTOMAN SOLDIERS IN THE HOSPITALS OF THE KRAKÓW FORTRESS IN 1916–1919

### Abstract

Participation of the Ottoman troops in clashes on the eastern Galician front in 1916–1917 still remains a very little-known episode. No materials related to the stay of Turkish soldiers in hospitals of the Kraków Fortress have been found so far in Turkish archives. We are provided with the knowledge on this subject only by the notes by the doyen of Polish Turkology Professor Tadeusz Kowalski (preserved in the Archives of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków) and by the “Post-Mortem Examination Certificates” preserved in the Archives of the Board of Municipal Cemeteries in Kraków. Those sources give us the opportunity for a very detailed identification of 50 Ottoman soldiers treated or buried in Kraków in 1916–1919.

**Key words:** First World War, Galician front, Ottoman Empire, Tadeusz Kowalski, Rakowicki Cemetery.

**Słowa kluczowe:** pierwsza wojna światowa, front galicyjski, Imperium Osmańskie, Tadeusz Kowalski, Cmentarz Rakowicki.

The centenary of the First World War resulted in a certain mobilisation among scholars researching the Great War of the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Many new sources were discovered, new methods used, old stories told in a new way, or described from a different perspective. Topics connected with the First World War are vast and refer to many peoples, countries and nations in the world. They refer to the big themes, but also small episodic phenomena known and important only for small groups of scholars and readers. The present paper analyses one such episode of the First World War and the eastern front in Europe, which has hitherto been neglected by historians: the presence of Ottoman soldiers in the hospitals of one of the Austro-Hungarian fortresses – Kraków. It is more an analysis of very scarce documents in form of two lists and not much more. On the other hand it portrays a small fragment of widely unknown microhistory, enriching our perception of the events of the first two decades of the previous century.

Between 1916 and 1919, at least 50 Ottoman soldiers were brought to the hospitals in the Kraków Fortress. Most of them, as many as 47, were officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the 15<sup>th</sup> Corps, which in 1916–1917 fought as part of the German Southern Army on the eastern Galicia front in areas ranging from Podwysokie and the Złota Lipa River, a northern tributary of the Dniester, along the Zbrucz line.<sup>1</sup> The remaining three served in units that fought on the Caucasus front in 1914–1918 and came to Kraków in 1919, most likely returning to Turkey via Poland from Russian prisoner-of-war camps.<sup>2</sup>

A surprisingly rich trove of personal and address information for these soldiers can be found in two independently created archival sources. The first of these are the notes created by Tadeusz Kowalski, a professor of Turkish Studies in Kraków, collected in a notebook entitled “Turkish Dialectological Materials, Mostly Unreleased” found in the Archives of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (PAU) in Kraków.<sup>3</sup> The second are the “Post-Mortem Examination Certificates” preserved in the Archives of the Board of Municipal Cemeteries in Kraków. Searches conducted in these sources allowed for the creation of two registers of soldiers that can be “tentatively” called “Kowalski’s List” and “the Rakowicki List” (because all of the Turks who died in Kraków were buried in the Rakowicki Cemetery). Both sets provide us with relatively accurate personal and address information, although the degree of detail varies due to the fact that these sources were based upon the data collected for very different purposes. It should be noted here that the information available in Turkish archives related to the Ottoman soldiers who fell during the First World War is usually limited to soldier’s name, father’s name or nickname, rank, year of his death, name of province he was born and sometimes age. Since Turks began using family names as late as 1 January 1935, both historians and the soldiers’ relatives, having this partial information, are quite often unable to determine where the particular person was killed and buried. It should be also stressed that no information on Ottoman soldiers treated and buried in Kraków has been found thus far in any Turkish archive.

Professor Kowalski – the author of our first source – was chiefly interested in gathering comparative material for dialectological research. Besides songs,

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<sup>1</sup> More on the subject of the 15<sup>th</sup> Corps’ fight in Galicia can be found in: P. Nykiel, *The 15<sup>th</sup> Corps of the Imperial Ottoman Army on the eastern Galician front (1916–1917)*, „Belleten”, Cilt: LXXIX, Sa. 284, Ankara 2015, p. 335–350; Piotr Nykiel, *XV Korpus Armii Imperium Osmańskiego na froncie wschodnio-galicyskim (1916–1917)*, “Prace Komisji Historii Wojen i Wojskowości PAU”, tom IX, Kraków 2015, p. 45–62.

<sup>2</sup> Although the author has no evidence to support this assumption, it seems to be the only logical explanation of how those three men arrived to Kraków. This issue will be discussed in a more detailed way at the end of this article.

<sup>3</sup> Cat. no. K III-4, 110.

stories and riddles, he wrote down in his notes the names of his interviewees and their addresses in Turkey so that he could ascribe certain dialectical characteristics to specific regions of the Ottoman Empire. He only sporadically wrote down information such as the particular soldier's profession before being drafted into the army or their abilities to read and write. However, the professor's notebook is the only source that provides us with the complete lyrics of three songs written in Galicia and more or less related to that place. The author of the first song was Pt. Alioğlu Mustafa (see pos. no. 5 on Kowalski's List):

(text in Turkish)<sup>4</sup>:

*Galiçya dağları  
Çiçek açar  
Şarapnel gülle  
Yağmur gibi saçar  
Bozulmuş Moskof  
Yel gibi kaçır  
Kader kısmet böyle imiş Şefkatli Baba  
Biz Türk oğluyuz  
Ölmek isteriz  
Bir avuc kan olsa  
Dökmek isteriz  
Moskoftan eski yerleri almak isteriz*

(translation):

*In the Galician mountains  
Flowers bloom  
Shrapnel flies  
Like hurling rain.  
The Muscovites are smashed,  
They run away like the wind,  
Such is fate, Merciful Father;  
We, the Sons of Turks,  
We want to die  
Although a few drops of blood  
We want to spill for  
Reclaiming the Muscovite lands.*

The other song directly related to Galicia was written by Pt. İsmailoğlu Salim (pos. no. 23 on Kowalski's List):

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<sup>4</sup> The syntax and spelling of all Turkish texts in this article are contemporary.

(text in Turkish):

*Çıktım memleketten terk eyledim bahçeyi bağı  
Bindim vapura geçtim dereyi dağı  
Galiçyaya attular bizi Anadolu uşağı  
Dağlara vuruyor yüreğimin feryadı*

*Yeşil başlı ördek idim uçardım göklerde  
Kanadım kırıldı kaldım çöllerde  
Anasız babasız müşküldür gurbet ellerde*

*Kışlanın kapısı hastahaneye bakar  
Doktor ilacı ta yüreğim yakar  
Sılada sevdiğim yollara bakar  
O sebepten arzu ederim sılayı*

*Galiçyada nöbet beklerim  
Silahı sağ yanıma sakladım  
Haftadan haftaya mektup bekledim  
Ya niçin gelmedi benim mektubum*

(translation):

*I set out from my Fatherland, abandoning my vineyards and gardens.  
By steamer<sup>5</sup> I went through mountains and valleys.  
To Galicia we were sent, we sons of Anatolia,  
And my heart raises a lament to the heavens.*

*I was a green-headed duck flying over the lakes,  
But I broke my wing and in the desert I remained  
It's so hard in foreign countries with your mother and father.*

*The barracks door turns towards the hospital,  
The doctor's cures make my heart burn,  
This longing leads me to places beloved  
That's why I yearn for my Fatherland.*

*In Galicia, I keep watch  
With weapons on the right side;  
I wait weeks for a letter.  
Why doesn't my letter come?*

<sup>5</sup> For many of the Ottoman soldiers, it was only on the road to Galicia that they encountered an iron railroad for the first time. Not knowing what to properly call it, they gave it the name of *vapur* or *steamer* (cf. also Mehmet Şevki Yazman, *Kumandanım Galiçya ne yana düşer? Mehmetçik Avrupa'da [And Where Is This Galicia, My Commander? Mehmet in Europe]*, İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul 2011).

The third song was dictated to Professor Kowalski by Pt. Hüseyinoğlu Mehmet (pos. no. 17 on Kowalski's List):

(text in Turkish):

*Telgrafın telleri  
Pamuk gibi elleri  
Beni baştan çıkaran  
İstanbulun beyleri*

*Elifim şerifim  
Ah dudu dillim*  
Nakarat: *Ben yanyorum  
Aman Allah  
Çok seviyorum*

*Bugün nadim olacaksın  
Beni pek arayacaksın  
Ben ah edüp ağladıkça  
Sen Allahtan bulacaksın*

*Nakarat*

*İndim baktım odasına  
Döşek sarmış kocasına  
Beş yüz lira gicesine*

*Nakarat*

*Darıldın mı cicim bana  
Bakmayorsun hiç bu yana  
Gel melekim barışalım  
Gumrı gibi kokuşalım*

*Nakarat*

(translation):

*Telegraph wires  
Her hands so beautiful  
Lead me into temptation  
The Istanbul dandies*

*How nice is the girl  
Raspberry on my tongue*  
Refrain *Until everything's ready  
Oh, Allah,  
How in love am I!*

*You will regret today  
 And look for me  
 When I sigh and cry  
 For you, for whom Allah chastens  
 (Ref.)  
 I looked through her door  
 The husband was spread on the mattress  
 Fifty lira for the night taken  
 (Ref.)  
 Are you angry, dear, at me?  
 You don't even look at me  
 Make up with me, my angel  
 And coo at me, my dove.  
 (Ref.)*

Although these lyrics are not directly related to Galicia, they are quoted here for the following reasons. A 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant in the 20<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division, Mehmet Şevki Yazman, left behind extremely vivid memories from the Eastern Galicia Front entitled *Kumandanım Galiçya ne yana düşer? Mehmetçik Avrupa'da*.<sup>6</sup> In his text, he refers many times to Private Hüseyin, nicknamed *Vaziyeti Bozuk* (“Crooked”, because even when he stood at attention, he had curves), who was known for his intelligence, cutting wit and talent for composing satirical songs on any topic. In one of the chapters, Yazman recalls that Hüseyin taught the daughter of his Polish hosts the song “On Telegraph Wires”.<sup>7</sup> The text cited above and dictated by Private Hüseyinoğlu Mehmet in 1917 is not the same composition that was rather popular in Turkey, which began with the words “Telgrafın tellerine kuşlar mı konar” [“Are those not birds perching on the telegraph wires”], which was only published by Ahmet Yamacı in 1946. Furthermore, the style and “poetry” of the song cited by Kowalski ideally suits other works by Hüseyin, “Vaziyeti Bozuk”, that appear in Yazman’s recollections. This large amount demonstrates that Hüseyinoğlu Mehmet, the man Professor Kowalski met, and Yazman’s “Crooked” Hüseyin are one and the same.

Unfortunately, while writing his notes Professor Kowalski was not interested in the number of the unit in which his informant served, his marital status or the wounds he suffered on the battlefield. All of this information can be found in the Post-Mortem Examination Certificates. Due to the fact that these documents were drawn up by military doctors and apparently without the presence of Professor Kowalski, the names of the soldiers written on them are extremely distorted and information about their addresses is much less exact than in the professor’s notes, making them in extremely difficult to identify in some cases.

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 163.

However, the author of this article managed to reconstruct their correct spelling by utilising his experience as a Turkish philologist.

It should be emphasised that the Kowalski and Rakowicki Lists do not correspond to each other, allowing us to assume that the health of the soldiers who died in Kraków was from the beginning so poor that it precluded any non-medical contacts, and thus also prevented the local Turkish Studies doyen from collecting any material. An additional important issue is the fact that Professor Kowalski started his scientific contacts with the injured Ottoman soldiers as late as in October 1917 (the first notes in his journal are dated 11 October). Thus, the soldiers he spoke with represented a group that was left behind to be cured and sent back to Turkey because the last unit of the 15<sup>th</sup> Corps returned to Istanbul on 26 September 1917. Thanks to the Post-Mortem Exam Certificates, we know that the first injured Turks were brought to Kraków already in mid-September 1916 – only a few weeks after the appearance of the 15<sup>th</sup> Corps on the eastern Galicia front. If we take into consideration the fact that Kraków was one of the biggest fortified zones in this part of Europe (and thus had an adequately sized medical base), we can assume with a high degree of certainty that the number of Ottoman soldiers staying in Kraków hospitals was much larger than 50 (the sum total of the Kowalski and Rakowicki Lists). Many of them were likely cured and returned to the front (or immediately to Turkey) before Professor Kowalski began his dialectological research. This assumption is undoubtedly strengthened by the fact that hospitals located further from the front line than Kraków treated many more patients from the 15<sup>th</sup> Corps. Two such examples now located within the borders of the Czech Republic are the hospitals in Olomouc (approx. 260 km west from Kraków) – 260 soldiers and in Valašské Meziříčí (approx. 240 km west from Kraków) – 11 officers and 1029 soldiers.<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, as previously mentioned, the issue of the exact number of Ottoman soldiers treated in Kraków must remain a matter of assumptions as the sources discussed in this article are thus far the only known ones that give information on any Turkish wounded brought to this town.

These sources also provide us with information about which of the various Kraków Fortress hospitals the Ottoman soldiers stayed in. We know that they were the following buildings: Garrison Hospital No. 15/I and 15/II (today the 5<sup>th</sup> Army Clinical Hospital on ul. Wrocławska 1-3 in Kraków), Epidemiological Hospital No. 1 (the Convent of the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy in Łagiewniki), Epidemiological Hospital No. 2 (Kraków – Łobzów), Reserve Hospitals Nos. 1 and 3, and Garrison Hospital No. II. On the basis of the Post-Mortem Examination Certificates and Professor Kowalski's notes, we can assume that most of the Turkish patients were sent to Garrison Hospital No. 15, where they

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. O. Dağlar Macar, *Galiçya Cephesi'nde Osmanlı Birlikleri ve Sağlık Hizmetleri (1916–1917)*, „Osmanlı Bilim Araştırmaları”, c. X, sy. 2/2009, p. 44.

were cared for by, among others, Dr. Zofia Kowalska (née Medwecka), the professor's wife.<sup>9</sup>

It should also be noted that all of the soldiers of the 15<sup>th</sup> Corps buried in Rakowicki Cemetery served in regiments belonging to the 20<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division. The unit number is only not specified in relation to İdilbey İsmail Osman, whose post-mortem examination certificate notes that he came from the "Turkish infantry corps from the Podwysokie region".<sup>10</sup> Podwysokie was the railway station located closest to the stretch of the front defended by the Ottoman 20<sup>th</sup> Division, so we can assume that this soldier fought in one of this division's sub-units. This in turn allows us to suppose that only wounded men from the 20<sup>th</sup> division were sent to Kraków.

In analysing the post-mortem examination certificates, one cannot help but notice that all of the Ottoman soldiers laid to rest in Rakowicki Cemetery in Kraków were interred no earlier than two days after death, and so the interval for burial accepted by Muslims was exceeded by at least a day. To be fair, however, it should be mentioned that a letter from the Municipal Council of the City of Kraków of 25 June 1915 recommended burying "the Mohammedans who died in Kraków together, and to designate for this purpose a part of the municipal cemetery, in the manner prescribed for Mohammedans – i.e. faces turned towards the east."<sup>11</sup>

The first two Turkish soldiers were buried in Section XXIII, the so-called "1<sup>st</sup> Mohammedan site", where the interred were mainly from Bosnian units of the Austro-Hungarian army as well as Russian POWs of Muslim faith. The remainder were interred in the "2<sup>nd</sup> Mohammedan site", which was demarcated within Section XXVI. Only one Turk (Sgt. Ali Osman, pos. no. 12 on the Rakowicki List) was buried alongside Christian soldiers of other nationalities in Section XXVIII. His burial place is the only Turkish grave that has survived until the present day and is marked with the original cross and an information plaque. The form in which Ali Osman's grave is marked suggests that he must have converted to Catholicism before he died. The burial places of other Ottoman soldiers unfortunately cannot be determined without performing an exhumation.

The main, central part of Section XXIII is surrounded today by a hedgerow and has the character of a mass grave, with a centrally-located Monument of

<sup>9</sup> *Tadeusz Kowalski 1889–1948. Materiały z Posiedzenia Naukowego PAU w dniu 19 czerwca 1998 r.*, „W służbie nauki”, nr 4, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1999, s. 68.

<sup>10</sup> "Post-mortem examination certificates" 4442; entry in the deaths registry of the Magistrate of the City of Kraków item 3346, 20.09.1916 (cat. no. Archiwum Zarządu Cmentarzy Komunalnych w Krakowie [henceforth: AZCKwK]: 3015/1916). Cf. below: "Rakowicki List" pos. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Letter no. 1. 55966/1915 I.a. in collection of the State Archives in Kraków, Branch V, Act on the Cemeteries in Kraków (unordered), item 1914-17.19. The author of the cited text did not, however, show a particularly deep knowledge of Islam. This religion prescribes for the deceased to be buried facing Mecca, which is located south-east of Kraków.

Glory (dedicated to the memory of the soldiers who died in 1914–1920) as well as only a few isolated, individual gravestones that were set here during the Interwar Period. In the north-eastern part of this section is a symbolic grave in memory of the Turkish soldiers killed on the Galician front in 1916–1917.<sup>12</sup> It was unveiled on 9 May 1997 by the then-president of the Republic of Turkey, Süleyman Demirel.<sup>13</sup> In 1972–1974, the outer rows of graves along the sides of Section XXIII were handed over for redevelopment for civilian graves. It was decided that the exhumed remains of the soldiers from the First World War would be buried in a mass grave in the interior of Section XXIII (in the area surrounded by the hedge).<sup>14</sup> Determining whether there were also Turkish burials among those transferred is, however, not possible.

From correspondence conducted in January 1959 by the Public Utilities Ministry with the Presidium of the Municipal Council of the City of Kraków (in reaction to a note by the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Warsaw), we know that on the northern side of Section XXVIb<sup>15</sup> there were still six earthen graves numbered 1, 2, 5, 19, 13 and 17 containing a total of eight Turkish soldiers.<sup>16</sup> The status of these graves was designated as “disorderly/not uniform”. Today on the northern side of Section XXVIb there are still several unformed graves, some of which correspond approximately to the locations mentioned in the 1959 letter. Determining if those interred are Turkish soldiers is not possible, however, without conducting exhumations. An additional difficulty is the lack of consistency in the recording of the locations of the Turkish burials in Section XXVI, as can be seen from the records held in the

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<sup>12</sup> The location of this grave in Section XXIII is not “erroneous” (as suggested by Michał Kozioł in his work, *Groby, kwatery i cmentarze wojenne z lat 1914–1920 na terenie gminy Kraków* (Kraków 2008, p. 39–40)), but is the result of the fact that two Ottoman soldiers were buried there. A separate – and indeed the main – factor that influenced the erection of this monument in Section XXIII was the lack of space in Section XXVI, where most of the Turks were laid to rest.

<sup>13</sup> In 1996, before the unveiling of this monument, the author of this text, along with the then military attaché of the Republic of Turkey in Warsaw, Col. Sabri Doğar, went through the then-available records to determine the nationalities and personal details of those buried there and they managed to find only 1<sup>st</sup> Lt. Mehmet İsmail Hakkı (cf. below: Rakowicki List, pos. 4). In the case of the rest, as typified by 10 soldiers, it was not possible to determine their nationalities beyond a reasonable doubt. The notes of names of those killed was also distorted so that in some cases it was difficult to clearly determine if the soldier in question was Turkish or Bosnian.

<sup>14</sup> Letter no. DRI/524/74/13 of 5 September 2013 sent to the author by Tomasz Piekarski (Director of the Rakowicki Region for the Municipal Cemetery Board in Kraków).

<sup>15</sup> In the 1940s (in 1948, at latest) Section XXVI was divided into two parts designated by the letters “a” and “b” (*ibidem*).

<sup>16</sup> The Presidium of the National Council of the City of Kraków, Municipal Offices for Utilities and Housing, case file no. GK-UK-2-/e/1/59 re: Turkish Islamic cemeteries (letter to the Municipal Services Department of the Ministry of Public Utilities of 28 January 1959).

Archives of the Board of the Municipal Cemetery in Kraków.<sup>17</sup> The archives also have no plans of the individual sections that take into account the location and number of the individual graves in 1916–1919.<sup>18</sup>

The personal data and details of the 50 Ottoman soldiers who were in the hospitals at the Kraków Fortress are presented below. Kowalski's List is arranged alphabetically and contains only data for those soldiers who, after their release from hospital in Kraków, returned to Turkey. The Rakowicki List only contains information on those soldiers buried in Rakowicki Cemetery in Kraków. They have been arranged in chronological order by date of death.

### “Kowalski's List”

#### 1. **Ahmedoğlu Hacı Mustafa**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: İstanbul, Ayasofya Yerebatan borough, Fatih Sultan, Arabacılar St. no. 8

Notes by Professor Kowalski: Tatar

#### 2. **Ahmet Kasım**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: İzmir province, Manisa sanjak, Soma district, village of Naldöken

#### 3. **Ahmetoğlu Halil İbra(him)**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: İzmir province, Manisa sanjak, Bergama district, Kınık commune, village of Dikili

#### 4. **Alioğlu Mehmet**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Ankara province, Çankırı sanjak, Tut commune, Besni (?)

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<sup>17</sup> The entries in the burial books are divergent and suggest several locations: north, west, from the east or only generally “the Mohammedan site” and the grave number. Cf. letter no. DRI/524/74/13 of 5 September 2013 (*op. cit.*). The confusion is largely due to the fact that the plans for Rakowicki Cemetery from the era of the First World War marked the northerly direction with what should have been (and now is) the western direction.

<sup>18</sup> The annexe to Jerzy P. Drogomir's publication, *Polegli w Galicji Zachodniej 1914–15*, vol. III (Tarnów 2005) contains detailed plans with grave numbers for Sections XXIII and XXVI, but they reflect the state of the area before any Turkish soldiers were buried there.

**5. Alioğlu Mustafa**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: İzmir province, Denizli sanjak, village of Hayteler (?)

**6. Buldanlı Halilzade Hafız Ahmet Efendi**

Rank: ?

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: İzmir province, Denizli sanjak, Buldan district, Güney commune, Orta borough

Notes by Prof Kowalski: *hodja*<sup>19</sup>

**7. Demircioğlu Mustafaoğlu Ali**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: İzmir province, Buldan district, Beyler borough

**8. Ethemoğlu Ekrem**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Salonika

Notes by Prof Kowalski: a young man from Salonika, knows how to read and write, a barber by profession.

**9. Gülmezoğlu Hacı Süleyman**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: N/A

**10. Hamdi**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Konya province, Isparta district, village of Ağras, Gönlerle (?)

**11. Hasanoğlu Ali**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Üsküp (today: Skopje), Radoviš, Ročko

**12. Hasanoğlu Selim**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: İzmir province, Aydın sanjak, village of Nazilli

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<sup>19</sup> Or an imam, in this case an army imam (chaplain).

**13. Hasanoğlu Süleyman**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Kastamonu, Sinop district, İnebolu commune

**14. Hüseyin**

Rank: sergeant

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Ankara province, Yahşihan, Denek mines

**15. Hüseyin(?)oğlu Mehmet**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: İzmir province, Çeşme sanjak, village of Zeytinler

**16. Hüseyinoğlu Hüseyin Şaban**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: N/A

**17. Hüseyinoğlu Mehemet**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Bursa, Çelebi Sultan borough

**18. Hüseyinoğlu Mustafa**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Konya province, Antalya sanjak, Alaiye district (today: Alanya), Urumdaşköy (today Türктаş)

Notes by Prof Kowalski: Can neither read nor write

**19. Hüseyinoğlu Mustafa**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Bursa province, Kütahya sanjak, Uşak district, village of Dumanlı

**20. İbrahimioğlu Mehmet**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Bursa province, Afyon Karahisar province, Dinar district, village of Dombay

**21. İbrahimioğlu Musa**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Ankara province, Kırşehir sanjak, Mecidiye district, village of Taşoluk

Notes by Prof Kowalski: can read and write, was in Constantinople for a long time.

**22. İsmail**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Kastamonu, Gerze

**23. İsmailoğlu Salim**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Edirne province, Gümülcine sanjak (today: the Greek administrative region of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace), İskece (today: Xanthi), Hürriyet borough

**24. Kösecioğlu Mustafanın oğlu Mehmet Ali**

Rank: corporal

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: İzmir province, Denizli sanjak, Buldan district, Güneyli commune, Karaağaçlı borough<sup>20</sup>

**25. Mehmet**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Ankara province, Yozgat, Akdağ mines

**26. Mehmetoğlu Mevlid**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Konya province, Akşehir district, village of Tuzlukçu

**27. Memişoğlu İbrahim**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Bursa province, Eskişehir district, Seyit Gazi commune, village of Akin

**28. Mercanoğlu Mehmet**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: İzmir province, Bornova, Nif, Bağlar borough

**29. Mustafaoğlu Ahmet**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Konya  
Notes by Prof Kowalski: cartwright.

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<sup>20</sup> This is the only complete entry written in the Ottoman (Arabic) script in all of Professor Kowalski's notes. It can thus be assumed that it was completed personally by Corporal Mehmet Ali.

**30. Mustafaoğlu Mehmet**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: N/A

**31. Nuri**

Rank: corporal

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Konya province, Antalya district, village of Elmalı, hamlet of Ayvasıl (today Kocapınar)

**32. Ömeroğlu Veli**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Bursa province, Balıkesir sanjak, Sındırgı district, village of Mumcu

**33. Osman Durak**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Urfa (today Şanlıurfa)

**34. Osmanoğlu Mustafa**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Ankara province, Kayseri, Hacılar

**35. Receptoğlu Saip (?)**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Üsküp province (today Skopje), Kalkandelen (today Tetovo), Camii Atik borough

Notes by Prof Kowalski: Bektashi<sup>21</sup>**36. Sala(ha)ttin**

Rank: sergeant

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Ankara province, Yozgat sanjak, village of Kuzayca

**37. Süleyman**

Rank: private

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: İzmir province, Buldan district, Güney

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<sup>21</sup> Member of the Bektashi religious brotherhood, which was founded in the 13<sup>th</sup> century by Hacı Bektâş-ı Velî (1209–1271).

## “Rakowicki List”

### 1. İdilbey (?) İsmail Osman,

Rank: private

Unit: Turkish infantry unit in the Podwysokie region

Date and place of death: 11 September 1916, hospital train no. 8

Cause of death: gunshot wound to the chest, pleural hematoma, pneumonia (*vuln. sclop. thoracis, Haemothorax sui.*), Bronchopneumonia

Date and place of burial: 13 September 1916, Section XXIII – east, “1<sup>st</sup> Mohammedan site” grave no. 33<sup>22</sup>

### 2. Hüseyin Rasif

Rank: corporal

Unit: 15<sup>th</sup> Corps, 20<sup>th</sup> Division, 63<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Regiment, 7<sup>th</sup> Company

Date and place of death: 12 September 1916, Garrison Hospital 15/I in Kraków

Cause of death: gunshot wound to the chest, pyopneumothorax (*Vuln. sclop. thoracis, mediastinitis posterior iclorrosa (?)*, *Pyopneumothorax*)

Date and place of burial: 14 September 1916, Section XXIII – east, “1<sup>st</sup> Mohammedan site” grave no. 33<sup>23</sup>

### 3. Abdürrahman Ahmet

Rank: private

Unit: 15<sup>th</sup> Corps, 20<sup>th</sup> Division, 61<sup>st</sup> Infantry Regiment, 1<sup>st</sup> Company

Age: 23

Place of residence in the Ottoman Empire: Jerusalem

Marital status: married

Date and place of death: 24 September 1916, Epidemiological Hospital no. 1 in Kraków

Cause of death: gunshot wound to the spine, nephritis (*vuln. sclop. column. vertebralis, Cystopyelonephritis purulenta*)

Date and place of burial: 27 September 1916, Section XXVI – north, “2<sup>nd</sup> Mohammedan site”, grave no. 1<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> “Post-mortem examination certificate” 4442; entry in the deaths registry of the Magistrate of the City of Kraków, pos. 3346, 20.09.1916 (sig. AZCKwK: 3015/1916).

<sup>23</sup> Buried in the same grave as İdilbey (?) İsmail Osman. “Post-Mortem Examination Certificates” 4448; entry in the deaths registry of the Magistrate of the City of Kraków, pos. 3350, 20.09.1916 (sig. AZCKwK: 3016/1916).

<sup>24</sup> Corporal Raşit Mehmet (cf. pos. 5) was buried in the same grave. “Post-Mortem Examination Certificates” 4587; entry in the deaths registry of the Magistrate of the City of Kraków, pos. 3522, 05.10.1916 (sig. AZCKwK: 3144/1916).

#### 4. Mehmet İsmail Hakkı

Rank: first lieutenant

Unit: 15<sup>th</sup> Corps, 20<sup>th</sup> Division, 61<sup>st</sup> Infantry Regiment, 4<sup>th</sup> Company

Age: 22

Date of birth and place of residence in the Ottoman Empire: 1894, Konya province, Seydişehir district

Marital Status: single

Profession: trader

Date, time and place of death: 6 October 1916, 19:30, Garrison Hospital no. 15/II in Kraków, room no. 38

Cause of death: gunshot wound to right thigh, sepsis (*vuln. sclop. femoris dextri, Sepsis*)

Date and place of burial: 08 October 1916, Section XXVI – north, “2<sup>nd</sup> Mohammedan site”<sup>25</sup>

#### 5. Raşit Mehmet

Rank: corporal

Unit: 15<sup>th</sup> Corps, 20<sup>th</sup> Division, 61<sup>st</sup> Infantry Regiment, 4<sup>th</sup> Company

Place of residence in the Ottoman Empire: Kula

Date and place of death: 16 October 1916, Garrison Hospital no. 15/II in Kraków

Cause of death: gunshot wound to the right thigh, gangrene, sepsis (*vuln. sclop. femoris dextri. Gangraena femoris. Sepsis*)

Date and place of burial: 18 October 1916, Section XXVI, “2<sup>nd</sup> Mohammedan site”, grave no. 1<sup>26</sup>

#### 6. Ahmetoğlu Ahmet

Rank: private

Unit: 15<sup>th</sup> Corps, 20<sup>th</sup> Division, 62<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment, 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion, 1<sup>st</sup> Company

Age: 32

Residence in the Ottoman Empire: Edirne

Marital Status: married

Profession: miller

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<sup>25</sup> “Post-Mortem Examination Certificates” 4611; entry in the deaths registry of the Magistrate of the City of Kraków, pos. 3689, 21.10.1916 (sig. AZCKwK: 3268/1916). An informational sheet was also attached to the “Post-Mortem Examination Certificate” that, in the morgue, was placed on the big toe.

<sup>26</sup> Pt. Abdürrahman Ahmet (cf. pos. 3) was also buried in this grave. “Post-Mortem Examination Certificates” 4630; entry in the deaths registry of the Magistrate of the City of Kraków, pos. 3786, 31.10.1916 (sig. AZCKwK: 3341/1916).

Date, time and place of death: 8 March 1917, 15:45, Reserves Hospital no. 1 in Kraków

Cause of death: Tuberculosis (*Tbc pulmonum, intestinorum*)

Date and place of burial: 10 March 1917, Section XXVI, “2<sup>nd</sup> Mohammedan site”, grave no. 5<sup>27</sup>

#### 7. **Mustafaoğlu Ahmet / Ahmetoğlu Mustafa**<sup>28</sup>

Rank: private

Unit: 15<sup>th</sup> Corps, 20<sup>th</sup> Division, 61<sup>st</sup> Infantry Regiment, 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion  
15<sup>th</sup> Company

Age: 25

Place of residence in the Ottoman Empire: Balıkesir

Marital Status: single

Date, time and place of death: 5 July 1917, 11:00, Reserves Hospital no. 1 in Kraków

Cause of death: gunshot wound to the chest, sepsis (*vuln. sclop. penetrans thoracis, Pyothorax, Sepsis*)

Date and place of burial: 7 July 1917, Section XXVI, “2<sup>nd</sup> Mohammedan site”, grave no. 10<sup>29</sup>

#### 8. **Abduloğlu Mustafa**

Rank: private

Unit: 15<sup>th</sup> Corps, 20<sup>th</sup> Division, 62<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment, 2<sup>nd</sup> Company

Age: 19

Place of residence in the Ottoman Empire: Kastamonu

Date and place of death: 18 August 1917, Garrison Hospital no. 15/II in Kraków

Cause of death: gunshot wound to the chest and spine, peritonitis (*vuln. sclop. penetrans thoracis et columnae vertebralis, Peritonitis et cystitide*)

Date and place of burial: 20 August 1917, Section XXVI, “2<sup>nd</sup> Mohammedan site”, grave no. 13<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> The Bosnian soldier Ibrahim Ibrahimović, died 22 February 1917, was also buried in this grave. “Post-Mortem Examination Certificates” 4966; entry in the deaths registry of the Magistrate of the City of Kraków, pos. 867, 13.03.1917 (sig. AZCKwK: 746/1917).

<sup>28</sup> For some unknown reason, this soldier has two entries in the deaths registry of the Magistrate of the City of Kraków where all the data is identical with the exception of the order of the names.

<sup>29</sup> The Russian POW Mochamedin Minivayev (Minivayer), died 14 July 1917, was also buried in this grave. “Post-Mortem Examination Certificates” 5240; entries in the deaths registry of the Magistrate of the City of Kraków, pos. 2335 with the dates 09.07.1917 i 12.07.1917 (sig. AZCKwK: 2217/1917).

<sup>30</sup> Prvt Mehmetoğlu Ömer (cf. pos. 9) was also buried in this grave. “Post-Mortem Examination Certificates” 5341; entry in the deaths registry of the Magistrate of the City of Kraków, pos. 2964, 23.08.1917 (sig. AZCKwK: 2737/1917).

**9. Mehmetoğlu Ömer**

Rank: private

Unit: 15<sup>th</sup> Corps, 20<sup>th</sup> Division, 63<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Regiment, 3<sup>rd</sup> Company

Age: 26

Place of residence in the Ottoman Empire: Ankara

Date and place of death: 20 September 1917, Garrison Hospital no. 15/II in Kraków

Cause of death: gunshot wound to the spine, pyaemia (*Vuln. sclop. columnae vertebralis*, *Pyaemia*)

Date and place of burial: 22 September 1917, Section XXVI, “2<sup>nd</sup> Moham-medan site”, grave no. 13<sup>1</sup>

**10. Nazımoğlu İsmail**

Rank: private

Unit: 15<sup>th</sup> Corps, 20<sup>th</sup> Division, 62<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment

Age: 46

Date of birth and place of residence in the Ottoman Empire: 1872, Istanbul

Date and place of death: 17 August 1918, Reserves Hospital no. 1 in Kraków

Cause of death: *Malteus* (?)

Date and place of burial: 19 August 1918, Section XXVI, “2<sup>nd</sup> Mohammedan site”, grave no. 17<sup>32</sup>

**11. İsmail Hasan**

Rank: corporal

Unit: 3<sup>rd</sup> Army, 2<sup>nd</sup> Caucasian Corps, 5<sup>th</sup> Division, 9<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment, 10<sup>th</sup> Company

Place of residence in the Ottoman Empire: Istanbul

Date and place of death: 14 April 1919, Epidemiological Hospital no. 2

Cause of death: tuberculosis (*Tbc universalis*)

Date and place of burial: 16 April 1919, Section XXVI – west, “2<sup>nd</sup> Moham-medan site”, grave no. 11<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Abduloğlu Mustafa (cf. pos. 8) was also buried in this grave. “Post-Mortem Examination Certificates” 5411; entry in the deaths registry of the Magistrate of the City of Kraków, pos. 3459, 25.09.1917 (sig. AZCKwK: 3142/1917).

<sup>32</sup> The Bosnian soldier Owdo (Awdo) Halkić, died 15 September 1918, was also buried in this grave. “Post-Mortem Examination Certificates” 6729; entry in the deaths registry of the Magistrate of the City of Kraków, pos. 3234, 21.08.1918 (sig. AZCKwK: 2980/1918).

<sup>33</sup> The following were also buried in this grave: Austro-Hungarian soldier Misan Usekić, died 20 February 1919, and the Bosnian soldier Huszo Hodicz, died 6 March 1919. The tombstone, now lost, bore the inscription “Róža” (“Rose”). “Post-Mortem Examination Certificates” 7569; entry in the deaths registry of the Magistrate of the City of Kraków, pos. 1656, 24.04.1919 (sig. AZCKwK: 1479/1919).

## 12. Ali Osman

Rank: sergeant

Unit: Islamic Army of the Caucasus, 1<sup>st</sup> Azeri Corps,<sup>34</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Division, 3<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Regiment, 1<sup>st</sup> Company

Age: 34

Place of residence in the Ottoman Empire: Erzurum, Narman (?)

Date and place of death: 27 May 1919, Garrison Hospital no. 2 in Kraków

Cause of death: Tuberculosis (*Tbc universalis*)

Date and place of burial: 29 May 1919, Section XXVIII, row 1, grave no. 18<sup>35</sup>

## 13. Yusuf Şaban Bekir

Rank: private

Unit: 3<sup>rd</sup> Army, 1<sup>st</sup> Caucasian Corps, 10<sup>th</sup> Caucasian Division, 31<sup>st</sup> Infantry Regiment

Age: 33

Place of residence in the Ottoman Empire: Sivas

Marital status: married

Date and place of death: 28 September 1919, Reserves Hospital no. 3

Cause of death: Tuberculosis (*Tbc universalis*)

Date and place of burial: 1 October 1919, Section XXVI – east, “2<sup>nd</sup> Mohammedan site”, grave no. 1<sup>36</sup>

Note that the last of the three non-commissioned officers and soldiers from the Rakowicki List” (Corporal İsmail Hasan, Sergeant Ali Osman and Private Yusuf Şaban Bekir) came from units fighting in 1914–1918 on the Caucasus front and died in Kraków in 1919 of tuberculosis. Presumably, all three had already contacted the disease whilst in a Russian prisoner-of-war camp, from which they were returning to Turkey via Poland. Undoubtedly, there were factors influencing their choosing this circuitous route (keeping in mind that Russia was then in the throes of a civil war and the Polish-Bolshevik war began on 14 February 1919). It can be stated in brief that there were other individual cases of similar, roundabout homecomings.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> A unit composed of Azeri volunteers with some Turkish officers and non-commissioned officers corps.

<sup>35</sup> “Post-Mortem Examination Certificates” 7657; entry in the deaths registry of the Magistrate of the City of Kraków, pos. 3350, 03.06.1919 (sig. AZCKwK: 2226/1919).

<sup>36</sup> The Russian (?) POW Satryn Grypov, died 24 November 1919, was also buried in this grave. “Post-Mortem Examination Certificates” 7019; entry in the deaths registry of the Magistrate of the City of Kraków, pos. 3909, 08.10.1919 (sig. AZCKwK: 3549/1919).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. H. Ataman, *Harp ve Esaret. Doğu Cephesi'nden Sibirya'ya [War and Slavery: On the Eastern Front to Siberia]*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul 2010.

In conclusion, it should be noted that, given the failures in the medical documentation from the hospitals of the Kraków Fortress during the First World War, the notes by Professor Kowalski are the only source that we can use to acquaint ourselves with the personalities of the Ottoman soldiers treated there – if not all of them, then certainly a large number. There are no separate mentions of the treatment of Turks in Kraków in inspection reports conducted in Galicia by representatives of the Red Crescent.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, the post-mortem examination certificates are of priceless value since they are the only known sources on the Ottoman soldiers' burials in Kraków. Thanks to them, these fallen men can finally be mentioned by name on the new monument to be erected in Rakowicki Cemetery in autumn 2015 or spring 2016.

*Piotr Nykiel*

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## ŻOŁNIERZE OSMAŃSCY W SZPITALACH TWIERDZY KRAKÓW W LATACH 1916–1919

### Streszczenie

Udział wojsk osmańskich w walkach na froncie wschodnio-galicyskim w latach 1916–1917 wciąż pozostaje bardzo mało znanym i niedocenianym przez historyków epizodem. Niniejszy artykuł przybliża jeden z jego wątków, jakim była obecność co najmniej 50 oficerów i żołnierzy osmańskich w szpitalach Twierdzy Kraków w latach 1916–1919. W oparciu o materiał źródłowy zebrany podczas kwerend w Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU oraz w Archiwum Zarządu Cmentarzy Komunalnych w Krakowie autor przybliża dane osobowe Turków, którzy byli leczeni bądź zmarli w tym mieście w omawianym okresie. Wypełniona zostaje w ten sposób istotna luka nie tylko w polskiej historiografii, ponieważ jak do tej pory w archiwach tureckich nie natrafiono na żadne materiały dotyczące pobytu żołnierzy tureckich w szpitalach Twierdzy Kraków. W tym kontekście podkreślona została rola nestora polskiej turkologii prof. Tadeusza Kowalskiego, dzięki któremu dysponujemy danymi aż 37 żołnierzy tureckich, którzy po wyleczeniu opuścili Kraków. W artykule cytowane są też trzy piosenki napisane przez Turków w Galicji. Ponadto szczegółowo omówiona została kwestia miejsc i sposobu pochówku żołnierzy osmańskich na Cmentarzu Rakowickim w Krakowie, jak również aktualny stan ich mogił. W przypadku wykorzystanych w artykule „świadectw oględzin pośmiertnych” zwrócono uwagę na stopień ich szczegółowości, daleko wykraczający poza standardy przyjęte w Imperium Osmańskim w odniesieniu do podobnych dokumentów.

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<sup>38</sup> Cf. O. Dağlar Macar, *op. cit.*, p. 34–58.