The Turkish Historiography on the First World War

The Ottoman Empire is the peak of the Turkish history. It was the most powerful and longest lived Turkish state reigned in three continent. The First World War ended this empire. Therefore WWI occupies an important place in the Turkish history. After a hundred years, Turkish historians are supposed to create a huge literature on this war. This paper aims to present the Turkish literature on the WWI from military, political, social, cultural and economic perspectives; to discuss the characteristics of the works; and to point most studied and neglected aspects of it.

As it is well known, the Ottoman Empire was governed by the Unionist and Unionists` controlled governments during the WWI. The firm opposition between the Unionists and the nonUnionists which had started in 1908, continued in the following years. This opposition and discussions did not end with the Unionists` withdrawn from the government at the end of the WWI. Therefore the subjects discussed in Turkey related to the WWI is under the shadow of the discussions over the Unionists. It can be classified into two major camps as pro-Unionists and anti-Unionists.

According to the sympathizers of the Unionists` rule of the Ottoman Empire during WWI, joining the war was unavoidable, neutrality was impossible; there
was no any other choice then to be alliance with Germany, Germans` de facto obliged the Ottoman government to joint to the war; in spite of the well plans and heroism, the Ottoman army was not lucky in Sarikamis; forced migration of the revolted Armenians during the war was necessary, and it was conducted properly under the war conditions; the Arabs who were bribed by the British intelligence betrayed the Ottomans; despite the fact that the Ottomans fought bravely in all the fronts, the Ottoman Empire was considered looser of the war, due to the failure of Germany.

According to the others who were critical to the Unionists, the Empire could stay neutral and avoid to participate to the war. The Unionist leaders bypassed state institutions and mechanisms, and signed a secret treaty of alliance with Germany; and even without informing the prime minister, joined the Empire to the war; they were so weak to resist to German pressures; just to remove heavy pressure of British and Russian armies on Germany in Europe, they opened Caucasus and Canal fronts, and caused tens of thousands Turkish soldiers lives; because of their bad management of Armenian forced migration, the Turks are still criticized; Cemal Pasha`s arrogant way of ruling resulted in Arab revolt; unrealist and day dreamer Unionists are the guilty for the end of the Empire.

The first Turkish book on the WWI was published in 1916. The author was major Ali Riza. Supported by the tables, it was about Greek Army in WWI, distribution of the forces. The book was presenting the power balance between Greek and the Ottoman armies. A small booklet about the torpils and bombs used in Dardanel and ways to defeat was published in 1917. It is obvious that these

---


2 Çanakkale’de Torpillere Karşı Korunma, İstanbul: Karargah-ı Umumi, 1332 (1916).
books were published and circulated limitedly. During the war some of the reports on the Ottoman fronts written and printed by the foreigners were translated into Turkish and published. The first one was a report of the British government about the military movement in Egypt from November 1914 to March 1916. It was translated by Captain Rahmi and published in 1916. The second translation was about the British military movement of Dardanelles prepared by the British Government, published in 1917. It was translated by the Intelligent Division of the Ottoman General Staff. The third one was published in the following year. It was about the capture of Jerusalem by the British Army, written by W.T. Massey, the official correspondence of British Army in Iraq. It was published in The Times on 17 December 1917, and again was translated by the Intelligence Division of the Ottoman General Staff.

While the war was ending, some of the influential people who had held key positions published their memories. The most remarkable ones were the memoirs of Andre Mandelstam, the Chief Translater of the Russian Embassy in Istanbul, published in 1917, and the memories of Henry Morgenthau, the American Ambassador in Istanbul published in 1918. The memories of Liman von Sanders published in 1919 in Germany followed them. The first book critical

---

3 *İmârîn Müdafası*, Tr., Erkan-ı Harp Kâdemli Yüzyaşı Rahmi, İstanbul, 1332 (1916).

4 *Çanakkale Raporu*, Tr., Hüsamettin, İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1337 (1917).


8 Sanders, Liman von, *Fünf Jahre Türkei*, Berlin: August Scherig Gim. b. H., 1919. The book translated to Turkish with the title of *Türkiye’de Beş Yil*, and published by the Turkish General Staff in 1337 (1921).
about Unionists was written by Cavid Pasha and published in 1918 in Turkey.\(^9\) The Unionist leaders, Enver, Talat and Cemal, felt necessary to defend themselves against the accusations in these published memories. Although they were under stressful conditions of exile, they vaguely scripted their memories. The memoirs of Cemal Pasha was published in 1922.\(^10\) At several places of his memoirs he mentioned the names of the American Ambassador Morgenthau and the Russian Embassy Chief Translator Mandelstam, and replied their accusations. Talat Pasha also stated that “I decided to write my memoirs as an answer to injustice accusations that directed to the Ottoman State”\(^11\).

After the end of the First World War, commanders of the war began to write their memoirs and books on the war. The memoirs of Ali Fuad Erden who was the Corps Commander in Syria *Paris’ten Tih Sahrasına*\(^12\), the book of Şerif Köprülü, the second commander of the Ninth Army Corps fought in Sarıkamış, the conference text of Fevzi Cakmak who later became the Head of Turkish General Staff, *Büyük Harpte Şark Cephesi Hareketleri*\(^14\), the memoirs of Kazim Karabekir who worked at the headquarter of the Turkish General Staff and later became commander of army corps, *Cihan Harbine Neden Girdik, Nasıl Girdik,*

---


\(^11\) The memoirs of Talat Pasha was first published in 1946; Talat Paşa, *Talat Paşa’nın Hatıraları*, Haz: Enver Bolayır, İstanbul: Bolayır Yayınevi, 1946.

\(^12\) Erden, Ali Fuad, *Paris’ten Tih Sahrasına*, İstanbul, 1336 (1920).

\(^13\) This was the first book critical on Sarıkamış disaster. Köprülü, Şerif, *Sarıkamış İhata Manevrası ve Meydan Muharebesi*, İstanbul: Necmi-ı İstiklal Matbaası, 1338 (1924).

Nasıl İdare Ettik\textsuperscript{15}, Ali Fuad Cebesoy’

cı memoires titled Büyük Harpte Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun (1916-1917) Yılındaki Vaziyeti, Birüssebi-Gazze Meydan Muharebesi ve 20. Kolordu\textsuperscript{16}, the memoirs of Ali Ihsan Sabis who worked at the headquarters of the Turkish General Staff and then became Corps Commander, Harp Hatıraları\textsuperscript{17} are the first remembered ones. Some other commanders also wrote and published their memoirs. All of them were about a front, event, war, army etc. of the great war. While the authors described the events they were involved, they also presented their services. Some of them had documents as well. Almost all of them were published at the Military Printing House\textsuperscript{18}. Even though they were not published independently, some of the memoirs and works of the officials of the WWI were published as an annex to Askeri Mecmuu, the


military journal of the Turkish General Staff. There were also memoirs published in other periodicals. Publication of the memoirs of the WWI commanders still continuing.

1920s witnessed publications of research books on the war written by the Turkish officers. Cihan Harbi’nde Osmanlı Harekatı Tarihçesi – Çanakkale Muharebatı, published in the Military Printing House in 1922, deals with the prewar developments and attacks on & defence of the Dardanelles. Hab-i Umumi’de Osmanlı Cepheleri Vakayii was written by Major Mehmet Emin who was among the teachers of Military Academy as a general textbook. It starts with the reasons of Ottoman Empire to involve in the WWI, and describes the war at the fronts such as Caucasus, Sina and Palestine, Iraq, Yemen, Dardanelles,
Romania. In 1920s a series of textbooks were published to be taught in the Military Academies. They were mainly about Palestine and Dardanelles fronts. They were published at the Printing House of the Military Academies. Although some of the authors are not indicated, it is clear that all of them were written by the officer teachers of the Military Academies.

The most detailed political history of the WWI in Turkish is the related books of Yusuf Hikmet Bayur’s well known series, *Türk İnkişap Tarihi*. The author was a diplomat, politician, and historian. He began to write the series with an order of the founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The first volume of the series was published in 1940. The third volume of the series covers the WWI years. The volume consisted of four books and published in the period of 1953-1967. In the introduction of the first volume, the author claims that while he was writing the developments which led to the end of the Empire, he had to state the events, mistakes, lies, deceives, unconcioues that played a role in the process, characteristics of the rulers, their identities and values, their service to the foreigners whether willingly or unwillingly. He added that to keep his neutrality, he widely used the words and books of people who were involved in those events, and different kinds of documents, then gave his own opinion. He used memoires, political and military history books published in Turkey and

---


26 Bayur, Vol.III, B.1, pp.XIII-XIV.
abroad. Additionally the documents of Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives which are still unavailable to researchers today, were used in his book.

The first book of the volume covers prewar developments and 1914-15 events. The second book merely devoted to the Dardanelles wars. Probably the thesis that Dardanelles wars was the beginning of the Turkish national resistance and made Mustafa Kemal Atatürk known by the nation, was first mentioned in this book. The third book deals with the 1915-17 wars and their results. Armenian forced migration was mentioned very briefly, and covered in the chapter of the wars of Caucasian front. The rest of the book presents the wars and events in the East, such as Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Palestine, Egypt, Syria, Arap Uprising etc. The fourth book deals with the end of the war. Bolshevik Revolution, developments in the Caucasus and situation of the Turkic communities in the Russian Empire during the same period; political, ideological and economic developments in Turkey; and the end of the war are the subjects. Bayur concluded that the Unionists are guilty because they made the Empire join to the war, and conducted the war badly. Moreover, they dampen down national resistance feeling. This was one of the major difficulties the National movement of Anatolia after the war faced.

The first name to be remembered in terms of Turkish official history line of the post Atatürk period is Enver Ziya Karal. He wrote the last period of the Ottoman history in four volumes. The first volume was published in 1946. Including the WWI, the last volume covers the years of 1908-1918 period27. It was edited by his daughter Seçil Karal Akgün due to his death before it published. Bayur’s third

volume related to the WWI covers about 2500 pages but the last book’s of Karal has only about 200 pages related to the WWI. However, its simplicity as well as reflecting the official view attracted great demand. The book took place in the shelves of the libraries of students, professors, intellectuals and ordinary people. While evaluating the wars of Dardanelles the author states that obviously Turkish soldiers fought with a new consciousness of homeland in Dardanelles. Young Turkish commanders had an important role in that new consciousness. Mustafa Kemal’s name stands at the top of them. With his energy, firmness and ability to see ahead of time, Mustafa Kemal, influenced the WWI and its long term results. It can also be claimed that he prepared the direction of the WWII.  

The Turkish Armed Forces made the biggest publication on the WWI in Turkey. The Military History and Strategic Studies (ATASE) Department of Turkish General Staff keeps the military archives and museums, organizes military history activities, and makes publications. The publication catalogue of ATASE contains thirteen groups, and one of them is about the WWI. In this group there were fifty books in 2012. Few of them are the second edition of the previously published books. Some of them are memoirs, and some others are translations. The main bulk of the publications of this group is research books.

Birinci Dünya Harbi’nde Türk Harbi is the title of the most important book in the group of WWI. This is the most comprehensive book to study WWI from military history aspect. It is nine volumes. The first volume deals with military preparations to the war. The second volume deals with Caucasian front, the third

---

28 Karal, s.475-476.  
29 http://www.tsk.tr/9_yayinlar/9_4_genelkurmay_atase_baskanligi_yayin_katalogu/pdf/yayin_katalogu.pdf (01.08.2013)
one deals with Iran-Iraq front, the fourth one deals with Sina-Palestine front, the fifth one deals with Dardanelles front, the sixth one deals with Arabian and Yemen fronts and Libya movement, the seventh one deals with European fronts, eight one deals with Turkish naval movements, and ninth one deals with Turkish air movements. Each volume consisted of two or three books, and each book is no less than 500-600 pages. Each book is written by one or more officer/s. What makes these books most valuable is that they are based on the documents of the military archives of ATASE. Important events and movements are described day by day, division by division according to the documents. They contain many maps, sketches, and tables.

Two books among the publications of ATASE related to the WWI are especially important. One of them is about the biographies of the high rank officers of the Turkish Armies. The title of this three volumes book is Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na...
Katılan Alay ve Daha Üst Kademedeki Komutanların Biyografileri\(^{31}\). The other one is about administration and logistic of the Turkish armies during the war. It was written by a group of officers and published in the series of Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Tarihi\(^{32}\).

Eşref Kuşçubaşı and Hüsamettin Ertürk are the founders and presidents of the Turkish Secret Service called Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa during the WWI. They published their memoirs after the war. It is not difficult to guess that they did not write all what they knew, but still the books contain useful information\(^{33}\).

Recently some works on the social life, healthcare services and diseases in Anatolia during the WWI have begun to be published. Tevfik Sağlam’s book is the first one in that field.\(^{34}\) The article of Mehmet Temel describes the preventive measures against the diseases during the WWI\(^{35}\). The work of Ramazan Çalık and Muzaffer Tepekaya, based on the German and Ottoman sources, gives useful information about the diseases and deaths during the WWI, and suggests to have a look from this perspective to the Armenian losses during the war\(^{36}\). Hikmet Özdemir’s book is also in the same truck\(^{37}\).


\(^{34}\) Sağlam, Tevfik, Büyük Harp ve 3. Ordu’da Sıhhi Hizmet, Ankara, 1941.


"Doğu Cephesi’nde Sağlık Hizmetleri" is an important book based on the ATASE documents and published in 2011. Zafer Koylu and Nihal Doğan’s work about malaria in Anatolia during the WWI, and Dilşen Erdoğan İnce’s work about brigands in Aydın province during the same period are the first works in their respective fields.

Another new topic related to the WWI is the Turkish literature. Erol Köroğlu’s dissertation was first published in English, then Turkish. He analyses the Turkish literature related to the war during the WWI from the perspective of basic parameters of the cultural aspect of establishing a new national identity. Nesime Ceylan also introduces and evaluates the stories witnessed to the WWI.

It can be concluded that a great percent of the Turkish literature on the WWI is about the military aspect of the war, written by officers, and produced by the Turkish General Staff. The memoirs, conference texts and text books, naturally, carries the characteristics and weaknesses of their classes. Research books are based on the documents of the ATASE archives. They simply describe the events. They are merely narratives, and not analytic enough. Dardanelles front was the most studied aspects of the WWI either by the officers or the civilians. There is not a bibliography on the Turkish literature about the WWI either by the officers or the civilians.

---

38 ATEM Başkanlığ, Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Doğu Cephesinde Sağlık Hizmetleri, 2011.
bibliography on the Turkish literature on the Dardanelles wars. Bayur`s work on the WWI which was written about a half century ago, is still a classic. Lack of an analitic, simple, concise work with military, political and social aspects on the WWI, obliges publication companies to translate the works of foreign authors and publish them. Although it is out of the scope of this paper, these translations are another interesting subject to study.