

DEPICTION OF THE ENEMY:  
OTTOMAN PROPAGANDA BOOKS IN THE BALKAN WARS OF 1912-1913

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## Thesis Abstract

Cengiz Yolcu, “Depiction of the Enemy: Ottoman Propaganda Books in the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913”

The loss of the Rumelia in the Balkan Wars was perceived as a catastrophe by the Ottomans. Thousands of people lost their homelands and immigrated to Anatolia after overwhelming military defeat. Various actions such as public meetings, demonstrations and publications were taken in order to mobilize society and recruit volunteers against the Balkan states. In this thesis, my aim is to focus on the books which were published during the Balkan Wars. During and just after the Balkan Wars, numerous books were published in different categories, such as books written by Ottoman and German officers in the Ottoman army and by observers including free-lance writers, about the reasons of military defeats. Another category of published books was composed of the impressions of journalists from various countries about the home front. The third category, with which I deal in this thesis, was the so-called propaganda books that showed the “cruelties” and “atrocities” of the Balkan states, particularly Bulgaria. Three of these books are titled as follows: *Âlâm-i İslâm: Bulgar Vahşetleri* (Sorrors of Islam: Bulgarian Cruelties), edited and published in 1912; *Âlâm-i İslam: Rumeli Mezalimi ve Bulgar Vahşetleri* (Sorrors of Islam: Atrocities in Rumelia and Bulgarian Cruelties), edited and published in 1913; and *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb, 1328 Fecâyii* (The Red Black Book, the Disasters of 1328), edited and published in 1913 by Ahmed Cevad (later on Ahmed Cevad Emre).

These books emphasized the theme of “revenge” in order to mobilize the Muslim Ottomans. Through the photographs and drawings in the books, it was possible to reach illiterates as well. Moreover, these pictures depicted an image of the “savage enemy”, or example, Bulgarians who burned down mosques or Serbs and Montenegrins who harassed innocent women and children. The fact that these books were printed only once and were never published again after the Balkan Wars shows that they were used as tools of propaganda.

## Tez Özeti

Cengiz Yolcu, “Depiction of the Enemy: Ottoman Propaganda Books in the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913”

Osmanlılar, Balkan Savaşı neticesinde Rumeli'nin kaybedilmesi ve yüzbinlerce göçmenin Anadolu'ya sığınmalarını bir hezimet ve felaket olarak telakki etmişlerdir. Bu yenilgiyi telafi edebilmek ve savaşı yeni gönüllülerin toplanması amacıyla birçok toplantı ve miting tertip edilmesinin yanı sıra toplumu etkileyecek tarzda yayımlar da yapılmıştır. Bu tezi hazırlamaktaki maksadım, Balkan Savaşı sırasında yazılmış ve yayımlanmış, özellikle “propaganda” mahiyeti taşıyan kitapların bir değerlendirmesini gerçekleştirmektir. Zira savaş sırasında ve savaşın hemen ertesinde farklı kategorilerde tasnif edebileceğimiz birçok kitap neşredilmiştir. Bu kategoriler arasında tezimde üzerinde durduğum konu, savaşta Osmanlı Devleti'nin karşısında yer alan Balkan devletlerinin –özellikle Bulgaristan ordusunun- yaptıkları “vahşet” ve “mezalim”leri tasvir eden ve benim “propaganda” kitapları olarak nitelendirdiğim kitapların bir incelemesini yapmak olmuştur. Söz konusu bu üç kitaptan ilki 1912 senesinde yayımlanmış olan *Âlâm-i İslâm: Bulgar Vahşetleri*; ikincisi 1913'te yayımlanan *Âlâm-i İslâm: Rumeli Mezalimi ve Bulgar Vahşetleri* ve sonuncusu ise Ahmed Cevad Emre'nin yayıma hazırladığı yine 1913 yayımlanan *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb, 1328 Fecâyii*'dir.

Bu kitaplar, özellikle Müslüman Osmanlı kamuoyunu etkileyebilmek maksadıyla “intikam” fikrini vurgulamışlardır. Kitaplarda sıklıkla kullanılan fotoğraflar ve çizimler, okuma-yazma bilmeyenlere dahi ulaşabilmeyi mümkün kılmıştır. Bu fotoğraf ve çizimlerde yer alan ortak temalar ise camileri yakıp yıkan Bulgar ve Yunan, kadın ve çocuklara saldıran Sırp ve Karadağlı imgesidir. Tezin konusu olan bu kitapların yalnızca savaş sırasında ve hemen sonrasında sadece bir defaya mahsus olarak basılmış olmaları, “propaganda” amacıyla hazırlanmış ve kullanılmış olmaları düşüncesini de destekler mahiyettedir.

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## CONTENTS

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| CHAPTER 1:INTRODUCTION.....   | 1   |
| CHAPTER 2: THE LONG PATH TO THE BALKAN WARS OF 1912 -<br>1913.....  | 10  |
| General Situation before the War.....   | 11  |
| The War.....  | 21  |
| Young Turk Coup.....  | 24  |
| The Second Phase of the War.....  | 25  |
| A General Evaluation of the Balkan Wars.....  | 28  |
| Social, Political and Economic Consequences of the Balkan Wars.....   | 30  |
| The Balkan Wars in the “Literature”.....  | 37  |
| Conclusion.....   | 42  |
| CHAPTER 3: WAR PROPAGANDA: THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL<br>BACKGROUND.....  | 43  |
| Definition of the Propaganda.....   | 43  |
| Historical Aspects of the Propaganda.....   | 46  |
| Publications in the Balkan Wars.....  | 63  |
| Theatre Plays Written and Published during the Balkan Wars.....   | 65  |
| Patriotic Poems Written and Published during the Balkan Wars.....   | 66  |
| Conclusion.....   | 70  |
| CHAPTER 4: DEFEAT IN THE FRONT, DEFENSE BY WORDS AND<br>PICTURES.....   | 71  |
| Ottoman Propaganda Books.....   | 73  |
| War Propaganda by the Enemies: How did the Bulgarian and the Greek Publications<br>represent the Balkan Wars?.....                  | 77  |
| The Books that are out of the General Literature of the Balkan Wars.....  | 82  |
| <i>Âlâm-i İslâm: Bulgar Vahşetleri</i> [Sorrows of İslam: Bulgarian Cruelties].....   | 85  |
| <i>Âlâm-i İslam: Rumeli Mezalimi ve Bulgar Vahşetleri</i> [Sorrows of İslam: Atrocities in<br>Rumelia and Bulgarian Cruelties]..... | 88  |
| <i>Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb, 1328 Fecâyii</i> [The Red Black Book, the Disasters of 1328]....  | 95  |
| Barbarity and Violence.....   | 104 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| The Modern Crusade: <i>Cross versus Crescent</i> ..... | 113 |
| The Concept of Revenge.....                            | 117 |
| Conclusion.....  | 124 |
| CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION.....                             | 125 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY.....                                      | 129 |

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about the Ottoman propaganda during the Balkan Wars in general and three propaganda books in particular. I will touch upon the patriotic and nationalistic poems, theatre plays and stories, but I will basically focus on three books which were published with the aim of mobilizing the Ottomans during the Balkan Wars. The names of these three books according to their publication dates are as follows: *Âlâm-i İslâm: Bulgar Vahşetleri* (Sorrows of İslam: Bulgarian Cruelties), edited and published in 1912; *Âlâm-i İslâm: Rumeli Mezalimive Bulgar Vahşetleri* (Sorrows of İslam: Atrocities in Rumelia and Bulgarian Cruelties), edited and published in 1913; and *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb, 1328 Fecâyii* (The Red Black Book, the Disasters of 1328), edited and published in 1913 by Ahmed Cevad (later on Ahmed Cevad Emre).

Here I should briefly explain why I refer to these books as propaganda books although, as I will argue later, when we look at the definitions and exemplary practices of organized propaganda it is hard to consider the publications of the Ottomans during the war as propaganda works in a real sense. The primary reason is that if we take the targets of these books into account it is obvious that they were written and published to impress and mobilize the Ottomans, another significant reason is that they were published by foundations and not by ordinary individuals. This fact makes clear that these foundations used these books to shape a certain public opinion. To put it simply, these books can be seen as naïve examples of propaganda practices. Moreover, I found it useful to study the books under a common general title and I hope it will promote debate in the field.

The main purpose of the thesis is to explore the perception of the “atrocious” enemy during the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 rather than presenting all sorts of mobilization efforts of the Ottomans. At the center of this thesis there is the question of whether there was organized or independent propaganda activity during the war years. I will try to answer this question by examining only the aforementioned three books despite the fact that there are many sources that can be related to the propaganda issue after the Balkan Wars.

There is not one single reason why I chose these books to examine in this thesis. First of all, the fact that they were prepared and published during the Balkan Wars differentiates them from other sources. Although there are great numbers of books that were published after the war, the ones published during the war, when incidents had not become experiences of the past yet, are limited in number. Secondly, as mentioned above, while they were prepared by single authors, they were published by foundations like *Rumeli Muhacirîn-i İslâmiye Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi* (the Beneficial Association of Muslim Refugees of Rumelia) and *Neşr-i Vesâik Cemiyeti* (Association for the Publication of Documents). Additionally, Talat Paşa pledged financial support for *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb, 1328 Fecâyii*. Thirdly, in spite of the fact that sources which were used in these books were composed of visual materials that were published in the Western media, their authors spent time with the refugees in order to gather information about their experiences. Therefore, I think these books are very rich and valuable sources.

I divided the thesis into five chapters including the introduction and conclusion chapters. Chapters Two and Three are background and theoretical chapters about the Balkan Wars and propaganda respectively. Chapter Four is the

main chapter of the thesis, in which I will discuss my arguments and present my findings on the subject.

Chapter Two, as is evident from its title “The Long Path to the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913,” includes the general situation before the war, specifically the Congress of Berlin and its consequences, the outbreak of the war, its steps, its importance and effects for the Ottoman Empire, for the Balkan states and the world. Later in this chapter, I will make a general evaluation of the wars by examining the incapability of the Ottoman Army, and social, political and economic consequences of the wars. Finally, I will present a literature survey about the Balkan Wars looking at the primary and secondary sources relevant to the subject.

The Balkan Wars are one of the turning points in world history not only because of their wide scale consequences but also owing to the novelties they caused in warfare. The Balkan Wars were some of the first and “small-scale” examples of the modern warfare in which the battlefields expanded even near to the settlements around the city centers and civilians were part of the war as much as soldiers were.<sup>1</sup> The Balkan Wars were the first in which civilian populations were regarded as targets of war and the opposing military forces.<sup>2</sup>

Social and economic results of the Balkan Wars for the Ottoman Empire were dramatic. The empire lost a major proportion of its revenues together with its territories in Rumelia. That caused a massive economic burden on the Ottoman State. The wars also resulted in forced migrations, which led to numerous tragedies. The wounds of the Balkan Wars could not be healed during the whole twentieth

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<sup>1</sup> Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes* (London: Abacus, 2009), p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Hall, *The Balkan Wars 1912-1913: Prelude to the First World War*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 136.

century. Also, it brought to an end “age of brotherhood” among the Muslims and the non-Muslims that started with the proclamation of the *Hürriyet*.

The atmosphere created by the First Balkan War had a crucial impact on national identity. Eyal Ginio argues that the formation of the Ottoman nation gained a religious character with the war.<sup>3</sup> In addition, the shock and the trauma that the Balkan defeat caused helped Turkish nationalism be internalized not only by the common people but also at the levels of state administration, politics, and culture.<sup>4</sup> That is to say that Ottomanism was left behind and Turkish nationalism was adopted instead.

The third chapter, “War Propaganda: Theoretical and Historical Background” focuses on propaganda; particularly war propaganda. It includes the definition, use, and transformation of the term propaganda in a historical context and briefly touches upon the propaganda experience of the Ottomans during the Balkan Wars and First World War.

Although the term propaganda can be traced back to the seventeenth century, its use in an organized way by states as a political weapon begins with the First World War. However, some scholars claim that propaganda was used as a psychological war weapon during the Crimean War, the American Civil War, the Boer Wars, and the Balkan Wars. The emergence of organized propaganda practices in the nineteenth century was not a coincidence, but was a result of technological improvements of this century.

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<sup>3</sup> Eyal Ginio, “Paving the Way for Ethnic Cleansing: Eastern Thrace during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and Their Aftermath” in Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz (eds.) *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Borderlands* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), p. 284.

<sup>4</sup> Erol Köroğlu, *Ottoman Propaganda and Turkish Identity: Literature in Turkey during World War I* (London; New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), p. 47.

Although the Ottomans were not successful in their propaganda practices as their European counterparts were, they left important historical sources behind. They carried out certain activities which I regard as propaganda activities during the Balkan Wars. These activities included publishing books and magazines that served as war panoramas and as collections of atrocities, cruelties that happened during the battles. Newspapers and journals were the most effective tools for delivering and transmitting the news from the fronts and for war propaganda. Apart from the Ottoman press, military, religious and civilian ceremonies, theatre productions, “patriotic” poems, novels, stories, stamps and postcards were used for the aims of propaganda. On the other hand, although there was war literature extensive in size, diversity and openness during the year that separated the Balkan Wars from the outbreak of First World War<sup>5</sup>, literary works created by the Ottomans were not satisfactory means of propaganda. Especially if we take European wartime literature into account, it is difficult to categorize the Ottoman pieces as propaganda.

According to Erol Köroğlu, most of the Ottoman literary figures of the period handled the Balkan Wars and the First World War in their works not with aims of propaganda, but in order to contribute to the national culture.<sup>6</sup> However, I will try to discuss the specific way of Ottoman propaganda activities during the Balkan Wars.

Chapter Four is the main chapter of this thesis in which I will tackle Ottoman propaganda books. Before doing that I will briefly look at the publications during and after the Balkan Wars. These publications consist of journals, newspapers, theatre plays, patriotic poems written and published during the Balkan Wars; the poems that were written in the progressive aspects of the war; the poems which were written at the end of the war and Ottoman Propaganda Books.

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<sup>5</sup> Ginio, “Paving the Way for Ethnic Cleansing”, pp. 288-289.

<sup>6</sup> Köroğlu, *Ottoman Propaganda*, p. 171.

The three books I will examine, namely *Âlâm-i İslâm: Bulgar Vahşetleri*, *Âlâm-i İslam: Rumeli Mezalimi ve Bulgar Vahşetleri*, and *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb, 1328 Fecâyii* which are known as the Ottoman propaganda books, are the first examples of the Ottomans in this genre. These books were published just after the defeat and the debacle of the Ottoman Army in the Balkan Wars. They consist of a relatively short analysis of the war and various visual materials. The contents of the books were prepared in order to create a public opinion. In this context, the authors mostly used illustrations and photographs of the wounded and dead soldiers, burnt houses, mosques and towns, the misery of the refugees on their ways to İstanbul, etc. Visual materials were used both to depict and demonstrate the incidents of war and to impress illiterate people together with the literate ones. The books also include long lists of atrocities of the Balkan armies, irregulars, and even civilians against the Muslim population of Rumelia.

These propaganda books have an essential aim to demonstrate how the Muslim Ottomans were faced with a serious and devastating defeat and to find the reason or reasons of the defeat. They underline the necessity of revenge and in order to spread these ideas they try to mobilize volunteers. In particular volunteer writers tried to affect the public opinion of both the Ottoman Empire and the foreign countries with their writings. Nevertheless, unlike Bulgarian works, it can be said that the writers of Ottoman propaganda books did not see their works as sufficient.

The first book I will examine, *Âlâm-i İslâm: Bulgar Vahşetleri*, tells about incidents that mostly happened in the villages, towns and cities of Bulgaria. It includes a list of cruelties against the Muslim Ottomans which starts in the years before the Balkan Wars, personal narratives of Muslim immigrants and refugees who took refuge in the Ottoman Empire. There are accusatory expressions toward

Bulgarians and the Great Powers of Europe, and the discourse of revenge is accordingly preponderant. Another important point is that throughout the book, there is no reference to any nationality: it only refers to religion.

In the second book, *Âlâm-i İslam: Rumeli Mezalimi ve Bulgar Vahşetleri*, the author complains about the lack of assistance from the Muslims all over the world while indicating solidarity among the Bulgarians. He further argues that if they do not help Muslims in Rumeliasoon, Muslims in Anatolia will be exposed to the atrocities of the Balkan armies as well. As can be seen also in the first book, fighters and civilians of the Balkan states are described as a group of “barbarians” who enjoy “drinking blood” of innocent Muslims in Rumelia. Besides, the “cruelties” of the Greek and especially Bulgarian armies are associated withthe *Inquisition*. Parallel to that, European public opinion is blamed for their indifference to the incidents that took place in Rumelia. Discourses like awakening and revenge are present in this book just like the first one.

The last book I will cover is *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb, 1328 Fecâyii*. This book contains similar themes to those of the first two books. Most of its articles are written about particular cases and incidents that occurred during the Balkan Wars, such as the “atrocities” of the Bulgarians, Serbs, Montenegrins and Greeks, sufferings of the Ottoman soldiers and prisoners in the hands of a “savage” enemy, harassment of Muslim inhabitants of the regionof the soldiers of the Balkan League and irregulars, andburning down or conversioninto churches of mosques. The book includes tens of illustrations and photographs which depict the Bulgarian atrocities. In addition, the author blames the Greek and Bulgarian subjects of the Ottoman Empire, claiming that they collaborated with the enemy and backstabbed the Ottoman army. Again, the idea of revenge is dominant in this book as well. There isalso some advice for

Muslim Ottomans in order to save the empire and its next generations. For that, not only do they have to be strong and fight against the enemy, but also they have to obey the rules and the laws of both the religion and the state. Like the other two books, the author of *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb* also accuses the Europeans, especially because of the European press's "black propaganda" against the Ottoman Empire.

Besides these books that are my main primary sources in this thesis, there are a great deal of primary sources related to the Balkan Wars, such as journals, magazines, memoirs of commanders, soldiers and correspondents, which are already discussed in this work. I tried to give brief information about their contents in my thesis, because examining and working on all the published materials could lead me to another and more profound research project.

I also used the journal *Sabah* in order to find more accurate and exact information on the establishment of the *Rumeli Muhacirin-i İslamiye Cemiyeti*, which published the first two books used in this thesis. Last but not least, I used archival documents in order to demonstrate the financial support of the government to the publication of the *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*.

As my last cautionary note, I must state that I have tried to keep my distance from my research subject. This study neither endorses nor denies the claims of the authors of the propaganda books that are examined in this thesis. I aimed only to both understand and show how the Ottomans did see, perceive and depict their enemies during the ongoing war; and what they did for it. The readers of this thesis will decide if I have succeeded or failed in this respect.

Finally, I would like to express the motivation behind choosing the Balkan Wars as a thesis subject. Some years ago, while I was digging out the old photographs of my family, I found a picture in which two brothers-in-arms wearing

military uniforms were sitting on a bench. One of these soldiers was my great-grandfather Osman Veli Osman, and the second soldier was his Bulgarian friend Miho Staņeņ, who was from a village adjacent to his own. My grandmother, Osman's daughter, told me the story of this photograph. She was not sure if they fought in the Balkan Wars or in the First World War, but as far as she remembered, during a fight Osman had fainted from thirst, Miho took him to a safe place and saved his life. To commemorate that day, they had their photograph taken. If this story seems a bit irrelevant to my topic, I must say that all my interest in the wars in the second decade of the twentieth century started with that print.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE LONG PATH TO THE BALKAN WARS OF 1912-1913

Wars have mostly been the results of the policies of a certain state or a group of states with common interests. The Balkan Wars<sup>7</sup> were no exception to this rule.

In historiography, the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 have been considered either as a consequence of the struggles for liberation of the Balkan states or as the last crusade, which was also the prelude to the First World War. In addition, the Balkan Wars represent the beginning of an era both in the Ottoman Empire and European history dominated by nationalism and conflict.<sup>8</sup> Thus, these years were decisive for the Ottoman Turks and their opponents.

The Balkan Wars, the first “total wars” of the Ottoman Empire,<sup>9</sup> were fought during the autumn of 1912 and the winter, spring and summer of 1913 in the southeastern Europe. The first Balkan War began in October 1912 and the Ottoman Empire fought against an alliance of Balkan States called the Balkan League, which included Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro and Serbia. An armistice was signed in December 1912 and the fighting was suspended until January 1913. However, fighting resumed in İşkodra [Shkoder], Yanya [Janina], and Edirne. On 30 May 1913 a preliminary peace treaty was signed.

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<sup>7</sup> Before going further in this thesis, it must be stated that there is difference between the denotations. In Turkish historiography and literature this war is addressed only as Balkan Harbi or Balkan Savaşı (the Balkan War- in English). On the other hand, especially in the Anglo-Saxon based Western literature the war is divided into two sections. The first one, in other words the First Balkan War, starts in the fall of 1912 and the first round of the war ends in June 1913 along with the signing of the Treaty of London. The second phase of the war began at the end of the June, 1913 and continued until the Treaty of Bucharest on the 10<sup>th</sup> August 1913. Thus, in keeping with the western literature in this thesis the term “the Balkan Wars” is going to be preferred and used.

<sup>8</sup> Hall, *The Balkan Wars*, p. ix.

<sup>9</sup> Eyal Ginio, “Mobilizing the Ottoman Nation during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913): Awakening from the Ottoman Dream”, *War in History*, 2005 12 (2), p. 1.

In June 1913 the Second Balkan War began again, but the parties had changed their sides. A coalition of Greece, Montenegro, Serbia, Romania, and the Ottoman Empire fought against Bulgaria. By the time it ended a little over a month later, the allies had overwhelmed Bulgaria. Peace treaties signed in Bucharest in August 1913 and Constantinople (İstanbul) in September 1913 concluded the Second Balkan War. The long-lasting consequence of the Ottoman defeat in the Balkan Wars, in fact, was the abandonment of Ottomanism in favor of an aggressive nationalism.

The Balkan Wars also created a new situation in the Balkan Peninsula. When the war came to the end, almost none of the Balkan states were content with the new borders, especially the Ottoman Empire that lost Rumelia, and Bulgaria that could not attain the borders of the Greater Bulgaria.

At the same time, the Balkan Wars created hatred, suspicion and fear among the Balkan people, and shaped the image of the enemy. This image and the collective memory of the Balkan Wars were shaped by the narratives of the refugees, publications, etc. Even after the war, these consequences lasted for many decades.

#### General Situation before the War

##### Berlin Congress:

Since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman Empire and the Sublime Porte faced the rise of nationalism in its Balkan provinces. This concept came to light as a consequence of the French Revolution. Nationalism, the initiator of the long nineteenth century, also affected southeastern Europe, as it did to the whole world. The Pandora's box of ideas from the French Revolution presented a new vision of

nationhood, one molded to reflect the historical identity of each individual Balkan community.

While the concept of nationalism initially had largely cultural effects in this region, later its emphasis gradually became political. The desire to achieve national unity motivated the newly emerged Balkan states to confront the Ottoman Empire and claim its Orthodox Christian subjects. The leaders of these Balkan states assumed that only after the attainment of national unity could their states develop and prosper. In this respect, Balkan peoples aimed to adopt the western European concept of nationalism as the model for their national unification and founded their own “nation-states”. The “Millet system” was displaced by western European nationalism in the Balkans.

The first consequences of this displacement were the Serbian and Greek revolts in 1803 and 1821 respectively. By 1830, an autonomous Serbian state and an independent Greek state came into existence. In addition, the military aspect of the Italian and German unification, in 1861 and 1871 respectively, became a reference for the Balkan peoples. Thus, in 1876, Serbs and Montenegrins waged a war against the Ottoman Empire and in the same year a revolt, also known as “the April Uprising,” broke out in Bulgaria. The sultan was called by the European governments and public opinion to make internal reforms. When the sultan rejected these demands, in 1877 Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire with the goal of winning independence for the Bulgarians. By the end of February 1878, the Russians were in sight of the Ottoman capital. The Ottomans agreed to sign the Treaty of San Stefano (3 March 1878) in order to end the war. The treaty created an autonomous Principality of Bulgaria from the Danube to the Aegean Sea, and from the Black Sea coast to the Albanian mountains, including Üsküp (Skopje) and the whole of the

Vardar valley. Romania, Serbia and Montenegro were recognized as independent states. Nevertheless, the Treaty of San Stefano met a negative response from the Great Powers<sup>10</sup> of Europe and thus did not last more than a few months. Thus, a new conference would be held from June 13 to July 13, with the immediate purpose of revising the Treaty of San Stefano. The dominant feeling in Europe was that “autonomous” Bulgaria would be a protectorate of Russia, who would thus gain control over İstanbul and the Straits. Consequently, the statesmen assembled in Berlin, convening in the name of the European Concert. The Treaty of Berlin, signed on 13 July, confirmed the establishment of an autonomous and tributary Principality of Bulgaria under the suzerainty of the Ottoman sultan. It would be ruled by an elected prince, who would not be from the reigning house of any of the powers, but would be approved by them and confirmed by the Porte. Moreover, in Berlin, the territory of “San Stefano Bulgaria” was reduced between the Danube and the Balkan range. Also, a semi-autonomous Eastern Rumelia was established under the authority of the sultan and Macedonia remained under the direct authority of Bâb-ı Âlî, with the proviso that it would undertake administrative reforms. At the same time, Austria-Hungary attained the right to occupy and administer the Ottoman province of Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as the adjacent Sandjak of Novi Pazar<sup>11</sup>. The recent independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Romania from Ottoman rule was confirmed by the congress.

After the Congress of Berlin, based on the Article 23 of the Treaty, the Ottoman Empire had the obligation to implement a reform program for its Christian

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<sup>10</sup> The term Great Powers indicates Germany, Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria-Hungary and Italy for the 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>11</sup> Description of Novi Pazar is sometimes confusing. In the Turkish history books the same place is named in three different ways: Sandjak (Sancak)- the name of the region, the center of the region Novi Pazar, and its Turkish translation Yeni Pazar.

subjects in Macedonia.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, in the following years and decades such reforms could not be achieved, and this failure helped Orthodox Christians fight against the Ottoman administration in Macedonia, since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire was inevitable in their eyes. Thus, each of the Balkan peoples had a dream to restore their own medieval empires on which they based their national ideas. While the Serbs dreamt of recovering the empire of Stephan Dushan, the Greeks aimed to revive the Byzantine Empire, the Bulgarians desired the boundaries of the Medieval Bulgarian Kingdom, and the Romanians envisaged the Romania of Michael the Brave.<sup>13</sup> The idea of living in a homogeneous mono-national state that had to encompass all of the territories that were considered to belong to one's nation for historical or demographic reasons was dominant in the collective imagination.<sup>14</sup>

Decisions of the Congress frustrated all the Balkan states. Ivan Geshov, the prime minister of Bulgaria in the Balkan Wars, wrote that "Bulgaria is not only truncated but stabbed in the heart. The operation, or better to say this series of operations, inflicted upon Bulgaria, cause us terrible pains and will cripple us for a long time, but will not prove fatal to us."<sup>15</sup> The Greeks, Montenegrins, and the Serbs likewise perceived in the Treaty of Berlin a barrier to their national aspirations and, after 1878, all the Balkan states aimed to overcome the Berlin settlement.

After the Treaty of Berlin, the main problem for nations in the Balkans was that of national unification, or the "national question" as it was known at that time.

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<sup>12</sup> Mehmet Hacısalihoğlu, *Jön Türkler ve Makedonya Sorunu (1890-1918)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2008), pp. 258-259.

<sup>13</sup> Michael the Brave was the prince of 16<sup>th</sup> century Wallachia, Transylvania, and Moldavia. His anti-Ottoman movement influenced the Romanian revival in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>14</sup> Valery Kolev and Christina Koulouri (eds.), *Teaching Modern Southeast European History: Alternative Educational Materials: Workbook 3: The Balkan Wars* (Thessaloniki: Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, 2009), p. 38.

<sup>15</sup> Hall, *The Balkan Wars 1912-1913*, p. 3.

The border settlements determined by the treaties were perceived as unsatisfactory and temporary. Thus, throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century the Bulgarians, Greeks and Serbs contested with the Ottoman forces and among themselves in order to control Macedonia as a field for territorial gains. Thus, Macedonia became the focus for the expansionist ambitions of the Balkan states because of its mixture of people. Macedonia was a region with no clear borders and not even a formal existence as an administrative Ottoman entity. Especially, pro-Greek and pro-Bulgarian factions struggled for domination on the Slav Orthodox peasantry in Macedonia. Both sides founded schools to propagate their national ideals, established churches loyal to ‘their’ bishops, produced maps and ethnographies to justify their claim, and financed armed bands of patriots<sup>16</sup> in order to bring success to their cause. At first the Serbs established the Society of Saint Sava in 1886. In 1893, IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) was established in Selanik (Salonica). The motto of this organization was declared as “Macedonia for the Macedonians” and it was in favor of an autonomous Macedonia, not of the annexation of Macedonia to Bulgaria. Two years later, in 1895, the Bulgarian government established the External Organization to counter IMRO.<sup>17</sup> Besides, the Greeks organized the Ethniki Etairia in 1894 to advance the national aims of the Greek nation state. These organizations also served as military units besides their educational and propagandistic purposes. The Ottoman authorities preferred to watch remotely the incidents between nationalist organizations. When the matters started to spin out of control, the Albanian irregulars were sent. It must be

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<sup>16</sup> Anastasia N. Karakasidou, *Buğday Tarlaları Kan Tepeleri: Yunan Makedonyasında Millet Olma Aşamasına Geçiş Süreçleri: 1870-1990* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), p. 103.

<sup>17</sup> Fikret Adanır, *Makedonya Sorunu* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt yayınları, 1996), pp. 118-123.

noted here that the activities and missions mentioned above needed state and government organizations: Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece aimed to take advantage of their official organizations, such as educational organizations and their national churches. Teachers and priests sent from the centers aimed to achieve nationalization of the peasants in Ottoman Macedonia.<sup>18</sup>

In 1903, a revolt directed against Ottoman authority, the Ilinden Uprising, broke out in Macedonia. The purpose was to embroil the Great Powers on the side of the insurrectionists and their demands for autonomy. The revolt, led by IMRO, resulted in defeat. Notwithstanding this defeat, the issue of Macedonia was still the main ideal of Bulgarian public opinion. In answer to the revolt, the Russian Tsar Nicholas II and the Austro-Hungarian monarch Franz Joseph I agreed upon the Mürzteg reform programme,<sup>19</sup> a set of reforms that intended changes in the gendarmerie, to revise of the administrative boundaries to reflect the current ethnic composition, and changes within the legal and administrative institutions.<sup>20</sup>

Bulgaria, aware of its own weakness, made an alliance with Serbia in 1904. Also, Serbia looked for an alliance with Montenegro to consolidate their desires on Macedonia. All these efforts to form an alliance among Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro indicate that the newly-emerged Balkan States could not dare to declare a war against the Ottoman Empire.

Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Ottomanism had tried to promise the peaceful coexistence of all different nationalities within a modernized Ottoman Empire. However, the autocratic regime of Abdülhamid II, who dismissed the first Ottoman

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<sup>18</sup> Victor Roudometof, *Nationalism, Globalization and Orthodoxy: The Social Origins of ethnic Conflict in the Balkans* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001), p. 165.

<sup>19</sup> The name derived from the location where two monarchs met, today near Vienna, Austria.

<sup>20</sup> Gül Tokay, *Makedonya Sorunu: Jön Türk İhtilalinin Kökenleri (1903-1908)* (İstanbul: Afa Yayınları, 1995), pp. 47-48.

parliament in 1877, provoked opposition from both Christian and Muslim subjects.<sup>21</sup> After thirty years of autocracy, on 23 July, 1908 a small group of military officers of the Second (Thracian) Army and Third Army settled in Vilâyât-ı Selâse<sup>22</sup> and organized within the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), angry at Ottoman weakness and intervention of the Great Powers, forced the Sultan Abdülhamid II to restore the 1876 constitution and to convene the parliament. The proclamation of “liberty” created an era of “brotherhood” and “freedom”. However, there would be troubles ahead. In the fall of 1908, there were two major secessions in Rumelia. The first one was the proclamation of independence of Bulgaria and establishment of Bulgarian Kingdom by Tsar Ferdinand I. The latter was Austria-Hungary’s annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, an occupied Ottoman province since 1878, on 5 October 1908.

Before and during the revolution, some political parties and organizations of the different ethnic communities of the empire cooperated with the Young Turks. Albanians, Armenians, Bulgarians, and Greeks participated in the struggle for “liberty” and enjoyed it for a short time. Nevertheless, by late 1908 and early 1909 this “age of brotherhood” began to break down. At first, the conflicts between Albanians and the Porte emerged because, along with the revolution, Albanians expected that the new regime would initiate reforms leading to recognition of Albanian autonomy within the empire.<sup>23</sup> However, centralization policies of the new government aroused fears of assimilation in the Albanian areas of the empire. Based on these disappointments, in 1910 and 1911 two Albanian uprisings broke out. The

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<sup>21</sup> Adanır, *Makedonya Sorunu*, p. 95.

<sup>22</sup> Vilâyât-ı Selâse was an Ottoman administrative division that defined the region called Macedonia. It included Salonika, Manastır (Bitola) and Sandjak of Skopje. Tokay, *Makedonya Sorunu*, p. 32.

<sup>23</sup> Hacısalihoglu, *Jön Türkler ve Makedonya Sorunu*, pp. 258-259.

first one was led by Isa Boletini in Kosovo and the latter around Shkoder –today’s northern Albania – was led by Luigi Gurakuqi.

In 1909, contact and negotiation on Macedonia increased between Bulgaria and Serbia. Politicians from both countries focused on Macedonia both in their internal and external politics. It was especially the Serbs who aimed to enter into an alliance with Bulgaria in order to increase their influence over the Croats and Slovenes and to establish the Greater Serbia. Thus, the Serbian government aimed to stop the Habsburg adversary that they perceived as the major opponent of the Greater Serbia.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, after long years of guerilla war in Macedonia, the prime ministers of Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria understood that this kind of struggle had produced no results for the liberation of their co-nationals who lived in the Ottoman Empire. Thus, they decided to launch a joint action. At the same time, the Tripoli War and the Albanian uprising broke out. The Greek Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos, the Serbian Prime Minister Milovan Milovanovich and the Bulgarian Prime Minister Ivan Geshov arrived at a consensus that the Eastern Question could be solved only by a war against the Ottoman Empire.<sup>25</sup>

In the last decades of the Ottoman Empire, the “Eastern Question” was a famous term to describe the possible results of the dissolution of the empire. The “Eastern Question” had been at the top of diplomatic agendas since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century due to the fear of a European war and the determination to preserve the status quo. The effort to reconcile the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire with the European balance of power generated innumerable plans for a potential solution. The two alternatives, the continued existence of the Ottoman Empire and its partitioning

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<sup>24</sup> Hall, *The Balkan Wars 1912-1913*, p. 10.

<sup>25</sup> Despot, *The Balkan Wars in the Eyes of the Warring Parties*, p. 37.

among the Great Powers, were challenged by the policies of the new Balkan States which envisioned national integration through territorial expansion.<sup>26</sup>

In the meantime, the CUP enacted the Law on Churches and Schools on 3 July 1910. The law sorted out the religious problem among Bulgaria, Greece, and the Patriarchate. Because, both the Bulgarian and the Greek sides actually were not satisfied with the the content of the law, and this discontent caused the search for any opportunity for an alliance among the Bulgarians, the Greeks and the Serbs against the Ottoman government in the pre-war process.<sup>27</sup> With the support and the mediation of the Russian Tsar, the Serbo-Bulgarian pact of alliance was signed on 13 March 1912. In the spring and the fall of 1912 Greece also signed a pact of mutual assistance and military agreement. Finally, the smallest state of the Balkans, Montenegro, joined the Balkan alliance in August 1912<sup>28</sup> with great expectations concerning the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. With the participation of Montenegro, the Balkan League was complete. Even though it was based upon self-interests of each Balkan state, the Balkan allies were ready to fight to complete their national goals and to put an end to the “Sick Man of Europe”.

Both the armies and the peoples of the Balkan states had much enthusiasm for the forthcoming war. All of the members of the Balkan League had developed large military establishments that received large amounts from the national budgets and sources. Their national agendas created an enthusiasm just before the war. According to Hall, the announcement of the mobilization was generally met with enthusiasm

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<sup>26</sup> Kolev and Koulouri (eds.), *Teaching Modern Southeast European History*, p. 38.

<sup>27</sup> Hacısalıhoğlu, *Jön Türkler ve Makedonya Sorunu*, p. 324.

<sup>28</sup> Hall, *The Balkan Wars 1912-1913*, p. 17.

throughout the Balkans.<sup>29</sup> The so-called enthusiasm for war served as a mobilizing factor and had ideological background rooted in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The aforementioned ideological background included: the cult of youth, the search for a “new man”, the new ideal of militant masculinity, social Darwinism and finally the positive image of war.<sup>30</sup> All these concepts prepared the Balkan states for a war that was foreseen and expected.

On the other hand, the Ottoman government was reluctant for a new warfare. The recent war in Tripoli and uprisings in Yemen and Albania had put an end to the war desires of the Ottomans.<sup>31</sup> The current government was unwilling to entertain the prospect of war. However, there were three demonstrations that took place in the capital. Two of these demonstrations were organized by the students of the *İstanbul Darülfünûnu*; several students attended the third public meeting which was organized by the CUP as well. The first demonstration was held on 3 October. The students from the Faculties of Law, Politics and Medicine first rallied to the War Ministry and then to the Yıldız Palace and shouted in favor of the war. The second public meeting was held the following day in Sultan Ahmed Square. The meeting was organized by the CUP and the demonstrators walked to Dolmabahçe Palace to communicate their demands about the war. The last rally was co-organized by the CUP members and the students, again in favor of the war.<sup>32</sup> According to Aram Andonyan, a journalist who followed the events in İstanbul, similar demonstrations

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>30</sup> Kolev and Koulouri (eds.), *Teaching Modern Southeast European History*, p. 38.

<sup>31</sup> Hall, *The Balkan Wars 1912-1913*, p. 14; also Wilhelm Feldmann, *İstanbul'da Savaş Günleri* (İstanbul: Selis Kitaplar, 2004), pp. 23-24.

<sup>32</sup> Yücel Aktar, “1912 Yılı ‘Harp Mitingleri’ ve Balkan Harbi’ne Etkileri”, in *İkinci Askeri Tarih Semineri Bildiriler, 3-5 Ekim 1984, Ankara* (Ankara: Genelkurmay Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1985), pp. 116-120.

took place in various cities of Anatolia in which people with the patriotic feelings and the hope of victory attended.<sup>33</sup>

## The War

The tiniest of the Balkan allies, Montenegro, agreed to take the lead, with King Nikola once more formally challenging the Ottoman Empire to combat on the 8<sup>th</sup> October. A few days later, the sovereigns of the other three states sent an ultimatum to Bâb-ı Âlî and the war became widespread.

The Balkan Wars started with the loss of wide territories from the Ottoman Balkan possessions after the violent attack of the allies. Each ally operated in the section of Ottoman territory most accessible to him, Bulgaria in the Meriç (Maritsa) valley, Serbia in the Morava and upper Vardar valleys, Greece in the lower Vardar valley and in Epirus, and Montenegro in northern Albania. In these circumstances the Serbian army captured Kosovo and northern Macedonia. The capturing of Kosovo and Priştina (Prishtina) on 22 October 1912 was a significant incident for the Serbs because it was a reminder of their glorious past in the medieval ages. A Serbian journalist, who was on the front, wrote down his own feelings as well as those of the Serbian soldiers in this campaign as such:

Prishtina! There for some time was the capital of the Nemanjich Dynasty, especially King Milutin. There was also the capital of Vuk Brankovich, who during the time of Tsar Lazar held the lands between Lava and Sitnitse.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Aram Andonyan, *Balkan Savaşı* (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2002), pp. 197-199.

<sup>34</sup> Hall, *The Balkan Wars 1912-1913*, p. 53.

Then, along with the Montenegrin army, the Serbs took Novi Pazar and northern Albania. Moreover, the Serbs encountered the Ottoman army at Kumanovo (October 22-25) and won a complete victory. They then occupied Üsküb (Skopje), the capital of their short-lived medieval empire, and penetrated southward into Macedonia as far as Manastır (Bitola). In addition, the Greeks took Preveze and then pushed, on the one hand, into Epirus, where they laid siege to the city of Yanya (Janina), and, on the other, toward Selanik (Salonica), which they successfully occupied early in November. More important, however, than the action of the Greeks on land were their achievements at sea. The inferior Ottoman navy was bottled up in the Dardenelles and practically all the Ottoman islands, with the exception of Cyprus, held by Great Britain, and Rhodes and the Dodekanese, held by Italy, passed without resistance into Greek hands.<sup>35</sup>

However, since the beginning of the war, the crucial invasions that threatened the heart of the empire – İstanbul – came from the Bulgarian army. Getting the best of the Ottoman army in hard-fought battles, the Bulgarian army first took Kırkkilise (Kırklareli), and afterwards Lüleburgaz. From the field of Lüleburgaz the Ottoman army fled to Çatalca lines, only some twenty miles distant from the capital. Early in November the Bulgarian army, in triumphant possession of all Thrace except the fortified city of Edirne, began the siege of Çatalca lines with the hope of reaching the Golden Horn. At the same time, the Albanians pled for their cause and protested against Serbian measures in both Macedonia and Albania. Immediately after, Albanians called a meeting at Avlonya (Vlora) and proclaimed their complete independence from the Ottoman Empire on 28 November 1912.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Ferdinand Schevill, *A History of the Balkans: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (New York: Dorset Press, 1991), p. 473.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 474.

Being confronted by these overwhelming disasters, the Ottoman government applied for the mediation of the Great Powers of Europe. Belligerent sides agreed on an armistice on December 3, 1912. There followed a conference in London to discuss the terms of peace. While the peace conference was taking place there were still three Ottoman fortresses under siege: the fortress of Edirne, Yanya (Janina), and İşkodra (Shkoder). The armistice that was concluded between the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan allies lasted for about three months and enabled the Ottoman army to recover.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, a lack of money prevented sufficient restoration and impeded the full recovery of the army. On the other hand, Greece did not join it and continued the war, taking the Eastern Aegean islands of Limnos, Lesbos, Chios and Samos and advancing into South Albania. In the meantime, peace negotiations began in London between the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria, with Serbia and Montenegro also attending to the negotiations later on, at the beginning of December 1912. In addition to that, the ambassadors of the Great Powers held their conference, elaborating upon the conditions of peace in London. The Balkan allies tried to obtain all European possessions of the Ottoman Empire to the west of the Midia-Rodosto (Midye-Tekirdağ) line and the Aegean islands, including Crete. The Ottoman government suggested giving autonomy to Macedonia and Albania in order not to lose any territories. The agreement, proposed by the Great Powers, was similar to that proposed by the Balkan allies. This generated a coup d'état in Istanbul and the new government broke the negotiations and renewed hostile actions on 23 January 1913.

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<sup>37</sup> Hall, *The Balkan Wars 1912-1913*, pp. 104-105.

## Young Turk Coup

On 23 January, the Young Turks, or in other words CUP supporters led by Enver Bey and Talat Bey, seized power in İstanbul. The assumption of Enver Bey and his supporters was that the Ottoman grand vizier Kâmil Paşa and his government were preparing to concede Edirne to Bulgarians. The image and the emotional importance of Edirne were very powerful among the Ottomans, because of its status as a former Ottoman capital, the grandeur of its religious and civil architectural heritage and its proximity to İstanbul.<sup>38</sup> Dr. İbrahim Refet, who served as a military doctor and was taken prisoner in the war, actually stated the thought and feelings of Ottomans with regard to Edirne: “Edirne is the heart of the Ottomans and the heirloom of the ancestors.”<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, the Unionists were determined to carry on the war and save Edirne and other towns that were under siege in Thrace. Kâmil Paşa was forced to resign, and the Unionists killed the minister of war Nazım Paşa.

The former minister of war Mahmud Şevket Paşa became the grand vizier and a new government was formed. Its aim was especially to retain Edirne. To end the Bulgarian occupation in Edirne was vital for the Ottomans for both the city’s historical importance and its location as being the first line of defense for the capital – İstanbul. The newly formed government proposed a new offer in London. According to this proposal, the Ottoman government would cede a part of the city of

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<sup>38</sup> Eyal Ginio, “Constructing a Symbol of Defeat and National Rejuvenation: Edirne (Adrianople) in Ottoman Propaganda and Writing during the Balkan Wars” in Stefan Goebel and Derek Keene (eds.) *Cities into Battlefields: Metropolitan Scenarios, Experiences and Commemorations of Total War* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), p. 89.

<sup>39</sup> Doktor İbrahim Refet, *Bulgaristan Ahvâli: Yadigâr-ı Esâret* (İstanbul: Mekteb-i Harbiye Matbaası, 1329), p. 123.

“Edirne, Osmanlıların kalbi ve ecdad yadigârıdır.”

Edirne, which is on the right bank of the Meriç River to Bulgaria, and leave the Aegean Islands to the Great Powers. Nevertheless, the Balkan allies immediately rejected the proposal and declared that they would denounce the armistice. Thereupon, the war resumed on 3 February and the battles took place in Edirne, Yanya (Janina) and İşkodra (Shkoder) –the besieged towns of the empire. The efforts of the Young Turks led by Enver Bey to win the war resulted only in a further aggravated defeat. Moreover, upon the resumption of hostilities, all three besieged cities – Edirne, Yanya (Janina) and İşkodra (Shkoder)– fell into the hands of their respective besiegers. On 6 March 1913 Yanya (Janina) fell to the Greeks, on 26 March Edirne to the Bulgarians, and on 23 April İşkodra (Shkoder) to the Montenegrins. Thereupon these incidents and by the end of April 1913 Ottoman Empire had lost its territories in Rumelia and was reduced to a territory between Gelibolu Peninsula and Çatalca. The new government that was formed after the coup d'état in January thus had to apply for a reopening of the peace conference. Peace negotiations were reopened in London on 20 May. This time the negotiations proceeded smoothly, and on 30 May 1913, the treaty of London was signed. The Ottoman Empire was almost, if not quite, ejected from the continent of Europe.

### The Second Phase of the War

When the Treaty of London was signed, the first phase of the Balkan Wars was over. According to the clauses of the treaty, the narrow strip of land behind a line drawn from Enez on the Aegean to Midye on the Black Sea all Ottoman territory was surrendered to the victorious allies. Also the Ottomans renounced their claims to Crete and Aegean Islands. The Great Powers achieved the right to determine the

question of Aegean Islands and Albanian issues.<sup>40</sup> The Balkan allies were victorious, but since the most important common object had been to defeat the Ottoman Empire, the alliance of the Balkan states disintegrated.

Moreover, new disputes emerged between the Balkan states and the Great Powers. The main dispute was over the allotment of the newly acquired territories, especially territories that were invaded by Bulgaria. The newly established independent Albanian state was another issue of controversy between the allies because the treaty left the distribution of Ottoman Europe with the exception of Albania to the Balkan allies. The existence of a new Albanian state frustrated the interests of Greece and Serbia. These two states supported each other against the Bulgaria's acquisitions, especially in Macedonia. Moreover, Romania demanded a part of the Dobrudja region, which had been left in the hands of Bulgaria after the Congress of Berlin. Under these circumstances and also along with the pressure of her own general staff, the Bulgarian government was obliged to wage war against the allies of the Balkans in June 1913. This "interallied war" was seen a chance by the new Unionist government to re-capture eastern Thrace and especially Edirne. Thus, the Ottoman army under the command of Enver Bey marched on to Meriç valley for the re-conquest of Edirne. The Ottoman army took Edirne on 23 July 1913 without firing a shot. Moreover, Enver Bey assumed the title of the "Second Conqueror of Edirne".<sup>41</sup> Tsar Ferdinand asked for peace due to the military defeats especially against Romania. The treaty of Bucharest was signed on 10 August 1913, at a conference of the combatants in the Bucharest. According to the treaty provisions, Macedonia –the main object of dispute– was divided between Serbia, Greece and

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<sup>40</sup> Hall, *The Balkan Wars 1912-1913*, pp. 101-102

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119. Enver Bey was claimed as the "Second conqueror of Edirne", because the first conqueror, in 1361, was Sultan Murad I (1359-1389), who was later to fall at Kosovo Polje.

Bulgaria. Serbia acquired Vardar watershed and it could be said that this acquisition was the largest one. Greece received the Aegean regions of Macedonia, and while Romania received an increased strip of the Dobrudja, Bulgaria could only obtain the southeastern area of Macedonia, which is called Pirin Macedonia.<sup>42</sup> Bulgaria also received a part of Thrace with access to the Aegean seaboard at the harbor of Dedeağaç (Alexandroupoli). However, the Treaty of Bucharest was able to establish a long-term peace in the Balkans. Viscount Edward Grey summarized the results of the treaty as follows:

It left Bulgarian sore, injured, and despoiled of what she believed belonged to her. Any future Balkan peace was impossible so long as the treaty of Bucharest remained. Turkey, of course, was also sore and despoiled. Thus when the great war came a year later, there were two Powers, Bulgaria and Turkey, hungering for a *revanche* and ready to take whichever side would give them a prospect of obtaining it.<sup>43</sup>

In September, Bulgaria was obliged to come to terms with it through separate negotiations with the Porte because the Porte was not admitted to the conference of Bucharest and the Bulgarian army was not able to deal with the Ottoman army in Thrace. Along with the Treaty of İstanbul, signed on 29 September 1913, Bulgaria ceded Edirne and Eastern Thrace to their former owner.

Nevertheless, the Treaty of İstanbul did not quite end the Balkan Wars. On 14 November 1913 the Treaty of Athens was signed between Greece and the Ottoman Empire. Except the issue of the Aegean Islands, disputes between two sides were concluded. Another treaty between the belligerent parties was the Treaty of İstanbul, which was signed on 14 March 1914. This treaty was the reaffirmation of the Treaty

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>43</sup> Viscount Grey of Fallodon, *Twenty-Five Years, 1892-1916* (New York, 1925), I, p. 104, quoted in L. S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453* (Hinsdale: Dryden Press, 1958), p. 540.

of London in terms of the Ottoman-Serbian relations. The Ottoman Empire never signed a final treaty with the Kingdom of Montenegro. With these two treaties of İstanbul, the Balkan Wars were officially concluded after nearly two years of fighting.

### A General Evaluation of the Balkan Wars

#### Incapability of the Ottoman Army:

When the first all-European conflict of the twentieth century, the Balkan Wars, started, the Ottoman army was incapable of organizing and mobilizing its military forces. While its opponents had been training for long years for a possible war against the Ottoman Empire, the Ottomans had just concluded another war with Italy in October 1912 and they were powerless to resist the pressure although it was believed that the Ottoman army would be more than a match for the Balkan allies.<sup>44</sup> Also the Ottoman army was more impotent in terms of amount of the soldiers and it could be asserted that this was one reason of superiority of the allied armies. The total amount of the soldiers of the Balkan allies were about 715,000 men, while in the first weeks of the war the Ottoman army's amount was about 320,000 before the reinforcements arrived from Anatolia.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, there was still the threat of a Russian attack in the east and in the Aegean Sea the Greek navy did not allow the Ottoman army to transport troops freely from Rumelia to battlefronts. Besides the numerical disadvantage of the Ottoman army before the Balkan allies, the allies had slightly superior war materials and military organization. Apart from these, the

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<sup>44</sup> Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453*, p. 535.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 535.

Ottoman army suffered from political conflicts among its soldiers and thus the army's effectiveness was affected negatively due to communication problems. This matter was pointed out by both the foreign –especially German– military officers and the civilians, namely journalists and observers.

An important observation belongs to an English journalist, named H. C. Seppings-Wright, who was the reporter of *The Illustrated London News* on the Ottoman side during the Balkan Wars. He stated that:

These disasters were not due to want of valour or determination on the part of the Turks, but were simply and solely due to lack of organization and an apparent total disregard of the simplest principles of modern warfare. There is much to be said in palliation of the Turkish *debâcle*, for the country is divided in opinion in regard to the new régime. The new Parliament, which was going to work such wonders, brought about the neglect of every vital principle. It was essential that the army should be run on new lines. The Old Guard, as one might describe the ancient veteran officers, were discharged to make room for the good-looking, smartly-dressed academy soldiers; who were of good material, but lacking altogether in the necessary experience. The navy was being utterly neglected. Indeed, the safety of the nation demanded that its strength should be greatly increased. The administration was in a state of demoralization.<sup>46</sup>

As the quotes of two observers from two different parties show, the incapability and the impotence of the Ottoman army in terms of amount and quality of the soldiers, organization, mobilization and artillery was obvious. Because of the slow and poor mobilization of the army (mainly due to improper roads and inability to feed and equip the reservists) the army corps in Thrace and Rumelia were inefficient fighters.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, there was only one single-track railway available for

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<sup>46</sup> H. C. Seppings-Wright, *Two Years Under the Crescent* (Boston: Small, Maynard and Company, 1913), p. 173.

<sup>47</sup> Erik J. Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey*, (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2010), p. 165

supplies and troop movements. Under these circumstances, it was almost impossible to supply reinforcements in due time.

### Social, Political and Economic Consequences of the Balkan Wars

The Balkan Wars was the first modern war in many respects. Many of the military innovations of French and German engineers, such as rifles with ammunition clips, quick fire cannons, etc. were used for the first time. Last but not least, the Balkan Wars was one of the first examples of trench warfare. Also, as stated before, airplanes were used for bombardment by the Balkan allies.<sup>48</sup>

However, in the Balkan Wars, civilians were affected by the consequences of the war as well as soldiers. Especially Muslim civilians in Rumelia suffered from the defeat of the Ottoman army and they were in despair. It was a much more traumatic experience than the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-1878 because it caused the complete loss of Rumelia and thus it meant the loss of the greatest proportion of state revenues, which was not possible to compensate with revenues from Anatolia.<sup>49</sup> As Stanford and Ezel Shaw pointed out: “for the first time in modern memory the young men of Istanbul and of the provinces were fighting and dying together on the battlefields, with a hardly a family being spared”.<sup>50</sup> This time thousands of refugees fled to İstanbul, the imperial center, by the fear of the Bulgarian instead of Russians.

Both the refugees and the local population of İstanbul were faced with shortages of food and lack of accommodation, and state bureaucrats and teachers

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<sup>48</sup> Hall, *The Balkan Wars 1912-1913*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>49</sup> Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 295.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 294.

were left without salaries, leading to a series of demonstrations, first in Istanbul and then in other major cities of the empire.<sup>51</sup> A landscape and the description of the refugees at the gates of İstanbul as follows,

Meanwhile thousands of refugees with their bullock-wagons and flocks were arriving daily at the city's gate. To most of them entrance was debarred, and they had to take refuge in the cemeteries beyond the city walls, but many were camped in the streets of Stamboul (*sic.*). The resultant filth and congestion beggars description and was certain to cause a lot of disease. These unfortunate women and children were being transhipped as fast as possible to Asia Minor; but what will happen to them there and who will provide for their support, none can tell. Their fate is in the lap of the gods. Many of them have lost their fathers, sons, or brothers. Even if their menfolk should escape death in the war, they will never be able to find their families again, for the people do not mean to return to Europe.<sup>52</sup>

The concession of Rumelia was more than just losing a territory:<sup>53</sup> it was the fatherland to many Ottomans. In the war, the Ottomans, including the Young Turks, civilians, and military officers, lost both their fatherlands and their properties, which were held in the European provinces of the empire since the late 14<sup>th</sup> century. Places like Priština (Prishtina), Üsküp (Skopje), Manastır (Bitola) and Selanik (Salonica) had been conquered between 1385 and 1390: there have been an Ottoman legacy and now this legacy had been lost. For instance, the strong feeling related to the loss could be seen in the lines of Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, one of the best-known poets of Turkish literature. In his poem, titled “Açık Deniz” (the Open Sea in English), he wrote:

As I passed my childhood in Balkan cities,  
I felt a flame of nostalgia without an ease.  
I had at heart a melancholy that made Byron unhappy,

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<sup>51</sup> Shaw and Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 294.

<sup>52</sup> Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, *With the Turks in Thrace* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1913), p. 250.

<sup>53</sup> The amount of the loss was about eighty-three percent of the Ottoman lands in Europe according to Stavrianos. See, Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453*, p. 540.

On mounts and hills strolled I free in fancy.  
The wholesome, free air of Rakofça filled my chest  
The passion of my rushing ancestors have I felt.  
Every summer, for centuries, a northward raid,  
Resounding as an echo in my heart remained.  
When the army was in defeat, in sorrow the country.  
In my dreams each night I had thoughts of victory.  
What is left of emigrations is a sentiment of parting.  
Waters that are beyond the sad boundaries flowing  
Murmured in my memory with that emotion;  
I knew what was infinity beyond the horizon.<sup>54</sup>

Moreover, the Balkan Wars meant the loss of Muslim population in the Balkans. At the end of the war, the Muslims became a minority. Kemal Karpat states that “the Balkan Wars caused a wave of migration not only to Anatolia, but to the USA and Russia, as well”.<sup>55</sup> Although it is difficult to ascertain the Ottoman casualties, their numbers often being the result of estimates on the part of journalists or other observers, according to Justin McCarthy, when the Balkan Wars were over, about twenty-seven percent of the Turks and other Muslims of the Ottoman Balkans passed away –including those who died from disease and starvation– and thirty-five

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<sup>54</sup> Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, *Selected Poems of Yahya Kemal Beyatlı*, trans. S. Behlül Toygar (İstanbul: İskender Matbaası, 1962), p. 31; and see, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, *Kendi Gök Kubbe* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990), pp. 8-9.

*“Balkan şehirlerinde geçerken çocukluğum;  
Her lâhza bir alev gibi hasretti duyduğum.  
Kalbimde vardı ‘Byron’u bedbaht eden melâl  
Gezdim o yaşta dağları, hulyâm içinde lâl...  
Aldım Rakofça kırlarının hür havâsını,  
Duydum, akıncı cedleriminihtirâsını,  
Her yaz, şimâle doğru asırlarca bir koşu...  
Bağrımda bir akis gibi kalmış uğultulu...  
Mağlûpken ordu, yaşlı dururken bütün vatan,  
Rü’yâma girdi her gece bir fâtihâne zan.  
Hicretlerin bakıyyesi hicranlı duygular...  
Mahzun hudutların ötesinden akan sular,  
Gönlümde hep o zanla berâber çağıldadı,  
Bildim nedir ufuktaki sonsuzluğun tadı!”*

<sup>55</sup> Kemal Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003), pp. 281-282.

percent of the population were forced to become refugees.<sup>56</sup> The number of refugees arriving in the Empire was 177,352 people between the years of 1912 and 1913.<sup>57</sup>

However, the biggest wave of refugees arrived after the Balkan Wars. McCarthy points out that:

Incredibly, many Muslims seem to have remained on their lands during the first Balkan War, or to have returned to them soon after the war, only to be finally driven out in the second war. When the American Carnegie Commission of Inquiry visited Salonica during the second Balkan War they found that 135,000 Muslims had already come to the city during the second war alone, and that more were arriving.<sup>58</sup>

In addition to the matter of refugees, large numbers of civilians in Ottoman Thrace and Bulgaria suffered from cholera and dysentery epidemics in the autumn of 1912. During the Second Balkan War, cholera was spread throughout the Balkans and especially in the refugee camps in Albania, Edirne and Selanik (Salonica).<sup>59</sup> Even the threat of cholera was at the gate of the capital.

In the Balkan Wars, civilian populations were regarded as targets of war and for the first time in the twentieth century.<sup>60</sup> In regards to this issue, namely targeting civilians, all warring parties are to be blamed.

It could be asserted that during the Balkan Wars the main purpose of the many atrocities was to achieve the re-establishment of homogeneous and “ethnically

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<sup>56</sup> Justin McCarthy, *The Ottoman Turks: An Introductory History to 1923* (London and New York: Longman, 1997), p. 354.

<sup>57</sup> Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims 1821-1922* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1995), p. 92.

<sup>58</sup> Justin McCarthy, “Muslim Refugees in Turkey: The Balkan Wars, World War I and the Turkish War of Independence”, in Heath W. Lowry and Donald Quatert, *Humanist and Scholar: Essays in Honor of Andreas Tietze* (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 1993), p. 91.

<sup>59</sup> Hall, *The Balkan Wars 1912-1913*, p. 136.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

pure” nation-states. Rapes, murders, arson, and looting against the specific civilians were to force them out of a particular piece of territory.<sup>61</sup> To some extent, in practice, the “crimes” in the Balkan Wars resulted in huge-scale ethnic cleansing and the changing in ethnic structure of the Rumelia and even Thrace. In particular, the Balkan League justified their crimes by evoking the stereotypes of the centuries-long horrible oppression of the Ottomans against the Christian population in Rumelia, claims Igor Despot.<sup>62</sup>

According to the clauses of the treaties –which also regulated the status of formerly Ottoman property and Muslim residents in the “lost” piece of Rumelia– signed after the Balkan Wars, all Ottoman subjects were given four years to decide whether they wished to live in their home towns or to emigrate to the Ottoman Empire. If they decided to emigrate, they would have the right to sell their property and transfer their assets to İstanbul.<sup>63</sup> Those who decided to stay were to have same civil and political rights as the others. However, not only the Muslim populations of the Balkan states were affected in a negative way. Also, “through an addendum of the Treaty of İstanbul, Bulgarian population of Edirne and Kırkkilise [Kırklareli] were pushed to emigrate”<sup>64</sup> according to Halil Bey (later on Halil Menteşe), who was one of the delegates of the Ottoman Empire during the negotiations of the Treaty of İstanbul. Thus, they became the subjects of a population exchange. It was even proposed that the Thracian Greek population would be deported as well. However, due to the threat of a new battle, this plan never materialized. In his memoirs, Cemal

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 137.

<sup>62</sup> Despot, *The Balkan Wars in the Eyes of the Warring Parties*, p. 191.

<sup>63</sup> Shaw and Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 298.

<sup>64</sup> Halil Menteşe, *Osmanlı Mebusân Meclisi Reisi Halil Menteşe'nin Anıları* (İstanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1986), p. 166.

Paşa, who was an envoy of the Turkish commission during the peace negotiations-  
pointed out that

As regards the Bulgarians, after the final loss of Macedonia all that was left to the Turkish Empire was a few scattered villages along the northern boundary of the sandjak of Kirk Kilisse (*sic.*) in the vilayet of Adrianople. On the other hand, a few Turks remained distributed in certain parts of Bulgarian territory in the vicinity of the Turkish frontier. As an appendix to the Treaty of Constantinople a secret agreement was signed with the Bulgars in which it was provided that any Bulgarians residing on Turkish territory should be removed to Bulgaria and any Turks still left in Bulgarian territory should be removed to Turkey. This exchange was carried out to the satisfaction of both sides.<sup>65</sup>

Although there is no evidence of “the satisfaction of both sides” in the population exchange, Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire signed a convention (October 1913) for the exchange of Thracian Bulgarians with Muslims and Turks from Bulgaria.<sup>66</sup> Between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of November, a mixed commission including six Turkish and nine Bulgarian envoys met in Edirne in order to negotiate the conditions of population exchange between the Muslims and Bulgarians, who lived in a 15 kilometer area around the border between the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria. The commission carried on their negotiations until November 1914. At that point in the negotiations, 48,750 Muslims from Bulgaria and 46,764 Bulgarians from Ottoman Thrace were exchanged.<sup>67</sup>

As stated before, the most concrete and important consequence of the post-war conflict was the debacle of the Ottomans. Since for centuries Rumelia had been

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<sup>65</sup> Djemal Pasha, *Memories of a Turkish Statesman: 1913-1919* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1922), p. 71.

<sup>66</sup> Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile*, p. 160.

<sup>67</sup> Yıldırım Aġanoġlu, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Balkanların Makûs Talihi: Göç* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2012), pp. 136-137.

the main source of manpower in both the army and the bureaucracy— in Ottoman terms, the class of *seyfiyye* and *kalemiyye*— as well as of goods and even revenues. Furthermore, the loss of the Balkans drove the Ottoman political elites and intellectuals into a search of for the answer to two quintessential questions: *What went wrong?* and *Why?*<sup>68</sup> During the nineteenth century, the Balkans became an area of turmoil, rebellions, and liberation wars. Then, finally, in the beginning of the twentieth century, along with the Balkan Wars, absolute Ottoman rule came to an end, and nothing constructive had been accomplished. Instead, according to L. S. Stavrianos, “the second Balkan War had so embittered relations between the former allies that conditions in the peninsula were more chaotic and more explosive in 1913 and 1914 than in the preceding years.”<sup>69</sup>

As an attempt in the years of 1912, 1913 and even in the first half of 1914 to find an answer to the very popular question of why they were defeated, the Ottomans decided to reorganize the army. As Zürcher stated, at the outset of the war there had been very little enthusiasm for the war, and whatever enthusiasm there was at beginning of the fight evaporated quickly under the circumstances. Also, many of the troops had to live off the land and large-scale desertions started.<sup>70</sup> In addition to that, the Ottoman army had another serious problem: *redifs*<sup>71</sup>. As all of the testimonies attest, *redif* soldiers constituted the weakest link of the Ottoman army. Besides their poor performance on the battlefield, they mostly abandoned their positions and fled home.

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<sup>68</sup> Ebru Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans: Empire Lost, Relations Altered* (London & New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), p. 1.

<sup>69</sup> Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453*, p. 540.

<sup>70</sup> Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building*, p. 165

<sup>71</sup> The *redif* term is used for the reserve soldiers in the Ottoman army.

In the following months, both the officials of the government and Ottoman society began to overcome the consequences of the Balkan Wars. The CUP government raised taxes and collected them efficiently. The post-war reform program gradually produced satisfactory results, including military and economic issues. The state of hopelessness of the war years turned into a state of hope and created an air of optimism among the civilian and military bureaucracy of the Empire.

### The Balkan Wars in the “Literature”

First of all, although several studies have been penned there is still a huge amount of sources on the Balkan Wars, both published and unpublished. In spite of the fact that this thesis is not based on archival documents and materials, there are plenty of unused documents in the *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri* (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives). As Igor Despot points out in his work, which compares the perceptions of the warring parties of the Balkan Wars, the state archives of Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria also have a great deal of important sources, especially about the military aspect of the war. Moreover, the Bulgarian Central State Archives and the Russian Foreign Ministry published many of the documents about the war in 1912 and 1913. These documents especially explain moves in the war and shed light on the chain of events before the outbreak of the war and the following incidents. Also, the report of the Carnegie Commission, which investigated the war crimes committed in the Balkan Wars, was published just one year after the wars in 1914. The published report's full name was *Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars* and it has been an

indispensable and useful source related to the war since it includes not only reports about the atrocities of the warring parties, but also interviews with the military officers, politicians, journalists, and even civilians.

Another category of sources on the Balkan Wars is the collection of memories and diaries belonging to soldiers, officers, politicians, and correspondents who attended or followed the war. Diaries and memoirs provide knowledge about both the war operations and the daily life in the hinterlands. This category of sources are still important, but lack of knowledge of languages of Balkan states might be a barrier to the study and examination of all the written sources thoroughly.

If we speak of the academic works on the Balkan Wars published in Turkey, it is apparent that there are very limited monographs on the matter except memoirs and translations. Here, the important point is that the translations have usually been from the western languages: from German, French, and English; not from the Balkan states' languages. The well-known monograph written by an Ottoman-Armenian is of Aram Andonyan's work titled *Balkan Harbi Tarihi* (History of the Balkan War)<sup>72</sup> which was edited and published in the years of 1912 and 1913. The book is far from a critical point of view, but rather a descriptive work, which includes many maps of both battlefields and military maneuvers, photographs, and illustrations related to the battles. Although it was written by a journalist and is not an academic work, Andonyan's work has been one of the elaborate and useful books in Turkish literature.

Another prominent work was Edward J. Erickson's book –another translated work–entitled *Defeat in Detail: The Ottoman Army in the Balkans, 1912-1913*. The aim of the book is to examine the specific reasons for the Ottoman military defeat,

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<sup>72</sup> The book was firstly written in Armenian, then, it was translated into Turkish.

because it is assumed that the diplomatic history of the Balkan Wars is fairly well covered. Erickson states that the armies of the Ottoman Empire were decisively defeated during the wars because their tactical operations were poorly designed and carried out, and the army was terribly mismanaged. Moreover, the coordination of artillery support was particularly deficient and the troops suffered from lack of weapons. Erickson also claims that the leadership of the army was inefficient. However, the important point in *Defeat in Detail* is that the author sheds light on the transformation of the Ottoman army just after the Balkan Wars with the help and leadership of the German officers.

The importance of this book also comes from the point that it is based on a careful and informed reading of a broad range of secondary sources and official publications in Turkish, English, and German.

Moreover, another important reference that deals with the all aspects of the Balkan Wars is Richard C. Hall's book *The Balkan Wars 1912-1913: Prelude to the First World War*. Hall evaluated the Balkan Wars as a prelude to the First World War in many aspects, including the use of new weapons, mass mobilization of the masses in the warring parties, mass murders, and atrocities, participation of the civilians in the war, relief organizations, which were mostly witnessed during the Great War, and its consequences that affected the modern warfare. According to Hall, some of the military strategies and tactics of the First World War were tried in the war in the Balkans. This work has mostly influenced and inspired the new generation of the researchers and historians, who studies the Balkan Wars and situates it as the beginning of the decade of the "national struggle" (1912-1922) that includes the Great War and the War of Independence.

Several editions of transliterations of the memoirs of officers and journalists who attended or observed the war have been published in recent years, in honor of the centenary of the Balkan Wars. However, as could be seen in the list of the monographs on the Balkan Wars, the Turkish literature on this war is too limited. Usually, researchers dealt with this issue as a part of the wider works, such as the migrations from Rumelia to Anatolia from 1877 to the 1920s. Here, one more work must be stated: Ahmet Halaçoğlu's *Balkan Harbi Sırasında Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri*. In his book, the author focuses on the causes of migrations, how the refugees fled from Rumelia to Anatolia, the official precautions of the Ottoman government, the official institutions that were established to help the Rumelian refugees, and efforts to settle them in Anatolia. Relating to the migrations in the late Ottoman Empire, Justin McCarthy's book *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims 1821-1922* should be mentioned here, since this work examines the process of migration and conditions of refugees extensively.

As a last point, in no chronological order, the books on the roots of the Balkan Wars, the Macedonian Question, should be noted here. Although the term Macedonia was not in official Ottoman usage, with the effect of the European literature Turkish scholars have adopted "Macedonia" as a term. In Turkish there are three monographs on this issue, though they were written in German and English before being translated into Turkish. The first of these books is Fikret Adanır's work *Makedonya Sorunu*, first printed in German, in 1979. The content of the book starts from the roots of this question, focusing on the social-economic conditions of this territory, the internal and external political situation in the nineteenth century to the İllinden Uprising in the very early years of the twentieth century, and its aftermath. Adanır's hypothesis is that the Macedonian Question was actually a political struggle

of the Great Powers of Europe in the Balkan Peninsula. Chronologically, the second book is Gül Tokay's work *Makedonya Sorunu: Jön Türk İhtilalinin Kökenleri (1903-1908)*. This book is the Turkish written edition of Tokay's doctoral dissertation. The work focuses on the results of the reform programmes in Macedonia and their effects on the young officers of the Ottoman Third Army settled in Macedonia. Officers of this army were in opposition to the reform programmes, regarding them as tool of European intervention. She examines the process of the development of opposition by the young officers and their role in the proclamation of the constitution in 1908. The last work on this issue is again a doctoral dissertation, conducted by Mehmet Hacısalihoğlu in German in 2003. The title of the book is *Jön Türkler ve Makedonya Sorunu (1890-1918)* and the Turkish translation of the book was published in 2008. The main concern of this work is the relationship between the Young Turks and the Macedonian organizations in the late nineteenth century and in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Using Ottoman and Bulgarian primary sources and documents, Hacısalihoğlu focuses on the history of both the Young Turks and Macedonia from the time the first core of the CUP was founded to the end of the First World War and dissolution of this organization. The important point related to these books is that these three books chronologically follow each other nearly in terms of time span and deal with the different aspects of the subject.

Before deciding to examine and focus on the three books, namely *Âlâm-i İslâm: Bulgar Vahşetleri* (Sorrows of İslam: Bulgarian Cruelties), edited and published in 1912, *Âlâm-i İslam: Rumeli Mezalimi ve Bulgar Vahşetleri* (Sorrows of İslam: Atrocities in Rumelia and Bulgarian Cruelties), edited and published in 1913, and *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb, 1328 Fecâyii* (The Red Black Book, the Disasters of 1328), edited and published in 1913 by Ahmed Cevad (later on Ahmed Cevad Emre),

published during the Balkan Wars as a subject of a master thesis, there were many options with which to deal. One option could be focusing on the military history of the Balkan Wars, while another could be work on migration and population exchange examples and similar incidents which have been worked throughout the years. However, in my thesis, my aim is to inquire as to whether there was an organized or independent propaganda facility during the war years. It is certain that many works were created which could be related to the propaganda issue after the Balkan Wars, but in this work only the three books referred to above, which were edited and published during the wartime, are included.

## Conclusion

In this chapter my aim was to focus on the political and military events from the last quarter of the nineteenth century until the Balkan Wars. As a key factor in the tensions between the Ottoman Empire and the newly established Balkan states, I chose the Berlin Congress as a starting point with regards to the political and military preparations, and finally the war. While I was dealing with these events in the Balkan Peninsula, I used the general and specific sources on the Balkans and the Balkan Wars. Then, I gave information about the phases of the war, including both important military and political developments between October 1912 and September 1913. Another point that I focused in this chapter was the situation of the Ottoman army during the Balkan Wars, and the social, political and economic consequences of the war. Finally, I discussed the Balkan War literature in Turkish, including the works written in Turkish or translations from foreign languages.

CHAPTER THREE  
WAR PROPAGANDA: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND ITS APPLICATION  
IN THE BALKAN WARS

Definition of the Propaganda

At the hearth of both defeat and war lies the  
threat of extinction, a treat that resonates  
long past the cessation of hostilities.<sup>73</sup>

Since the late nineteenth century and twentieth century, states fought against each other not only with swords but also with pens and photographs. Zafer Toprak claims that propaganda was invented by the Balkan states during the Balkan Wars, although it is argued in the Western literature that the British invented it during the First World War.<sup>74</sup> In this chapter, the term propaganda—its definition, use, and transformation—will be handled in a historical context. Then, the way Ottomans experienced the war propaganda during the Balkan Wars and First World War will be touched upon.

As Manuela Williams states, in modern societies propaganda is often seen as an intrusive and manipulative practice that prevents a free flow of information and ideas within civil society.<sup>75</sup> In order to make this argument clear, it will be helpful to refer to a few definitions of propaganda by different scholars. Lindley Fraser defines

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<sup>73</sup> Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat: On National Trauma, Mourning, and Recovery* (New York: Picador, 2004), p. 5.

<sup>74</sup> Zafer Toprak, “Balkan Harbi, İntikam ve ‘Ötekileştirme’ Süreci,” *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 228 (Aralık 2012) pp. 50-51; and Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de Popülizm, 1908-1923* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2013), p. 226.

<sup>75</sup> Manuela A. Williams, *Mussolini’s Propaganda Abroad: Subversion in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, 1935-1940* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 5.

propaganda as “the activity, or the art, of inducing others to behave in a way in which they would not behave in its absence.”<sup>76</sup> According to Harold Lasswell, propaganda is the control of opinion by significant symbols or stories, rumors, reports, pictures and other forms of social communication. Lasswell also adds that propaganda is “concerned with the management of opinions and attitudes by the direct manipulation of social suggestion rather than by altering other conditions in the environment or in the organism.”<sup>77</sup> Another important definition of the term propaganda is as follows:

Propaganda can be defined as the transmission of ideas and values from one person, or groups of person, to another, with the specific intention of influencing the recipients’ attitudes in such a way that the interests of its authors will be enhanced. Although it may be veiled, seeking to influence thoughts, beliefs and actions by suggestion, it must be conscious and deliberate.<sup>78</sup>

The real power of propaganda, as Peter Foulkes suggests, stems from the fact that it can mask itself, appear natural, and completely and indivisibly integrate into the values and accepted power symbols of any society.<sup>79</sup>

What is more relevant in this chapter is one specific form of propaganda: war propaganda. War propaganda can be defined as “the creation of a state of mind favorable to the particular national cause which it seeks to promote.”<sup>80</sup> War

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<sup>76</sup> Lindley Fraser, *Propaganda* (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 1.

<sup>77</sup> Harold D. Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), p. 9.

<sup>78</sup> John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1986), p. 3.

<sup>79</sup> A. Peter Foulkes, *Literature and Propaganda* (London; New York: Methuen, 1983), p. 3.

<sup>80</sup> Ralph Haswell Lutz, “Studies of World War Propaganda, 1914-33,” *The Journal of Modern History* 5, no. 4 (December 1933), p. 497.

propaganda demands an effective control of domestic opinion since favorable public opinion is the most important requirement of accomplishing a war. As Ralph Haswell Lutz claims, organized propaganda is the most efficient tool of forming and controlling wartime public opinion. He further argues that wartime propaganda, with its creation of new desires, group hypnosis, isolation of counter propaganda, and the saturation of the public with selected and biased information, can be compared to national education.<sup>81</sup>

Propaganda played an essential role in wars starting with the late nineteenth century. James Morgan Read states that propaganda of hate had crucial wide-ranging goals, such as strengthening the fighting spirit of soldiers and civilians, helping to raise war loans, encouraging enlistment and justifying violations of international law. Moreover, wartime propaganda activities served to justify the rejection of ‘premature’ peace proposals, imposing harsh terms of peace, and influencing neutrals.<sup>82</sup>

Propaganda is an influential means of sparking feelings of animosity of the community against the enemy, of preserving friendly relations with neutrals and allies, of provoking the neutrals against the enemy, and of breaking up the solid wall of enemy antagonism.<sup>83</sup> Moreover, it aims to increase the national fighting zeal and create a favorable state of mind at home. The last aim is especially important in modern wars since it is also fought on the economic and moral fronts apart from the land, air and sea fronts.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid., pp. 496-497.

<sup>82</sup> James Morgan Read, *Atrocity Propaganda, 1914-1919* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 5.

<sup>83</sup> Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique*, p. 10.

<sup>84</sup> Lutz, “Studies of World War Propaganda”, p. 497.

Harold Lasswell strikingly expresses the exigency of war propaganda in his book that was published in 1927 as the following:

The civilian lacks the automatic discipline of drill and remains in an environment in which his sentiment-life (his *human* life) continues. Civilian unity is not achieved by the regimentation of muscles. It is achieved by a repetition of ideas rather than movements. The civilian mind is standardized by news and not by drills. Propaganda is the method by which this process is aided and abetted.<sup>85</sup>

### Historical Aspects of Propaganda

After summarizing the definition and importance of propaganda as a “war weapon” in the modern era, I will handle it in a historical context. Although the word propaganda can be traced back hundreds of years, its meaning has changed dramatically.

As Hadley Cantril argues, propaganda is an ancient art and it is possible to find its technique in the orations of Demosthenes against the Macedonians. Early Christian missionaries used propaganda and Pope Gregory XV established a Catholic propaganda institute in 1622. However, according to the author, it was not practiced on a large scale until the First World War, but this argument could be changed to until the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>86</sup>

Williams also states that the term “propaganda” can be traced back to 1622, the year in which the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (Holy Congregation for Propagating the Catholic Faith) was established with the aim of both re-

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<sup>85</sup> Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique*, p. 11.

<sup>86</sup> Hadley Cantril, “Propaganda Analysis,” *The English Journal* 27, no. 3 (March 1938) p. 217.

conquering those countries lost to Protestantism and promoting the Catholic faith among the Pagan populations of the New World.

The word and term “propaganda” has had pejorative connotations over the centuries. Especially, with the creation of state propaganda machines during the twentieth century, propaganda has become associated with anti-democratic regimes.<sup>87</sup>

Aristotle Kallis also draws attention to the transformation of the word over time: The term “propaganda” did not always have a totally negative meaning. In the early twentieth century, it mostly indicated “a systematic process of information management geared to promoting a particular goal and to guaranteeing a popular response as desired by the propagandist.”<sup>88</sup>

As Wolfgang Schivelbusch emphasizes, the term propaganda could hardly be found in encyclopedias and dictionaries until 1914. It was only used in reference to distant institutions and events that were “foreign to the bourgeois spirit of the times, such as Catholic Counter-Reformation in the seventeenth century or the revolutionary agitation of the French secret societies in the nineteenth.” However, it gained popularity by 1918.<sup>89</sup>

In the current literature it is underlined that propaganda was first used on a large scale and in an organized way during the First World War. To put it another way, war propaganda did not emerge with the First World War but it was, for the first time, organized in a scientific manner and became more effective during the war compared to the earlier decades. It was used as a tool to unify individuals “in support

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<sup>87</sup> Williams, *Mussolini's Propaganda Abroad*, p. 5.

<sup>88</sup> Aristotle A. Kallis, *Nazi Propaganda and the Second World War* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 1.

<sup>89</sup> Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat*, p. 214.

of a common war aim and to encourage voluntary sacrifices” hoping to gain a common victory.<sup>90</sup> During the First World War, the Allies benefited from propaganda to an important degree, aiming to build up public opinion in favor of their cause and to demoralize the enemy civilian population and armed forces.<sup>91</sup>

The propaganda of the Great War years was mainly in the form of atrocity stories that aimed to persuade the masses to fight. The most common and dramatized atrocity stories of the First World War can be categorized into three general types of cruelties: (1) massacre, such as the Armenian massacres; (2) mutilation, such as the gouging out of eyes of German soldiers; (3) maltreatment of civilians and prisoners, running the whole scale from failure to provide adequate food and shelter to actual physical torture.<sup>92</sup>

When the First World War started, all belligerent countries began, more or less, to practice systems of state propaganda and aimed to inspect and control the “cultural output”. Not until the First World War did propaganda enter into the scope of government activities, whereupon it also became highly sophisticated. For instance, the British government decided to use all of the resources at its disposal in order to guide public opinion by creating a centralized propaganda network as soon as the war broke out.<sup>93</sup>

All belligerent nations tried to form an effective propaganda network both to secure the home front and to influence and convince the public opinion of allied and enemy nations. As Erol Köroğlu points out, in order to be successful in forming such

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<sup>90</sup> Read, *Atrocity Propaganda*, p. 1.

<sup>91</sup> B. S. Murty, *Propaganda and World Public Order: The Legal Regulation of the Ideological Instrument of Coercion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 2.

<sup>92</sup> Read, *Atrocity Propaganda*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>93</sup> Köroğlu, *Ottoman Propaganda*, p. 2.

a network, a developed and industrialized infrastructure was essential. Therefore, the material wealth of warring nations was determinant on the level of achievement of propaganda. Since the developed European nations completed their industrialization before the beginning of the First World War, their national culture was developed as well. To be more concrete, literacy and elementary school completion rates of Germany, England and France were almost one hundred percent. In this environment, with the beginning of the war, industrialized European countries started to use their literary and cultural traditions inherited from the past for propaganda purposes in the context of their “total war.” Literary figures played an important role in shaping the public opinion in their countries. Most writers chose to write aiming to help their countries.<sup>94</sup>

None of those propaganda practices could be possible without the technological improvements of the nineteenth century. Since the midst of the nineteenth century, owing to the improvements in the communication facilities people could get daily news from the front. In this regard, as Zafer Toprak pointed out, the Crimean War was the first “documented war”. Due to war correspondents on fronts, telegraph and daily newspapers, wars became democratized and public opinion was formed.<sup>95</sup> The period from the late 1890s to 1918 is regarded as the golden age of picture postcards, cigarette cards, juvenile journals, and the like: they were used with propagandist purposes until after the Second World War.<sup>96</sup>

Despite the literature on propaganda focusing on the First World War as the beginning of wide scale use of it, we should not underestimate its growing

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid., pp. xviii, xix, 3.

<sup>95</sup> Zafer Toprak, “Balkan Harbi, İntikam ve ‘Ötekileştirme’ Süreci,” p. 50.

<sup>96</sup> MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p. 17.

importance during the nineteenth century. Mass literacy and the pervasion of the printed word helped the first effective channels for mass propaganda develop in that century. During the nineteenth century, conservatism in printing was broken down while wood gave way to iron and steam power started to be applied after 1810. By the last quarter of the century, various kinds of machines for different types of printing became available. Publishing trade expanded and cheap popular editions for homes appeared for the first time.<sup>97</sup> With these developments, the propaganda that was used during the Crimean War and the official discourse changed the shape of propaganda.<sup>98</sup>

One of the novelties that the Crimean War brought was use of pictures as tools for propaganda. Martina Baleva stresses that starting with the mid-nineteenth century, a new front was opened in wars in which the weapons were pictures. During the Crimean War, pictures turned into weapons that were almost equal in strength to other types of weapons.<sup>99</sup> Taylor says that photography matured with the Crimean War.<sup>100</sup> Moreover, the Boer War was important because the camera captured it for posterity.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>98</sup> Fatma Özyiğit Coşkuner, "Ottoman Official Discourse and its Reflections during the Crimean War," (master's thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2010), pp. 8-9.

<sup>99</sup> Martina Baleva, "İmparatorluğun Misillemesi: 1877-1878 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı'nda Resim Savaşları ve Resim Cepheleri," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 228 (Aralık 2012) p. 32.

<sup>100</sup> At this juncture, James Robertson's activities during the Crimean War must be stated. Robertson arrived in İstanbul in 1841 and he was one of the British technicians who were to work at the Imperial Mint (*Darphâne-i Âmire*) that was in the process of being reorganized. Then, Robertson became involved in photography around 1853. Reference to his photographic work is given in the diary of the Earl of Carlisle, who had acquired some of Robertson's photographs during his visit to İstanbul in July 1853. He also opened a studio in Pera, the European quarter of İstanbul presumably between 1854 and 1856. However, Robertson became an internationally known photographer in the years of Crimean War. Between September 1855 and June 1856, he photographed the Crimean War, thus, creating with his camera one of the earliest visual war reports. Robertson photographed the British soldiers' camp near Selimiye Barracks, and then he visited Crimea two times during the war and took photographs of the battlegrounds. Besides Robertson, there were several photographers who were active during the campaign and they were the pioneers of photojournalism. Other photojournalists were for example, Roger Fenton, Karl (Karoly) Szathmari, Ernest Edouard de

Visual materials had an important role in mobilizing masses, especially among illiterate societies. Pictures were efficient tools for alienation and formation of national identity. They could even lead to feelings of revenge and atrocities.<sup>102</sup> Another significance of pictures was their objectivity. Baleva points out that the most significant feature of illustrated press is the objectivity of pictures published, which is approved by their eyewitnesses.<sup>103</sup> All kinds of pictures were effective in convincing viewers of the enemy's atrocities. Their vividness had a powerful impression on the mind of the masses. James Morgan Read notes that the Allied governments took measures to collect pictures of atrocities and put them on exhibition. At the end of 1914, Frenchmen were asked to send photographic proofs of atrocities to a central office where they were being collected. In 1916 an "atrocities museum" was established in France. Apart from public exhibitions, there were private atrocity pictures that were passed from hand to hand.<sup>104</sup>

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, iconographic transmission was used in visual materials. Using Christian iconography, such as designing the pictures and photographs with references to the depictions and pictures of the Jesus Christ

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Caranza, Henri Durand-Brager, Richard Nicklin and Louis de Tannyon. These photojournalists' photographs were published in French or British Press. See, Bahattin Öztuncay, *James Robertson: Pioneer of Photography in the Ottoman Empire* (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1992), p. 19, 24-25 and 94; Bahattin Öztuncay, "The First War Documented Through Photography" in *Kırım Savaşı'nın 150nci Yılı* (İstanbul: Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, 2006), pp. 46-48; also see Bahattin Öztuncay, "İstanbul'un Fotoğrafçısı Robertson 200 Yaşında: Dersaadet'i Tüm Avrupa'ya Tanıttı", *Atlas Tarih*, no. 23 (December 2013-January 2014), pp. 58-67. Also, from 27 November 2013 to 20 February 2014, an exhibition about the photographs and the engravings of James Robertson related to Athens, the Crimea, Jerusalem, and Cairo was held by Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations.

<sup>101</sup> A. J. P. Taylor, *The First World War: An Illustrated History*, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1966), p. 11.

<sup>102</sup> Zafer Toprak, "Balkan Harbi, İntikam ve 'Ötekileştirme' Süreci," p. 51 and Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Popülizm, 1908-1923*, p. 227.

<sup>103</sup> Baleva, "İmparatorluğun Misillemesi", p. 33.

<sup>104</sup> Read, *Atrocity Propaganda*, pp. 14-15.

and the Virgin Mary, enabled the pictures of people who live in remote regions of the world to attract Western readers.<sup>105</sup> That is another factor that makes pictures indispensable tools for propaganda.

The power of pictures can also be understood by the fact that they were used to draw people's attention only to certain things. For instance, Baleva mentions a news report which gives detailed information on massacres both executed by Bulgarian Christians against Muslim civilians and vice versa. However, the picture that covers a whole page in the report shows only the sufferings of the Christians.<sup>106</sup> This fact demonstrates that pictures were used as more effective tools than writing.

The Crimean war can be seen as a turning point for Ottoman Empire in terms of use of propaganda, because in the coming years the policies and the target of propaganda of the Ottoman State changed: it gained a more Islamist, and later a more Turkish characteristic.<sup>107</sup>

The propaganda of the Ottoman Empire during the Crimean War was based on presenting Russia as a relentless aggressor that refused to negotiate. The Ottomans benefited from this depiction of the enemy in order to justify their position and used it throughout the war. In this way they aimed to find greater popular support.<sup>108</sup>

During the Russo-Turkish War, a negative propaganda campaign was carried out against Turks under the name "Turkish Atrocities." For this piece of propaganda, visual materials were widely used. Although the Ottoman state attempted to respond to this negative image created by Christians they could not manage to generate a

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<sup>105</sup> Baleva, "İmparatorluğun Misillemesi", p. 35

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>107</sup> Özyiğit Coşkuner, "Ottoman Official Discourse", pp. 13-14.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

discourse of “Russian Atrocities” mostly due to the lack of visual symbols.<sup>109</sup> On the other hand, as I will demonstrate in the following pages of this thesis, the Ottoman state was more successful in creating a discourse of “Bulgarian Atrocities” during the Balkan Wars than the “Russian Atrocities” in the 1877-1878 War.

While propaganda began to be used by non-governmental public spheres in the nineteenth century and later during the First World War, Ottoman war propaganda and agitation attempts were not adequate. Erol Köroğlu puts it in his work that examines the Ottoman war propaganda and the formation of the national identity in the Great War: “what was done under the heading of propaganda between August 1914 and February 1915 was nothing more than an attempt to trick the intellectuals or the common people and was of an extremely sycophantic nature.” To put it in other way, if we do not take a few exceptions into account, the Ottoman state did not manage to establish the organized, state-led, institutional propaganda activities of the main European countries.<sup>110</sup> This statement could be valid for the First World War, because when Ottoman propaganda attempts are compared to their European counterparts that had been trying to establish a state organized propaganda methods, which aimed to control the cultural, and political spheres and lead the public opinion in accordance with benefits of their own states.

Similarly, during the Balkan Wars it is not possible to claim that there was state-led propaganda activity in the Ottoman Empire. Available propaganda works were produced by the initiative of some societies and intellectuals. Certainly, there are several reasons for ineffective agitation attempts because the Ottomans were not unfamiliar with the war propaganda. Since the second half of the nineteenth

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<sup>109</sup> Baleva, “İmparatorluğun Misillemesi”, p. 41.

<sup>110</sup> Köroğlu, *Ottoman Propaganda*, pp. 5, 185, 186, 193.

century, from the Crimean War and then the Russo-Ottoman War, Ottoman intellectuals and officials had become acquainted with the importance of the effect of the internal or external public sphere at the time of political or military incidents. If we speak of the Balkan Wars, with regards to the state or official organizations, we can claim that, firstly the Ottomans did not expect to encounter such unified and determined allies: in short, the Ottoman civil and military officials and public were not prepared for war. Secondly, neither the Ottomans nor the Great Powers of the Europe expected the victory of the Balkan allies to such an extent that they did not want the *status quo* to be changed. In other words, the Ottomans' defeat did not seem possible. These two assessments could explain the unreadiness and ineffectiveness of the Ottomans state-run official propaganda. However, when the war started, as stated before, it reached the outskirts of the Ottoman capital; thousands of refugees fled before the Bulgarian army and arrived in İstanbul. Thus, the Ottoman intellectuals or members of civil society organizations realized the danger of the ignored enemies. Also, the publishing dates of the works that could be classified as the propaganda materials support this statement. As could be seen in the list of the publications of the propaganda works of the Balkan Wars, most of them were published while the war was in progress. The news from the fronts and the incidents that refugees witnessed in their homelands or on their ways to capital are the sources of the propaganda activities. In other words, neither the officials nor the men of letters had planned aims and materials for agitation. Another point for the lack of state-led propaganda organization could be the political instability in the years of the Balkan Wars. In June 1912, firstly, the Cabinet of Said Paşa resigned and then on 22 July 1912 a new cabinet was formed; Mahmud Muhtar Paşa was the head of this government, however, on 23 January 1913, the CUP took the power, in short, in a six-month

period there were three governments, and this political instability was an obstacle to organizing state-led propaganda and mobilization.

The last but not least, the Ottomans lacked sufficient infrastructure facilities. In other words, population and health related problems, an unstable economy dependent on foreign countries and credits, the lack of an industrial structure, the lack of a unified national education system and related illiteracy and the backwardness of the publishing sector that prevented the formation of a national unity precluded an effective propaganda mechanism to be established.

At the end of this chapter, it will be quite useful to look in more detail at Erol Köroğlu's book *Ottoman Propaganda and Turkish Identity: Literature in Turkey during World War I*, in order to see the different propaganda experiences of the Ottomans in the Balkan Wars and in the First World War. In this book, he analyses the reflection in Turkish literature of the Ottoman-Turkish war experience from 1914 to 1918. He argues that the Ottoman Empire was a different case from European countries since during the war it was still a developing country that had not completed its process of becoming a nation-state. Therefore, literary works were not on an adequate level for an effective propaganda. What is more striking is that Turkish nationalist intelligentsia benefited from the war in being able to build national culture that was not completely formed.<sup>111</sup>

Köroğlu supports his claim that the Ottoman state's propaganda was unsuccessful and superficial with statements of the literary figures of the period. For instance, Falih Rıfkı Atay states in his book *Ateş ve Güneş* (Fire and Sun) that haphazard propaganda of the Ottoman state during the First World War was not successful because the war was not fought within the borders of the empire, but in

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 185.

remote regions of it, lands that soldiers did not perceive as their own country. Besides, there were other reasons. While Anatolian peasants were kept away from their land, country and family during the long years of the war, the Ottoman state did not attempt to awaken their national consciousness. As a result, Turkish soldiers did not see the war as their own; they only fought because they had to.<sup>112</sup>

Köroğlu states that even the writings of Ömer Seyfettin did not have propagandist aims. He says that it is difficult to classify Ömer Seyfettin's wartime literary output as propaganda or as guided literature. He adds:

Even in his most propagandist stories, Ömer Seyfettin's starting point was problematic, since he did not have the luxury of the strong foundations enjoyed by propaganda. That is why Ömer Seyfettin –and the other writers struggling for cultural nationalism– had on the one hand to support the state's war effort and on the other to contribute to the building of a national culture.<sup>113</sup>

In other words, Ömer Seyfettin used the First World War in his stories with the aim to help the effort to build a national identity, not mainly with propagandist purposes in mind.<sup>114</sup>

Although the Ottoman state was not successful with propaganda there were many attempts to encourage the soldiers and civilians, which formed a sense of solidarity in the society and in the press during both the Balkan War and the World War. For instance, *Harp Mecmuası* (War Journal) was one of them and its publication was something new in the field of visual propaganda. Actually, it was one of the most important and successful examples of Ottoman visual propaganda. Its goal was to

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p. 149.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., p. 170.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 171.

produce and publish photographs that would show “the grandeur of the state and of the army”, to persuade people that everything was all right and to serve the purpose of raising the spirits both of the soldiers at the front and of the civilians on the home front.<sup>115</sup> To sum up, Koroğlu especially deals with the effects of the propaganda activities during the First World War, on the formation of the national culture and identity through the literature. However, the works of propaganda in the Balkan Wars did not have such an aim: they intended to point out the sufferings of the victims, and to draw attention of the European public (*Avrupa'nın efkâr-ı umûmiyesi* in Ottoman Turkish)<sup>116</sup> to what was happening in the Balkans. Needless to say, all these efforts were being shaped spontaneously. The only planned purpose was to postulate what the Ottoman youth and women should do after the war in order to regenerate the Ottoman Empire.

Since the subject of this thesis is propaganda during the Balkan Wars, I want to touch upon this issue briefly at the end of this chapter. Casualties, immigrations and atrocities that the First Balkan War caused had repercussions among the Muslim Ottomans. İlker Alp, who published a collection of visual materials and documents about the relations and conflicts between the governments and Muslims, and the Turks of Bulgaria from the late nineteenth century to the last quarter of the twentieth century, states that Balkan countries, especially Bulgaria, attempted inhumane crimes against Turkish people by taking advantage of their defeat in the Balkan Wars.<sup>117</sup> As

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>116</sup> Ahmed Cevad, *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb: 1328 Fecâîi*, (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1329/1913), p. 55.

<sup>117</sup> İlker Alp, *Bulgarian Atrocities: Documents and Photographs* (London: K. Rustem & Bro., 1988), p. 2.

Anatolian people heard of the atrocities immigrants experienced, feelings of animosity arose amid different people there.<sup>118</sup>

In addition, ethnic and religious differences in the lands that were lost in the Balkans caused forced migrations. Muslims immigrated to Anatolia in harsh conditions that led to countless losses. In this environment, Turkish identity gained a social dimension and definitions like “Balkan atrocities,” “Greek atrocities,” and “Armenian atrocities” became helpful in forming this identity<sup>119</sup>. This discourse was internalized by all kinds of media organs and school textbooks that were speaking of “revenge.”<sup>120</sup>

During the war, articles, poems and memoirs related with the defeat in the Balkans and the sorrows it caused filled all the magazines and newspapers. For instance, the *Resimli Kitap* (Illustrated Book) magazine, which was published between September 1324 (1908) and February 1329 (1914), printed albums including photographs about the war during the Balkan War under the title of “Weekly War Panorama”.<sup>121</sup>

One of the examples of literary works during the Balkan Wars is Mehmed Emin Yurdakul’s book *Türk Sazı* (Turkish String Instrument) published in 1914. It includes poems written during and prior to the Balkan War. His other book *Ey Türk Uyan* (O! Turk Rise), was published in the same year and was written during the Balkan Wars. This book consists of a single long poem, in which the golden civilization of the ancient Turks in Turan is compared with the present difficult

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<sup>118</sup> Toprak, “Balkan Harbi, İntikam ve ‘Ötekileştirme’ Süreci,” p. 52 and Toprak, *Türkiye’de Popülizm 1908-1923*, p. 228.

<sup>119</sup> See also: Zafer Toprak, “Cihan Harbinin Provası Balkan Harbi,” *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 104 (August 2002) p. 46.

<sup>120</sup> Toprak, “Balkan Harbi, İntikam ve ‘Ötekileştirme’ Süreci,” p. 43.

<sup>121</sup> Köroğlu, *Ottoman Propaganda*, pp. 49, 80.

situation. According to Mehmed Emin the only way back to the “glorious past” is by having national sentiments.<sup>122</sup>

The literature on the Balkan Wars played an important role in transforming the political and cultural mentality of the period by creating a new vocabulary and a new set of various concepts, attitudes and expressions, which would be used for a long time after the war. Among those new concepts and attitudes were receiving a stain on the honor, cleaning the blot with blood, revenge, not forgetting, national hatred, union and solidarity, and so on.<sup>123</sup>

As I will argue later in this thesis echoing Erol K rođlu, the attempts of the Ottomans to influence public opinion during the Balkan Wars were not organized or effective. When we look at the definitions and exemplary practices of organized state propaganda we can hardly name the publications of Ottoman intelligentsia as propaganda works in a real sense. However, I chose to name three books I will tackle in this thesis under a common title of propaganda for three reasons. If we consider the targets of these books, *Âl m-i İsl m: Bulgar Vah etleri* (Sorrrows of İslam: Bulgarian Cruelties), *Âl m-i İslam: Rumeli Mezalimi ve Bulgar Vah etleri* (Sorrrows of İslam: Atrocities in Rumelia and Bulgarian Cruelties), and *Kırmızı Siyah Kit b, 1328 Fec y * (The Red Black Book, the Disasters of 1328), it is obvious that they were written and published to impress certain groups hoping to change the fate of the empire. In other words, these books can be seen as na ve examples of propaganda practices. The fact that they were published by foundations like *Rumeli Muhacir n-i İsl miye Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi* (the Beneficial Association of Muslim Refugees of Rumelia) and *Ne r-i Ves ik Cemiyeti* (Association for the Publication of Documents) and not by ordinary persons provides a valid reason to regard them as propaganda

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid., pp. 132-133.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., p. 48.

tools. Last but not least, examining them under a common concept is useful and can lead to new debates in the field. The common concept that I would like to deal with is the “propaganda of massacre”. This kind of propaganda, as we deduce from the context of the books and the other visual materials, such as postcards, illustrations and photographs, aims to give the image of the demonized enemy, which demonstrates inhuman treatment against enemy soldiers or the civilians. The perpetrators of this sort of propaganda also intend to gain public support of both their own public and the European public for their deeds, along with promoting their own moral supremacy over their enemies. In order to demonstrate and emphasize the dissimilarity from the Bulgarians, some statements were put forth. For instance, a short pamphlet published during the Balkan Wars indicates that, although the Muslim Ottomans are obliged to take revenge with the Bulgarians, the Ottomans should still behave, that is to say not to kill little girls, like their foes.<sup>124</sup>

At this point, we have to emphasize that the general Ottoman literature that emerged during and after the Balkan Wars, impressive in its size, diversity and openness, looked for an answer explaining the reasons for the defeat, as Tarık Zafer Tunaya stated. Tunaya addressed these works and publications as research and disclosure literature.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> M. S. (Mim-Sad), *Karagöz Neler Görmüş: Balkan'da* (İstanbul: Osmanlı Matbaası, [n. d]), p. 12.

*“Milletleri kurtaran intikam ise de bu intikam, Bulgarların yaptığı gibi kız çocukları öldürmek ile hasıl olmaz.”*

<sup>125</sup> *“Bu bir araştırma ve işaat edebiyatıdır.”* Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler*, vol. III, *İttihat ve Terakki: Bir Çağın, Bir Kuşağın, Bir Partinin Tarihi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000), p. 583.

A well-known Ottoman-Turkish publisher Tüccarzâde İbrahim Hilmi

(Çığıracan)<sup>126</sup> published twenty-four books about the Balkan Wars in two different series. The first series was named as *Balkan Harbi Külliyyatı* (The Collection of the Balkan Wars) in which six books were published.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> For detailed information about the biography and works of Tüccarzâde İbrahim Hilmi Çığıracan, see Başak Ocak, *Bir Yayıncının Portresi: Tüccarzâde İbrahim Hilmi Çığıracan* (İstanbul: MütferrikaYayımları, 2003).

<sup>127</sup> The titles of these six books are as follows: Ömer Zeki [later Çobanoğlu], *Balkan Harbi ve Şark Ordusunun Hezimetini* [The Balkan Wars and the Rout of the Eastern Army] (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye, 1332/1914); H. Wagner, *Bulgaristan Ordusu ile Muzafferiyete Doğru* [Towards Victory along with the Bulgarian Army](İstanbul: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askerî, 1331/1915); Ali Fethi, *Bolayır Muharebesi'nde Adem-i Muvaffakiyyetin Esbâbı* [The Battle of Bolayır and the Reasons of Our Defeat] (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1330/1914); Bekir Sıtkı, *Garb Ordusu Harekâtı Cavid Paşa Kolu Vardar Ovası* [The Operation of the Western Army: The Section of Cavid Pasha, Vardar Plain] (İstanbul: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askerî, 1331/1913); Piyaron de Mondezir [sic.], *Edirne Muhâsarası: 1912-1913* [The Siege of Edirne: 1912-1913] (İstanbul: Artin Asaduryan ve Mahdumları Matbaası, 1331/1915).

The second series was named as *Kitâbhâne-i İntibâh* (Library of Rebirth). Eighteen books were published by this collection and sixth of the eighteen books were written by Tüccarzâde İbrahim Hilmi. The sub-headings of the series are “reasons of our debacle”. These books are: *Zavallı Millet* [The Unfortunate Nation] (Dersaadet: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askerî, 1330/1914); *Milletin Hataları* [The Mistakes of the Nation] (Dersaadet: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askerî, 1329/1913); *Milletin Kusurları* [The Faults of the Nation] (Dersaadet: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askerî, 1328/1912); *Maarifimiz ve Servet-i İlmîyemiz* [Our System of Education and Our Wealth of Wisdom] (İstanbul: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askerî, 1328/1912); *Türkiye Uyan* [Wake up! Turkey] (Dersaadet: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askerî, 1329/1913); and *Avrupalılaşmak* [Europenization] (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1332/1916).

Other twelve books were either translations from foreign authors or Ottoman writers. The list of these books as follows: Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, *Esbâb-ı Hezimet ve Felâketimiz: Lüleburgaz Muharebesi'nde Nasıl ve Niçin Mağlub Olduk?* [The Reasons for Our Debacle and Disaster: How and Why were We Defeated in the Battle of Lüleburgaz?] (Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1328/1912); Ahmed Cevad, *Haram Yiyicilik: Felâketlerimizin Esbâbı* [Having Ill-gotten Gain: The Reasons for Our Debacle] (Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1329/1913); İsmayıl Hakkı [later Baltacıoğlu], *Talim ve Terbiyede İnkılâb* [Refom in the Education] (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1328/1912); Pierre Loti, *Can Çekişen Türkiye* [Turkey in the Throes of Death] (Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1329/1913); E., *Balkan Harbi'nde Neden Münhezim Olduk?* [Why Were We Defeated in the Balkan Wars?] (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1329/1913); Charles Veley, *Anadolu'nun İstikbâli ve Akdeniz Meselesi* [The Future of Anatolia and the Mediterranean Question], trans. Yusuf Ziya (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1329/1913); Paul Hourie, *Türkiye Nasıl Paylaşıldı?* [How was Turkey Shared?] (Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1329/1913); E., *Balkan Harbi'nde Askeri Mağlubiyetlerimizin Esbâbı* [The Reasons for Our Military Defeats in the Balkan Wars] (İstanbul: Artin Asaduryan ve Mahdumları Matbaası, 1329/1913); Muhammed Kasım Emin, *Hürriyet-i Nisvan* [Freedom of Women], trans. Zeki Magamez (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1329/1913); Dr. Karl von Winterstetten, *Avrupa-yı Vüsta Siyasetinde Yeni Hedefler: Berlin Bağdat* [New Objectives in the Central European Policy: Berlin Baghdad] (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1330/1914); Mehmed Ali Tevfik, *Turanlının Defteri* [The Notebook of the Turanian] (Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1330/1914); *Almanlar Atîmizi Nasıl Görüyorlar* [How do the Germans See Our Future], trans. Emin Arif (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1330/1914).<sup>127</sup>

Another part of the primary sources and literature related to the Balkan Wars is series of the memoires that were written by both German and Ottoman officers who fought in the war. In those books, usually reasons of the defeat and military operations were mentioned and discussed.

The other category of the Balkan Wars literature, according to my classification, is that the books that were prepared by the journalists and war correspondents.<sup>128</sup>

When their works are studied, it could be seen that occasionally correspondents were not neutral and objective. Their “anti” or “pro” Ottoman feelings and views could be traced. For instance, while Leon Trotsky had “anti” Balkan League feelings, Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, in his book, had ideals for the most part compatible with those of the Balkan League.

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The list of these books as follows: Mareşal Mustafa Zeki Paşa, [1912] *Balkan Harbine Aid Hatıratım* [Memoirs on the Balkan Wars] (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Askeriye, 1337/ 1921); Osman Nuri, *Balkan Harbi Hatıratı* [Memoirs on the Balkan Wars] (İstanbul: Bahriye Matbaası, 1926); Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz, *Genç Türkiye'nin Hezimetini ve İnkân-ı İtilâsı*, [The Rout of the Young Turkey and its Potential to Rise] Mütercimi [Translated by]: H. Cevdet (İstanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1332/ 1916); Pertev Paşa (Demirhan), *Balkan Harbi'nde Büyük Karargâh-ı Umumi* [The General Headquarters in the Balkan Wars] (İstanbul: Askerî Matbaa, 1927); Mehmed Ali Nüzhet Paşa, *1912 Balkan Harbi'nde Sevkiyat ve Nakliyat-ı Askeriye* [Military Logistics in the Balkan War of 1912] (İstanbul: Cemiyet Kütüphanesi, Resimli Kitâb Matbaası), 1331/1915; Abdullah Kölemen Paşa, *1328 Balkan Harbi'nde Şark Ordusu Kumandanı Abdullah Paşa'nın Hatıratı* [Memoirs of Abdullah Pasha: The Commander of the Eastern Army in the Balkan War of 1328/ 1912] (İstanbul: Erkân-ı Harbiye Matbaası, 1336/1920); Mehmed Fahri Paşa, *Manzum İşkodra Tarih-i Harbi* [Poetical History of the Battle of Shkoder] (İstanbul: Mekteb-i Harbiye Matbaası, 1329/1913); Mahmud Muhtar Paşa, *Üçüncü Kolordunun ve İkinci Şark Ordusunun Muharebatı* [Battles of the Third Army Corps and the Second Eastern Army] (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, Kanaat Matbaası, 1331/ 1915); Mareşal [Marshall] Fevzi Çakmak; *Garbî Rumeli'nin Sûret-i Ziya'ı ve Balkan Harbi'nde Garp Cephesi Hakkında Erkân-ı Harbiye-i Umûmiye Reisi Müşir Fevzi Paşa Hazretlerinin Erkân-ı Harbiye Mektebi'ndeki Konferansları* [The Loss of the Western Rumelia and the Conferences of the Marshall Fevzi Çakmak on the Western Front in the Balkan Wars] (İstanbul: Erkân-ı Harbiye Mektebi Matbaası, 1927); Emin Paşa; *Yanya Müdafaası* [The Defense of Ioannina] (İstanbul: Askerî Matbaa, 1927); Gustav von Hochwaechter, *Türklerle Harbe: Kırkkilise- Lüleburgaz- Çatalca Muharebatı Vekayi-i Yevmiyesi* [To the War with Turks: Dairies of the Battles of Kırkkilise- Lüleburgaz- Çatalca], Mütercimi [Translated by]: Binbaşı [Colonel] Kemal (İstanbul: Hürriyet Matbaası, 1331/1915).

In those books, according to most of the Ottoman officers, the lack of infrastructure in the battlefields was indicated as the main reason of the defeat.

<sup>128</sup> The most eminent of these journalists and authors names and their works are as follows: Leon Trotsky, *The War Correspondence of Leon Trotsky: The Balkan Wars 1912-1913* (Pathfinder Press, 1981); Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, *With the Turks in Thrace* (London: W. Heinemann, 1913); Georges Rémond, *Avec Les Vaincus: La Campagne de Thrace (Octobre 1912- Mai 1913)* [Together with the Defeated: The Thracian Campaign (October 1912- May 1913)] (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1913); Lionel James, *With the Conquered Turk: The Story of a Latter-Day Adventurer* (Boston: Small, Maynard and Company, 1913); Wilhelm Feldmann, *İstanbul'da Savaş Günleri: Bir Alman Gazetecinin Balkan Savaşı Hatıratı* [Days of War in İstanbul: Memoirs of a German Correspondent] (İstanbul, 2004); Stéphane Lauzanne, *Au Chevet de la Turquie: Quarante Jours de Guerre* [At the Bedside of Turkey: Forty Days of War] (Paris: A. Fayard, 1913).

## Publications in the Balkan Wars

Newspapers and journals were the most effective tools for delivering and transmitting the news from the fronts and for making war propaganda. Besides the Ottoman press, military, religious and civilian ceremonies, theatre productions, “patriotic” poems, novels, stories, stamps and postcards were used for the aims of propaganda.

It must be stated that the war affected publication activities in both negative and positive ways. The censorship and the financial crisis could be pointed out as the negative effects. Due to the lack of financial sources, high rates of inflation and high prices of materials used in publication process, such as paper, ink, etc, caused some newspapers to be shut down. *Tanzimât* was one of these newspapers that had to suspend its publication.<sup>129</sup> Moreover, *Hikmet* was published with different colors and size of papers, i.e. yellow and pink.<sup>130</sup>

During the time of the Balkan Wars, about 45 newspapers and journals were published in İstanbul. However, most of these publications were irregular, and published only for a very short time. The names of the prominent newspapers and the journals are: (in alphabetical order) *Âlemdar*, *Başçavuş*, *Büyük Duygu*, *Çocuk Dünyası*, *Donanma*, *Halka Doğru*, *Hikmet*, *İctihâd*, *İkdâm*, *Resimli Kitâb*, *Rübâb*, *Sabah*, *Sebilü'r-Reşâd*, *Servet-i Fünûn*, *Şehbâl*, *Tanîn*, *Tanzimât*, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, *Türk Yurdu* and *Zafer*. Last but not least, another journal named *AKTIS* (Aktis) must be mentioned here. *Aktis* was Turkish journal written and published in Greek alphabet for the Turkish speaking Greek-Orthodox community in Anatolia and

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<sup>129</sup> Haluk Harun Duman, *Balkanlara Veda: Basın ve Edebiyatta Balkan Savaşı (1912-1913)* (İstanbul: DUYAP, 2005), p. 70 with reference to “Gazetenin Muvakkaten Tatili”, *Tanzimat*, nr. 384, 18 October 1912.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

İstanbul. The first issue of *Aktis* was published on 10 August 1910 and the publication continued until 10 July 1914. Its executive office –shared with another newspaper *Sada-yı Millet* – was on Babiâli Street. N. I. Kamalakidis was the editor-in-chief.<sup>131</sup> According to *Aktis*, the Balkan Wars were actually wars between Russia and Austria, not between the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan Alliance.<sup>132</sup> Similar to the Turkish publications, *Aktis* emphasized the atrocities of the Bulgarian and the Serbian armies in Rumelia. However, after a while, *Aktis* only pointed out the massacres of the Bulgarians and gave up mentioning the massacres of the Serbians. An important point for *Aktis* is that it never mentioned the Greek atrocities, since it is not possible for the Greeks to commit massacres.<sup>133</sup> It is worth noting that the way *Aktis* interpreted the war is very similar to the points of the Ottoman propaganda books. For instance, *Aktis* was angry with the Great Powers of Europe for their lack of concern with the deeds of the Allies in Rumelia, and if the Ottoman Army did similar actions against the Bulgarian army, the Europeans would have interfered in immediately.<sup>134</sup> Moreover, again a discourse and concept similar to its Turkish counterparts, the soldiers and the officers of the Bulgarian army were associated with the barbarian communities of the Central Asia, the Huns. All in all, *Aktis* supported its Muslim compatriots during the Balkan Wars. There could be several reasons for this support, such as the long-lasting disagreement and conflict between the Greek and the Bulgarian communities due to the church issue, or the Bulgarian occupation of places where the Greek speaking population lived. But, for me, *Aktis* was one of

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<sup>131</sup> Stefo Benlisoy, “Karamanlıca *Aktis* Gazetesi Örneğinde Balkan Savaşı’nda Osmanlı Rum Basınında Mezalim Propagandası”, *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, no. 17 (Spring 2014), pp. 176-178.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184.

the last defenders of Ottomanism, leading to the journal and its editor Kamalakis's struggle to maintain concordance and co-existence.

In the first weeks of fighting the Balkan Wars, the conflict was described by the Ottoman press as an anachronistic and bigoted religious war about to be waged against the Ottoman nation.<sup>135</sup> As could be seen in three books, which are examined in this thesis, the war was compared to the Crusades, with claims that the war's origins could be traced back to that point. The aim of this kind of publication activities –including propaganda books– was to mobilize all segments of the Ottoman nation: soldiers and civilians, Muslims and non-Muslims, men and women, adults and children.<sup>136</sup> As Eyal Ginio stated, the daily press published enthusiastic reports about the war and military operations. The texts related to the news from the front were accompanied by abundant photographs and detailed maps.

#### Theatre Plays Written and Published during the Balkan Wars

During the Balkan Wars, five theatre plays –which could be found in the libraries– were written and published. The titles of these plays are as follows: *Gayz* (Wrath), *Edirne Müdafaası yahud Şükrü Paşa* (Defense of Edirne or Şükrü Pasha), *Türk Kanı* (The Turkish Blood), *Irkıımızın Namusu* (The Honor of our Folk), and *Güzel Rumeli* (Pleasant Rumelia).<sup>137</sup> There is no evidence as to whether these plays were staged or not. However, according to an eminent expert on Turkish theatre and its history, Metin And, there were other plays staged by different theatre companies.

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<sup>135</sup> Ginio, "Paving the Way for Ethnic Cleansing", p. 287.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 287.

<sup>137</sup> Duman, *Balkanlara Veda*, pp. 267-282.

The companies and the plays are as follows: in 1913 the company of Raşit Rıza and Ahmet Fehim staged a play titled *Türkler, Bulgarlar ve Namus*, Osmanlı Tiyatro Kumpanyası (Ottoman Theatre Company) staged *Edirne'nin İstirdadı* (Recapturing of Adrianople), the company of Minakyan staged *Ölmez Duygu* (Eternal Feeling), *Sönmez Ateş* (Immortal Flame) and *Edirne Yolunda- Bulgar Vahşetleri* (On the Way to Adrianople- Bulgarian Atrocities), Millet Theatre staged *Osmanlıların Rumeli'ye Müruru* (Passing to Rumelia by the Ottomans), and the company of Abdi, Şevki and K. İsmail effendis staged *Sevgili Edirnemizin İstirdadı yahut Osmanlı Ordusu Vazifesini Görüyor* (the Recapturing of our Beloved Adrianople or the Ottoman Army on its Duty). Besides these staged plays, there were several plays, which were never staged, including *Edirne Müdafaası yahut Şükrü Paşa* (Defense of Adrianople or Şükrü Paşa) by Melikzâde Fuad and *Güzel Rumeli* (Pleasant Rumelia) by Muhiddin Mekkî.<sup>138</sup>

#### Patriotic Poems Written and Published during the Balkan Wars

According to Haluk Harun Duman, between the years 1912 and 1914, about 280 poems on the Balkan Wars were published in newspapers and the journals. In his book *Balkanlara Veda* (Farewell to the Balkans), he divides these poems into three categories: the first category includes the poems that were written in the beginning of the war. The main themes of these poems are encouragement, glorification of the past and the determination to fight. In the mid of October 1912, Süleyman Nazif, an eminent Ottoman poet, wrote the following verses in his poem titled Harp Şarkısı (War Chant):

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<sup>138</sup> Metin And, *Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Tiyatrosu: 1908-1923* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1971), pp. 220-221.

Bulgarians are revolting again... they are our enemies,  
From now the Balkans are our way and our dwelling  
It does not matter if we die, the land of enemy is our tomb  
They all go to war... the dead and the alive all go to war  
Tell them not to wait for me at home today...

I am at war, surrounded by fire and blood  
Fighting against Bulgarians is an enjoyment for me  
Tell my grandma not to wait for me  
They all go to war... go to war they are all young and active  
Tell them not to wait for me at home today...<sup>139</sup>

The second category includes the poems that were written about the progressive aspects of the war. It must be stated that the themes of the poems began to change. The defeat, the “atrocities” of the Balkan League and revenge became the prominent subjects. Those themes can be found in poems of another prominent Ottoman-Turkish poet and one of the future ideologues of the Turkish nationalism, Ziya Gökalp. One of his poems is as follows

Sleep my little one, you look sleepy  
When you grow up, there will be fear for the enemies  
Your father is a martyr; there is an arrow in his heart,  
This arrow means a concern for the motherland, *ninni!*  
Your debt is the respect of your descendants, *ninni!*  
(...)  
Rise the crescent up in the mosques, *ninni!*  
Take both your motherland back and your revenge, *ninni!*<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> This poem was published in *Tasvir-i Efkâr* on 2 Teşrin-i Evvel 1328/ 15 October 1912. It was quoted from Duman, *Balkanlara Veda*, p. 105. In Turkish:

“Bulgarlar yine baş kaldırıyor... düşmanımızdır,  
Balkanlar artık yolumuz, meskenimizdir  
Ölse de ne gam, düşman ili medfenimizdir  
Hep cenge gider... cenge gider mürde ve zinde  
Git söyle bugün beklemesinler beni evde

“Harp etmedeyim her tarafım âteş-i hundur  
Bulgarlarla dövüşmek, bana zevk-i derundur  
Ak saçlı ninem beklemesin yollar uzundur  
Hep cenge gider... cenge gider mürde ve zinde  
Git söyle bugün beklemesinler beni evde...”

The last category includes the poems which were written at the end of the war. The theme of defeat is prominent and the poems are like requiems. Mehmed Akif (Ersoy)<sup>141</sup> wrote these verses:

O God, six hundred thousand Muslims were slaughtered  
Blazing hearts, torn chastity and floods were of blood  
Innocent elders suffered under bayonets!  
These burnt piles were people and souls.<sup>142</sup>

Besides his poems published in *Sebilü'r-Reşad*, the Balkan Wars were an important subject in Mehmed Akif's *Safahat*. He claims that in the war "former" Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire betrayed the Muslim ones. He wrote that:

Oh God, this was the last land of the innocents.  
How was it hit by the worst nations?  
Three devilish armies from the cruelest nations of all,  
Came and hit our hearts, seehow;  
The hearts that beat for the future suddenly stopped!<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> The poem titled *Şehid Haremi* (Martyr's Harem) belongs to Ziya Gökalp. It was published in *Kızılelma*. Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, *Ziya Gökalp Külliyyatı- 1: Şiirler ve Halk Masalları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1989), pp. 67-68.

"Uyu yavrum, gözlerinde uyku var,  
Sen büyürsen düşmanlara korku var,  
Baban şehid, yüreğinde oku var,  
Bu ok vatan kaygısıdır, ninni!  
Borcun evlât saygısıdır, ninni!  
(...)  
Câmilere götür Hilâl, ninni!  
Hem yurdu, hem öcünü al, ninni!"

<sup>141</sup> Mehmed Akif (Ersoy) was one of the prolific and important authors of *Sırat-ı Müstakim* and *Sebilü'r-Reşad*, besides his ongoing importance even today in cultural and political spheres. One of his poems –*İstiklâl Marşı*– was chosen to form the Turkish national anthem in 1921, during the National Liberation War. In the verses of the national anthem, similar to his criticism to the Balkan states and their Christian population, he attacks and depicts the Europe and its civilization, as a single-toothed monster. Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans*, p. 92.

<sup>142</sup> The poem was published in *Sebilü'r-Reşad*, 27 December 1912, quoted from Duman, *Balkanlara Veda*, p. 136.

"İlâhî, altı yüz bin Müslüman birden boğazlandı...  
Yanan can, yırtılan ismet, akan seller bütün kandı  
Ne mâsum ihtiyarlar süngüler altında kıvrandı '  
Şu küllenmiş yığınlar hep birer insan, birer candı."

In *Safahat* the armies of the Balkan League are also described and depicted by Mehmed Akif as follows:

The bandit called Montenegro, the donkey named Serbia, the Snake called Bulgaria,  
And then the dog called Greece all around besieged the homeland...  
Destroyed our army and,  
Chased us from our homeland...<sup>144</sup>

Mehmed Akif, besides depicting the Christian enemies, also criticizes Muslim subjects –especially the Albanians–of the Ottoman Empire due to their struggle for independence during the Balkan Wars, even though he was of Albanian descent.

You were from Muslim nation, weren't you?... What is nationhood?  
Why did not you hold on to your faith?  
What does it mean to be Albanian? Does it have a place in the sharia?  
It is nothing but a impiety to insist on nationhood.  
Is an Arab superior to a Turk; a Laz to Circassian or a Kurd;  
Persian to a Chinese? Where?  
Is there "ethnic elements" in Islam? No way.  
The Prophet curses the idea of nationhood.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Mehmed Âkif Ersoy, "Hakkın Sesleri", *Safahat* (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 2006), p. 185.

"İlâhî, şer'i ma'sûmun şu topraklardı son yurdu...  
Nasıl te'yîd-i kahrın en rezîl akvâma vurdurdu?  
Evet, milletlerin en kahbesinden, üç leîm ordu,  
Gelip tâ sinemizden vurdu, seyret hem, nasıl vurdu:  
Ki istikbâl için çarpan yürekler anstızın durdu!"

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., pp. 191-192.

"Karadağ haydudu, Sırb eşşeği, Bulgar yılanı,  
Sonra Yunan iti, çepçevre kuşatsın vatani...  
Târ-ı mâr eyleyiversin de bütûn ordumuzu,  
Bizi kovsun elimizden alarak yurdumuzu..."

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., p. 192.

"Hani, milliyetin İslâm idi... Kavmiyyet ne?  
Sarılıp dursaydın a milliyetine.  
'Arnavutluk' ne demek? Var mı Şeriaat'te yeri?  
Küfr olur, başka değil, kavmini sürmek ileri,  
Arabın Türke; Lazın Çerkese, yâhud Kürde;

However, usually these kinds of poems were not printed in the daily newspapers due to the strict censorship of the press by the government. Another factor could be that psychological trauma of defeat also caused pessimistic feelings among Muslim Ottomans.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, I dealt with the theoretical and historical aspects of the war propaganda. First, I tried to give multiple definitions of propaganda from the point of views of several scholars. Then, I focused on the different applications of the propaganda in history. Although, there were some examples of propaganda since the mid-seventeenth century, in the European literature propaganda could hardly be found until the First World War. However, some elements of propaganda, such as visual material, in order both to give information about the battlefronts and to affect the public sphere, have been used since the Crimean War. Another effective use of visual materials was during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. In particular, the European public opinion supported both emotionally and financially the “suffering” Bulgarian people against the Ottoman atrocities. In the following pages, I noted that, although there was not organized state support, some Ottoman intellectuals attempted their own propaganda activities from the Balkan Wars until the end of the First World War. They were mostly the men-of-letters, thus, they tried to agitate and mobilize the Ottoman public with their limited means.

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*Acemin Çinliye rüchânı mı varmış? Nerde!  
Müslümanlık'ta 'anâsır' mı olurmuş? Ne gezer?  
Fikr-i kavmiyyeti tel'in ediyor Peygamber.”*

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DEFEAT IN THE FRONT, DEFENSE BY WORDS AND PICTURES

Lots of soul from the minarets of Fatih Mosque that gives strength to me with its view, ask me that: “Oh! You the officer of the miserable army that abandoned Edirne! How could you still be alive!” Debacle of the army hangs my head in shame.<sup>146</sup>

In this chapter of the thesis, the struggle of the Ottomans to raise their trampled honor in the Balkan Wars will be examined. Most of the Ottomans had the same feelings with Hafız Hakkı Paşa when the Bulgarian army reached Çatalca at the very beginning the war. The debacle did not only mean a defeat of an army for the Ottomans, it meant the defeat of the crescent before the cross.

In order to understand the meaning of the hypothesis mentioned above, the importance of the Balkans for the Ottoman Empire should be remembered. The Balkans has been the stage of the turning points both in world history and the Turkish history. In the month of October in 1912, “the long nineteenth century” ended for the Ottomans and the Bulgarians, Serbs, Greeks and the Montenegrins. The impatient and “vehement” people of Eastern Europe had entered “the short twentieth century” a little prior to “the Great Forces” of the Western Europe. The Balkan Wars was a turning point for Turkey as well. To be precise, the Balkans Wars commenced the transformation of the Ottoman Empire into a Turkish “nation-state.” The long path of transformation began in 1912, along with the declaration of war against the Balkan League and ended up in 1922. In other words, Turkey began the First World

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<sup>146</sup> Hafız Hakkı, *Bozgun* (Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1330), p. 5.

“Manzarasıyla benliğime, ruhuma kuvvet veren Fatih minarelerinden bir sürü ervah bana: ‘Ey meşhed’i [Edirne] bırakan bedbaht ordunun zabiti! Hâlâ nasıl yaşıyorsun!’ diyor. Bütün ordunun bozgunlukları omuzlarımı çökertiyor, yüzümü yerlere kapatıyor.”

War with the Balkan War and ended it with the Treaty of Lausanne that was signed after the War of Independence.

The Balkan Wars had deep effects on social and political life. Huge territorial losses, casualties, and emigrants from Rumelia were a great shock for the people of İstanbul and then Anatolia, when the emigrants were settled there. Moreover, the consequences of the war woke the Muslim population of the empire up in order to defend its new and only territory, Anatolia. It became an opportunity to raise awareness of nationhood among the refugees and their hosts, as Halil İnalçık pointed out about a century later:

Defeat in the Balkans, loss of Rumelia –then about 4 million Muslims lived in the Balkans according to the statistical data- saddened all the Turks deeply. Turkish nationalism rose up from the reaction to this debacle.<sup>147</sup>

However, besides the consequences of the war, the main aim of this study is not to present all steps of the mobilization efforts of the Ottomans but to explore the perception of the “atrocious” enemy during the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913. In this chapter, I am going to examine the patriotic and nationalistic poems, theatre plays, stories, as well. However, the main focus will be on three books, which were published aiming to mobilize the Muslim-Ottomans during the Balkan Wars. The names of these three books according to their publication dates, are as follows: *Âlâm-i İslâm: Bulgar Vahşetleri* (Sorrows of İslam: Bulgarian Cruelties), edited and published in 1912, *Âlâm-i İslam: Rumeli Mezalimi ve Bulgar Vahşetleri* (Sorrows of İslam: Atrocities in Rumelia and Bulgarian Cruelties), edited and published in

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<sup>147</sup> Halil İnalçık, “Türkiye’de Osmanlı Araştırmaları: I- Türkiye’de Modern Tarihçiliğin Kurucuları”, *XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2002), p. 101.  
“Balkanlardaki bozgun, Rumeli’nin kaybedilişi (o zaman Balkanlarda istatistik verilere göre 4 milyon Müslüman yaşıyordu) tüm Türkleri derin bir keder ve umutsuzluk içine atmıştı. Türk milliyetçiliği, yeni Türkiye, bu umutsuzluğun getirdiği tepkiden doğdu.”

1913, and *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb, 1328 Fecâyii* (The Red Black Book, the Disasters of 1328), edited and published in 1913 by Ahmed Cevad (later on Ahmed Cevad Emre). The first and second books were published by *Rumeli Muhacirîn-i İslâmiye Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi* (the Beneficial Association of Muslim Refugees of Rumelia) and the third book was published by the *Neşr-i Vesâik Cemiyeti* (Association for the Publication of Documents).

### Ottoman Propaganda Books

By the beginning of the twentieth century the nature of war radically changed and the Balkan Wars were the first in which this change could be witnessed. Before the Balkan Wars, wars could be defined as “aristocratic wars.” However, starting with the Balkan Wars, wars would become “democratic” wars. Before the twentieth century, wars were only fought in the trenches. In one respect, “the monarchs” and their professional soldiers were fighting far from the settlements, and apart from the soldiers in trenches civilians could maintain their daily routines.

However, the twentieth century brought a new phase to the wars as the battlefields expanded even near to the settlements around the city centers. Meanwhile, thanks to improvements in the press and broadcasting, daily news from the battlefields could easily be transmitted to the hinterland.

In this sense, the Crimean War was the first “documented war” in history. Likewise, the American Civil War was another documented war, because, war correspondents were attending the battles along with the armies, as well. Moreover, the telegram had been invented and daily newspapers became widespread among the public. The quick transmission of the news created a brand new public sphere and all

these factors served the “democratization” of the wars.<sup>148</sup> This term expresses the expansion of the battlegrounds from the trenches to the living places, i.e. city centers or downtown near which close combats were going on. Moreover, along with expansion of the battlegrounds, not only the soldiers or officers, but the civilians – including, women, children, elders or handicapped people in the hinterlands of the combat zones. Towns or cities became new battle fields in the Balkan Wars. In particular Edirne during the siege of Çatalca where the Bulgarian troops set up their camps could be given as examples in which the war became a democratized one.

Besides all these points that were stated above, the Balkan Wars had also one more aspect: the Balkan Wars were “visualized” wars. In order to exemplify this argument, I would like to cite a picture from *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*. As it could be seen in the picture below, it was intended that the Ottoman public sphere would be aware of the brutalities of the enemies, in other words the Balkan armies. The same picture also shows us that the Balkan Wars were not a “gentleman’s wars.” At least three Bulgarian soldiers assault an Ottoman soldier in the top of the picture. Moreover, presumably wounded, two other Ottomans soldiers are under attack by their enemies.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Toprak, “Balkan Harbi, İntikam ve ‘Ötekileştirme’ Süreci”, p. 50.

<sup>149</sup> Ahmed Cevad, *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*, p. iii.



Needless to say, there have been pictures or illustrations related to war even before the Balkan Wars. However, they were mostly the pictures of the commanders or of glorious armies. In other words, they were “neutral” pictures. Yet the Ottoman correspondents, reporters, and writers who portrayed the incidents of the Balkan Wars aimed to influence the Muslim Ottoman public opinion. Thus, images became a new weapon in addition to their portraying function. One of the important components of the propaganda works is literacy: however, in a society in which the literacy rates are very low such as the Ottoman society, visual materials play a crucial role. It must be hard to produce, distribute, and take advantage of long articles or books in order to affect and mobilize the society. This way could be useful in the British Empire or in Germany as it was during the First World War years. Thus, the Ottomans decided to use the power of the image through photographs or illustrations. Besides articles and books, many of the visual materials were produced and published. Although it is

claimed in the Western literature that the English invented propaganda in the First World War, the propaganda practices in the Balkan Wars should not be ignored. According to Zafer Toprak, war propaganda was invented by the Balkan states and the Ottomans learnt ways to affect the public opinion from them.<sup>150</sup>

The Ottomans mostly used illustrations and photographs of the wounded and dead soldiers, burnt houses, mosques and towns, the misery of the refugees on their ways to İstanbul. The following picture is a kind of the collective example of the incidents of the Balkan Wars. We see an attack against an anonymous Muslim settlement and civilians who were preparing to take refuge in İstanbul most likely along with their ox carts and loads. The importance of this image also is that it depicts the notion of total war, which affects not only the fighting soldiers in trenches, but the hinterland: in other words, the home front.



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<sup>150</sup> Toprak, “Balkan Harbi, İntikam ve ‘Ötekileştirme’ Süreci”, p. 51.

The illustrations and photographs and images in general facilitated the mobilization of masses that were mostly illiterate in those years. Also, using photographs of incidents and illustrations based on eyewitness reports in the war helped these sources claim relatively more objectivity and reliability.

If the Ottoman propaganda books, three of which will be dealt within this chapter, are interpreted, one can see that these books were used to create public opinion and mobilize the Muslim Ottomans during the war years. In general terms, all these books were prepared and published after the defeat of the Ottoman army in the Balkan Wars. Their main goal was to indicate how the Muslim Ottomans were confronted with a serious defeat. Moreover, in the books there are long lists of atrocities committed by the Balkan armies, irregulars, even by civilians against the Muslim population of Rumelia. Along with the lists of “mass murders,” particularly, *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb* (The Red Black Book) looks for an answer to this question: “Why were we defeated?” In other words, it can be claimed that these books were a part of a more general debate about the Ottoman debacle’s causes, and the possible new direction that can be taken to achieve transformation, take revenge, and the regenerate the Ottoman Empire.<sup>151</sup>

#### War Propaganda by the Enemies: How did the Bulgarian and the Greek Publications represent the Balkan Wars?

Before starting to examine the Ottoman propaganda works on the Balkan Wars, it will be useful to see how the other belligerents perceived, read and represented the war. In order to be able to give an answer to this question, I will

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<sup>151</sup> Ginio, “Paving the Way for Ethnic Cleansing”, p. 288.

make use of some Bulgarian journals and newspapers, named *Съвременна Илюстрация* (the Contemporary Illustration), *ИлюстрацияСветлина* (Illustration of Light), and *Реч* (Speech), as well as a collection of Greek images that were only published as visual materials in *Toplumsal Tarih*.<sup>152</sup>

Firstly, the Bulgarian sources will be dealt with, with the first and the second Bulgarian sources being journals and the third a newspaper. I must say that although these journals and newspapers had been published for several years, I just scanned the issues published between October 1912 and September 1913 (only for *the Contemporary Illustration*, I scanned the first issue of the year 1914). When we look at the discourse of these journals as actually different from the Ottomans, the Bulgarians did not demonize and depict their enemies as savages. Especially, *the Contemporary Illustration* put forth the bravery and valour of the Bulgarian soldiers. The journal already was published with a cover that depicts a Bulgarian pioneer, who conquered Selanik (Salonica), Edirne, Lüleburgaz, Kırklareli, Çatalca and Bolayır, captured by the Bulgarian army. The heading of the journal was in accordance with that depiction: “The Brave Bulgarian Soldier Defeated the Turkish Empire.”<sup>153</sup> Probably, due to their victory over the Ottoman army, the Bulgarians did not deal with their Turkish enemies very much, the visual materials published by the journal mostly relating to the advance and the victories of the Bulgarian soldiers in Thrace. However, there is one remarkable photograph, which was published with the caption “Serbian Vandalism”: the photograph shows the dead bodies of Bulgarian soldiers that were allegedly killed by the Serbian soldiers in Bosilegrad, a town very close to the Serbo-Bulgarian border. The importance of this image is that, even before the

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<sup>152</sup> Hülya Balcı Akarlı (ed.), “Balkan Savaşları: Birinci Dünya Savaşı’nın Provası”, *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 104 (August 2002), pp. 42- 69.

<sup>153</sup> *Съвременна Илюстрация* (the Contemporary Illustration), no. 21-22 (Sofia, 1913), p. 1.

second phase of the Balkan Wars, in other words, the interallied war, a discourse against an ally was produced and used by the Bulgarians.<sup>154</sup> In the following issue, *the Contemporary Illustration* deals with the sufferings of the Thracian Bulgarians and the issue of the Bulgarian refugees, especially ones from the town *Fere* (*Feres* in Greek and *Ferecik* in Turkish) in Dedeağaç (Alexandroupoli). In the pictures of the refugees mostly women and little children could be seen. There are also dead bodies in some pictures but it is not easy to decide the origins of the deceased people. Besides the pictures, it is emphasized that both the Ottoman army and *başıbozüks* burned down the villages in the region of Dedeağaç and in “Bulgarian Thrace”.<sup>155</sup> In the same issue, a photograph also demonstrates “Bulgarian humanity”. According to the caption, there are two Ottoman soldiers enjoy their freedom as wrestling with each other. For the editors of the journal, this was the proof of how well the Bulgarian army treated its prisoners of war.<sup>156</sup>

Another case in the Bulgarian press related to the Balkan Wars is irredentism. This state of desire to possess the lost territories<sup>157</sup> of the Bulgarians is seen both in *the Contemporary Illustration* and in another newspaper called *Speech*. While *the Contemporary Illustration* was bewailing the loss of Ohrid, with the heading “Ohrid Left in a Foreign Rule,”<sup>158</sup> *Speech*, in February 1913, published the map of the Greater Bulgaria, from the Aegean Sea to the inner Macedonia. Besides the map of the territories that the Bulgarian army captured, *Speech* usually published news about the ongoing battles in Lüleburgaz, Edirne and Selanik. In the cartoons that were

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<sup>154</sup> *Съвременна Илюстрация* (the Contemporary Illustration), no. 23-24 (Sofia, 1914), p. 23.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2-8.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>157</sup> Roudometof, *Nationalism, Globalization and Orthodoxy*, p. 157.

<sup>158</sup> *Съвременна Илюстрация* (the Contemporary Illustration), no. 23-24 (Sofia, 1914), p. 1.

published in some issues of the newspaper, the retreat of the Ottoman army was depicted in a sarcastic way, as even without firing the rifles the Bulgarian soldiers run after the Ottomans only with their bayonets, and the Ottoman soldiers surrender.<sup>159</sup>



However, with the beginning of the interallied war, the Bulgarian attitude against the former allies changed. This new attitude and perception of the Bulgarians can be seen in a cartoon with the heading *Fustanelite* with regard to the skirt-like garment especially worn by the Greek soldiers, *Evzones*.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>159</sup>*Peч*(Speech), 20 November 1912, p. 1 and *Peч*(Speech), 7 December 1912, p. 1.

<sup>160</sup>*Peч* (Speech), 19 July 1913, p. 1.



Another Bulgarian journal that was published during the Balkan Wars is *Illustration of Light*. The first issues—published during the war – of the journal did not aim to depict the enemies of Bulgaria, but demonstrated the humanitarian attitude of the Bulgarian military doctors and the braveness of the Bulgarian soldiers. In the related photographs, the Bulgarian doctors were depicted while treating the wounded Ottoman soldiers in the battlefield.<sup>161</sup> Also, *Speech*'s aim is to emphasize the courage and the daring attacks of the Bulgarian soldiers,<sup>162</sup> similar to the other journals. The changing relations among the allies could be seen in the pages of the journal. Although the Serbs were the glorious allies, in the middle of 1913, they were converted into traitors. The Greeks became the murderers and they were depicted as they were slaughtering the women and children in areas they occupied in Macedonia,

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<sup>161</sup> *Илюстрация Светлина (Illustration of Light)*, no. 8-10 (1912), p. 8.

<sup>162</sup> *Илюстрация Светлина (Illustration of Light)*, no. 1-2 (1913), p. 60 and *Илюстрация Светлина (Illustration of Light)*, no. 3 (1913), p. 1.

especially in Kilikis.<sup>163</sup> In the second phase of the Balkan Wars, Bulgaria had one more enemy to fight, Romania, and this new belligerent was represented satirically. In an illustration in the same issue, the Romanian cavalries were pictured as they were attacking a village in which only women and children were living and defending themselves against soldiers. This picture was published with a caption, which was: “the Romanian Heroism”.<sup>164</sup>

When the Greek side of the war and its publication is examined, it will be seen that the Ottoman and the Bulgarian soldiers were at the focus of the publication. It is interesting to observe that, as different from both the Bulgarian and the Ottoman sources, the Greeks did not demonize their enemies, but described themselves, in other words, the Greek soldiers, as powerful and ready-to-kill warriors in battles. In picture, an *Evzone* was even depicted as a cannibal, with a caption *Ο Βουλγαροφάγος* (The Bulgar-eater).<sup>165</sup> Another picture depicts a fight between an Ottoman officer and an *Evzone*: the *Evzone* was trampling down the Ottoman flag, while he was killing the officer at the same time.<sup>166</sup>

#### The Books that are out of the General Literature of the Balkan Wars

Besides the above-mentioned three categories, there were several books that were published only during the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913. These books were not only different because of their publication dates: they also had several specific aims. Such as, to mobilize the Muslim Ottoman public against the “cruel” and “savage”

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<sup>163</sup> *Иллюстрация Светлина* (Illustration of Light), no. 7-8 (1913), p. 29.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>165</sup> Akarlı (ed.), “Balkan Savaşları”, *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 104 (August 2002), p. 49.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

enemies who were coming “from the highlands of the Balkan Peninsula”. Moreover, with beginning of war and then the consequent defeat against the armies of the Balkan League, several attempts emerged in order to mobilize the Muslim Ottoman public through some books that I would describe as “Ottoman propaganda books”. Why could these books be referred to as propaganda books? Already in 1930s a prominent Turkish journalist and intellectual, Ahmed Emin Yalman described the Ottoman propaganda activities. Ahmed Emin Yalman’s views are as follows:

Educational war propaganda was extraordinarily neglected in Turkey. The main activity in this regard was negative. Everything was done to hinder the spreading of the truth. The positive work coexisted in publishing the illustrated and popular War Review and a series of books.<sup>167</sup>

Surely, the views of Ahmed Emin Yalman on the Ottoman war propaganda were related to the First World War. However, it could be asserted that during the Balkan Wars the situation and conditions were not quite different. The Officials and bureaucrats of the Ottoman Empire did not organize an official propaganda effort similar to the ones organized by the European States. Nevertheless, there were activities that I consider as propaganda activities during the Balkan Wars. These activities were to publish books and magazines that were a kind of war panoramas and a collection of atrocities and cruelties that happened during the battles. All the magazines and newspapers of the period were full of articles, poems and memoirs concerning the defeat in the Balkans and its related sorrows.<sup>168</sup> The authors and the editors of these books were civilians who aimed to record the evidences and to pass them to the future generations: even if this effort was supported only slightly by the

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<sup>167</sup> Koroğlu, *Ottoman Propaganda*, p. 6.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

state, there are a number of documents in the Ottoman Archives that indicates the fiscal aid from the high-ranking Ottoman officials. For the authors of these books, along with this evidence the next generations of the Ottoman Empire would learn their lessons and they will never commit an error like their ancestors who caused the war and the loss of Rumelia. These books also included first-person narratives, particularly by the immigrants and refugees from Rumelia. Rumelian refugees and immigrants told their experiences, their sufferings, which took place just before and during the war.

Moreover, the most important point when this kind of books are analyzed is that two of these three books used many either original images taken by European war correspondents and cited by the English, French, German, Russian or Italian magazines or illustrations. The use of visual materials could provide these propaganda materials with wide readership. Thus, even the illiterates could be affected by the atrocities of the Balkan armies, and they could feel the same fear, despair and intimidation even if they were in İstanbul, Anatolia or at any place far from the battlefields. Also, it must be pointed out that the Ottoman press and propaganda, by providing horrible images that presented acts of cruelty and violence, aimed to spread feelings of horror and revenge among the Muslim population against the Balkan states.<sup>169</sup>

I would like to make a study of three so-called Ottoman propaganda books which are in chronological order: *Âlâm-i İslâm: Bulgar Vahşetleri* (Sorrors of İslam: Bulgarian Cruelties), edited and published in 1912; *Âlâm-i İslam: Rumeli Mezalimi ve Bulgar Vahşetleri* (Sorrors of İslam: Atrocities in Rumelia and Bulgarian Cruelties), edited and published in 1913; and *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb, 1328 Fecâyii* (The

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<sup>169</sup> Ginio, "Paving the Way for Ethnic Cleansing", p. 291.

Red Black Book, the Disasters of 1328), edited and published in 1913 by Ahmed Cevad.

*Âlâm-i İslâm: Bulgar Vahşetleri* (Sorrows of İslam: Bulgarian Cruelties), 1912

It is impossible to recite these cruelties. There are murders, offences and outrages everywhere...<sup>170</sup>

The quotation above is from *Âlâm-i İslâm: Bulgar Vahşetleri* (Sorrows of İslam: Bulgarian Cruelties), which is the first publication of the *Association of Muslim Refugees of Rumelia*<sup>171</sup>. The first propaganda book of the Ottomans was printed at the printing house named *Matbaa-i Hayriye* in İstanbul, and contains ninety-five pages only in Ottoman Turkish. Also, the book retailed at only two *kuruş*. However, there is no sign of the author or the co-authors of the book. The incidents

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<sup>170</sup> *Âlâm-i İslâm: Bulgar Vahşetleri: İslâmiyetin Enzâr-i Basiretine ve Âlem-i İnsâniyet ve Medeniyetin Nazar-i Dikkatine*, (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1328/1912), p. 18.

“Bu mezâlimi yazmakla bitirmek gayr-i kabildir. Her tarafta cinâyet, her tarafta katl ve sirkat, her tarafta tecâvüz.”

<sup>171</sup> According to a report that was published on the 29<sup>th</sup> October 1908, an Association of Muslim Refugees of Rumelia would be founded in order to defend the civil rights of thousands of refugees who settled in İstanbul and Anatolia. 29 Teşrin-i Sani (October) 1908, Sunday, *Sabah*, No: 6889, p. 3. However, a document in the *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* (Office of the Prime Minister Ottoman Archives) shows the date of the foundation of the Association of Muslim Refugees of Rumelia as 8 May 1326 (21 May 1910). The home office of the Association was in a residence with a door number 265, next to Molla Gürani Mosque in Topkapı. When that document was set, the Association was not active; and *maksad ve gayesi* (the aim and object) of the Association was officially declared as protecting the rights of Muslim people of Rumelia regardless of they are refugees or not. The original statement in the document is as follows:

“Memâlik-i Osmaniyeye hicretle mevâki-i muhtelifede tavattun eden muhacir ve gayr-i muhacir bi'l-umûm Rumeli ahali-i İslamiyesinin menâfi-i hukukunu muhafaza.” BOA, DH. EUM. 5. Şb 79/30.

The Association of Muslim Refugees of Rumelia also published a newspaper entitled *Muhâcir* (Refugee) between 22 December 1909 and 1 December 1910 (although the date of the nineteenth issue was given as 8 Zilhicce 1328/ 1 Kanun-i Evvel 1910, according to the day of publication, which was Saturday, the correct date must be 7 Zilhicce 1328/ 10 December 1910) in ninety issues. Ahmed Şükrü was the elected director and Bekir Sıdkı of Provadı was the publisher. *Muhâcir*, No: 1, p. 1; *Muhâcir*, No: 90, p. 1; and see Züriye Çelik, “Osmanlının Zor Yıllarında Rumeli Göçmenlerinin Türk Basınındaki Sesi: ‘Muhacir’ Gazetesi (1909-1910)”, *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 28 (Fall 2010), pp. 403-413.

that are mentioned in this book mostly happened in the villages, towns and cities of Bulgaria.

An initiative of the associations worth mentioning is an intention to produce a documentary about the disaster of the refugees. The association made a deal with S. Weinberg, who was the manager of Pathé Cinema in İstanbul. Nevertheless, in order to produce this kind of documentary they needed the permission of Minister of Internal Affairs. Thus, the secretary-general of the association Hüsameddin in the name of the chair of the association wrote a letter<sup>172</sup> to Minister of Internal Affairs Talât Bey. The letter was dated December 13, 1913 and according to the letter, the association aimed to present the injustice, humiliation, atrocities, and tortures against the Muslims in Rumelia. The secretary-general Hüsameddin also emphasized the importance of using visual materials for propaganda works. The aim of shooting this documentary was to incite a general outrage against the atrocities and spread feelings of revenge against the Balkan League.<sup>173</sup>

In the introductory chapter, the book describes the political and military conditions that caused the Balkan Wars and other political incidents since the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. According to the author or co-authors, the sorrowful incidents in the Balkans had started with the Russian attack in 1877 and for thirty-five years, similar events resumed uninterruptedly. The atrocities and cruelties, which happened in the one month before the book was edited, were aimed to be pointed out. Thus, it can be addressed as journalistic.

The author also charges the Great Powers of Europe with supporting the Bulgarians, while describing the Bulgarians as the enemy of Muslim people.

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<sup>172</sup>BOA, DH. KMS 63/69. The transliteration of the whole document could be seen in Ali Özuyar, *Babiâli 'de Sinema* (İstanbul: İzdüşüm Yayınları, 2004), pp. 37-38.

<sup>173</sup>Özuyar, *Babiâli 'de Sinema*, pp. 37-38.

Moreover, in advance, it is declared that the Muslim Ottomans will never accept the offerings of help from the Great Powers because they still support the Balkan states and ignore their atrocities against the Muslim population of the Balkans.<sup>174</sup>

Along with the first chapter in the book, there is a list of cruelties against the Muslim Ottomans, which starts from the years before the Balkan Wars. It could be stated that, in this, the way of using the language is too rude. Another remarkable point in the book is the accusative statements against the enemy. The author considers that there is an enemy, which consists of all institutions of its own society. For example, according to the author's claim, even the Bulgarian press provokes the irregulars that assault the Muslims.<sup>175</sup> However, there is no reference to any newspaper or article that could be used as an evidence to prove this claim.

Actually, this kind of writing, in other words, using none or very limited evidence continues throughout the book. In another chapter, entitled "Bulgarian Atrocities from the Beginning of the War," there are only personal narratives of Muslim immigrants and refugees who took refuge in the Ottoman Empire, in particular İstanbul. Refugees, also, with reference to the book resorted to the Association of Muslim Refugees of Rumelia on their own.

It must be emphasized that, throughout the book, there is no reference to any nationality, but only to religion. Moreover, while mentioning and indicating people who suffered in any place in Rumelia and succeeded in fleeing to İstanbul, the title "co-religionist" is used to address them. Along with the references in the book, it is certain that, "atrocities" in Bulgaria spread throughout the whole country.

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<sup>174</sup> *Âlâm-i İslâm: Bulgar Vahşetleri*, p. 6.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Moreover, besides the indication of symbolic acts, in the book, there are “real threats” against the Turks and Muslims in Bulgaria. Reported by witnesses who report to the officials of the *Association*, there are statements of such threats by Bulgarians: “Why are you still here? We are heading to İstanbul, and there, we are going to cut the heads of the Turks!”<sup>176</sup> Although there are lots of such offences and threats, the Ottoman and European press published only very limited parts of them. However, the Bulgarian officials persistently contradict such reports of the offences, but the author claims that the consuls of the “civilized” states in Filibe are the witnesses of these offences.<sup>177</sup>

This book that is the first publication of the *Association of Muslim Refugees of Rumelia*, does not include any images or illustrations. Also, considering the wording and the style this book has been written in a hurry. Besides format of the book, it could be asserted that there was not much research done before the edition of the book. Only personal testimonies and evidences of refugees were used.

*Âlâm-i İslâm: Rumeli Mezalimi ve Bulgar Vahşetleri* (Sorrows of İslam: Atrocities in Rumelia and Bulgarian Cruelties)

We are introducing the second volume of the previously published tragedy-epistle titled *Bulgarian Atrocities*.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>176</sup>Ibid.,p. 38.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>178</sup>*Âlâm-i İslâm: Rumeli Mezâlîmi ve Bulgar Vahşetleri: İslâmiyetin Enzâr-i Basiretine ve Âlem-i İnsâniyet ve Medeniyetin Nazar-i Dikkatine*, (İstanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1329/1913), p. 7.

“(Bulgar Vahşetleri) namıyla mukaddemâ neşrolunan fecâyinâmenin bu defa da ikinci kısmını enzâr-ı amîyyeye vaz’ ediyoruz.”

The second publication of the *Association of Muslim Refugees of Rumelia* was edited and published in 1913.<sup>179</sup> The book was printed at the Mahmud Bey Matbaası (Printing House) in İstanbul. Unlike the first volume or book, this second volume includes eight –including the cover illustration–visual materials that are anonymous drawings, in seventy-one pages.

In the *Foreword* part, it is stated that if the association had sufficient financial resources, they could publish a more comprehensive book, which would be similar to reports that were published in the Bulgarian newspapers. Moreover, besides the publications, with sufficient financial support, *Association of Muslim Refugees of Rumelia* would have been a stronger organization like IMRO.<sup>180</sup> Another point that is also emphasized is that IMRO has been supported and financed by both the Bulgarian government and the civilian Bulgarians.<sup>181</sup> It is stated that, although, the Bulgarians propagated false information, this kind of news was published in the newspapers and even shown in the cinemas.<sup>182</sup> Moreover, along with the support of the Bulgarian government, irregulars of the IMRO used the weapons of the Bulgarian army and even established a dynamite factory in Sofia.<sup>183</sup>

Besides indicating the official and semi-official supports of the Bulgarian officials, the author points out the lack of assistance from the Muslims all over the world even though articles of the faith of Islam decree solidarity among the Muslims.<sup>184</sup> Moreover, the author claims that if they do not help Muslims in

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-6.

Rumelia, soon, Muslims in Anatolia will suffer from the atrocities of the Balkan armies. In order to prevent the loss of Anatolia, all Ottoman subjects must draw a lesson from the defeat in the Balkans and the loss of Rumelia.<sup>185</sup> It is especially emphasized that in order to build a confident future, the Ottomans must unite and fight against the savages of the Balkans.<sup>186</sup>

Besides Bulgarians, the Greeks, the Serbs and the Montenegrins and their acts during the war are within the focus of the narrative. With reference to Ernst Jaeckh who later would be the main propagandist of the German-Turkish alliance during the First World War, Bulgarians and Greeks are accused of dishonoring the glory of the cross.

The cross which is the symbol of mercy and grace has been dishonored and blackened by the murders of the Bulgarians and the Greeks.<sup>187</sup>

As stated above, the first volume of publications of the Association of Muslim Refugees of Rumelia only includes news from some towns of Bulgaria. However, the second volume also contains news reports from the towns of Greece, especially from Salonika, Drama, Alexandroupoli (Dedeğaç), Kilkis and Kavala. Another important aspect of this volume is that, the writer compares the vulgarity of Bulgarians and Greeks and claims that even the Greeks strongly criticize the atrocities of Bulgarians.<sup>188</sup> On the other hand, referring to the articles in the Bulgarian press, Bulgarian officials and even civil society consider necessary and

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<sup>185</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

also endeavor to legitimate the treatments of the Bulgarian army and the irregular armed groups.<sup>189</sup>

This second volume also focuses on the particular incidents that happened during the Balkan Wars, such as, gathering the inhabitants of the villages and towns usually into a mosque and setting to fire, forced Christianization of the inhabitants of villages on the Rhodope Mountains. All the drawings and illustrations of the book referred to these incidents and aimed to inform and affect the Ottomans that are far away from the battlefields and who live relatively in safety.

In the book, the activities of the Greek and especially Bulgarian army are compared to the *Inquisition*. Author claims that if it were possible, all the victims of the Bulgarians atrocities during the Balkan Wars would prefer to be judged or even tortured in the *Inquisition*, but still, European public opinion do not pay attention to the incidents that happen in Rumelia.<sup>190</sup>

Moreover, in the book besides the accusations to the Greeks and the Bulgarians, these two nations were called –respectively–*Palikaria*<sup>191</sup> and *Gaydacı* (Bagpipe player) in order to be ridiculed and dispraised. Both words imply negative meanings to the Ottoman-Turkish collective memory and they are used pejoratively. Addressing Bulgarians as *gaydacı* could be traced back in the days of proclamation of the Bulgarian independence from the Ottoman Empire. Following the proclamation, the Bulgarian *czar* Ferdinand was depicted as a bagpipe player in traditional Bulgarian peasant costume, with a *kalpak* (fur cap) on his head and, *çarık*

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<sup>189</sup> Ibid., pp. 19-20.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

(rawhide sandals) on his feet.<sup>192</sup> This image gives us an idea of the views of Ottoman journalists and public opinion on the Bulgarians. The image could be read in two ways: first, all Bulgarians are depicted as peasants and it could implicitly be read that Bulgarians are illiterate and uncivilized. The second way of reading it is that, even the king of Bulgaria is a peasant, thus incapable and unable to govern an independent state. Since then, the patterns of *gayda* and *kalpak* were used more frequently to depict the appearance of the Bulgarians. The trend of disdain following the Bulgarian independence became rigid along with the beginning of the Balkan Wars. Considering the importance of the daily press and humoristic journals for reflecting public opinion, *Karagöz* presents similar examples about the image of the Bulgarians and Greeks among the Ottomans during the war years. Just at the beginning of the war, popular puppet-theatre characters *Karagöz* and *Hacivâd* have a conversation with each other. *Karagöz* was extremely furious with Bulgarians. When *Hacivâd* asked him why, *Karagöz* explained his wrath as follows: “I will tell you... Once there was a Bulgarian milkman in our neighborhood. He always added water into milk when we wanted to buy some...” and *Hacivâd* replies him: “He is a bounder, so then... and so all they are... what about the Greek grocer in our street, he always steals something, for example, he gives four *okkas* of sugar, but he claims it is eight *okkas*. At the end of the conversation *Karagöz* says: “They call it ‘megalo idea’...”<sup>193</sup> The important points in this conversation and its implications are, first,

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<sup>192</sup>*Karagöz*, no. 19 (8 October 1908), p. 1.

<sup>193</sup>*Karagöz*, no. 456 (16 October 1912), p. 2. The idea of establishing a greater Greek state that encompasses all ethnic Greek habited places, *the Megali Idea*, is addressed incorrectly *megalo idea* in Turkish.

The complete conversation between *Karagöz* (K) and *Hacivâd* (H) as follows:

“(K): *Fakat ben hepsinden şiddetle nefret ettiğim halde Bulgarlara karşı son derecede bir hiddet, bir garaz besliyorum... Bunun sebebi, beyhude düşünme anlayamayacaksın... Ben sana söyleyeyim, bizim mahallede bir Bulgar sütçü vardı. Her gün bizim eve verdiği süte yarı yarıya su katardı...*

that all Bulgarians, no matter where they live, in Bulgaria or in İstanbul, are considered to have the same manners. The second and maybe more important aspect in this conversation is that, although the Ottomans usually addressed the Greek speaking Orthodox Christians as *Rum*, here probably the Greek-speaking shopkeeper is addressed as *Yunan* (Greek) in other words, as a subject of the Kingdom of Greece, not the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the Greek shopkeeper could easily become the “other” and the “enemy”. Moreover, parallel to the claim of the boycott pamphlets, the Greek, not the *Rum*, grocer would financially support the Greek army, as well.

On the other hand, another point must be emphasized that, although the Ottomans attempted to despise the Bulgarians, actually many Ottoman/Turkish intellectuals and politicians notably admired them. In particular, their efforts to establish a Western-European like modern state impressed the Ottoman men of letters, who visited or observed the reforms in Bulgaria. One of the admirers of Bulgaria was Dr. Abdullah Cevdet, who was a well-known positivist writer, and both publisher and editor-in-chief of the journal *İctihâd* in the late Ottoman and early Republic era. Dr. Abdullah Cevdet expressed his views and impression on the Bulgarians on the occasion of an instruction that includes a prayer to be said by the Muslim pupils 4444 times and was sent by *Bâb-ı Meşihât* to primary and the secondary schools. This prayer aimed to achieve the retreat of the Bulgarian army. Abdullah Cevdet claims that the Bulgarians said the virtual prayer:

[the Bulgarians] had worked thirty-odd years, they had strengthened their nation, they had been busy with establishing and carrying out a good administration. They had prepared the conditions for the victory and the

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“(H): *Sütü bozuktı desene... Onların zaten hepsi öyle... Sen bizim köşe başındaki Yunanlı bakkalı görsen her sattığı şeyde mutlaka bir hırsızlık eder, mesela dört okka şeker verir, sonar sekiz okkadır diye ilan eder.*

“(K): *Ona ‘megalo ide’ derler...*”

perpetuity of their independence. They believed and had faith in the motherland, the liberty and their country to have stability in the future. Along with this faith, they worked day and night. (...) They did not believe in that it is possible that neither an empire nor a village to survive without culture and faith differently from us, who are both false Muslims, and false human beings.<sup>194</sup>

Yet another admirer of the Bulgarians was the future founder of the Republic of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), who was a military attaché since the fall of 1913.<sup>195</sup> In a very short time since his arrival to the Bulgarian capital, Sofia he was really impressed by the city, its lifestyle, and the manner of its population. One evening, military attaché Mustafa Kemal and Ali Fethi Bey (Okyar), the Ottoman ambassador to Bulgaria, saw an opera performance in Sofia. Together with his other impressions, after that night Mustafa Kemal became an admirer of Bulgarians. He shared his thoughts and views with his friend and at the same time a member of Bulgarian parliament Zümrezade Şakir Bey<sup>196</sup>

-Şakir, no matter what they say, now I understand why we were defeated in the Balkan Wars. I knew these men [the Bulgarians] as shepherds. However, they even have operas. They have artists to play, musicians, decorators, and they are all qualified and trained. Even, they built an opera building.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> Dr. Abdullah Cevdet, "İctihâd", *İctihâd* no. 54 (14 Şubat 1328/27 February 1913), p. 1221.

"Otuz bu kadar sene çalıştılar ırklarını kuvvetlendirdiler, teşkilât-ı idariye programlarıyla değil, bizzât tanzîm-i idâre ve icrâ-yı hüsn-i idâre ile meşgûl oldular. Zafer, hıfz-ı istiklâl esbâbını hazırladılar: vatana, hürriyete, memleketlerinin bir istikbâle mâlik olduğuna imân ettiler. Bu kuvvet-i imân ile gece gündüz sa'y ettiler. (...) Biz sahte Müslüman ve sahte insanların yaptığımız gibi irfansız, imânsız olarak, bir imparatorluğun hatta küçük bir karyenin bile beka bulacağına inanmadılar."

<sup>195</sup> Esra Sarıkoyuncu Değerli, *Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün Sofya Askerî Ataşeliğinin Türk-Bulgar İlişkilerine Yansımaları (1913-1938)* (Ankara: Genelkurmay Basım Evi, 2006), p. 7.

<sup>196</sup> Zümrezâde Şakir Bey or Şakir Zümre was a politician and parliamentarian in the Bulgarian Parliament from Varna. After the National Liberation War, he migrated to Turkey and established the first private-run armory.

<sup>197</sup> Altan Deliorman, *Mustafa Kemal Balkanlarda* (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi: 1959), pp. 11-12.

*Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb, 1328 Fecâyii* (The Red Black Book, the Disasters of 1328)

In the following pages, you are going to read about dreadful murders and disasters. All these atrocities are not imaginary but real; and they were deemed proper by Bulgarians, Serbs, Greeks, and Montenegrins to our Muslim siblings.<sup>198</sup>

The third and the last book that is going to be studied in this chapter is *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb, 1328 Fecâyii* (The Red Black Book, the Disasters of 1328). The book was published in 1913 by the *Neşr-i Vesâik Cemiyeti* (Association for the Publication of Documents) and printed by *Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı* in İstanbul. The author of the book is Ahmed Cevad<sup>199</sup> (later, since 1934 he would be known with the surname, Emre) and on the front cover of the book, it is inscribed that the book is the first volume of a wider collection of books. However, there is not any record of further volumes. Before, giving more detailed information and discussing the book, it would be better to speak of the *Neşr-i Vesâik Cemiyeti*.

The association was founded by Ahmed Cevad, Dr. Ferid Bey –the publisher of the newspaper titled *İfhâm*–, Satı Bey and his elder brother Bedii Nuri Bey, and

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<sup>198</sup> Ahmed Cevad, *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*, p. 3.

“*Bu sahifelerde her biri insanın tüylerini ürpertecek cinâyetler, facialar okuyacaksınız. Bütün bu mezâlim hayâlî değil hakikîdir ve Bulgarlar, Sırpalar, Yunanlılar, Karadağlılar tarafından Müslüman kardeşlerimize reva görülmüştür.*”

<sup>199</sup> Ahmed Cevad was born in 1876, Resmo, Crete. He studied at Kuleli Military High School with the financial support of Cevad Paşa, the governor of Crete at that time. This also explains why he uses Cevad as his second name. When Ahmed Cevad was at the Military Academy in İstanbul, he was arrested and then exiled to Tripoli in 1897 with the accusation of being a member of an organization – Committee of Union and Progress – that would organize an assassination against the commander of the Military Academy Zeki Paşa. He stayed in exile until 1905. From 1905 to 1908 he worked as a tutor and taught French. With the proclamation of the “second constitutional era” he came to İstanbul and worked for the newspaper *Şura-yı Ümmet*, and then became the correspondent of the newspaper in Sofia. As a correspondent and journalist he worked for *Yeni Asır*, *İkdâm*, *Akşam*, *İfhâm*, *Sabah*, and *Vakit*. Then, after 1923 he became a professor of Turkish at İstanbul University and a member of parliament. He was an eminent nationalist intellectual in the late empire and early republic years.

İsmail Hakkı Bey, who after 1934 would be known as İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu.<sup>200</sup> In his memoirs Ahmed Cevad Bey discusses the idea behind the foundation of such association. In his own words, the story is as follows:

I launched the foundation of the editorial board of *Neşr-i Vesâik Cemiyeti*, and became the voluntary director of the association in the expectation that the civilized Christian world would show empathy towards the disasters that Turks of Rumelia suffer.<sup>201</sup>

With the help of the young volunteers who gathered evidence and news from the immigrants and the European press, the association released reports on the atrocities of the Balkan armies and their assaults.<sup>202</sup> It is understood that these volunteers had foreign language skills since most of the reports consist of translation of reports that were published by French, German or English newspapers. There are no evidences about the exact dates of the formation and dissolution of the association. However, with reference to the memoirs of Ahmed Cevad and the dates of afore mentioned reports, the association must have been founded in the midst of October 1912.

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<sup>200</sup> Ahmet Cevat Emre, *İki Neslin Tarihi: Mustafa Kemal Neler Yaptı*, (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi, 1960), p. 160. Moreover, in a biographical work about an Ottoman political activist and intellectual, named Nüzhet Sabit, the author of the book, Cüneyd Okay claims that Nüzhet Sabit was a member of *Neşr-i Vesâik Cemiyeti*, as well. Okay also claims that Nüzhet Sabit visited the European capitals to give information about the atrocities in the Balkans. But, in his memoirs Ahmed Cevad never mentions Nüzhet Sabit's name, and only speaks of his own visit in Europe. Cüneyd Okay, *Bir Meşrutiyet Aydını Nüzhet Sabit: Hayatı- Kişiliği- Fikirleri* (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2001), pp. 39-40.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., p. 160. According to a document in the *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* (Office of the Prime Minister Ottoman Archives), the Association was officially founded on 17 Kanun-i Evvel 1328 (30 December 1912), and its official name was *Balkan Neşr-i Vesâik Cemiyeti*. BOA, DH. EUM. 5. Şb 79/30.

<sup>202</sup> Ahmed Cevad mentions eleven reports that were released by the association. The reports consist of several incidents from several towns in Rumelia. They are as follows: Serez (Serres), Strumica, Kavala, Alexandroupoli, Çalıbaşı (a district near Drama), Komotini, Pürsican (a district near Bitola), Dojran, Sarı Şaban (a district near Kavala), Tikveş and Avrethisar (a village near Kilikis, today: Palaio Gynaikokastro).

*Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*, according to a document in the Ottoman Archives<sup>203</sup> and the memoirs of Ahmed Cevad, *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb* was published with the order and the financial support of the Interior Minister Talât Paşa, as Yavuz Selim Karakışla pointed out in his article, as well.<sup>204</sup> The sum of money for the publication of the book was 320 liras and 100 liras of this amount was paid by discretionary fund in 1913. Also, the book was translated into French,<sup>205</sup> English, and Arabic. The main motive behind Ahmed Cevad's decision to pen and compile such a propaganda book was the gruesome fates of the war victims,<sup>206</sup> to call attention to the disaster of the Balkan Wars, and to try to prepare a "national program" for the post-war years.<sup>207</sup> Moreover, I believe that there must be some other factors and motives on Ahmed Cevad's negative thoughts and intellectual activities against non-Muslims. The bad memories of the Cretan Revolt of 1866 passed from generation to generation and had made an impression on Ahmed Cevad's memory. Moreover, in 1887, during a conversation with his Greek language teacher on school holiday, Ahmed Cevad asked him what the Greeks of Crete expect from the revolts that took place. His teacher's answer was that, some day firstly Crete and then İzmir would unite with

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<sup>203</sup>BOA, DH.KMS 4808/61-1.

<sup>204</sup> Yavuz Selim Karakışla, "Balkan Savaşı'nda Yayımlanmış Osmanlı Propaganda Kitabı: Kırmızı Siyah Kitap", *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 104 (August 2002), pp. 60-63.

<sup>205</sup> Emre, *İki Neslin Tarihi*, p. 161. The French translation was published with the title of *Les Atrocités des Coalisés Balkaniques*. But I could not find any record of the English and Arabic translations of the book. Ahmed Cevad also claims that three volumes of French edition of the *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb* are at the Milli Kütüphane in Ankara.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., p. 184.

"Süngülenen, gaza bulanıp yakılan, camilere... samanlıklara kapatılıp ateşe verilen, namusları lekelenen binlerle vatandaşlar... En acele ve en büyük fedakârlık isteyen vazifelerimizi ihtar eden âfetler... İşte Kırmızı Siyah Kitabı bana yazdıran düşünceler bunlardı."

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., p. 183.

"Balkan Harbi'nde yenilmekle uğradığımız büyük, çok büyük felâket bir ân bile milletin hatırlından çıkmamalıydı, uzun uzun üstünde durmalı, bird aha böyle bir felâkete düşmemek için nasıl bir millî programla yeni hayata atılması gerektiği düşünülmeliydi."

Greece. Upon this answer Ahmed Cevad notes that he never attended the Greek teacher's lessons again and since then his patriotic feelings has become fervent.<sup>208</sup>

*Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb* includes nine chapters which are entitled as follows: *Hayat Kavgası* (Fight for Life), *Vatan ve Tabaka-i Münevvere* (Motherland and the Class of Intellectuals), *Osmanlı Gencine* (To the Ottoman Youth), *Osmanlı Kadınına* (To the Ottoman Women), *Hilâl ve Salîb* (Crescent and Cross), *Hıristiyanları Kurtarmak Davası* (Claim for Saving the Christians), *Amal-i Milliye ve Vataniyede Vahdet* (Unity in the National Aims), *Balkan Mezâlimi- Vesâik Kısmı: Menâbi-i Ecnebiye* (Balkan Atrocities- Documents Part: Foreign Sources) and a poem entitled *Ah Edirne*<sup>209</sup> (Oh! Edirne). Moreover, in total, there are fifty nine photographs and illustrations in the books; most of them were cited from English, French, and Russian sources, just as the other news or articles in the book.

Besides referring to the massacres of women which are pointed out in the publications of *Rumeli Muhacirîn-i İslâmiye Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi*, *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb* also states the duty and responsibilities of the Ottoman women in the chapter titled *Osmanlı Kadınına* (To the Ottoman Woman). The main duty of the Ottoman women –also as a mother–is, according to *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*, to raise Ottoman children with patriotic feelings, and to bring them up as devoted patriots and soldiers.<sup>210</sup> Another duty of Ottoman women referred by the author is to generate a new “mode” of consumption. The basic requisiteness of this new consumption style is not to shop at foreign and non-Muslim dealers –especially Greek and Bulgarian

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<sup>208</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

“*Milletime, devletime karşı beslediği düşmanlığı bu derece serin kanlılıkla, övünerek söyleyen bu adamdan bir daha ders almadım. Yüreğimden milliyetçilik ateşi bir daha sönmek üzere yanmıştı.*”

<sup>209</sup> This poem belongs to Celâl Sahir (later Erozan).

<sup>210</sup> Ahmed Cevad, *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*, pp. 38-43.

shops—in the Empire but try to buy domestic products.<sup>211</sup>In other words, it was a proposal for a boycott movement.Ottoman intellectuals and “the common people” that includes workers, storekeepers, and tradesmen were familiar with this sort of political and economic activity and used it as a weapon first time between October 1908 and February 1909.<sup>212</sup>Then, again during the Balkan Wars and the following years some boycott campaigns were appealed and embarked on. According to the agitators of the boycott movement, Muslim Ottomans especially must be thrifty and, in this way, they could back up the Ottoman economy.<sup>213</sup>In other words, the boycott movement in the Balkan Wars was different than the 1908 boycott. The boycott movement in 1908 was against the “external enemy”, however, five years later the boycott appeal aimed the “internal enemies” and traitors, in other words the non-Muslim Ottomans.Also, in 1913, a sort of solidarity among the Muslims of the

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<sup>211</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>212</sup> The declaration of independence of Bulgaria on 5 October 1908 and the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the Austro-Hungarian Empire caused public indignation. On 7 October 1908, an author named *Horasanî* (Ubeydullah Efendi) in the newspaper *Servet-i Fünûn* proposed the boycott as a pattern of protest against Bulgarian and Austria.According to Süleyman Kani İrtem, the boycott was decided in a meeting with Muslim merchants and prominent members of the CUP in the Finance Minister Cavid Bey’s house.Y. Doğan Çetinkaya, *The Young Turks and the Boycott Movement: Nationalism, Protest and the Working Classes in the Formation of Modern Turkey* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2014), p. 41. In the following day, a group of protesters gathered in Beyazıt Square where the Ministry of War was located and while the annexation was being protested it was declared that the boycott movement had started against the Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian goods. Not only in the capital, from Manastır to Aydın, from Konya to Trabzon, in many cities of the Empire – even in Cairo – demonstrations were held. At first, small groups of protesters prevented people from shopping at stores that sold goods from Austrians and Bulgarians. However, after a while port workers became involved in the protest and they refused to unload the Austro-Hungarian ships. Moreover, since Austria was the main manufacturer of fezzes many demonstrators refused to wear Austrian-made fezzes and preferred *kalpaks*. An interesting point related to *kalpak* case is that, about a half decade later, in the Balkan Wars, since they were traditional headwear of the Bulgarian peasants *kalpaks* were associated with the savagery of the Bulgarians. During the boycott movement, especially the Austro-Hungarian economic activities and profits were affected negatively. Austrian government warned its Ottoman counterpart to break the diplomatic relations off. Nevertheless, the boycott continued, even the *Boycott Union* and *Boycott Society* were founded to organize demonstrations, monitor if the merchants comply with the boycott. On 26 February 1909, the Austrian and the Ottoman governments signed an agreement and the Ottoman side announced that both the annexation was recognized and the boycotts and protests against Austria would come to an end. Although the port workers tried to prolong the boycott movement in March 1909, protests halted. Y. Doğan Çetinkaya, *1908 Osmanlı Boykotu: Bir Toplumsal Hareketin Analizi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), p. 325.

<sup>213</sup> Ahmed Cevad, *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*, pp. 42-43.

Empire was promoted. To have a look at the pamphlets related to boycott movement published during the Balkan Wars would support this idea. First of all, the titles of these leaflets give an idea about their contents. Although the contexts of the leaflets are mostly similar, they were published under slightly different titles, which are as follows: *Müslümanlara Mahsus Kurtulmak Yolu* (A Path for Salvation for Muslims),<sup>214</sup> *Müslümanlara Mahsus* (Especially for Muslims), and *Müslüman ve Türklere* (To Muslims and Turks).<sup>215</sup> These pamphlets must have been distributed for free both in the capital and in the provinces because on their cover page there were inscriptions: *Meccânen* (Gratuitous) or *Parasız Dağıtılır* (To Be Distributed for Free). Then, some of these pamphlets include the list of Muslim merchants and medics in İstanbul.<sup>216</sup> Although these pamphlets were published anonymously, it could be seen from the memoirs of Ahmet Nedim Servet Tör that at least one author of these pamphlets was Ahmet Nedim Bey.<sup>217</sup> The idea of not shopping from the non-Muslim Ottoman merchants both in these pamphlets and in *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb* was one of the first patterns of the *Millî İktisâd* (National Economy). *Millî İktisâd* would be applied by the CUP governments since the end of the Balkan Wars. One of the important steps of the *Millî İktisâd* was the abolition of the capitulations, which for centuries offered economic and juridical privileges to the Europeans and their

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<sup>214</sup> Zafer Toprak, “İslâm ve İktisat: 1913-1914 Müslüman Boykotajı”, *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 29-30 (Bahar-Yaz 1985), pp. 179-199.

<sup>215</sup> Çetinkaya, *The Young Turks and the Boycott Movement*, p. 164.

<sup>216</sup> *Müslümanlara Mahsus* ([n. p.], 1329). The list was attached to the pamphlet, although the main text consists forty five pages, the list of the Muslim merchants and medics consists forty five pages and gives a long list of Muslim-run shops from tailors to iron smiths.

<sup>217</sup> Ahmet Nedim Servet Tör, *Nevhîz'in Günlüğü: “Defter-i Hâtrât”* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2000), pp. 122-127. He describes his work on the preparation and publication of *Müslümanlara Mahsus* as follows: “Ben, ekseriyet-i uzması ve hasseten taife-i nisâsı gazete okumayan ve hele para ile satılır kitaplara metelik vermeyen bu koca şehir halkına, maksad-ı malûmu zor ile anlatacak bir çâre düşündüm. Felâketlerimizi ve esbâbını gayet açık bir lisân ile yazarak meccânen dağıtmaya karar verdim ve derhâl *Müslümanlar’a Mahsûs* diye küçük bir risalecik yazdım... İki bin nüsha bastırdım ve herkese dağıtmaya başladım.” Tör, *Nevhîz'in Günlüğü*, p. 127.

protégés in the empire. The second step and main aim was the formation of a native Muslim class of traders and industrialists, replacing non-Muslim entrepreneurs with Muslim ones. The Balkan Wars were also a turning point in the *intibâh-ı iktisâdî* (economic awakening) and the boycott movement of 1913 was a consequence of this “awakening”. Agitators of the boycott believed that the *Rum* subjects –especially the merchants and traders –of the empire financed the Greek army. Besides their financial support, a Greek benefactor George Averoff’s charitable foundation donated a large amount of money and facilitated the purchase of the warship *Georgios Averof*.<sup>218</sup> Before the Greek government purchased the warship, the Ottomans had bargained but could not afford it.<sup>219</sup> During the Balkan Wars, due to the dominance of *Averof* in the Aegean Sea, the Ottoman navy could not exit the straits. Thus, the warship *Averof* was utilized in the propaganda and mobilization discourse against the non-Muslims. According to *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb* the Muslims must be mobilized to shop only from Muslim traders. Thereby, the financial and economic dominance of the non-Muslims could be terminated.<sup>220</sup> Otherwise, the Muslim Ottomans would continue to finance the Greek army against the Ottoman army.<sup>221</sup>

This suggestion of backing up the Ottoman economy to the Ottoman women is also compatible with the aforementioned arguments in the book, such as building up the Ottoman Empire’s own warships in order not to pay exorbitant sum to

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<sup>218</sup> George Averoff was born in Metsovo, Epirus region. At a young age he migrated to Cairo, started a business and made his fortune over there.

<sup>219</sup> Zafer Toprak, “Osmanlı Donanması, Averof Zırhlısı ve Ulusal Kimlik”, *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 113 (May 2003), p. 13.

<sup>220</sup> Ahmed Cevad, *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*, p. 30

<sup>221</sup> Toprak, “İslâm ve İktisat: 1913-1914 Müslüman Boykotajı”, p. 181.

“foreign” manufacturers.<sup>222</sup> Muslim entrepreneurs should proceed to establish companies of their own, as well.<sup>223</sup> These arguments associate with the idea of the “national economy”, which would be applied by them.

As well as the similar arguments in the publications of the *Rumeli Muhacirîn-i İslâmiye Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi*, *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb* refers to several points as the causes of the debacle in the Balkan Wars. The first reason is the neglect of the progress of the newly founded Balkan states. Hence, all the Muslim Ottomans needed to pull themselves together and to commence struggling against the vulgar enemies along with “the sacred spirit and patriotism”<sup>224</sup>. Furthermore, to obey the rules and the laws of both the religion and the state is another necessity both for today’s and the next generations of the Ottoman Empire. If they did not obey and perform their duties in a proper way, the Ottoman youth –here the term refers to only the male Ottomans–would become captives just like the Ottoman women and girls of that day.<sup>225</sup> The advice from the author to the Ottoman youth is, when they are in idleness and laziness, they should read at least one page from *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*, then, they inevitably would shed tears for the fate of the country and hereby the beaten but proud Ottoman youth would brace up in order to overcome the current conditions.<sup>226</sup> Moreover, they should unite and found a brand-new and stronger state.<sup>227</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> Ahmed Cevad, *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*, p. 10 and p. 30.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>224</sup> The original statement in Ottoman text as follows: “*gayret-i diniyeye hamiyet-i milliye*”. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

Yet another important argument in the book is that the author, Ahmed Cevad recognizes the Balkan Wars as a battle between the cross and the crescent, namely, a *Crusade* of the twentieth century like Ferdinand I, the Tsar of Bulgaria. For Ahmed Cevad, the Protestants and the Catholics of the Europe allied with the Orthodox Slavs against the Muslims.<sup>228</sup> However, it is uncertain whether this consideration belongs to Ahmed Cevad's own or Ahmed Cevad was affected by Tsar Ferdinand's words. Answering this question is not an easy task, since at the beginning of the warfare the Ottoman officials did not consider the war as a Crusade, as a great deal of the non-Muslim subjects had joined the Ottoman army.<sup>229</sup>

Another grievance of the author is the "black propaganda" of the European press as being subsidized against the Ottoman Empire; nevertheless, none of the Ottoman officials act to prevent accusations of both the Balkan League and the European press. *Neşr-i Vesâik Cemiyeti* is the only institution that aims to indicate the atrocities and to defend the rights of the Muslim casualties of the Balkan Wars. Ahmed Cevad also claims that if he had enough financial support from the state or any of civil institutions, he would execute more extensive works in order to defend the casualties.<sup>230</sup>

Bulgarian soldiers and irregulars are part of the focus of *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*, in which tens of illustrations and photographs depicting the Bulgarian atrocities are included. The author uses a photograph in which Prime Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria at that time Ivan Geshov is depicted, in order to

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<sup>228</sup> Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>229</sup> Sacit Kutlu, *Milliyetçilik ve Emperyalizm Yüzylında Balkanlar ve Osmanlı Devleti* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007), pp. 328-330.

<sup>230</sup> Ahmed Cevad, *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*, p. 54.

demonstrate and prove the connection between the Bulgarian high-rank officials and the irregulars.<sup>231</sup>

In the following pages, Ahmed Cevad begins to use a stronger language describing the incidents of the war, i.e. he accuses the native Greek and Bulgarian subjects of being collaborators and traitors who backstabbed the Ottoman army while it was at war with the Greek and the Bulgarian armies.<sup>232</sup>

All in all, at the end of the book Ahmed Cevad informs the readers about the second volume of *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*,<sup>233</sup> though there is not any record on such publication.

After giving general information about three Ottoman propaganda books, from now on I would like to discuss some common concepts that were emphasized in these books. The concepts are as follows: Barbarity and violence, the modern crusade, and revenge. While I am discussing these concepts, I intend to follow two steps, which are to give historical meaning and the context of the concepts, and how they are dealt with in the Ottoman propaganda books.

### Barbarity and Violence

The Balkan Peninsula has been associated with violence and barbarity for centuries by both the Ottomans and the Europeans. The image of violence and barbarity was applied to the Bulgarians by Mahmud Celaleddin Paşa in his prominent work *Mirât-ı Hakikat* after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-1878, just as

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<sup>231</sup> Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., p. 92 and p. 124.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid., p. 160.

the violent image of the Ottomans was pronounced in all of Europe due to the notorious Bulgarian massacres. In Turkish literature, the violent image of the Greeks was also applied by a journalist and man of letters, Ahmed Rasim,<sup>234</sup> but Ahmed Rasim's use was related to the National Liberation War, therefore his views will not be included here.

Since the Europeans considered their civilization superior and Ottomans as barbarous, the Ottomans became the "other" for Europe. Until the nineteenth century being the "other" of the Europe did not matter for the Ottomans, because they were self-confident to some extent. However, in the nineteenth century, the loss of the vast territories especially in the heart of the empire, Rumelia, induced a new image of Europe, because despite the serious and heavy sufferings of the Ottomans in Rumelia, they were still considered as the savages of Europe. This caused the rejection of European civilization and reactions against both the Great Powers of Europe and newly established Balkan states that claim to be part of that civilization. Considering the Greeks as a part of the European civilization, an Ottoman captain in the Balkan Wars, Bekir Fikri, emphasized the tyranny of the "so-called civilized, barbarous Greeks" due to their attacks on the civil population during the war.<sup>235</sup> Moreover, the main opponent of the Ottomans in terms of barbaric deeds and their propaganda was Bulgaria and the Bulgarians. In 1876, during the Bulgarian uprising, the Ottoman handling of the issue was used as a matter of propaganda against the Ottoman Empire. There were incidents in Bulgaria, particularly in Batak, where about five thousand Bulgarians mostly, women and children, were said to have been

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<sup>234</sup> Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans*, p. 82.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

killed, many of them being herded into the local church and burned alive.<sup>236</sup> In a very short period of time, the atrocities in Bulgaria became an important and popular issue among the British Liberals. William Gladstone, the leader of the Liberal Party in Britain, published a pamphlet, titled *The Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* in 1876.<sup>237</sup> According to Gladstone, there was a correlation between the atrocities and the racial character of the Turks: even Islam was not able to tame the Turks:

Let me endeavour very briefly (...) what the Turkish race was and what it is. It is not a question of Mahometanism simply, but of Mahometanism compounded with the peculiar character of a race. They are not the mild Mahometans of India, nor the chivalrous Saladins of Syria, nor the cultured Moors of Spain. They were, upon the whole, from the black day when they first entered Europe, the one great anti-human specimen of humanity. Wherever they went, a broad line of blood marked track behind them; and, as far as their dominion reached, civilization disappeared from view.<sup>238</sup>

Although the Ottomans were enraged by these attitudes against them, I think, the Ottoman intellectuals learned how to make propaganda of atrocities and the ways of affecting the public opinion. It cannot be a coincidence that the concepts – especially barbarity – are the same as the ones used by the Ottoman intellectuals during the Balkan Wars.

A study of the Ottoman propaganda books in the Balkan Wars will show how these concepts were used during the war to affect the Ottoman population. When the description of the Bulgarians in the *Âlâm-i İslâm: Bulgar Vahşetleri* it can be seen that how they were associated with the savagery and barbarity was as follows:

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<sup>236</sup> R. J. Crampton, *Bulgaria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), *Bulgaria*, p. 92.

<sup>237</sup> And it seems that Bulgarians are still grateful to Mr. Gladstone, because in Sofia there is a street a secondary school, named Gladstone.

<sup>238</sup> W. E. Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* (London: John Murray, 1876), pp. 12-13.

Bulgarians are savages that drink blood when they are thirsty and burn people when they are cold. Today, they are the spoiled child of Europe and they attack on Ottoman lands like rabid dogs.<sup>239</sup>

In order to emphasize and substantiate the claims, with reference to the witness reports, several examples were given, such as: in three cities of Bulgaria; Filibe (Plovdiv), Varna and Balçık (Balchik), “Bulgarian savages” –but there is not any reference to whether they are soldiers or irregulars–forcibly entered into the houses, battered males and ravished females. One more example related to the incidents happened in Varna is that for three days, muezzins are not allowed to recite the azan, because local Bulgarians threw stones to them.<sup>240</sup> Besides these incidents, there are several cases that happened against the local Muslim population, such as the plundering of stores and a physical attack against mufti of Varna.<sup>241</sup>

As related to the barbarity and the violence concept, the Ottoman propaganda books also discuss the notion of civilization and civilized societies both in Western Europe and in the Balkans. This kind of discussion must be quite widespread among the Ottoman intellectuals and even among the illiterates. Beginning with the Ottoman-Italian War in 1911, then the Balkan Wars and even during the First World War, the notion of a European civilization based on universal human rights was discussed by the Ottomans. The primary question during the years of the Balkan Wars was:

How come the so-called civilized Bulgarians could commit such acts and how come representatives of European civilization could allow

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<sup>239</sup> *Âlâm-i İslâm: Bulgar Vahşetleri*, p. 4.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

them? Civilized nations of Europe must exclude the Bulgarians from their civilized world!  
In the ‘age of civilization’, against our Muslim brothers, Bulgarians commit offences and atrocities through the age of civilization that even did not happen in the middle ages.<sup>242</sup>

The concept of barbarity is also presented in the second book of the *Rumeli Muhacirîn-i İslâmiye Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi* (the Beneficial Association of Muslim Refugees of Rumelia). In this second book, fighters and civilians of the Balkan states are described as a group of “barbarians” who enjoy “drinking blood” of innocent Muslims in Rumelia with the support of the European politicians and European public opinion.<sup>243</sup> Some accusations against European public opinion and politicians are as follows:

Why do the European public opinion that look for an occasion in order to intervene in Ottoman politics even an abactor from Bulgarian or Greek origin was arrested, keep silent to the atrocities against the Muslims in the Rumelia.<sup>244</sup>

A similar appeal to European politicians is that:

Why do not the English liberals, who always claimed to act in the name of the humanitarian values, react to stop inhuman treatments against the Turks and Muslims[?] <sup>245</sup>;

and

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<sup>242</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>243</sup> *Âlâm-i İslâm: Rumeli Mezâlimi ve Bulgar Vahşetleri*: p. 8.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

“Bir Bulgar veya Rum hayvan hırsız Osmanlılar tarafından darb edildiği zaman, hemen müdahaleye kalkışan Avrupa, şimdi Balkan hükûmâtının bu mezâlimine karşı ne için susuyor?”

<sup>245</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

“İnsâniyet nâmına bunca fedâkârlıklar icrâ ettiklerini söyleyerek kendilerini her fırsatta methetmeye kalkışan İngiliz liberalleri, Hristiyan olmayan şu zavallı Türklerin hâline merhamet ederek bir teşebbüste bulunmuyorlar.”

European civilization must be ashamed of this kind of atrocities that could happen in the twentieth century.<sup>246</sup>

Again, as a similar discourse and indictment of the first book, in the second book the Bulgarians are described as follows:

They suck blood of Muslims when in the need of extinguishing their fever; when they could not find an appropriate place to live in, destroy the homes of Muslims.<sup>247</sup>

Naturally, the discourse of barbarity and accusations against the “enemies” increased along with defeats of the Ottoman army. Before the advance and attacks of the Balkan armies, the Ottomans had to promote their own moral superiorities and peaceful attitudes. In this comparison, the enemies were depicted as atrocious, savage and bloodthirsty beasts. It must be a defensive reaction while the Ottoman public and army were desperate and helpless, because in the beginning of the war, when the Ottomans did not expect that the Ottoman army would be defeated, the Ottoman public opinion was a bit ironic. A cartoon, which was published just before the beginning of the war, depicts the War Minister Nâzım Paşa in front of a ticket office at a train station. He wants to buy tickets for an excursion to the Balkan capitals. The seller asks Nâzım Paşa whether he is single or not. Nâzım Paşa replies sarcastically and says: “No, seven or eight hundred thousand for now!”<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> Ibid., p. 36.

“Yirminci asr-ı medeniyette vicdanları paralayan işbu dil-sûz mezâlimden Avrupa insâniyet ve medeniyeti utanmalıdır. “

<sup>247</sup> Ibid., pp. 8-9.

“Teskîn-i ateş için bir şey bulamayınca bir Müslüman kanını emmek veya barınacak bir yer tedârikinden âciz kalınca bir Türk ocağını söndürmek barbarlığında bulunmakla me'lûf olan o Bulgar kaltabanlarını alkışlamakta Avrupa bilmem daha ne zamana kadar devam edecek!”

<sup>248</sup> Cem, no. 41 (5 October 1912), p. 8.

“Nâzım Paşa: Sofya, Belgrad, Çetine, Atina şöyle bir dolaşacağım, bilet istiyorum.

“Biletçi: Yalnız mısınız?

“Hayır, ben ve benimkiler, şimdilik, yedi sekiz yüz bin kişi!”

In order to describe and point out the dimensions of cruelty of the Bulgarians, they are compared with the barbarity of the Mongols and even the Huns, notorious tribes from Central Asia who later formed empires. This argument seems to be important to be emphasized. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, with the influence of the intellectuals of Tatar origin, the Ottomans tried to establish a bond with their Asiatic origins and heritage. Moreover, the cultural and military histories of these tribes were included in the school textbooks as one of the ancestors of the Ottoman Turks. Nevertheless, acts and atrocities of the Bulgarians are associated with the “brand new” ancestors of the Ottomans. One more point must be stated here, the ancestors of the “modern” or in other words the Slavic Bulgarians are Proto-Bulgars,<sup>249</sup> who had central Asian origin and were possibly relatives of the Turkic tribes before their settlement in the Balkan Peninsula. Thus, Ahmed Cevad’s attempt to associate the Bulgarians with the other so-called “barbarian” tribes of the central Asia is unclear for me. Is it possibly as referring to the Asiatic and barbarian –to the Mongols and the Huns –roots of the Bulgarians, so that Ahmed Cevad can claim that the Ottomans are no longer a part of the central Asian traditions, but of the civilized European culture? It should be kept in mind that Ahmed Cevad had just returned from his visit to the prominent European capitals just before he penned his propaganda works. In June and July 1913, Ahmed Cevad visited Berlin, Paris, and London in order to meet with the parliamentarians in these capitals to give briefings to raise awareness about the atrocities of the Balkan armies, and the sufferings of the Rumelian Muslims. In Berlin, Ahmed Cevad met with the German Foreign Minister,

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<sup>249</sup> Proto-Bulgars were pagans until the reign of Khan Boris. In 864 Khan Boris converted into Christianity and made a decision to impose this faith upon his pagan subjects. Because, the Proto-Bulgars had started to conquest the lands where already Christian Slavs had settled, thus to impose a common faith should also help fuse Proto-Bulgar and Slav into a single cultural unit. In the long run, the Christian Slavs and Proto-Bulgarians to weld into a Bulgarian people, who had common faith and language. Crampton, *Bulgaria*, pp. 11-12.

and requested him to make a speech in the parliament about the incidents of the current war. However the minister did not accept this request. Ahmed Cevad then moved to Paris. In the French capital, for him there were much more people to meet. First, he met with a pressman to print a pamphlet entitled *Un Appel Turc* (A Turkish Appeal), and though the pamphlets were printed and distributed to the members of parliaments, the parliamentarians did not speak of the war. Then, Ahmed Cevad had an appointment with Stéphane Lauzane, the author of the *Au Chevet de la Turquie: Quarante Jours de Guerre* (At the Bedside of Turkey: Forty Days of War) and the editor of *Le Matin*. Monsieur Lauzanne said to him that there was nothing to do in order to affect the French public opinion. Ahmed Cevad's next meeting was with the leader of the French Socialist Party, Jean Jaurès, who advised Ahmed Cevad to carry out propaganda activities and to buy a couple of journalists off for agitation. The next capital to visit was London, but again in the capital of the British Empire, he could only have some promises to inform some politicians to draw attention on the ongoing incidents in the Balkan Peninsula. At the end of his visit, along with much advice and promises from the politicians of the Great Powers, Ahmed Cevad returned to the Ottoman capital.<sup>250</sup> Soon after, he began to write *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb* in 1913.<sup>251</sup>

Most of the articles in *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb* were about similar cases and incidents that took place during the Balkan Wars and discussed in the books of

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<sup>250</sup> Emre, *İki Neslin Tarihi*, pp. 167-180.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid., p. 183. I must add here that in one of the transliterated editions of *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb* the publisher or the editor has made a very serious and crucial mistake about the biography of Ahmed Cevad in *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb: 1328 (1912-13) Faciası* (İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları, 2013). According to the biographical information given in that edition, a volunteer in the Balkan Wars and a man-of-letters of Azerbaijani origin wrote *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*. But, this is absolutely wrong, because Ahmed Cevad Emre explains how and when he penned *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*. In his memoirs Ahmed Cevad wrote that: "*Balkan Harbi'nde yenilmekle uğradığımız büyük, çok büyük felâket bir ân bile milletin hatırlardan çıkmamalıydı, uzun uzun üstünde durmalı, bird aha böyle bir felâkete düşmemek için nasıl bir millî programla yeni hayata atılması gerektiği düşünülmeliydi. Akıldan bir ân ayrılmayan bu fikirlerle, Londra'dan döndükten sonra, oturup bir de 'Kırmızı Siyah Kitap' ismiyle yeni bir eser hazırladım, bunu da dostum ve naşirim İbrahim Hilmi bastı (1913).*" Emre, *İki Neslin Tarihi*, p. 183.

*Rumeli Muhacirîn-i İslâmiye Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi*, such as “atrocities” of the Bulgarians, Serbs, Montenegrins and Greeks, sufferings of the Ottoman soldiers and prisoners in the hands of “savage” enemy, harassments of the soldiers of the Balkan League and irregulars to Muslim inhabitants of the region, converting into churches and burning down of mosques.<sup>252</sup> Moreover, I think, the writers of these books, like any other Muslim Ottoman, believed that mosques and graveyards were material proof of the Muslims and the Ottomans in the Balkans, and any attack to destroy these materials were perceived as an attempt to terminate the concrete existence of the Muslim Ottomans.<sup>253</sup>

A common symbol and image of the Bulgarian atrocities against the Muslim Ottomans in Rumelia and Bulgaria that is the common subject of all three books is the murder of pregnant Muslim women. What is more striking than the murder is that the belly of a woman is cut before the public and the dead fetus is pulled out!<sup>254</sup> This kind of vulgar act also aims to exterminate the next generations of the “enemy”. Both the author and the victims of the Bulgarian assaults strongly believe that the god that is the unique protector of the oppressed<sup>255</sup> will revenge upon the savage enemy.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> Ahmed Cevad, *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*, p. 4.

<sup>253</sup> Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans*, p. 117.

<sup>254</sup> *Âlâm-i İslâm: Bulgar Vahşetleri*, p. 20 and *Âlâm-i İslâm: Rumeli Mezalimi ve Bulgar Vahşetleri*, p. 50.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

سوکیلی والدہ و همشیره لر مزه روا کوریلان مظالم :



درامه ده تهران بروالدنک ویاوروسنک جنوارجه سنه شهید ایدلسی

### The Modern Crusade: *Cross versus Crescent*

Besides the concepts of barbarity and the violence of the Balkan armies during the war, the discourse of modern crusade was also produced and used to mobilize the Muslim Ottoman population. I will discuss this concept together with the metaphors of “cross versus crescent”, and the victimized Turkish and Muslim girls, whose honor was the honour of the Ottomans at the same time.

As is known, the crusades were military campaigns supported by the Roman Catholic Church, and lasted from the beginning of the eleventh century to the end of the thirteenth century. The aim of the crusades was to restore Christian access to holy places in and near Jerusalem and to stop the Muslim expansion in the Near East. This

time, nine centuries later, the Bulgarian Tsar Ferdinand declared a crusade<sup>257</sup> against the Ottoman Empire to chase away the Ottomans to end their occupation in the Balkans. Not only the tsar, but also Bulgarian public opinion were in favor of this idea, and wanted the Ottomans to leave Rumelia. A picture published in the very first days of the war shows this view. The heading of the picture is *Balkanska Hayka* (Balkan Raid), and the kings of four Balkan allies were pictured while getting ready to attack on an Ottoman, who was wearing a fez and fuming *nargile*, and sitting cross-legged. The caption of the cartoon is: “Get out, dog!”<sup>258</sup>



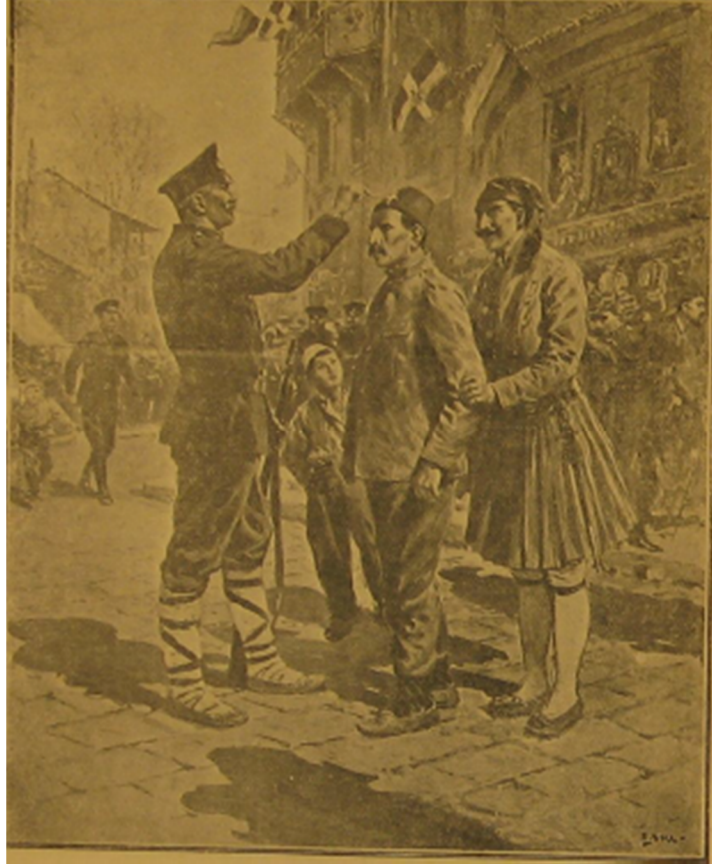
In the Ottoman propaganda books, the concept of Crusade was mentioned through deeds and incidents, which had symbolic meanings. One of these incidents is the treatment of the *Pomaks*, the native population in the Rhodope Mountains. By

<sup>257</sup> “Our cause is right, glorious and sacred. With humble trust in the protection and help of the God Almighty, I announce to the Bulgarian people that war for the human rights of the Christians in Turkey has been declared.

“I order the brave Bulgarian army to invade the territory of Turkey! Together with us against our mutual enemy, and with the *same* aim, will fight the armies of our allies, the Balkan countries –Serbia, Greece and Montenegro. And in this fight of the Cross against the Crescent, of freedom against tyranny, we will have the sympathy of all the people who love justice and progress.” Kolev and Koulouri (eds.), *Teaching Modern Southeast European History*, p. 55.

<sup>258</sup> *Speech*, (6 October 1912), p. 1.

awarrant of the Bulgarian government, the Bulgarian army attempted to convert the Muslim *Pomaks* into Christianity. During the war years Muslim men were forced to wear Bulgarian style of caps and Muslim women were forced to wear western-style hats instead of their traditional dresses.<sup>259</sup> Also, the beards of the older men and the moustaches of the young men were shaved forcibly.<sup>260</sup> A picture from *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb* has some important notions and aspects of the concept of modern crusade and forced conversion examples by the Bulgarian and Greek soldiers:<sup>261</sup>



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<sup>259</sup> *Âlâm-i İslâm: Bulgar Vahşetleri*, p. 24.

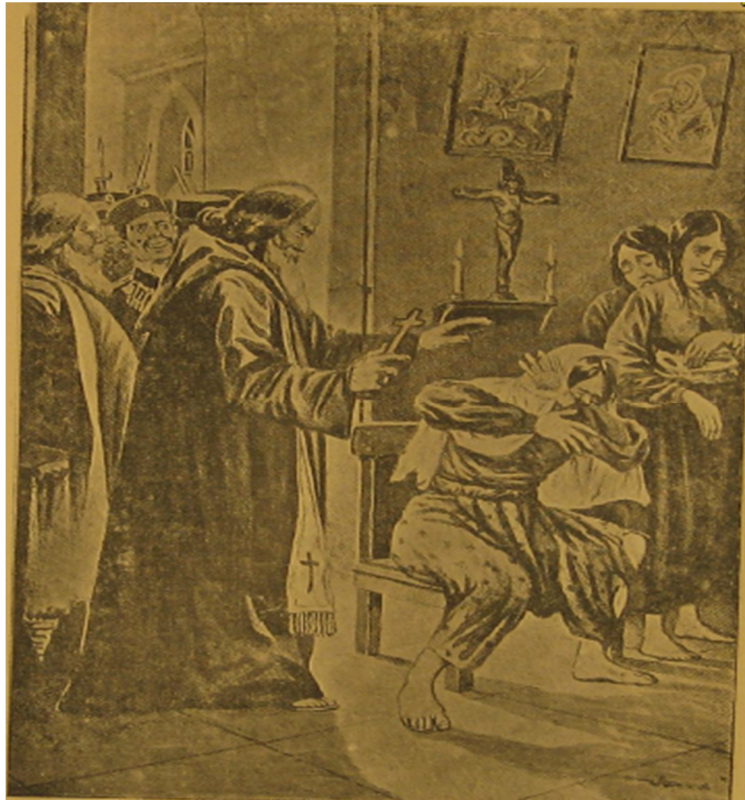
<sup>260</sup> For further information on this issue see, Plamena Stoyanova, “Balkan Savaşı Esnasında Zorla Hıristiyanlaştırılan Müslüman Pomaklar”, *Toplumsal Tarih*, No: 211 (Temmuz/ July 2011), pp. 56- 61; and Mary Neuburger, *The Orient Within: Muslim Minorities and the Negotiation of Nationhood in Modern Bulgaria*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

<sup>261</sup> Ahmed Cevad, *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*, p. 49.

According to the report of the Carnegie Commission this process was carried out as follows:

The Moslems were ranged in groups. Each group was given some baptismal name, generally a name honored in the Bulgarian church or in Bulgarian history. An exarchist pope then passed from group to group and took aside each of his catechumens sui generis; and while sprinkling his forehead with holy water with one hand; with the other he compelled him to bite a sausage. The holy water represented baptism, the piece of sausage renunciation of the Moslem faith, since the Koran forbids the eating of pork. The conversion was completed by the issue of a certificate adorned with a picture of the baptism of Jesus, the price of which varied between one and three francs. A friend (...) showed me two baptismal certificates. He added that the converted were obliged to give up their fez, and the converted women to walk in the streets with their faces uncovered.<sup>262</sup>

The conversion attempt of the Bulgarians was depicted in *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb* as follows:<sup>263</sup>



<sup>262</sup> Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars* (Washington D. C., 1914), pp. 155-156.

<sup>263</sup> Ahmed Cevad, *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*, p. 116.

It seems that the Muslim women were gathered in a church, and with the support of soldiers the priests were showing the crucifix to women, and possibly were trying to persuade them to convert to Christianity. Being a victim of the conversion process has another important aspect, because a woman is thought to bear the honour (*ırz-namus*) of the community and was responsible to grown up children. Therefore, if a woman becomes Christian, possibly her sons and daughter will become Christians too, and thus the next generations would be lost.

### The Concept of Revenge

The last concept that I am going to deal with in this chapter is the discourse of revenge. The concept of revenge includes several notions, which are to raise children with the conscious of revenge, to take revenge of the Muslims of Rumelia, who have been despised and murdered by the Balkan armies. The concept of revenge was directed against the enemies of the Ottomans and the purpose of using and promoting this concept was to mobilize volunteers. For this purpose, especially volunteer writers used their talents in order to affect the public opinion of both the Ottoman Empire and the foreign countries.

Needless to say, the *zeitgeist* of the war years was to claim for revenge, such that, even in the textbooks, the future generations of the Ottoman Empire would be educated through hostility against both internal and external enemies.

The dominant discourse of “revenge” in *Âlâm-i İslâm: Bulgar Vahşetleri* begins with the introduction chapter:

Listen your heart again... Keep your feeling of revenge in your pure heart for the Bulgarian Muslims who died instead of you.<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

This point must be emphasized, because the notion of “sacrifice of oneself” and “dying for others” are indicated here.

Moreover, in *Âlâm-i İslam: Rumeli Mezalimi ve Bulgar Vahşetleri*, there is a call for an awakening and then to take revenge on victims of the Bulgarian atrocities. As stated above, in the first volume only taking indirectly revenge on co-religionists was indicated, on the other hand, in this volume, first to become conscious about the incidents that happened in Rumelia is promoted and then along with the strong awareness, taking revenge upon the “innocent” babies, young women and “vulnerable” old men.<sup>265</sup> A similar discourse and depiction can be seen in *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*, which is as follows:<sup>266</sup>



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“Yine vicdanını dinle... senin namına ölen, senin yâdına dayanan Bulgaristan İslamlarının intikamlarını pak ve asil kalbinde sakla...”

<sup>265</sup> *Âlâm-i İslam: Rumeli Mezalimi ve Bulgar Vahşetleri*, p. 23 and p. 46.

<sup>266</sup> Ahmed Cevad, *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*, pp. 104-105.

A similar concept also exists in *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*. In the book there are two main issues which are emphasized constantly: remembering the incidents of the Balkan Wars and the idea of revenge. For instance, a verse in the first chapter indicates the general theme of the book. The verse as follows:

Do not forget, the day of revenge will come,  
While existing the reputation of the Ottomans;  
Your sons know how to take revenge of,  
Let it remain the memories of today in their hearts.<sup>267</sup>

Another poem related to not forgetting the incidents of the Balkan Wars in the *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb* is entitled *Oh! Edirne*, penned by Celâl Sahir (Erozan). The verses about the concept are as follows:

You are vile, oh my brother, if you neglect this country  
Never, never forget Edirne;  
Time for revenge comes, do not forget your grudge!<sup>268</sup>

The concept of revenge was also associated with assaults of the Balkan armies to the religious symbols, in which they invaded. An example of this interpretation can be seen in Kâzım Nami Duru's memoirs. Duru was a CUP member, and later on became a textbook writer. He recites some folk songs in his memoirs, which was about the sorrow, the fear, and the claim of revenge about the conversion of mosques to churches. These folk songs are as follows:

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<sup>267</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

"Unutma, intikam günleri gelir,  
Durdukça dünyada Osmanlı adı,  
Evlâdın intikam yolunu bilir,  
Yaşasın gönünde bugünün yadı."

<sup>268</sup> Ahmed Cevad, *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*, p. 159.

"Sen alçaksın, ey kardeşim, unutursan bu yurdu.  
Sakin sakın Edirne'yi unutma;  
Öc almanın vakti gelir, kinini sen unutma."

Ah! In 1328 [1912] the honour of the Turks was stained!  
Ah! Ah! Revenge! Revenge,  
Crucifixes were erected on mosques  
Minarets were demolished  
Mothers, fathers, orphans are all diseased  
[They] were all slaughtered, ah!<sup>269</sup>

Moreover, it must be stated that, Ahmed Cevad's patriotic publishing activities are not only limited with the *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb*. He penned and published several articles and poems, which were about revenge, in different journals and magazines. The most eminent piece of these poems is titled *Keşşafın Türküsü* (Song of the Scouts). It was published in *Talebe Defteri*<sup>270</sup> (Student's Notebook in 26 Eylül 1329 (9 October 1913) on page 151. He wrote the following verses:

I am a scout; my legs, my arms,  
My eyes, my mind, my whole body is hearty.  
I am the servant of my *padişah*, my motherland;  
I have desire for revenge to my enemies.  
Come on you nimble scouts! To the campaign,  
The near future offers victory for us!<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> Kâzım Nami Duru, "*İttihat ve Terakki Hatıralarım*" (İstanbul: Sucuoğlu Matbaası, 1957), p. 62.

"1328'de Türk namusu lekелendi, of!  
Of! Of! İntikam! İntikam  
Camilere haç takıldı,  
Minareler hep yıkıldı,  
Anne, baba, öksüz alil  
Kahpecesine kesildi, of."

<sup>270</sup> In his memoirs, Ahmed Cevad notes that *Talebe Defteri* was published by the book-seller Ahmed Halid Bey.

<sup>271</sup> Ahmed Cevad, "Keşşafın Türküsü", *Talebe Defteri*, no. 10 (26 Eylül 1329/06 October 1913), p. 151. Zafî Bey also set this poem to music later on.

"Ben bir keşşafım; bacağım, kolum,  
Gözüm, dimağım, her yerim sağlam.  
Padişaha, yurduma kulum;  
Düşmana kalbim besler intikam.  
Haydin sefere çevik keşşafılar,  
Bize istikbal, zaferler saklar!"

As can be seen in three books, which are the core of this thesis, the idea of “revenge” is a key term for understanding the *zeitgeist* of the war and post-war years in the Ottoman public opinion. Rumelia had been lost, but one day the “heart” of the empire would and must be taken back again. However, the struggle for the lost territories could not be limited only to military forces. Next generations of the Empire had to be trained, therefore at schools “corners of revenge” were set up and banners with “revenge in Rumelia” motto were posted.<sup>272</sup> These banners were also delivered by *Rumeli Muhacirîn-i İslâmiye Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi*.<sup>273</sup>

In addition to that, these three books, which are examined in thesis, are an aspect of the general feelings and opinion among both intellectuals and general public. Not only in these books but also in other works the Balkan Wars and its scenes are presented one-sided, and are generally related to the depiction of the enemy and of the self. Most of the works describe the massacres committed by the enemies of the Ottomans through the eyes of the Muslims in the occupied and lost territories of both Rumelia and Thrace. The main theme in these works is the fact that Muslims of Rumelia are the victim of the atrocities and massacres of the armies and corps of irregulars of the Balkan League. As an Islamist intellectual and poet, Mehmed Akif had similar views and it –especially on the tyranny of the Bulgarians– could be viewed in his works.

-What is this bloody curtain?

-Which bloody curtain, this one?

It is the people of Gümülcine; a monster

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<sup>272</sup> Toprak, *Türkiye’de Popülizm*, p. 225.

<sup>273</sup> Eyal Ginio, “Değişim Adına Çocuklara Verilen Önem: Balkan Savaşları (1912-1913) Sırasında Çocuk Edebiyatı ve Basın”, *Osmanlı Devleti’nin Dağılma Sürecinde Trablusgarb ve Balkan Savaşları 16-18 Mayıs 2011/ İzmir: Bildiriler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2013), p. 662.

Could not do these evils but the Bulgarians!-  
Choose neither old men, nor orphans,  
Thirty thousand men are killed in five or six days!  
The hearts of the Pomaks are bayoneted;  
To take away their faith!  
Their honor, property, and homeland are damaged one by one...  
When all their belongings are lost: "Convert into a Bulgarian, or die!"  
Those whose breasts were cut by the bluntest axe,  
Those whose heads were smashed by stones,  
Souls who moan in snow and mud;  
Those people who were burned and turned into a mass of ashes,  
By strips or goudron,  
Were burned with calmness peculiar to the Bulgarians.<sup>274</sup>

It must also be stated that the Balkan Wars and its "literature" redirected the formation of the Ottoman nation according to religious lines as it could be seen in the writing samples related to the war years and its aftermath. Because, using the Islamic discourse was more effective to appeal to the masses.<sup>275</sup>

The concept of revenge could also be seen in symbolic statues, besides the penned materials. A statue that was erected in memory of an Ottoman officer named Reşid Fuad Bey, who died near Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa (today Svilengrad in Bulgaria),

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<sup>274</sup> Mehmed Akif Ersoy, "Vaiz Kürsüde", *Safahat*, pp. 270-271.

*"-Bu kanlı perde nedir?  
-Hangi kanlı perde, şu mu?  
Gümülüne 'yle havâlisidir ki, bir canavar  
Bu mel' anetleri yapmaz -meğer ki Bulgarlar!-  
Ne ihtiyar seçiyor, bak, ne kimsesiz tanıyor;  
Beş altı günde otuz bin adam boğazlanıyor!  
Pomakların deşilip süngülerle vicdânı;  
Alınmak isteniyor tâ içinden îmânı!  
Birer birer oluyor ırzı, mâli, yurdu heder...  
Gidince hepsi elinden: 'Ya Bulgar ol, ya geber!'  
Şu göğsü baltaların en körüyle parçalanın,  
Şu beyni taşların altında uğrayıp kafadan,  
Karın, çamurların üstünde, inleyen canlar;  
Şu, bir yığın kömür olmuş, kül olmuş insanlar,  
Ki gazlı bezle, o olmazsa yağlı katranla  
Yakıldı Bulgarlara şayeste bir soğuk kanla."*

<sup>275</sup> Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "Balkan Savaşlarının Osmanlı Eğitim Sistemine Etkileri ve Ders Kitaplarına Yansımaları" in *Uluslararası Balkan Sempozyumu Balkan Savaşlarının 100. Yılı 11-13 Mayıs 2012: Bildiriler* (İstanbul: Bağcılar Belediye Başkanlığı, 2012), pp. 146-147.

is an important tool for imposing the idea of revenge. The statue was in shape of a gravestone, and had *intikam* (revenge) written on it.<sup>276</sup>

The Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 are one of the milestones in the *democratization* of wars. The brand new inventions in the area of communication made quick transmission possible, and created and served the creation of public opinion in the first decades of the twentieth century. The Balkan Wars were visualized wars as well. Thus, all the visualized materials taken in the incidents of the war were also used to create and affect the Ottoman public opinion.

Three “propaganda” books, which are examined in this paper, were published just after the defeat and the debacle of the Ottoman Army in the Balkan Wars. They include a relatively short analysis of the war, many visual materials –such as illustrations and photographs–, which would be able to affect Muslim Ottoman public opinion especially. Visual materials both depict and demonstrate the incidents of war and could impress even the illiterates besides the literate ones. Another important notion of these books were that they were only published once during or just after the Balkan Wars, and I think that indicates they were prepared for the aim of propaganda.

However, it seems that the writers of Ottoman propaganda books were already aware that their efforts were not sufficient *vis-à-vis* the Bulgarian ones. Also, these three books that are classified as the Ottoman propaganda books in the Balkan Wars are the first examples for the Ottomans. A new analysis including the First World War years would give an idea of the essence of the Ottoman propaganda activities.

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<sup>276</sup> Edhem Eldem, *İstanbul'da Ölüm: Osmanlı-İslam Kültüründe Ölüm ve Ritüelleri* (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2005), pp. 280-281.

## Conclusion

In the fourth chapter of this thesis, my main concern was with the Ottoman propaganda activities and works produced during the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913. My main sources were actually three books that were during the war, however, in order to discuss their content and aims, firstly I dealt with the other publications, related to and during the war. With the beginning of the war, the publications that aimed to represent the sufferings of the victims of war and the atrocities of the Balkan allies increased, and the propaganda books were among them. Due to their experiences from the Russo-Turkish war, Ottoman intellectuals were aware of the importance of affecting the local population to mobilize the society and European public opinion in order to get support from them. While examining the sources that I chose, first I focused on each one separately, and gave general information about their author, content, and aim. Then, I decided on three common concepts, which are barbarity and violence, the modern Crusade, and revenge. Besides the articles and text, the concepts mentioned above were depicted with many drawings and illustrations in order to impress even the illiterates besides the literate population. One more aspect that should be emphasized is that the books examined in this thesis, were only published once, I think, this is an important notion that indicates their aim to propaganda.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION

The first quarter of the twentieth century was an important, decisive and transformative era for both Turkish and Balkan societies. The war was a decisive shift. After the Balkan Wars and the Great War shaped the ideas and the tendencies of the Ottoman intellectuals and the society. One of the prominent outcomes of the Balkan Wars is the mobilization of the Muslim-Ottoman public opinion. The Balkan Wars showed the weakness of secular Ottoman identity and the idea of secular Ottomanism that includes all subjects of the Sultan regardless of their origin. Through the propaganda activities during and after the war Islamic notions became more prominent the secular Ottomanism was replaced with a more Islamic Ottomanism that excludes non-Muslim Ottoman subjects.

In this thesis, I examined the Ottoman propaganda books during the Balkan Wars and discussed whether they can indeed be seen as propaganda books. Comparing to the organized state-led war propaganda practices carried out by European countries during the First World War, the Ottoman attempts are weak, unorganized, and insufficient in number. However, considering their contents, targets, and medium of publications I argued that they should be handled as propaganda books.

Another argument of the thesis is that the Ottomans were not successful in directing propaganda. A study which focuses on the reasons of this failure will be an important contribution to the field. The fact that the Ottoman Empire had much more diverse populations than the European states of the period and that it was not an industrialized country unlike its European counterparts played an important role on

this failure. There was confusion about the object of the propaganda. That is to say, while at the beginning of the war the Ottoman writers called the “Ottomans” for help without differentiating between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of the empire, they started seeing non-Muslims as traitors as the war proceeded. With the Balkan Wars, it was understood that the idea of Ottomanism was nothing but a dream, and so the target of the propaganda became the Muslim subjects of the empire if not necessarily the Turks.

In these books, it should be emphasized that the Balkan Wars and incidents related to it are not presented objectively but in common themes. In general, they are about the depiction of the armies and the soldiers of the Balkan League, in other words, the enemy and of the self. Most of the works describe the massacres committed by the enemies of the Ottomans through the eyes of the Muslims in the occupied and lost territories of the most valuable part of the Empire: Rumelia and Thrace. The main theme in these works is the fact that Muslims of Rumelia are the victim of the atrocities and massacres of the armies and corps of irregulars of the Balkan League.

The main goal of these books was to point out that the Ottomans were exposed to an overwhelming defeat and thus the Muslim-Ottomans have to take revenge on the enemy and the traitors –generally non-Muslim Ottoman subjects– among themselves. Especially the victimhood of the Muslims of Rumelia and the theme of revenge were used to mobilize a public opinion.

I think these books are important for various reasons. The fact that they were published during the Balkan Wars makes them valuable in the eyes of the historian. Moreover, these books were published by certain foundations founded in order to give financial and moral support for refugees and to inform the European public

opinion about what had happened in Rumelia. Also, Talat Paşa who was Interior Minister at that time pledged financial support for *Kırmızı Siyah Kitâb, 1328 Fecâyii* from which we can conclude that their targets were more than being solely personal products. In addition, these three books are the first examples of propaganda practices for the Ottomans. Last but not least, the illustrations and photographs that were cited and used in these books would serve a function in mobilizing the masses that were mostly illiterate in those years.

The discourse of revenge and the hope of a better future, stronger new generations, and more powerful army is prevalent idea among the Ottoman society and the intellectuals. This kind of motivation was also the psychological preparations for the new struggles in the near future. As it is well-known, only one year later, in the First World War, results of these psychological preparations would be accomplished. The fact is that the proclamation of *jihad* in November 1914, at the outset of the Great War and –as Eyal Ginio pointed out–extensive use of Islamic symbols both in the Ottoman state and society could be interpreted as the consequences of the Balkan Wars.<sup>277</sup> Bulgarian Tsar Ferdinand I claimed that the Balkan Wars was a modern crusade and a clash between the cross and crescent. Thus, after the defeat and debacle in Ottomans own statement, Islamic notions were promoted.

I hope my study will be able to answer the question of how the Ottoman intellectuals depicted their former subjects but new enemies, and very first marks of the intellectual and political tendencies. I shall conclude this thesis by pointing out that a new analysis including the First World War years would give an idea to help

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<sup>277</sup> Eyal Ginio, “Paving the Way for Ethnic Cleansing: Eastern Thrace during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and Their Aftermath” in Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz (eds.) *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Borderlands* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), p. 295

understand not only the Balkan Wars but also the whole process of the Ottoman propaganda facilities.

Last but not least, actually the Ottoman officials and intellectuals were actually familiar with the collection of pictures and articles related to the atrocities committed by the Armenians in the last decade of the nineteenth century and then in the War of Independence years. The albums of *Ermeni Mezalimi* and *Yunan Mezalimi* have similar concepts with the Ottoman propaganda books or *Mezalim* literature of the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913. The main theme of these books is to demonstrate the atrocious deeds of the opponents and the enemies.

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