

Dr. Cengiz Aydın

LAST MOMENTS OF  
THE FREEDOM FIGHTER  
GENERAL JÓZEF BEM  
(MURAD PASHA)

Sarajevo, 2011.



Ul. 8. mart br. 56, 71000 Sarajevo,  
Bosna i Hercegovina  
Tel.: 00387 33 574 700  
Fax: 00387 33 574 701  
E-mail: info@connectum.ba

**www.connectum.ba**

PUBLISHER Connectum, Sarajevo  
FOR PUBLISHER Ajet Arifi  
DESIGN Andronik Filip  
Sarajevo, August 2011  
© Copyright by Dr. Cengiz Aydın  
Connectum book No 122

A full CIP record for this book available from the National  
and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

No: 19041542

ISBN 978-9958-29-023-7

All rights reserved. Except for brief quotations in a review, this book,  
or any part thereof, may not be reproduced, stored in or introduced  
into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,  
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, with-  
out the prior written permission of the publisher.

PRINTED IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

DR. CENGİZ AYDIN

LAST MOMENTS OF THE  
FREEDOM FIGHTER  
GENERAL JÓZEF BEM  
(MURAD PASHA)

**CONNECTUM**





*In the memory of the 160<sup>th</sup> death anniversary of  
Polish patriot, hero of Hungarians and Turkish  
General, noble and heroic soldier Józef BEM who was  
respected and esteemed highly during his life and who  
had victories out of many battles and who dedicated  
his whole life to the freedom of Polish and Hungarian  
people that suffered deep grief due to his death.*



# FOREWORD

Relations of Poland and Turkey have always been developed friendly throughout all aspects during the history. Considering this fact, I decided to prepare this book that will shed light on this friendship. My obvious purpose is to create awareness about the freedom fighter and great hero Józef BEM (Murad Pasha) who has been sinking into oblivion and to demonstrate his importance for these two countries. General Józef BEM has an important place regarding both Polish and Hungarian freedom. The purpose of this study is to lift the veil of mystery regarding his death, to demonstrate his freedom fervor even during his last moments, to voice the adventure of the transfer of his remains to Poland and thus through thinking of this immortal hero to create awareness

and to shed light on the history of freedom fighters and the friendship of these two countries. Various resources from English, French, German, Czech, Polish, Hungarian and Ottoman Turkish were benefitted from for an impartial work whose all aspects are covered.

I commemorate the 160<sup>th</sup> death anniversary of this brave Polish man with respect, and dedicate this book to this struggle for freedom.

*Sarajevo, December 10, 2010*

*Dr. Cengiz AYDIN*

*aydincen@yahoo.com*



# INTRODUCTION

The history of the relations between Poland and Turkey goes back for six centuries. These two nations owning different religions and cultures have proved the possibility of living through friendly relations. It is apparent that – except the battles of 17<sup>th</sup> century - the basis of the relations of these two countries is formed by peace<sup>1</sup>. Today there is not any discussion issue or any non-clarified political problem between Poland and Turkey. However, there is a mutual lack of information regarding our relations going back for six centuries.

Turkish territory has always been a peace and safety land for Polish people. Istanbul has been the most

---

<sup>1</sup> Jerzy S. Latka, **Lehistan'dan Gelen Sefirler-Türkiye Poloya ilişkilerinin Altı Yüzyılı**, Translation: Antoni and Nalan Sarkady, İstanbul: Perka, 199?, p.89.

important settlement area for political refugees for years within this framework. Turks have always been the most sensitive people among the world nations regarding Polish issues. Turks have always held their country open for Polish patriots. A great number of Polish high military and civil officials took refuge in the Ottoman State to continue their freedom struggle. One of these military officers who took refuge in the Ottoman state and elevated to the rank of Pasha is the Polish General and the hero of Hungarian people Józef BEM. BEM had two passions coloring his life: he loved to fight and hated tyranny and cruelty<sup>2</sup>. These two passions covered the whole life of Murad Pasha and shaped his fighting soul.

BEM stated in his article titled “A Look to the Freedom Fight of Poland” (February 1834) that Ottoman Empire was the State that would end the

---

<sup>2</sup> John Frost, A complete history of the Hungarian War, Mansfield Publisher, 185?.

injustice regarding the oppression and invasion of Russia<sup>3</sup>. It is apparent that he was right about this prediction. It is stated in the article of “Respect to the Heroes Required” -published in Cumhuriyet Newspaper at the end of September 1939 - with a similar approach that “Those who died in Poland proved that people who fought such had a right to live. Lots of blood was shed but not in vain. This blood will be the grout of the future Poland. Turks well understand the Polish people and admire them”<sup>4</sup>. These two approaches are important to demonstrate the strength and friendly character of the historical bond between Poland and Turkey. As a matter of fact, that the Turks opened the gates of their country to Polish patriots who rebelled during movements of freedom and resistance against the strict governments of Europe in 19<sup>th</sup> century increased the love and admiration of Polish people

---

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Latka, op.cit., p.67.

for Turks. Turkey was the second land of Hungarian and Polish heroes that were victimized and rebelled against the internal and external oppressive governments during 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>5</sup>. Some of these Polish men participated in Turkish lines and lost their lives heroically during the battles and some of them adopted Muslim faith and settled in Turkey and carried out great services for Turkey. Thus, Józef BEM (Murad Pasha) remembered as a freedom fighter is one of these heroic Polish men who served in Ottoman State to continue the struggle for the freedom of his country. His each moment passed through the freedom fire burning inside his heart.

---

<sup>5</sup> Taha Toros, **Geçmişte Türkiye-Polonya İlişkileri**, İstanbul, 1983, p.10.

# THE LIFE OF GENERAL JÓZEF BEM

Józef BEM who became a general of Polish Army in 1831, a commandant in Hungarian Army in 1849 and a Turkish general in 1850, the hero of two nations was born in Małopolsce (close to Tarnów) in March 14, 1794<sup>6</sup>. His family was the noblest and most renowned family of Poland. He was sent to Kraków University for his education. However, due to his interest in military and the fact that his father moved to Warsaw where a qualified military school existed, French General Pelletier took him away from university and enrolled him to military school. Actually, the reason that they moved to Warsaw was the opportunity to provide BEM a good military education.

---

<sup>6</sup> Głos Narodu, 27 Czerwca, 1929, p.5.

Following regular courses, he participated the French Army<sup>7</sup>. He served as a lieutenant during the battle of 1812 against Russia at artillery batteries. His expertise regarding artillery started with this position. He was one of the important leaders that fought against Russia during 1812-1813. Then he returned to Warsaw. He stayed at the house of his father till the re-union of Poland's Army under the command of Grand Duke Constantine in 1815. However, the never ending oppression of Russia led him to quests. His attempts to leave the country were in vain. His position at the military academy of Warsaw could not overcome his passion for the freedom of his country. His successful studies at the school did not satisfy him. The oppression of Russia was leading him to the battle field. Serious problems arose since he expressed his political opinions during the era of Grand Duke Constantine who did not have tolerance for freedom discourses.

---

<sup>7</sup> Hartford Daily Courant, **The Hungarian General-Joseph BEM** August 27, 1849, p.2.

BEM was arrested for three times from 1820 to 1826. He was imprisoned twice. Once he was held in a dark and wet jail for two months. There he got severely sick. When he got better, he was settled in a place under police control and far away from the city center<sup>8</sup>. He was free when the Emperor Alexander died in 1826 and Nicholas ascended the throne. Then, BEM started to live in Lemberg city of Galicia. There, he studied on mathematic and mechanics. Some of his studies regarding steam machinery were published.

When Poland, that was partitioned by Russia, Austria and the German Empire was rescued by Napoleon Bonaparte, BEM was a captain. He was in an important service during the defense of Poland and Moscow expedition. Russia took Poland back after Bonaparte. Czar Nicholas I governed Poland with great oppression. He tried every way to de-

---

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

stroy the national existence of Polish people. Polish people took up arms to be liberated and composed a national unity movement in 1830<sup>9</sup>. When the cry for freedom was arisen in Poland in 1830, BEM was the first to accelerate this cry. First of all, he closed down his laboratory in Lemberg and participated to the military camp in Warsaw and served actively. He served during Iganie battle as the commandant of Heavy Artillery Batteries. There were eight thousand Polish soldiers against twenty thousand Russian soldiers during this battle. He became colonel during this battle, then as the commandant of heavy artillery batteries he became general. The most important part of the defense of Warsaw was carried out by BEM. However, despite all the efforts Poland Army was removed from Warsaw<sup>10</sup>. This struggle against thousands of Russian soldiers took its praiseworthy place in history. Although the Polish Military Forces

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.



fought for months against the Russian Army, which was much more powerful than themselves, at the end they were defeated at Ostrolenka battle and Poland was again captured. Following the conquest of Windishgraz, an award was held out for those who arrested freedom fighter BEM whose reputation was spread all around. However, BEM managed to escape to continue his struggle for freedom<sup>11</sup>.

BEM was elevated to the rank of generalship following his great services through his struggles with efficiency and courage. BEM was obliged to leave Poland temporarily due to this captivity environment. He went to France to find new ways for the freedom of his country. There he participated the forces of Hungary and fought for its freedom and continued his struggle to rescue his country from captivity. Thus, he participated to freedom struggle of Hungary

---

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

in 1848. He provided freedom to Hungary following his glorious victory by the conquest of Transylvania region located within the curve formed by Carpathians in Romania. This success of BEM impressed the world<sup>12</sup>. Czar Nicholas who was concerned about the success of Hungarian and Polish people, sent an army of twenty thousand soldiers to help Austria. Although Hungarian and Polish people fought against these quite superior forces of Russia and Austria heroically, their defense could not continue following the invasion of the Temesvar, the center of the Banat region of Romania. Hence, a large number of Hungarian and Polish high military and civil officials -primarily General BEM - took refuge in Turkey. Since Ottoman State accepted these patriots, its political relations with Austria and Russia were cut down and they were at the edge of the outbreak of war. However, Ottoman State resisted this pressure through wisdom of

---

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

Mustafa Resit Ali Pasha and Fuat Pasha. Despite the pressure from Russia and Austria, BEM – who was injured during the battle and now was at Vidin - and his other friends were not extradited and Turkey had proved to be their second life. The demands of Russia and Austria regarding the extradition of refugees were rejected and it was stated that the extradition of high officials “was not in line with the magnificence of the head and the honor of the army”.<sup>13</sup> BEM took refuge in Ottoman territory and adopted Muslim faith and the name of Murad Pasha. He was sent to Syria as the commandant of the Arabic region.<sup>14</sup> There, he carried out serious efforts to find out ways for the freedom of his country. General BEM passed away on December 10, 1851 in his second country as a renowned freedom fighter in Europe.

---

<sup>13</sup> Ahmet Refik Altunay, **Türkiye’de Mülteciler Meselesi**, İstanbul, 1926, p.37.

<sup>14</sup> New York Times, **Honor for Joseph BEM**, June 9, 1929, p.3.



## LAST DAYS AND DEATH OF BEM

The last days of BEM – those that were taking him to death - were similar to a freedom struggle. His struggle and upright position is apparent at every phase of his illness. He considered his illness an enemy and reflected his fighting soul to this process. Before the struggle of BEM with his illness and his moment of death, his refuge process to the Ottoman State requires to be explained. This process is important for a better understanding of his last moments and death. BEM played an active role during the battle of Hungarians against Austria in 1848. He was appointed to Transylvania Army by Lajos Kossuth in that same year<sup>15</sup>. He was enshrined in the hearts of Hungarians

---

<sup>15</sup> Bayram Nazır, **1848-1849 Macar Özgürlük Savaşçılarında Polonyalı General Jozef BEM'in Osmanlı Devleti-**

due to his success and courage particularly in Transylvania against Russia. Although he earned success in Transylvania against Russia, he was obliged to retreat. Then he participated to Temesvar battle. His fight during this battle could not prevent the defeat. These successive defeats and the disbanding of the forces forced him to take refuge in Ottoman territory. Polish General BEM – who was quite helpful during the Hungarian Revolution of September 1 and 2 - took refuge in the Ottoman State. General BEM was injured during the previous battles. He was accepted as a guest in the barracks of Vidin<sup>16</sup>. There he adopted the Muslim faith through patriotic feelings on September 18, 1849 and he adopted the name of Murad Pasha<sup>17</sup>. Murad

---

**deki Hayatı**, p.53, Türk-Macar İlişkilerinden Kesitler, İstanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar Daire Başkanlığı, 2009.

<sup>16</sup> Nejat Göynüç, **1849 Macar Mültecileri ve bunların Kütahya ve Halep'te Yerleştirilmeleri İle ilgili Talimatlar**, İstanbul, 1976, p.175.

<sup>17</sup> Kazimierz Dopierala, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Polonyalılar”, **Savaş ve Barış: 15-19. yüzyılları arasında**

Pasha and his accompanies moved towards Şumnu on October 31, 1849 and stayed there for three months<sup>18</sup>. Then, considerations regarding the transfer of Hungarian and Polish refugees to proper locations in Anatolia were carried out. Murad Pasha was decided to be sent to Aleppo through the agreement with Russia. Actually, the transfer of Polish refugees was to be carried out to Diyarbakir. However, due to the weather conditions of Diyarbakir and the fact that the city is within a castle and thus the refugees might think of themselves being imprisoned within a castle, it was decided that they were sent to Aleppo<sup>19</sup>. Refugees to be sent to Aleppo first were landed from the steamer boat of Tair-i Bahri to Iskenderun. District governor Mumtaz Bey was assigned for the transfer to Aleppo, he was provided with a list of tasks and moreover a cavalry troop was assigned from Arabia Army to es-

---

**Osmanlı-Leh İlişkileri**, İstanbul, 1999, p.82

<sup>18</sup> Nazır, op.cit., p.58.

<sup>19</sup> Göynüç, op.cit., p.175.

cort the refugees<sup>20</sup>. Murad Pasha and the other refugees moved to Aleppo with the strong cavalry troop assigned to protect them on February 24, 1850<sup>21</sup>. Following his assignment to Aleppo, Murad Pasha tried to work hard for his new country and for his country from which he was far away.

First he worked to provide order. Then, he prepared plans for a reform in the Ottoman Army. Primarily he developed a mobile cannon plan to increase the maneuver capability of the army. He worked on composing more organized guard units separate from Arabic troops. He prepared plans of huge castle chains to protect junction points of Fırat river. In addition to this, he started some arrangements of the establishment of border guard units and thus provided protection against the attacks of nomadic Arabic people of

---

<sup>20</sup> Abdullah Saydam, **Osmanlıların Siyasi İlticalara Bakışı ya da 1849 Macar-Leh Mültecileri Meselesi**, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1997, p.377.

<sup>21</sup> **BOA.**, DUİT, 75-2/20-5, Document sent by Ahmet Vefik Efendi to the Ministry at February 24, 1850.



the desert<sup>22</sup>. Moreover, he sent letters to the refugees in Şumnu and advised them to leave Şumnu and to participate in the Syrian Army. Thus, they would prevent their abilities to be lost.

The soldiers escaped from army due to a corruption on October 1850 and this caused weakness in Aleppo Army. Some Arabic groups took advantage of this situation and surrounded the city. The government asked Murad Pasha for help to get rid of this disorder without damage and thus Murad Pasha was assigned to deal with this problem and his authority was expanded. Murad Pasha defeated insurgents through a perfectly organized defense<sup>23</sup>. He also carried out efforts to establish a gunpowder mill, to organize his friends in Şumnu and to find allies for his new country.

---

<sup>22</sup> György Csorba, “Macar Mültecileri”, Translation: Erol Hatipli, **Türkler**, Vol.12., 2002, p.807.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, p.808.

Some claims were made regarding the death of General BEM. It is stated on October 17, 1850 in **Gazette de Lausanne** that out of those who took refuge in Ottoman territory Polish General Józef BEM stayed in Aleppo. It is also declared that he was considerably ill due to the war wounds<sup>24</sup>. Thus, the claim that he was poisoned is not right. Important parts of an article of an Hungarian physician of General BEM regarding the last moments of the General was published on June 9, 1851 in New York Daily Tribune. Close friends of BEM asked the Hungarian physician to write this article. This physician was constantly together with BEM due to his position, particularly during the great battle of Transylvania.

However, they could not see each other for a year due to the separation caused by Hungarian battle and the great change experienced under current

---

<sup>24</sup> Gazette de Lausanne, 17 Octobre, 1850.

conditions of the time. But, he was always together with the General during his illness. Although the name of this physician is not expressed in the article, his name is thought to be Moritz or Mór Kálózdý (Kaufmann) from the resources I reached during my studies. The brief biography of Kálózdý is that: He was born in 1819. He graduated from Vienna University Medical School. He started his surgery education stage in Hungary. On July 28, 1849 he became army corps physician. He worked close to Hungarian General Kossuth. Following the demand and illness of BEM, he moved to Aleppo. He returned to Kossuth and became his private physician following the death of BEM. He lived in Istanbul for a while. He was chief physician in Anatolian Turkish Army and executive physician in Bosphorus Military Army. He died on March 22, 1875 in Gyöngyös, Hungary<sup>25</sup>.

---

<sup>25</sup> György Csorba, **Az 1848-1849-Es Törökországi Magyar Emigráció Története**, Electronic address: <http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00018/00009/pdf/csorba.pdf>, p.25.

The first encounter of BEM and his physician was on July 6, 1850. The Hungarian physician tried to do his best to get BEM better by this date. I quote the important parts of the article of the Hungarian physician whose name is not stated in the article published in New York Daily Tribune. The article is about the last days of BEM and I did not add any comments to this article. This article will definitely demonstrate that the claims taking place in many European resources that BEM was poisoned are absolutely wrong. The Hungarian physician Mór Kálózdy sincerely narrates the last days of his close friend BEM with whom he was always together during important battles.

The article shows that the physician who was always together with the General during the battles remembers the details of the treatments. However it is not possible to talk about a complete non-resistance to the physician. Actually, the lack of such a non-re-

sistance is not in line with BEM's philosophy of life. Moreover, he was not very pleased that he was considered to be sick. He significantly resisted to accept his illness. Although he listened to the advices of his physician carefully, the final decision always belonged to him. This caused some little disagreements with his close friend Doctor Kálózdý. Kálózdý called for BEM's other close friends when he could not convince him about the treatment. However, I would like to state that these were also in vain. Nobody, not even his closest fellow soldier General Kmety (Kerim Pasha) or adjutants Fiala (Ömer) or Tabarzinski (Mehmed) could change his mind regarding the moving to an abandoned village house next to the river which used to be a quarantine house. His situation got worse following his moving to this house. He experienced serious unconsciousness during the last week before his death. On the last day he told his physician "you got yourself a great trouble", as if he felt his own death. His friends did not leave

him alone until late hours on December 9. He was pleased that his friends cared about him. On his last day he talked less than the previous days. He left his friends who expected his waking up alone and fall into an infinite sleep on December 10, around 2 a.m.

The whole emotional atmosphere and the complete reflection of the philosophy of BEM on his struggle with his illness are apparent from the article. Here is the article published in New York Daily Tribune<sup>26</sup>.

---

<sup>26</sup> New York Daily Tribune, June 9, 1851.



*BEM at his sickbed*

*The Last Days of BEM*

On the 6<sup>th</sup> of June, 1850, I found the old General in the barracks at Aleppo. He seemed delighted to see me again. “How often I have wished” said he, “to speak to you about my health. I hope you will now cure us all, for we all are more or less ill.” While say-

ing this, his cheeks flushed as I had seen them before in moments of passion, but in a few moments they grew pale again. He held my hand in his mutilated right hand, and I felt the depression of the temperature. The skin was dry and hard, his complexion a coarse brown and the wrinkles of his forehead, eyelids and neck, showed a decrease of the contracting power. The pulse at his wrist was full and uniform and resisted the pressure. This did not correspond with the weakness of the carotid, and afterwards, on examining the heart, I found my fears confirmed that the arteries, which are so liable to disease in old men, had suffered a partial ossification. His usually piercing eye has lost its brilliancy and its roundness. His breast appeared to have grown flat and narrow and he respired with difficulty.

All the symptoms indicated that nature was making use of her last resources to keep in motion the central machine of breathing and circulation, the



most important springs of life. The digestion was bad, the appetite almost entirely gone, and the action of the systems interrupted. The result of my first examination was clear: - it was a case of marasmus of old age. There was no local affection, no disease in the proper sense of the word; but in spite of the not very far advanced age of the General all the important organs of life had come to an end of their career. I might almost say that the intensity of the life which he had led had the effect of stretching the nervous system, so far as this was connected with animal functions of breathing, circulation and especially digestion. The intellectual functions of these systems were not at all disturbed and I found the full vitality of an indomitable spirit, which he was always accustomed to manifest. The Asiatic sun of the country had still further weakened his digestion, and the air, or some other influence (we physicians known not which) had produced an eruption on the skin - a usual effect with Europeans upon their first arrival.

My patient complaint particularly of this eruption which greatly distressed him and deprived him of his sleep. "You must cure this frightful eruption," said he, "as soon as possible; every thing depends upon it; I cannot sleep at all for it; and it ruins my digestion and whole health." He asked me to make an external application and it was with difficulty that I could convince him of the danger of a sudden suppression of the eruption, unless an issue or some artificial secretion was established. "Then, my dear doctor," said he, "I prefer your pills and powders, for I have had quite enough of artificial secretions," referring to a gun-shot wound which he had received in the year 1831, and which had continued to be open from that time. I prescribed a powder of sulphur and sugar three times a day. I wished by this practice to operate on the external skin. I also recommended a daily warm bath, to which had been added an ounce of two of the infusion of violets and a thorough ablution with soap and water immediately before going

bed. In order to make skin more flexible and thus relieve the patient as much as possible, I directed him to be rubbed twice a day with sweet almond oil, and at the same time to eat nourishing and stimulating food. This treatment was continued for four weeks without any visible change, when it was suspended, with the exception of the bath, which seemed to have acted favorable. The appetite was in some degree restored, the digestion was pretty good, the eruption had almost entirely disappeared, the skin was no longer irritated, the discharge of his old wound was decreased and presented a more favorable appearance, and although the pulse, the respiration, and the state of the liver remained the same, the patient was in general better, and began to show his usual sportive manners.

I remarked him in vain that only some symptoms of his disorder were alleviated, and that he must yet do much before it was entirely restored. "I

eat and drink well," he replied, "I sleep comfortably and have no pain. I was never stout and am now thin, and this agrees with me very well." He consented only to an infusion of fever-few, which he took daily as a tea at 10 o'clock in the morning. He gradually began to walk and ride, and found himself comparatively well. He determined to leave the barracks and go to a sort of country house which was situated near the river. This building was the former quarantine and the residents who are acquainted with the locality know that the persons who were in quarantine there, have suffered greatly from fever, which in most cases proved mortal. On this account the house was abandoned. The residents I alluded to, joined with me in endeavoring to dissuade the General from his resolution. Among them were the General of Division and Commandant of the Garrison, Kerim Pasha, who my patient esteemed as a brave soldier. He engaged to procure him the first house in Aleppo, and insisted on his

leaving the one which he had taken, pointing out to him the bad effects of such a damp situation on his weakened constitution. It was all in vain. None of us could move him. He had been there scarcely a month when I was called for, having visited him but seldom since he was quite averse to appearing as an invalid. As I entered he said to me, "Forgive me, dear doctor, that I have sent for you for a trifle. I have some eruptions on my left leg, which give me no pain but yet are rather annoying." I found seven or eight indolent ulcers. Unwilling to lose the occasion, I spoke of his obstinacy in regard to the damp situation to which I ascribed the new difficulty. He replied, rather angrily, "Indeed, doctor, I begin to be afraid of you, you preach to me so much on every occasion. Has nobody in this country any pimples, except those who live in this house. You have grown very quarrelsome all at once and make me one of your first victims." He was unwilling to make use of any medicine whatever, he even refused to

take wine, which I had often recommended to him. "There are things enough in the world," said he, "to send the blood to the head, without strong drink." I could do nothing but order the limb to be bathed with a solution of sulphate of iron. The General would hear nothing of salves, believing that that they would cause the secretions to strike in and become acrid. The ulcers however, began to amend and he was quite pleased, as his wound also was benefited by a very simple treatment with the infusion of camomile.

The health of the General remained in the same condition until the 23<sup>rd</sup> of November 1850. On that day I was summoned to attend him by his second adjutant, Captain Tabarzinski (Mehmed). He informed me that the old gentleman had eaten something the day before which did not agree with him and that he had come for me without the knowledge of the General, as he was unwilling to own that he was ill.

I found the patient in bed with evident symptoms of indigestion. He immediately said to me "I remember your once giving me powders which set me up in an hour or two, let me have one of them now." It was an emetic and I prescribed a similar one in three powders, consisting each on ten grains of ipecac and half a grain of tartar emetic. When I came again in the evening, I found him at the whist table with his two adjutants, Fiala (Ömer) and Tabarzinski (Mehmed); he felt much better and asked me to tea, expressing himself highly gratified with the effect of the medicine. On my telling him that I would come again in the morning, and that he must positively take something to strengthen his stomach, he replied, "I will not touch another thing, - you have seized the enemy by the hair of his head, and thrown him out of doors." I told him I was afraid that the outposts were not well guarded, and that the enemy might return with reinforcement. But all was in vain, he would take nothing.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> I was informed that he had suffered from fever during the night; but he strenuously denied it. From the 26<sup>th</sup> to the 30<sup>th</sup> of November he remained in this fluctuating state. On visiting him on the evening of the 30<sup>th</sup>, I found no return of fever, though I did not leave the house till 10 o'clock. The next morning, almost before daybreak, Capt. Tabarzinski came to inform me that about midnight the General was seized with a violent fever and was partially delirious. I found him weaker than he had been before, but he persisted in saying that he had had no fever. I went into Major Fiala's room, who confirmed what had been stated by Tabarzinski and besought me to afford help as soon as possible. I remarked to him that as long as the patient would take no medicine, I could do nothing. When I saw him again in the evening, he was free from fever. We had decided than I should not visit him the next day. The next day after I received a note in the morning from Major Fiala, stating "That the General had surren-



dered that morning, after passing the whole night in a high fever, talking all the time unintelligibly". The disease was an intermittent fever and I ordered the preparation of a number of pills, consisting sulphate of quinine with fever-few and extract of valerian. I was obliged to use this form, as he would take no medicine in any other way. I administered the pills and in the evening after taking several, he felt relieved. In the morning, December 4, I found him without fever. I told him that although the fever had struck for the moment, he was not wholly cured, and that in this climate relapses were more frequent and more dangerous than in Europe. It was in vain. He was sure that he was quite well. Soon after, he had a visit from the Sardinian Consul, Mr. Molinari. He also urged him to take something, but without success. In Major Fiala's room I found the Consular of the French Republic, Mr. Lesseps, a man who had made all the exiles his friends. He, General Kmety (Ísmail Pasha), Mr. La Nusse, Secretary of the

French Consulship, Major Fiala and myself formed a regular plan a siege in order to persuade our patient this time to yield necessity and take the proper remedies. We were repelled at every point and at last after several attempts became discouraged. For forty-eight hours the fever did not return; afterwards he complained of a pain in the back, a symptom which indicated a return of the fever. He asked for a warm bath, which I refused, because he occasionally had a gouty swelling of the feet, and his room could not be warmed; still he would not have another, although this was directly over the river and exposed to a draft of damp, cold air.

On going to him the next day, December 7, I found him just leaving the bath – in spite of my advice. He lay down on the sofa, while his room, with a marble floor was washed. I could not conceal my displeasure at these unsuitable proceedings, and threatened to visit him no more. For the first time, we had a

pretty warm dispute, which was terminated by the intervention of our common friends. On the following morning, I found him in bed, suffering with intense pains from the colic, which usually attacked him after a chill. He was writhing in agony, with a red eruption like erysipelas on the legs, and a violent fever; but he absolutely refused to take any medicine. I therefore ordered warm, dry bandages, henbane poultices and asafetida injections. The pain was alleviated by this treatment, but the fever remained the same. The next morning, December 9, he felt better, was free from pain, and although he still had some fever, it was not so violent as on the day before. All his friends again entreated him to take medicine, and he appeared to yield, but he regretted it as soon as it was in his mouth. Toward noon he had an attack of faintness, which lasted twenty-five minutes, when I succeeded, after some effort, in arousing him from this, he was aware that he had had a serious swoon. "You give yourself a great deal of trouble," said he, "but what God has ordered,

man cannot change.” About 8 o’clock in the evening he pressed General Kmety (İsmail Pasha) by the hand, thanking him for his friendship, and said “Gentlemen, I beg for rest.” He turned in the bed and slept for three hours very quietly. He then awoke, spoke a few words, and again fell asleep. His friends all surrounded his bed, and he appeared to be enjoying such a refreshing slumber that we all hope. I too see him awake with renewed strength. But it was otherwise written in the book of fate. His pulse grew weaker and weaker during the sleep – I attempted in vain to awake him - and he died without a struggle about two o’clock in the morning, December 10, 1850. According to the custom of the country, an examination of the body was not permitted.”

BEM was 56 years old when he died. However, since his life which passed with struggle wore him down, he seemed much older. He spoke many languages. However, his French was quite fluent. He es-

established a saltpeter factory through his attempts in the Ottoman State before his death. He was trying to find sources for the factory when he caught that deadly illness. He did not leave behind any document regarding his correspondences. He ordered the burning of the documents before his death.<sup>27</sup> Murad Pasha had two letters written before his death. These were to be communicated to General Wysocki and Kossuth. In the first one, he expressed his grief since he would be dead without being able to see the freedom of his homeland, Poland. He consoled Kossuth who he could not have much chance to see and he foretold that Kossuth would be able to see the freedom of Hungary again.<sup>28</sup> These two letters are important to show two elements that shaped the life of BEM.

Another resource regarding the death of BEM states that “He retreated following the suppression

---

<sup>27</sup> London Times, January 22, 1851.

<sup>28</sup> Nazir, *op.cit*, p.61.

of Aleppo rebel. Then, he died due to most probably climate conditions and malaria”<sup>29</sup>. Following his death, some of BEM’s movable estate was brought to Europe by General Kmety. Recorded documents demonstrate that there was a constant dialogue with General Kmety regarding the future of the properties left by BEM and that the actions were carried out towards his direction. Moreover, records of Ottoman archives state that Murad Pasha had been severely sick for six days and he died in the night of the sixth (Tuesday).<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> Csorba, *op.cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>30</sup> BOA., DUIT, 75-2/63-2, Document dated December 16, 1850 regarding the death of and funeral of Murad Pasha who was in Aleppo.

# FUNERAL CEREMONY AND ARTICLES AFTER HIM

Polish General Józef BEM who was a Polish freedom fighter, renowned during Hungarian battle and adopted Muslim faith and the name of Murad Pasha after he took service in Ottoman State died on Tuesday, on December 10, 1850. His funeral ceremony was carried out in accordance with the Muslim traditions and properly for his name. Although various resources contain some claims regarding his funeral ceremony, London Times published detailed news about the funeral ceremony of Murad Pasha.<sup>31</sup> The funeral ceremony is narrated below as stated in the article of the related newspaper dated January 1851:

---

<sup>31</sup> London Times, January 22, 1851.

*“Murad Pasha’s (BEM’s) body, wrapped in linen, bound together at the head and feet, was placed in a rude coffin. During the preparations, a number of Mollahs murmured the customary prayers. At the head of the coffin an upright stick supported his fez; the coffin itself was covered with a colored shawl, and carried on two poles. A military funeral has never been seen in Turkey, and though many Christians were present, all the proceedings were marked by an oriental want of order. The French and English Consuls were invited by the Commandant, Kerim Pasha, with several officers, and a crowd of soldiers and spectators were on the ground. The long escort was preceded by 20 or 30 Mollahs, chanting a dismal and monotonous “Allah”: some of the Christian comrades of the late General wished to carry the body from the gate to the burial ground. Everybody presses round to beat the coffin a few steps, then yielding their places to others. Strong detachments of troops were stationed along the route; the soldiers left their ranks to put their hands to the*



*coffin like the crowd; even old Kerim Pasha took his turn. The body was laid, without the coffin, in a shallow grave, with the head towards Mecca; the cords that bound the wrappers were out, and the grave filled with earth, and the surface covered with a few flat stones*<sup>32</sup>.

Although BEM (Murad Pasha) was interred, some claimed that he was still alive. Honestly, it could not be easy to accept the death of such a hero and freedom fighter. He ran from one front line to another and most of his life passed through battles. It was not easy for those who loved this brave Polish man that he was dead. It would not be wrong to claim that his people dreamed and expected to see him again in the front lines. However, this freedom fighter died on his way towards freedom in the Ottoman lands which accepted him affectionately. Some foreign resources claimed that he was

---

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

poisoned by the state. Such a claim is inconceivable and unreasonable. Especially as a matter of the fact that Ottoman State opened its gates kindly to Polish and Hungarian people who took refuge in Ottoman territory despite all the threats of Russia.



*General György Kmety (Ísmail Pasha)*

There are many documents indicating that these rumors are groundless. On the other hand, along with the article of the Hungarian physician mentioned in the previous chapter, the facts expressed during the interview of the editor of London Times newspaper with the closest friend of BEM - General Kmety (İsmail Pasha) - realized approximately two months after the death of BEM are important. The editor of Time asked all important issues about BEM and the quoted the considerable points in his column. BEM's close friend General György Kme-ty (İsmail Pasha) is one of the Hungarian refugees coming to Ottoman State. He adopted Muslim faith and the name of İsmail Pasha and elevated until the rank of lieutenant general. He served significantly during Crimea battle and the defense of Kars<sup>33</sup>. He

---

<sup>33</sup> György Csorba, **Kossuth'un Ayaklanmasından Sonra Macar Mültecilerinin Hayatı ve Faaliyetleri**, p:127-134, Lajos Kossuth'un Doğumunun 200. Yıldönümünde Lasjos Kossuth 1948-1949 Osmanlı Macar İlişkileri, Kütahya: Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Yay.

was assigned to the position of Crete Governor and retired in 1862. He died in England on April 25, 1865. The points to which the editor mentions in his column are those: Despite all doubts, the physician of BEM – Mór Kálózdy - was a very talented Hungarian physician. He stated that BEM had had a chronic illness and his death was a natural death. He also informed that he prepared a report regarding BEM's death. Some other reports indicate that his death was related to malaria. General György Kmety (Ísmail Pasha) narrated the death moment of BEM as such; "*This tragic event occurred on December 10, 1850 at 01.30 a.m.*". He stated that General BEM was called "King of Cannons", due to his bravery during Hungarian battle, died quietly. He also mentioned that the house in which BEM drew his last breath is near to the city walls of Aleppo and his grave was close to the hill where the military barracks of the city were located. As a response to the claims that BEM died in poverty, the General stated that BEM

did not care about material issues and it was true that he owed to craftsman when he died, but that his debts were discharged by the Sultan overgenerously. He also mentioned that the Ottoman delegate of last St. James, Muhammet Pasha and the governor of Aleppo fulfilled all requirements regarding this issue with a similar overgenerous approach<sup>34</sup>. Under the light of these expressions of BEM's closest friend, it is obvious that those who try to bring forward negative scenarios are not acting through goodwill.

The Ottoman Archive records contain correspondences regarding the debts of Murad Pasha both in Aleppo and in France, following his death. The archive record dated 1850 indicates that BEM had some debts in France and to discharge these debts the property he left by his death should be sent to the French State and through the sale of these properties the debts

---

<sup>34</sup> London Times, February 21, 1851.

were aimed to be discharged. It is also mentioned in the document that there was a dialogue with BEM's close friend İsmail Pasha regarding this issue and the selection of the properties appropriate to send and sell in Europe. In the event that the debts could not be discharged by the revenue gathered by the sale of the properties, the remainings would be discharged from the State treasury. The document also indicates that since Murad Pasha was a renowned person and since he died under the service of Ottoman State, a gravestone befit to his dignity should be prepared<sup>35</sup>. The property left by BEM was listed at the annexes of this document. The government had prepared an adorned gravestone for Murad Pasha in Istanbul and sent it to Aleppo and had it erected at the head of his grave.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> BOA., DUIT, 75-2/63-1, Document regarding the debts of Murad Pasha and the adorned stone to be put at the head of his grave, December 26, 1850.

<sup>36</sup> Edit Tasnadi, "18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Macar Mültecileri", **Tarih ve Toplum**, V.36, N.215, 2001 p.71-75.

The Ottoman Archive records include exact numbers regarding the debts of Murad Pasha. The document dated from 1850 indicates that his debt was 36.480 kurus<sup>37</sup>.

Archive record dated May 22, 1850 states that Murad Pasha's generalship wage was 7.500 kurus. On the other hand, his friends İsmail Pasha and Ferhat Bey received 5.000 kurus<sup>38</sup>. Within this framework, it is stated that by his wage of 28 days and his claim of 11.000 kurus from Aleppo property fund, his debts could not be discharged<sup>39</sup>. It is also mentioned that there were also some debts in France<sup>40</sup>. Thus, it is apparent that State searched about all debts of

---

<sup>37</sup> BOA., DUIT, 75-2/63-2, Document regarding the death of and funeral of Murad Pasha who was in Aleppo, December 16, 1850.

<sup>38</sup> BOA., DUIT, 75-2/43-1, Document regarding the wages of the refugees in Aleppo in accordance with their ranks, May 22, 1850.

<sup>39</sup> BOA., DUIT, 75-2/63-2.

<sup>40</sup> BOA., DUIT, 75-2/63-1.

BEM and took the whole responsibility of discharging those. It is stated that since he was renowned in Europe, his property was sold in France and London. The properties of Murad Pasha are listed in Table 1<sup>41</sup>.

*Table 1. Deceased Murad Pasha's Properties*

<i>Name of the Asset</i>	<i>Number of the Asset</i>	<i>Name of the Asset</i>	<i>Number of the Asset</i>
Amber Pipe with Diamond	1 Set	Couple of shoes	4
Brocade Linen	2	Fig tree	5
Baize Jerkin	2	Amber Sapphire Pipe	1 Set
Baize Headdress	1	Woolen trousers	3
White Meshlah	1	Fur with wool	1
Carpet	1	White linen	2

<sup>41</sup> BOA., DUIT, 75-2/63-3, Annex of the document regarding the death and funeral of Murad Pasha who was in Aleppo, December 16, 1850: Document regarding the Properties of Murad Pasha.



<i>Name of the Asset</i>	<i>Number of the Asset</i>	<i>Name of the Asset</i>	<i>Number of the Asset</i>
Small Cushion	5	Old white towel	26
Bay Hinny	1	Green woolen fabric	3
Shaved Table with Diamond	3	Interlining white fabric	20
Coffee Cup .Set	4	Woolen socks	1 couple
Small Bowl	12	Woolen set	1
Scale beam	1	Cup	3
Grummet	2	Tray	1
Bathroom chair	1	Big boiler	1
Glazed Amber Pipe	1 Set	Measurement stone pieces	8
Black Woolen Gown	1	Used light-thin soled boot	1
White jerkin	5	Box	5
White trousers	8	Brocaded velvet jerkin	1
Stockings, couple	8	Leather trousers	1
White sheet	18	Sword with silver handle	1
Big prayer rug	1	Pants	9

<i>Name of the Asset</i>	<i>Number of the Asset</i>	<i>Name of the Asset</i>	<i>Number of the Asset</i>
Small prayer rug	1	White handkerchief	22
Quilt	2	Big watch	2
Donkey	1	Old pillow	23
Kettle	3	Fez	1
Metal covering	4	Diamond Shaving Glass	1
Big cup	4	Dish	3
Copper scale	1	Small candlestick	7
Iron boiler	11	Big tent	1
Small lantern	2	Silver spoon	2
Compass	1	Salt shaker	3
Shirt	10	Together with cover	2
Tripoli belt	2	Hanging oil lamp	1
Small watch	1	Flower chest	4
Cushion	4	New door	1
Bar cord	2	With drawer	1

<i>Name of the Asset</i>	<i>Number of the Asset</i>	<i>Name of the Asset</i>	<i>Number of the Asset</i>
Diamond Blade Broken Glass	1	White dish	21
Tray	3	Garlic press with its hand	1
Blue dish	31	Lantern	4
Copper Cooker	2		
Wooden box			
New chair	2		

۱۰۰ گاو کوبه با رصیدہ	معدنی کوبه با رصیدہ	کوبه با رصیدہ	سرمای قریظہ بک
۳۱	طوق	طوق	۱
سرمای سبز	سیاہ قریظہ	سیاہ قریظہ با نظارہ	رہی با نظارہ
۴	۱	۳	۱
قریظہ بک	بیاض بک	قوی قریظہ	سرمای طیارہ قریظہ
۵	۱۰	کوٹک	۱
قوی قریظہ	بیاض با نظارہ	بیاض سبک	طونہ
۶	۸	۶	۹
قریظہ سبک	قوی با بخت	کوبہ قریظہ سبک	طیابیس قریظہ
۷	۸	۲۹	۵
قریظہ سبک	قوی با بخت	سبک کبیر	صغیر سبک
۸	۸	۶	۳
قوی سبک	قوی با بخت	کوبہ قریظہ	قوی سبک
۹	۱۸	۲۰	۳
قوی سبک	قوی با بخت	کوبہ قریظہ	قوی سبک
۱۰	۱۸	۲۰	۳
قوی سبک	قوی با بخت	کوبہ قریظہ	قوی سبک
۱۱	۱۸	۲۰	۳
قوی سبک	قوی با بخت	کوبہ قریظہ	قوی سبک
۱۲	۱۸	۲۰	۳
قوی سبک	قوی با بخت	کوبہ قریظہ	قوی سبک
۱۳	۱۸	۲۰	۳
قوی سبک	قوی با بخت	کوبہ قریظہ	قوی سبک
۱۴	۱۸	۲۰	۳
قوی سبک	قوی با بخت	کوبہ قریظہ	قوی سبک
۱۵	۱۸	۲۰	۳
قوی سبک	قوی با بخت	کوبہ قریظہ	قوی سبک
۱۶	۱۸	۲۰	۳
قوی سبک	قوی با بخت	کوبہ قریظہ	قوی سبک
۱۷	۱۸	۲۰	۳
قوی سبک	قوی با بخت	کوبہ قریظہ	قوی سبک
۱۸	۱۸	۲۰	۳
قوی سبک	قوی با بخت	کوبہ قریظہ	قوی سبک
۱۹	۱۸	۲۰	۳
قوی سبک	قوی با بخت	کوبہ قریظہ	قوی سبک
۲۰	۱۸	۲۰	۳
قوی سبک	قوی با بخت	کوبہ قریظہ	قوی سبک

۲۰۰

---

Duit 149/68

Deceased Murad Pasha's properties

The majority of the properties were put up for sale in Europe, within the framework of the issues determined by the correspondences. Another part of General BEM's properties were put up for sale in Aleppo on January 23, 1851. Personal belongings of BEM were sold beyond their actual value. The respect of people towards him had an important effect in this regard. The assessed and sales values of the properties, put up for the sale are listed in Table 2 in accordance with the related news of London Times<sup>42</sup>.

---

<sup>42</sup> London Times, February 21,1851.

*Table 2. Values related to the sale of  
BEM's properties*

<i>Name of the Property</i>	<i>Assessed Value</i>	<i>Sale Value</i>
Cotton dress	4	9
Cotton coat	25	55
A couple of striped boots	30	61
Broken measurement tank	3	16
An old bed cloth	1	5
Necktie	7	20
A couple of leather belt	1	9

BEM's death created huge reactions all around Europe. All leading newspapers announced this event as the death of the freedom fighter. Hungarians in England organized a meeting about the death of BEM. The importance of BEM for the freedom of Hungary and issues regarding the future were evalu-

ated during this meeting. It is also stated that as the freedom war of Hungary created an admiration all around Europe, thus this war immortalized the name of BEM. It is also mentioned that that was a war to defend the justice.<sup>43</sup>

The Ottoman Archive records also contain a document regarding the return of the cross awarded previously by Hungarians to BEM due to his death. This document states that the military cross previously awarded by Mr. Kossuth to Murad Pasha -who died in Aleppo - due to his services during the time he was in Hungary was sent back to Kossuth by mail<sup>44</sup>.

Prominent newspapers published news regarding this freedom fighter following his death. Particularly the news published in New York Daily Tribune and Gazette de Lausanne are important to suggest an

---

<sup>43</sup> New York Daily Tribune, March 26, 1851.

<sup>44</sup> BOA., A.MKT.UM, 49-3/1, Document regarding the return of the cross -granted by the Hungarian people - due to the death of the Murad Pasha in Aleppo, February 7, 1851.

idea regarding this fact. The news published following the death of the freedom fighter is quoted below:

*Gazette de Lausanne*

*January 16, 1851*

Polish General Józef BEM died on December 14, 1850. He earned his reputation during Hungarian battle and he adopted Muslim faith and the name of Murad Pasha after he was accepted to Ottoman service. His funeral ceremony was carried out according to Muslim traditions and properly for his name<sup>45</sup>.

---

<sup>45</sup> Gazette de Lausanne, January 16, 1851.



*New York Daily Tribune*

*28 January 1851*

The well known Polish General died in Aleppo in the first part of December. He was buried with military honors. His life lasted through battle; a severe and powerful battle. His only purpose was to avenge his country, Poland, upon the Russian despotism, and to destroy the tyranny of the Czars. Personally he was one of the bravest and most generous of beings, and also a great commander of modern times. His will once fixed, nothing short of impossibility could turn it. He was born at Tarnów in 1795 and was fifty-four years old at his death. Battles and suffering made him appear older. History will honor his memory<sup>46</sup>.

---

<sup>46</sup> New York Daily Tribune, January 29, 1851.



## TRANSFER OF HIS REMAINS TO POLAND

Primarily a correspondence realized among Poland, France and Turkey regarding the transfer of the remains of Murad Pasha. It was agreed that since BEM was an important person for both Poland and Hungary, it would be right to transfer his remains to Tarnów where he was born. Necessary procedures started within this framework. Actually, this transfer was realized due to the request of the delegate of the Polish President from Turkish and French Presidents<sup>47</sup>. A delegation of Polish and Hungarian representatives were set up to bring the remains of General BEM from Aleppo and to estab-

---

<sup>47</sup> Musa Gümüř, **1848 İhtilalleri sonrasında Osmanlı devletine sığınan Leh ve Macar Mültecileri'nin Osmanlı Modernleşmesine Etkileri**, Unpublished Master Thesis, Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi, 2007.

lish a mausoleum in Tarnów. Polish and Hungarian people called attention to the history of BEM who earned a righteous reputation after his fight for the freedom of his country and who later became a high ranked Turkish military officer<sup>48</sup>.

His grave in Aleppo was ruined due to the battles and time. Actually, the exact location of the grave was not known. Through the directions of the prominent elderly people of Aleppo the location of the grave was determined and it was opened on June 20, 1929. French government representatives under the leadership of Higher Commissioner Valym; Polish, French, Hungarian, Turkish and Belgian Consulars and Dutch Vice-consular and official doctor of France attended to the ceremony. Moreover Polish people, historical witness Ali Riza Bey, Moroccan cavalry troop, police infantry troop and local people participated to the ceremony.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> New York Times, June 9, 1929.

<sup>49</sup> Glos Narodu, June 23, 1929, p.7.

Ali Riza Bey and military and civil high officials are shown below while determining the grave of General Józef BEM:



Tarnów Museum Archive

*Determination of BEM's Grave in Aleppo*

The opening of the grave was carried out under the supervision of officials and through the huge participation of the people in Aleppo. General BEM's

skeleton with his characteristic skull and the scar on his right leg was found in a quite well-protected state in the rocky cavity with a depth of two meters. An orchestra played Polish and French national anthems and military units stood in silence during the ceremony. Prosecutor Regismanset and Consular Zbyszewski gave a speech.<sup>50</sup> . Then, as the representative of the family, Major BEM de Cosban put a purse filled with earth under the head of General BEM. The coffin was wrapped in the Polish flag and was carried by Polish delegation, representative of high commissioner, Polish Consular, representative of Polish people living in Aleppo and cavalrymen. The crowded cortege moved towards the military hospital, where the coffin was located with a military ceremony. The ceremony created a great effect in the city<sup>51</sup>. The opening of the grave is shown below:

---

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.



Tamón Museum Archive

*Opening of BEM's Grave*



Tarnów Museum Archive

*Military Farewell Ceremony for the  
Remains of BEM in Aleppo*

Józef BEM's funeral was prepared to be sent to Istanbul. It was brought to Istanbul by the Polish military delegation by train following the ceremony carried out in Aleppo on the morning of June 24, 1929.



The coffin was carried on shoulders in Aleppo during the military ceremony. Along with the military and civil officials, the local people attended the ceremony.

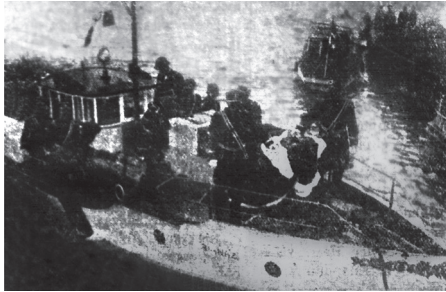
The remains of Murad Pasha that departed by train arrived at Haydarpasa Station in the afternoon. The chest, that contained the remains, was greeted by Turkish military ceremony while it was taken down from the wagon at Haydarpasa<sup>52</sup>. The coffin was wrapped in Turkish and Polish flags. It was an important indicator of the deep historical friendship of Polish and Turkish people. Along with all personnel of the embassy, Delegate of the Republic of Poland Olzowski, highest representatives of Turkish civil and military officials, Guards of Honor and representative of Polish colony attended to the greeting ceremony at the station. The orchestra played the funeral march and the soldiers stood still<sup>53</sup>. The coffin was taken to Sirkeci Station by a small steamer boat. While the ship

---

<sup>52</sup> Milliyet Newspaper, June 25, 1929.

<sup>53</sup> Glos Narodu, June 27, 1929, p.7.

was leaving the shore, soldiers stood still and the orchestra played funeral march. The remains were taken to the station at the European side where the representative of French Embassy, delegate of Hungary, Polish and Hungarian colony and a huge crowd of local people were expecting the boat<sup>54</sup>. Polish and Turkish soldiers accompanied the coffin.



Ikdam Newspaper

*BEM's Coffin While Taken to Sirkeci Station from Haydarpaşa Station by Steamer Boat*

---

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

The ceremony started at 6:30 p.m. while soldiers stood at military salute position and marine band played funeral march<sup>55</sup>.

A ceremony was carried out for this distinguished soldier whose name passed into history with golden letters. The ceremony was carried out at Sirkeci Station on June 24, 1929 at 6.30 p.m. A table covered with red-white linen was set before the marine band and Turkish soldiers and the coffin of Murad Pasha was put over this table by Polish soldiers. A wreath of Turkish Army and Polish, Hungarian, French, Egyptian Embassies and other embassies were placed in front of the coffin<sup>56</sup>.

---

<sup>55</sup> Ikdam Newspaper, June 25, 1929.

<sup>56</sup> Milliyet Newspaper, June 25, 1929.



Cumhuriyet Newspaper

*Farewell Ceremony for BEM at Sirkeci Station*

Officials of Polish Embassy, Provost Marshal Emin Pasha as the representative of Turkish Army, local people of Polonezkoy, Halit Hakkı as the official of Foreign Affairs, Emin Ali on behalf of People's Party, Deputy Governor Hamit Bey, Serif Bey as the Head of Police, Istanbul Deputy Hamdullah Suphi Bey, Gelibolu Deputy Celal Nuri Bey and Ahmet Refik Bey attended the ceremony. Polish Consular M. Olszowsky represented Poland and Hungarian Consular M. Tahi represented Hungary. National anthems were played before each speech. The first

speech of the ceremony was given by Polish Consular M. Olszowsky. Provost Marshal Emin Pasha and Hungarian Consular M.Tahi gave speeches after him. Polish national anthem was played before the speech. They mentioned the virtue and importance of the deceased during their speeches.

The speech of Polish Consular is important to demonstrate the contribution of BEM to the friendship of these two countries and his importance. The speech of Polish Consular is quoted below<sup>57</sup>:

---

<sup>57</sup> Vakit Newspaper, June 25, 1929.



## M. OLSZOWSKY

“Gentlemen, it is very difficult to duly express the excitement that embraces the hearts of Polish people before this hero who did not assume anything greater than his love for his country and who devoted his whole life for the defense of its and nations’ freedom. He fought against Czar Nicholas I in 1831 for the freedom of Poland. When the Hungarians took up arms to earn their freedom in 1849, General BEM fought against the forces of this Czar again. He was defeated by the superior forces dur-

ing these two battles. However, these forces could not defeat the freedom settled in his heart. This soul, this love did not lose its strength even for a second. On the contrary, this soul was kept alive among many Polish generations for a thousand century, whose aim was directed to a great and national ideal. This great Polish hero could encounter the hospitality he deserved in Turkish land after he was obliged to leave his own country. Turks appreciated his virtue and assigned him to high military positions. I would like to thank and convey my respect to this hospitable Turkish land. Polish land is glad to be able to embrace her son who is such worth to his country after these long years of separation. Now, the whole Poland is blissful to rejoin to this hero who would return to his country as a righteous repetition of history.”

Following the Polish Consular, Provost Marshal Emin Pasha gave a speech regarding military aspect and heroic personality of BEM<sup>58</sup>:



## EMIN PASHA

“I would like to glorify this honorable deceased who died far away from his country as a hero of national freedom. I would also like to pay tribute to this great general with the highest ranks on behalf on Turkish Republic for his services for Turkish Army

---

<sup>58</sup> Milliyet Newspaper, June 25, 1929.



as if he was a Turkish soldier. I assume it a duty to re-commemorate him.”

Following the speeches, the chest was transferred to the allocated private wagon. The wagon with which the coffin was transferred was adorned with ribbons of the colors of Turkish and Polish flags, green branches and Polish emblem. In addition, there were two emblems of J and B letters<sup>59</sup>. This wagon was sent to Istanbul before the coffin arrived. It was decorated in Istanbul in accordance with the designs prepared and sent to Istanbul by Sculptor Stanisław Popławski from Kraków. Both sides of the section of the wagon allocated for the coffin was decorated with a white stylized eagle of 1.80 meters height, surrounded with daphne branches embracing Polish, Hungarian and Turkish flags on a red ground. Similarly, the ceiling of the wagon was adorned with

---

<sup>59</sup> Cumhuriyet Newspaper, June 25, 1929.

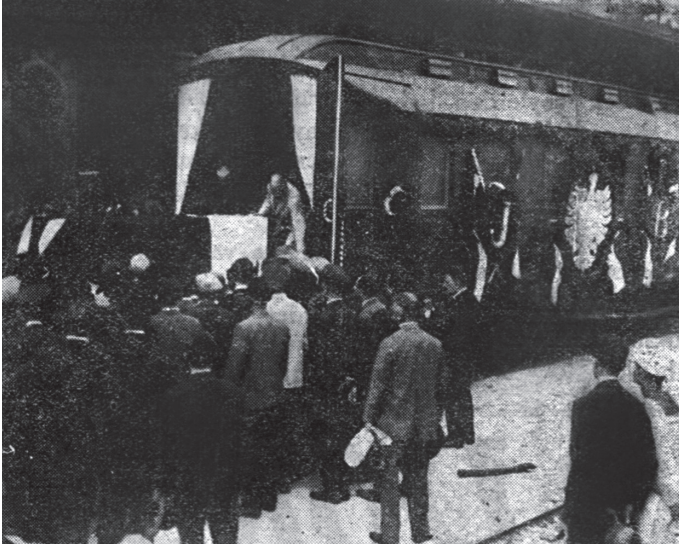
flower strings. The inside of the wagon was covered with red cloth. The coffin was wrapped in a Polish flag and located on a platform. A white eagle of the same size of the external one was hung to the wall over the head of the wagon. Wreaths were presented when the wagon passed through Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were put around the coffin<sup>60</sup>. Precious wreaths and bouquets were put to the chest by embassy, central commandership and some families. The coffin was located to the wagon allocated by the Polish Presidency with great respect. The Turkish flag on the coffin was presented to Polish officials. The military troop stood to salute and the band played the funeral march. Train moved at 7.40 p.m<sup>61</sup>. Polish, Turkish, Hungarian and Bulgarian flags were on the train. The remains of Murad Pasha who passed away in Aleppo on December 10,

---

<sup>60</sup> Glos Narodu, June 26, 1929, p.5.

<sup>61</sup> Vakit Newspaper, June 25, 1929.

1850 moved from Sirkeci Station to Poland on June 24, 1929 with a private train.



*While BEM's Coffin Put to the Train*

The transfer of the remains of Murad Pasha from Istanbul to Tarnów had an extensive coverage in Turkish newspapers. I would like to quote the article of an author of *İkdam* newspaper with the nickname of C.N. published on June 24, 1929, without any comment.

This article is important since it reflects the emotional atmosphere of the time and the importance of BEM in the history. The article of C.N is quoted below<sup>62</sup>:

*When Russian church bells pealed BEM, BEM, BEM... seventy or eighty years ago, everybody was frightened and heard the name of General Bem from these pointless humming. This commandant who was trained by the army of Napoleon tried so hard to relieve the partitioned Poland and caused great destructions to Russians. He frightened the whole Russian world; however, he could not realize his aim.*

*Power overwhelms the right...*

*What could he do? Russia also suppressed Hungary. He went there and commanded the Hungarian forces.*

*Same end.*

---

<sup>62</sup> Ikdam Newspaper, June 25, 1929.

*Despite his all services, this great enemy did not give quarter to Bem in Hungary. Who is the greatest enemy of the Czar?*

*Turkey. Just to rebel against Russia he came us, took refuge, became a Muslim and a Turk, was respected and obeyed here, became Murad Pasha and started to organize our army in Aleppo.*

*However, secret forces of Czar found him there too. Turks and Russians were at the edge of war. Russians had Murad Pasha poisoned...*

*Here is the Murad Pasha whose bones came from Aleppo to Istanbul and sent to Poland yesterday.*

*The General of three states, the patriot of three countries; a symbol of honor...*

*Polish consular stated during his speech at Sirkeci that BEM was once highly regarded in Turkey. Since they are both enemies of Russia, a natural brotherhood is established between Turkey and Poland.*

*There are a few Polish pashas in our history. Poland was not an independent country for a century.*

*Turkey did not approve this situation. Today, Poland is free again.*

*Today three independent and completely national states; namely Turkey, Poland and Hungary glorifies the same patriot. -C.N*

When the remains departed by the train the preparations were continuing in Tarnów. Essential works were concentrated around the city park, the focus of the ceremony. The fencing of the park was continuing. The pond of the city park was deepened and flattened and its edges were designed and covered with lawn. Pavements were expanded to the end of the park. BEM Street with its new lawns was designed. In addition to this, the exit points of the streets that go through Kraków Street were also being designed. Gardening school organized the garden in front of the city park with various flowers attractively<sup>63</sup>. Moreover, Kraków

---

<sup>63</sup> Głos Narodu, June 26, 1929, p..3.

Municipality announced to the residents of Kraków and owner of real estates to hang up flags of Poland and Kraków to their houses and tapestries to their windows on the occasion of ceremonies organized for General BEM on June 29-30<sup>64</sup>.

The train arrived in Hungary on June 27, 1929 at 6 a.m. Polish and Hungarian delegations greeted the train. Hungarians composed a delegation under the presidency of General Jerzy bar. Balas to attend to the funeral ceremonies of General BEM that would take place in Kraków and Tarnów on June 29 and 30. The majority of the delegation was composed of soldiers<sup>65</sup>. BEM's remains were brought to the place where it would be interred. They moved over Czechoslovakia following the exhibition of BEM's remains at National Museum of Hungary<sup>66</sup>. The Hungarian

---

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, p.5.

<sup>65</sup> Glos Narodu, June 17, 1929, p.7.

<sup>66</sup> Lidove Noviny, June 28, 1929.

delegation also went to Tarnów to attend to funeral ceremony by the same train<sup>67</sup>.

Czech soldiers accompanied the train when it was passing through their country. Similarly soldiers accompanied the train while passing through Hungary and Yugoslavia<sup>68</sup>. A religious ritual was organized on June 28, 1929 at St. Mary's Basilica in Kraków for heroic soldiers that passed away under the commandship of General BEM during the freedom wars of Poland and Hungary<sup>69</sup>. The train arrived Poland on June 29, 1929. The coffin was taken to Wawelschlo with the accompaniment of the cortege. The commandship orchestra played national anthems of Poland, Hungary and Turkey during the ceremony at Kraków. The ceremonies of Kraków were carried out in the arched courtyard of Wawel Palace. The coffin taken to Kraków train sta-

---

<sup>67</sup> Glos Narodu, June 17, 1929, p.7.

<sup>68</sup> Prager Presse, June 23, 1929.

<sup>69</sup> Glos Narodu, June 23, 1929, p.5.



tion was moved to Tarnów – where BEM was born - on June 30, 1929 at 9 a.m. with 21-gun salute<sup>70</sup>. The funeral ceremony of Tarnów was realized on June 30, 1929. The train arrived at Tarnów at 10 a.m. The coffin was greeted with 21-gun salute and national anthems of Poland, Hungary and Turkey. The head of the Polish delegation, Artillery Regiment Commandant of General Staff Colonel Emil Krukowicz Przedzimirski gave a short speech and handed the coffin to the city representative. The city representatives passed the coffin from the entrance of the station and put it on the carriage - drawn by six horses standing there. Two infantry troops, cavalry troop, artillery troop, archer troop and villagers were present at the square in front of the station. Soldiers stood to salute over the appearance of the coffin and the orchestra played “Warszawianka”. The honor escort composed of three artillery,

---

<sup>70</sup> Prager Presse, July 1, .1929.

cavalry and infantry military officers with drawn swords and located around the carriage, four Hungarian delegates, two Turkish delegates and four artillery guards with drawn swords took their places after the coffin was put on the carriage<sup>71</sup>.

Speeches were given by the head of the official Hungarian delegation General Jerzy bar. Balas and by editor Jan Grzywinski, the creator of the idea that the remains of General BEM were brought back to Poland. The parade marched through Krakowska, Walowa, Pilsudkieski and Bema Streets and moved towards Strzelecki Park. The commandant of Quartermaster Unit of Kraków Region Colonel Leon Dunin Wolski -as the representative of Poland Artillery Regiment - gave a speech when the coffin arrived to the Park. Following the speech the band

---

<sup>71</sup> Glos Narodu, June 27, 1929, p.5.

of artillery unit played a march and soldiers stood to salute.

Military officers of the artillery unit took the coffin from the carriage and brought to the mausoleum through the avenue of the Park. There Hungarian delegation took the coffin and moved towards the external ladders of the mausoleum through the bridge of the pond covered by lawn all around. The band played the 1812 reveille march of former guards troop of Napoleon, the 1830 Polish evening muster march, the 1849 BEM march at Siedmiogrod and current reveille march of Polish Artillery Regiment in a turn during the movement of the coffin. The artillery unit located at the back of the park fired 21-gun salute when the artillery regiment officers took the coffin between the pillars of the mausoleum. Then, the wreaths of official delegation, wreaths sent from abroad and some wreaths sent from inside of the country and all Hungarian wreaths were



Tamón Museum Archive

*BEM's Funeral Ceremony in Poland*



put inside the mausoleum. Following the ceremony at mausoleum, a parade was carried out at Pilsudski Street<sup>72</sup>. In addition, medals with the image of General BEM were prepared at printing house in the memory of BEM. These medals were designed by sculptor Stanislaw Poplawski for the ceremony<sup>73</sup>.



*BEM's Mausoleum in Tarnów*

---

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.



BEM's mausoleum was prepared meticulously. This mausoleum is a monument independent from the ground. On one side of the mausoleum his Polish name previous to his Ottoman service "Józef BEM" is inscribed. On the other side of the mausoleum his second name following his Turkish citizenship, Murad Pasha is inscribed with Ottoman Turkish. Moreover, his rank before he died; namely, lieutenant general is inscribed above his name.



*BEM's Mausoleum in Tarnów*





## CONCLUSION

Ottoman State considered Józef BEM as a prominent figure renowned in Europe as a freedom fighter and treated him in accordance with his historical mission. The life of Józef BEM passed from a front line to another throughout his fight for the freedom of his country. He planned to gather his strength again and to continue his fight for the freedom of his country in the Turkish territory where he came. That he was far away from his homeland and that his country was under captivity deepened his grief and weakened his sick body. His fighting soul is obviously apparent from his relation with his doctor during the illness that took him to the death. This great commandant whose heart beat for the freedom of his country died after he succumbed to the struggle

of life in the land where he arrived as an exhausted fighter. He could not experience the realization of his desire. His death was of an intense sorrow for those who marched for freedom. He was imbedded in his place in the history as an important person for the Polish and Turkish people, two friendly nations. He is also of importance for Hungarians whose freedom he fought for and for whom he was a source of inspiration of freedom. Free Polish men did not leave their freedom fighter Józef BEM alone far away from his homeland and in 1929 transferred his remains years after to Tarnów where he was born. Thus, this freedom fighter rejoined his homeland whose freedom he died for. Now Józef BEM (Murad Pasha) rests in peace in his free country feeling that his struggle was not in vain.

## REFERENCES

**ALTUNAY**, Ahmet Refik, **Türkiye’de Mülteciler Meselesi**, İstanbul, 1926.

**BOA.**, (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives) A.MKT.UM, 49-3/1, Document regarding the return of the cross -granted by the Hungarian people - due to the death of the Murad Pasha in Aleppo, February 7, 1851.

**BOA.**, DUIT, 75-2/20-5, Document sent by Ahmet Vefik Efendi to the Ministry at February 24, 1850.

**BOA.**, DUIT, 75-2/63-1, Document regarding the debts of Murad Pasha and the adorned stone to be put at the head of his grave, December 26, 1850.

**BOA.**, DUIT, 75-2/63-2, Document regarding the death of and funeral of Murad Pasha who was in Aleppo, December 16, 1850.

**BOA.**, DUIT, 75-2/63-3, Annex of the document regarding the death and funeral of Murad Pasha who

was in Aleppo, December 16, 1850. Document regarding the Properties of Murad Pasha.

**BOA.**, DÜİT, 75-2/43-1, Document regarding the wages of the refugees in Aleppo in accordance with their ranks, May 22, 1850.

**CSORBA**, György, **Kossuth'un Ayaklanmasından Sonra Macar Mültecilerinin Hayatı ve Faaliyetleri**, Page:127-134, Lajos Kossuth'un Doğumunun 200. Yıldönümünde Lajos Kossuth 1948-1949 Osmanlı Macar İlişkileri, Kütahya: Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Yay., 2002.

**CSORBA**, György, **Az 1848-1849-Es Törökország Magyar Emigráció Története**, Electronic Address: <http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00018/00009/pdf/csorba.pdf>, October 2010.

**CSORBA**, György, "Macar Mültecileri", Translation: Erol Hatipli, **Türkler**, Vol.12., 2002, p.805-812.

**Cumhuriyet Newspaper**, June 25, 1929.

**DOPIERALA**, Kazimierz, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Polonyalılar", **Savaş ve Barış: 15-19. yüzyılları arasında Osmanlı-Leh İlişkileri**,

İstanbul: Kùltür Bakanlıđı Anıtlar ve Mùzeler Yay, 1999.

**FROST, John, A complete history of the Hungarian War**, Mansfield Publisher, 185?.

**Hartford Daily Courant**, “The Hungarian General-Joseph BEM”, August 27, 1849.

**İkdam Newspaper**, June 25,1929.

**Gazette de Lausanne**, October 17, 1850., January 16, 1851.

**Glos Narodu**, June 17, 1929; June 20, 1929; June 23, 1929; June 26, 1929; June 27, 1929.

**GÖYNÜÇ, Nejat, 1849 Macar Mùltecileri ve bunların Kùtahya ve Halep'te Yerleřtirilmeleri İle ilgili Talimatlar**, İstanbul, 1976.

**GÜMÜŐ, Musa, 1848 İhtilalleri sonrasında Osmanlı devletine sığınan Leh ve Macar Mùltecileri'nin Osmanlı Modernleřmesine Etkileri**, Unpublished Master Thesis, Ankara: Gazi Üniverstesi, 2007.

**LATKA, Jerzy S., Lehistan'dan Gelen Se-firler-Tùrkiye Poloya iliřkilerinin Altı Yùzyılı**,

Translation:Antoni and Nalan Sarkady, İstanbul: Perka, 199?.

**Lidove Noviny**, June 28,1929.

**London Times**, January 22, 1851., February 21, 1851.

**Milliyet Newspaper**, June 25, 1929.

**NAZIR, Bayram, 1848-1849 Macar Özgürlük Savaşçılarında Polonyalı General Józef BEM'in Osmanlı Devletindeki Hayatı**, Page:53-64, Türk-Macar İlişkilerinden Kesitler, İstanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar Daire Başkanlığı, 2009.

**New York Dalily Tribune**, March 26, 1851., January 29, 1851., June 9, 1851.

**New York Times**, “Honor for Joseph BEM”, June 9, 1929.

**Prager Presse**, July 1, 1929., June 23, 1929.

**SAYDAM, Abdullah, Osmanlıların Siyasi İlticalara Bakışı ya da 1849 Macar-Leh Mültecileri Meselesi**, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1997.

**TASNADI**, Edit, “18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Macar Mültecileri”, **Tarih ve Toplum**, Vol.36, N.215, 2001 p.71-75.

**TOROS, Taha, Geçmişte Türkiye-Polonya İlişkileri, İstanbul, 1983.**

**Vakit Newspaper, June 25, 1929**





# APPENDIX



**An Important Letter by General Bem.**

The *Press*, of Paris, publishes the following curious and interesting statement :

In 1833 a paper was issued at Paris for the assertion and defence of Polish interests. It was entitled the *Pole*. Among its files is to be found an article dated Lisbon, February, 1834 and signed General BEM. This article is entitled *A Glance at the Polish War of Independence in 1831*, and is a reply to the question, "Can the French Government save Poland."

These few pages, written in 1834 by BEM, respecting the struggle of the North, apply exactly to that which is now agitating the East ; the same enemy, the same menaces, and, also, the same miscalculations to avoid. The reader may judge of this by the following extracts :

An opinion based upon data that are inexact has begun to circulate in France and has even found an echo among the representatives of the nation ; it is to the effect that France could not render Poland any aid during her last revolution, on account of the enormous distance which separates the two countries.

General CHEZANOWSKI, indeed, has felt the carelessness of this assertion, and, in an article recently published by the journals, has conclusively proven that a little help extended to Poland, on the shores of the Baltic, and the intervention of Turkey, would have secured her triumph, and that even her own strength would have sufficed, had her operations not been paralyzed by promises made to her but never kept, and if Prussia had been held to strict neutrality. The facts of the case speak too loudly for themselves to require the aid of any hypothesis from us.

*New York Daily Time*  
(29 December 1853)

We think that we have sufficiently shown :

1. That the coöperation of Turkey and a slight tribute of assistance, on the coasts of Lithuania, would have made the balance descend in our favor, as General CHRZANOWSKI shows. We even go so far as to express our opinion that one of these incidental advantages alone would have saved Poland.

2. That, if the French Government, fearing a war, had not made promises of intervention, we should have relied upon our own strength, exclusively, and by vigorous action, should have triumphed.

3. That, even unaided, and notwithstanding the loss of time occasioned by our hope of French intervention, the Polish cause would have been successful, had Prussia been held to strict neutrality.

From these established facts, it may readily be seen whether the French Government could have saved Poland, and whether it wished to do so.

We are, however, far from supposing that the downfall of Poland entered into the policy of the Tuileries, which, at that time, probably, was not aware of its own strength, and allowed itself to be circumvented by Russian diplomacy. It credited the protestations of the St. Petersburg Cabinet, and thought it enough that "Order reigned at Warsaw," to prevent Polish nationality from perishing.

The Government of France did not, then, conceive that the generosity of the Autocrat would transport a part of the nation to Asia; that the property of those who had battled for their holy cause would be given up to Russians; that the Poles would be forced to accept the bread of poverty impregnated with every species of humiliation; that Poland would be made the butt of the most atrocious vexations, her language, her religion proscribed and her schools closed; her museums, her libraries despoiled, her young men carried off.

God grant that Russia may not be able any longer to impose upon France and England! Those two powers should, at length, perceive that the Cabinet of St. Petersburg is accustomed to promise everything, when about to strike a great blow, and that she makes no account of those promises when her views are accomplished; for she feels that no one will dare to approach her among her ice-fields and her deserts.

How sad a destiny for civilized Europe, if, after the destruction of Poland, this Asiatic Government should succeed in swallowing up in the vortex of her immense possessions two great States upon which its eyes are now resting—I mean Turkey and India! GENERAL BEM.

LISBON, February, 1834.

*New York Daily Time*  
(29 December 1853)

معرضه جلاله لبرج

برخاسته و نفسی حقوق عورت و آگاهانه با منزل و نامعدود بجزایر عید و فاست آمده اولی می بومر یا سینه ای که در منبر و در فرزندک مقدسه تعالی  
 ماه حالک الشی صای نیکو ای کمال زانجا جمله و یا هرگونه آساید سارینیا هدره تجرد و کیفی نظریه و قبه و هضم افره در مسه سگم و نه از بر یو یا کول  
 و ساسی موجودی که می جانی سیکند و در حقیقت و تو کرم یا سینه ای که طرفه کویضی امدار کیکه کمر از بر طبر برج سوناق سومی لبرج در روز عید طرفه  
 و ساره با و ندر اوتور ای پاک در جوس سینه ای غرضه و بی اطلب بر می سر لوندک معنی بو تقیبات بره اولی که حدیثان ضعیفه اولی اولی  
 اولی بر یک بود بر جوسه بو نفا نظریه فستخ اندر مور ساسی مذکور می دیوم و فستخ و فایه از بر زاده لبره اولی می یایم سوناق سومی لبرج فرانس  
 طرفه و می بر معزاد بی اطلب او و یا کیکه اولی و نه و نه کلام سکی و کای سیه هدرک جو لبرج اولی و سلا و کیکه و غیره ابوالعالم ایتمه اولی که  
 بلا وقت مولی مذکور می عود خانک وضع و کیم و دره او و یا لور بیض معنی سینه رده سینه و هم بلا اولی و فستخ او کده بو نایضه بی ساسی مذکور  
 زانسه و لور و طرفه کویضی او را و صحتی حاله اولی طرفه اولی او بو جانیک موفج و بی ای امدار مد نظر سلا کیکه ساسی و اولی کویض  
 عید و سار کیکه کویضی کیم ساسی یا سینه اولی طرفه افاده و نظار کیکه ایتمه زانسه اولی بو می محضه در ساسی مذکور ملک الخیضه  
 او سینه در طرفه ایتمه او و بر می صلی کیکه و یا ساسی سومی ای قولی ای افاده و مد نظر می بولنه کوریم نظریه و فستخ ایتمه و فستخ  
 اولی می جیم دیوم مذکور ای اولی و فستخ کویضی سینه بود اولی ایتمه اولی ایتمه کیکه اولی در خانیک داره و کای سیه سینه  
 کوریم اولی بو نظریه سینه سنج ایتمه جلیک از سینه ای که مذکور سینه ایتمه ایتمه اولی ایتمه کویضی سینه ایتمه اولی ایتمه کویضی سینه ایتمه

د  
 سینه  
 حدیثان  
 سینه  
 سینه

Quit 169/48

2

Ottoman Archive Records (16 December 1850)

## S M E S.

### Kdo byl polský generál Bém?

Polská vláda se rozhodla, že uctí památku významného svého bojovníka za svobodu tím způsobem, že převezme ostatky jeho ze vzdálené ciziny do vlasti. Jde o generála Josefa Béma, jehož ostatky budou slavnostně uloženy do zvláštního mausolea v Tarnové dne 30. června, avšak vlak s nebožtíkem pojedje dříve Maďarskem, které chce vzdát největší pocty tomuto hrdinovi za to, co prokázal Maďarům v boji za nezávislost před 80 lety. V těchto dnech jest právě mrtvola vystavena slavně v národním muzeu pešťském, načež projede Československem do vlasti.

Bém je vůbec zajímavou osobou. Pocházel ze šlechtické rodiny krakovské a věnoval se vojenským studiím, vstoupiv do dělostřelecké akademie, Napoleonem I. ve Varšavě zřízené. Účastnil se už jako mladý důstojník Napoleonovy výpravy na Rus 1812, pak sloužil v ruské armádě, zejména jako obratný učitel na vojenské škole. Avšak r. 1825 byl propuštěn pro vlastenecké smýšlení, načež se uchýlil do Lvova, tehdy rakouského, zaměstnávaje se tu literárními i technickými pracemi. Když vypuklo polské povstání r. 1830, spěchal do Varšavy a vyznamenal se v potomních bojích tak, že dostoupil do ranky majora hodnosti generálské. S pádem Varšavy bylo se mu uchýliti do Pruska i s vojskem, kde žil krátce, pak se odebral do Paříže a věnoval se opět vědě.

Hned však s březnem 1848, po vypuknutí únorové revoluce francouzské, se s ním shledáváme ve Lvově, v říjnu pak ve Vídni, kde se zúčastnil horlivě a činně revoluce, aby se před Windischgrätzem zachránil včas v přestrojení do Bratislavy. Tam se dal získati snadno Košutem, že v čele vlastního na rychlo sestaveného vojska porazil Rakušany, vyhnal ze Sibiňska, načež porazil je podruhé přes všechnu přesilu. Znova opanoval Sibiň i Brašov, a jako zahmal opětovně rakouské, tak i pomocné voje ruské, zatlačiv je do Valašska. Vítězně opanoval i Banát, až 31. července podlehl trojnásobně přesile. Znova se vzhopil a odporoval nepříteli do poloviny srpna, načež vida nezbytí se zachránil do Turecka.

Přestoupiv na islam, byl přijat do turecké armády pod jménem Amuvrat paša. Na zakročení z Vídne i z Petrohradu byl poslán až do syrského Halebu, kde v listopadu 1850 potlačil vítězně povstání Arabů proti křesťanům, avšak již do měsíce na místě tom (10. prosince) zemřel, dosáhnuv sotva 61 let. Teď tedy bude uložen konečně v rodné a osvobozené půdě, k čemuž poctivě přispíval, doufaje, že podporou maď. odboje a rozbitím habsburského soustátí se zhroutí i carské Rusko a tak se dostane i Polákům opět svobody a samostatnosti. Obratní Maďari nedají si ovšem ujíti této příležitosti, aby si nezademonstrovali v duchu shody maďarsko-polské. Že je osten při tom namířen proti Habsburkům, toho nedbají a to patrně ani nejzuvěřivějším royalistům nevadí, neboť účel světlí prostředky.

Dr. H. T.

\*

## Narodni Politika (27 June 1927)

---

\* **Vor Gründung des Verbandes der slovakischen Städte und Bezirke.** In Nová Ves in der Slowakei findet anlässlich der Landesausstellung am 6. Juli die gründende Vollversammlung des slovakischen Verbandes der Gemeinden, Städte und Bezirke statt.

\* **Die Leiche General Bems in Krakau.** Aus Krakau wird gemeldet: Am 29. Juni ist hier der Sonderzug mit den sterblichen Ueberresten des polnischen Nationalhelden General Bem eingetroffen. Der Sarg wurde in feierlichem Umzug auf das Wawelschloß gebracht, von wo die sterblichen Ueberreste Bems morgen nach Tarnow überführt werden, um im dortigen Mausoleum beigesetzt zu werden.

*Prag Presse*  
(1 July 1927)

*VIENNE, 7 octobre.*

Les réfugiés hongrois internés à Kutaya, d'après les conventions amiables arrêtées entre la Russie, l'Autriche et la Turquie, à l'époque du dénouement de la guerre de Hongrie, ont reçu la permission de quitter le territoire turc. Kossuth, très-malade en ce moment, a manifesté l'intention de séjourner à Constantinople, mais le sultan a peur que le séjour du chef de l'insurrection hongroise, dans la capitale de ses États, ne donne lieu à quelque embarras. Le général Bem a reçu l'autorisation de se fixer à Broussa. Il est en ce moment à Alep, très-souffrant d'une blessure.

— Le bruit d'un grand congrès européen se propage de nouveau et est même accrédité dans les cercles diplomatiques.

*Du 9 octobre.*

*Gazette de Lausanne  
(17 October 1850)*





commonness, the opposition to all authority, and the poison of crude ideas of freedom which have for three years inflamed the people; what victory would have gained for one army would have been ruined by insurrection in the rear of the other. No one can predict that in the course of time it will never come to a conflict between the two great Powers. In this respect the most sincere wish to preserve the peace cannot be raised to a guarantee. But the reasons given for that conflict now, and the allies that would have been mixed up with it on both sides, made the danger, not the war itself; and the question appears quite hopeless whether it is assumed that Austria conquered Prussia, or Prussia conquered Austria. One or the other must have occurred. In a leading article of the Austrian *Soldiers' Friend* it is stated that 'the courage and endurance of the Austrian troops must at last have given the war a glorious end for Austria.' But there was also a possibility—and history records such possibilities—that this opinion would not have influenced the result of battles; and, assuming that Prussia was overpowered and prostrate, we ask, 'What then?' Assuming that Austria had gained 9,000,000 of Protestant and North German subjects, and governed in the marches of Brandenburg, and in Pomerania, as well as in Hungary and Italy—we ask once more, 'What then?'"

A decree of the Council of Administration of the kingdom of Poland prohibits the introduction from abroad, or the publishing within the realm, of any print, picture, or lithograph representing any subject from Scripture history, or referring to Christian rites of worship, or to religion generally, unless it is first examined and approved by the officials of the diocese. The same prohibition extends to casts, sculptures, medals, rings, or carved work. Without this previous permission such objects cannot be prepared, imported, or sold. By an ukase of the 16th of May, 1849, the Polish nobles were forbidden to wear their beards; as it has not been strictly observed, it has been again brought to the notice of the *voivts* and magistrates. The ground of this singular ukase is the Russian law, that every one wearing an uniform, or having the right to wear one, is forbidden to wear a beard. As the Polish nobility has the right to wear an uniform, and to be called into the military service of the State, they are included in the prohibition.

*London Times*  
 (22 January 1851)

The *Pesti Naplo* gives a minute account of the funeral of General Bem, at Aleppo. He was buried as a Moslem, having accepted the "true faith," and the dignity of a Pasha. His body, wrapped in linen, bound together at the head and feet, was placed in a rude coffin. During the preparations a number of Mollahs murmured the customary prayers. At the head of the coffin an upright stick supported his fez; the coffin itself was covered with a coloured shawl, and carried on two poles. A military funeral has never been seen in Turkey, and, though many Christians were present, all the proceedings were marked by an Oriental want of order. The French and English Consuls were invited by the Commandant, Kerim Pasha, with several officers, and a crowd of soldiers and spectators were on the ground. The long escort was preceded by 20 or 30 Mollahs, chanting a dismal and monotonous "*Allah*": some of the Christian comrades of the late General wished to carry the body from the gate to the burialground, but the Turkish custom did not permit them; everybody pressed round to bear the coffin a few steps, then yielding their places to others. Strong detachments of troops were stationed along the route; the soldiers

*London Times*  
(22 January 1851)

**Tělesné pozůstatky polského generála Josefa Bema, který v letech 1849—1849 za maďarské revoluce byl po jistou dobu vrchním**

**Strana 6.**

velitelem sedmihradské armády, převážejí se z Alepa, kde generál zemřel ve vyhnanství, přes Maďarsko do Polska. Rakev byla vlakem dopravena na cestě z Jugoslaviie na maďarské území a přijela odpoledne o půl 6. hodině do Pešti. Vůz s rakví byl všude přijímán maďarskými a polskými deputacemi za velkých slavností. Z Polska přijela četná deputace. Rakev s pozůstatky generálovými bude vystavena v Pešti v čestné síni Národního musea, načež bude rakev přes Československo převezena do Tarnova ke konečnému odpočinku. vd

*Lidove Noviny*  
(28 June 1929)

---

# Murat paŖa

---

## Lehli kahraman iin bugn merasim yapılacak

---

Lehistan heyeti, bu gn Polonyalı Murat PaŖanın kemiklerini Halepten Ŗhrimize getirmektedir. Murat PaŖanın gemikleri bu gn trenle Lehistana gtrilecektir. Bu mnasebetle Sirkeci istasyonunda saat 18 de merasim yapılacaktır.

Murat paŖanın Ŗahsiyeti hakkındaki malmatı havi makale 4 nc sahfemizdedir.

---

*Milliyet Newspaper*  
(24 June 1929)

## Prochy gen. Bema w Konstantynopolu.

TURCY I WĘGRZY CZCZA POLSKIEGO GENERALA.

Konstantynopol, 25 6. (PAT.) Wczoraj po południu przybył na stację Hakkar Pasza połączony z wojskami gen. Bema oraz delegacją polską. Na dworcu oczekiwał: poseł Rzeczypospolitej, Olszowski, z całym personelem poselstwa, przedstawiciele najwyższych władz tureckich cywilnych i wojskowych, kompania honorowa wojskowa i przedstawiciele kolonii polskiej. Orkiestra odegrała marsza żałobnego, zaś wojsko sprezentowało broń. Na trumnie położony został sztandar polski, zaś obok sztandar turecki. Trumna przeniesiona została następnie na oczekujący na przystanku statek. Gdy statek odbiła od brzozy, wojsko sprezentowało broń, zaś orkiestra odegrała marsza żałobnego. Zwłoki przeniesiono następnie na dworzec europejski, gdzie przybyli m. in.: przedstawiciele ambasady francuskiej, poseł węgierski, kolonja polska, kolonja węgierska, oraz wielkie tłumy publiczności. Gdy trumnę wyniesiono na poron, wojsko sprezentowało broń, orkiestra zaś odegrała marsza żałobnego. Następnie poseł Rzeczypospolitej, p. Olszowski, złożył wieniec na trumnie, poczem wojsko sprezentowało broń. Z kolei złożył wieniec: dowódca wojska Emin Pasza, poseł węgierski, prezydent kolonii węgierskiej, przedstawiciele ko-

lonji polskiej. W czasie składania wienców wojsko prezentowało broń. Poseł Olszowski wygłosił w języku francuskim okolicznościowe przemówienie. Po wygłoszeniu przemówienia orkiestra odegrała polski hymn narodowy. Z kolei przemówił po turecku Emin Pasza, który scharakteryzował bohaterską postać generała Bema, poczem orkiestra odegrała narodowy hymn turecki. Wreszcie zabrał głos w języku francuskim poseł węgierski, wskazując na aureole, jaką otaczana jest pamięć generała Bema na Węgrzech. Po tem przemówieniu orkiestra odegrała hymn węgierski, poczem podążono do stacji. Na dworcu byli obecni przedstawiciele wszystkich dyplomacji tureckich. Cała uroczystość odbyła się w sposób wielce okazały i miała wysoce podniosły charakter.

### NA WIENIEC KARTKOWY KU CZCI GEN. BEMA.

Tow. Szkoły Ludowej w Krakowie zajmuje się zbieraniem podpisów na odpowiednich kartkach, z których złożony będzie wieniec na trumnę bohatera narodowego gen. Bema. Podpisywać kartki można w księgarni T. S. L. przy ul. św. Anny 5, lub przy stolikach i uproszonych pań i panów.

Głos Narodu  
(27 June 1929)



# CONTENTS

FOREWORD .....	7
INTRODUCTION.....	9
THE LIFE OF GENERAL JÓZEF BEM .....	13
LAST DAYS AND DEATH OF BEM .....	21
FUNERAL CEREMONY AND ARTICLES AFTER HIM .....	47
TRANSFER OF HIS REMAINS TO POLAND .....	65
CONCLUSION .....	97
REFERENCES .....	99
APPENDIX .....	105