

VERZEICHNIS DER ORIENTALISCHEN HANDSCHRIFTEN
IN DEUTSCHLAND · SUPPLEMENTBAND 32

VERZEICHNIS DER ORIENTALISCHEN
HANDSCHRIFTEN IN DEUTSCHLAND
VON
KARL J. FISCHER
VERMISCHT MIT
HILFE VON
HANS H. SCHMIDT
VERLAG DER
DEUTSCHEN ORIENTALISCHEN
GESELLSCHAFT
1974



DEUTSCHER ORIENTALISCHER VEREIN
VERLAG

VERZEICHNIS DER ORIENTALISCHEN HANDSCHRIFTEN
IN DEUTSCHLAND

IM EINVERNEHMEN MIT DER
DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT

BEGRÜNDET VON
WOLFGANG VOIGT

FORTGEFÜHRT VON
DIETER GEORGE

IM AUFTRAGE DER
AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN IN GÖTTINGEN

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
HARTMUT-ORTWIN FEISTEL

* * *

SUPPLEMENTBAND 32



FRANZ STEINER VERLAG STUTTGART
2002

BARBARA FLEMMING & JAN SCHMIDT

THE DIARY
OF KARL SÜSSHEIM
(1878–1947)

ORIENTALIST BETWEEN
MUNICH AND ISTANBUL



FRANZ STEINER VERLAG STUTTGART
2002

CIP-Titelaufnahme der Deutschen Bibliothek

Süssheim, Karl:

[The diary] The diary of Karl Süssheim : (1878 - 1947) ; orientalist between
Munich and Istanbul / Barbara Flemming & Jan Schmidt. - Stuttgart :
Steiner 2002

(Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland ; Suppl.-
Bd. 32)

ISBN 3-515-07573-9



ISO 9706

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druckt mit Unterstützung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft. © 2002 by
Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, Sitz Stuttgart. Druck: Druckerei Peter
Proff, Eurasburg.

Printed in Germany

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CONTENTS

PREFACE	VII
INTRODUCTION	1
PROLOGUE	3
1. Origins and Formative Years in Germany	3
2. In Abdülhamid's Ottoman Empire	6
CHAPTER ONE: YEARS OF TRAVEL, 1908-1912	9
1. In Istanbul after the Constitutional Revolution	11
2. Canvassing for an Academic Career (1908-1911)	17
First visit to London	19
Death of Süssheim's father	26
First visit to Paris	27
Admission to the Habilitation	29
Second visit to London and Paris	30
Süssheim becomes a Privatdozent	31
Ottomans in Munich	35
3. Struggling to Establish Himself as an Orientalist (1911-1912)	38
Abortive archive mission	38
Manuscript discoveries	43
Abdullah Cevdet, Zekeriya Mazlum and others	45
Among Istanbul 'Turkicists' and men of letters	51
CHAPTER TWO: ACADEMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE IN MUNICH, 1912-1914	61
1. Established as University Teacher	63
2. Contacts with Istanbul	70
3. Marriage Plans	74
4. Ancestry and Relatives	86
5. Housing and the Threat of War	89
CHAPTER THREE: THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 1914-1918	93
1. The War	95
Worry about bad news	96
Anti-Semitism	100
The last year of the war	101
The war economy	102
2. Translator for the Military Censors	103
3. Refusal of an Intelligence Mission	110

4. Ottoman Life Mirrored in Intercepts	115
5. Uncertainty of Academic Future	135
Disillusionment about a professorship	141
In academic circles	142
6. Research, Journalism and Lectures	144
7. Contacts with Ottomans and Middle Easterners	152
German-Ottoman relations	155
Delegations and chance encounters	165
8. Marriage Plans	168
9. Relatives and Domestic Life	175
 CHAPTER FOUR: COUNCIL RULE, REACTION, INFLATION, 1918-1924	 181
1. Times of Trouble	183
2. Saving the Family Capital	209
3. Relatives and the Death of a Nephew	214
4. A Professorship at last	220
5. Research and Lectures	230
6. Contacts with Young Turks	234
7. Still on the Look-Out for a Wife and Marriage	240
 CHAPTER FIVE: THE NAZI YEARS, 1936-1940	 247
1. Raising a Family	249
2. Life under the Nazis	252
3. Contacts with Turkey and the Middle East, Research and Publications	262
4. Increased Repression against Jews	270
5. Detention in Dachau Concentration Camp	279
6. Departure for Turkey	285
 EPILOGUE	 299
 APPENDIX A: CHRONOLOGY	 301
 APPENDIX B: MANUSCRIPTS, SCHOLARLY WORKS AND JOURNALISM BY KARL SÜSSHEIM	 309
 INDEX	 315

PREFACE

This book is designed to be a selected translation of the diary kept by the German orientalist Karl Süssheim, which in its extant form roughly covers the years 1908 to 1924 and 1936 to 1940.

The edited selection that follows is drawn from the Turkish and Arabic journals as translated into English by Jan Schmidt. We have divided the translated passages into five chapters. A narrative is meant to provide a context for the people and events mentioned, and to supply the reader with some background reference. Each of the chapters is introduced by a brief summary; otherwise, within each chapter we have tried to approach the task thematically. Annotations have been provided to identify historical characters and to clarify otherwise obscure allusions. As the editing of the journals proceeded, it became clear that Süssheim's emigration to Turkey was an extremely complex affair. To convey authentically something of the changing emotional tone of their correspondence, we have included some extracts from surviving letters which his Turkish friends wrote to Süssheim regarding the urgency of his coming to Turkey. There is a brief epilogue.

Our enterprise, including the translation into English of Turkish and Arabic texts that treat of matters of twentieth-century Late Ottoman and German history, is of course hazardous. Jan Schmidt prepared the first English version. A special word of thanks is due to Ethel Portnoy, for her help in revising the English text. The whole English manuscript, from beginning to end, has again been revised and in several places enlarged by Barbara Flemming. The final text was seen and revised by both authors. Needless to say, the remaining errors and infelicities are our own. Two appendices have been added to the text: appendix A provides a chronology of events, related to the Diary; appendix B is a survey of Süssheim's manuscripts and publications.

In transcribing Turkish and Arabic names and terms we have used two different systems, based on those commonly used by Turkish and Arabic scholars. Broadly speaking, we have used the Turkish transcription for Turkish names, terms, etc.; Arabic for Arabic names, book titles and classical Islamic terms. Many Ottoman terms are a mixture of Turkish, Persian, and Arabic words and grammatical forms. In these we have followed the dominant, usually the Turkish, pattern. Diacritical dots are generally omitted. Where a word or name has already passed into English usage (e.g., Kadi, Pasha, sanjak, waqf) we have used the accepted form.

This book has been many years in gestation, and in writing it we have accumulated many debts. It is a pleasure at last to acknowledge the enduring goodwill of Dr. Hartmut-Ortwin Feistel, Director of the Oriental Department, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz. A closer study of the Arabic journals by Jan Schmidt in its initial stages was made possible by an assistantship from the University of Leiden.

Mrs. Elisabeth Gombos provided invaluable memories of the family. We felt privileged that personalities like the late Professor Gershom Sholem and Dr. Hans Striedl, then Director-General of the Bavarian Staatsbibliothek, gave us generously their time and offered vital insights.

We should like to express our gratitude to the late Professor Roderic

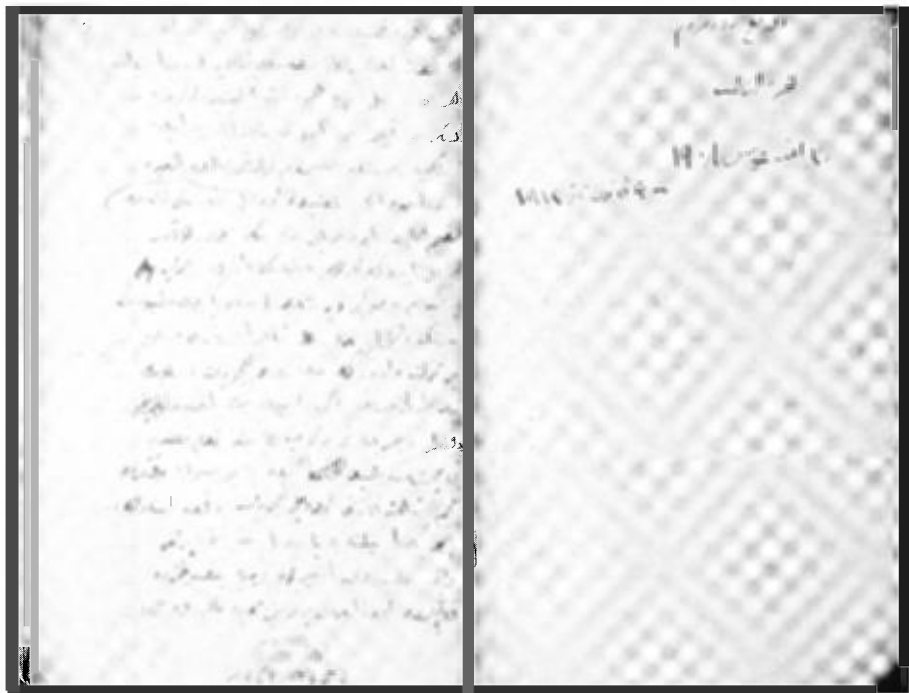
Davison (Washington, D.C.) and Professor Şükrü Hanioglu for the unpublished material which they put at our disposal, and for information in general. Other friends have helped us in ways too various to specify. We must content ourselves with naming Professor Ömer Faruk Akün, Professor Fritz Rudolf Kraus, Professor Ercüment Kuran, Mr. K.D. Morgenstern, London, Professor Adnan Terzioğlu, Matthias Wolff, Munich, and Professor Erik-Jan Zürcher, University of Leiden. M.B.B.M. Rault has provided us with a workable transcription system.

We should like to record our indebtedness to the staff of many libraries and archives who have been most helpful. We are particularly grateful to the Orientabteilung of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz; then to the administration of the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, especially the Kriegsarchiv; Archiv der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München; to the Library of the University of Leiden, of the Stadtarchiv der Landeshauptstadt München, Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, Dr. Peter Freimark of the Institut für die Geschichte der deutschen Juden, Hamburg, all of which have contributed in various ways toward making this book possible. To the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft we are further indebted for the generous decision to include this work in the Supplement of the VOHD Series and to bear the cost of publication.

B.F. and J.S., November 2001, Leiden



1. A photograph found in Karl Süssheim's Diary, August 1919. Karl is seated on the right.



2. The first pages of Karl Süssheim's Diary, August 1908, the third copybook, ff. 1b-2a.



3. Photograph of Abdullah Cevdet, 'to my friend Dr. K. Susheim', 1928.
Nachlass 5/71.

Le Caire, le 6 Octobre 1909

رادر عزیزم

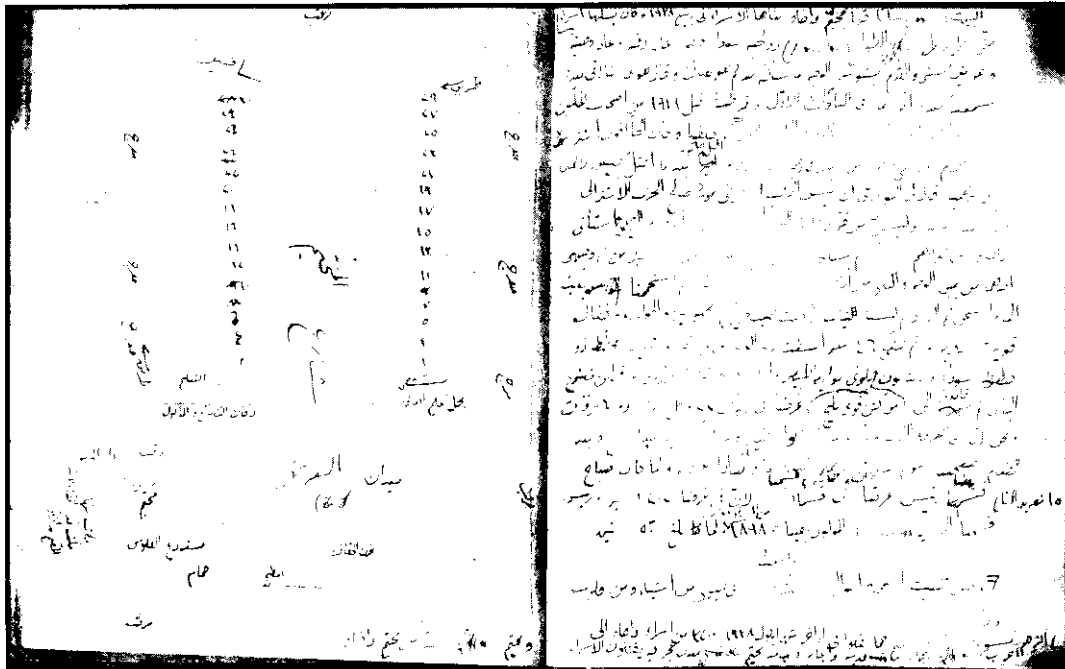
لطفنامه تری آید. گریه فقهه کی سنا کندی در حاج
 مکتوبه تری. موصیگری تری ایسه. کوندرده ده بوبله
 مهم ایله کوندک محکم در. موصیگری (بهم یک دوست)
 اوتک و خان بی یک و اغدا. ایله کتا بندک ایله جلدی اها
 امیری ایلمی جلدی بی مادام کتب اهدا ایله صیاح جلدی اها
 انگیزه بی اولرندک یک آرزو ایسه. و صی بوندک بکین بر حاج
 نه لوشه ده قالملا جا ره لری آ. ایله جلدی. قریباً یعنی
 بر ایله بی به نه آی صورت ایله ایله کتا ایله بی
 اسم عبد اللہ جويدت در. احمد جويدت رطل در لطفاً
 خاطر تان اولمائی جا ایسه. چونکه ملو بلی و علی الخصص
 تعهدی مرسولان تلمیحه کره لک اولیور. احمد جويدت
 نو. کباره بکرمه و اندر عبد اللہ جويدت بیغ غیری لوفه در.
 خبر عاقبتی کتب ایله بیغ ایله کوندلر بیغ اولمائی

الله

4. Letter from Abdullāh Cevdet to Karl Süsseim, 6 October 1909. *Nachlass* 5/90.



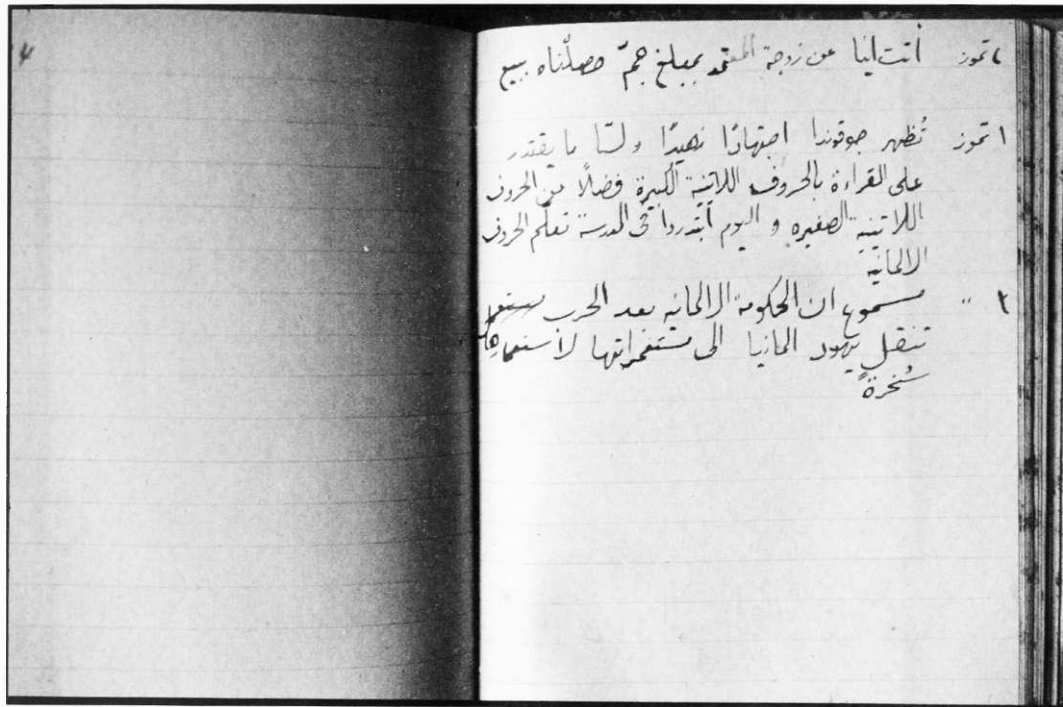
5. A photograph of Karl Süssheim as printed in a short biography by Feridun Nafiz Uzluk, 'Türk Tababet Tarihi ile Ugraşan Müsteşrikler: Prof. Dr. phil. Karl Süssheim', *Istanbul Üniversitesi Tıp Tarihi Arkivi* 3 (Istanbul, 1937), 2.



6. Two pages from Karl Süssheim's Diary, November 1938, the 20th copybook, ff. 87b-88a. On the left is a sketch of the Dachau Concentration Camp with *Appellplatz* and numbered barracks.



7. A sketch of Dachau Concentration Camp, the 20th copybook, f. 88a.



8. The last page of Karl Süssheim's Diary, July 1940, the 21st copybook, f. 43b.



9. Karl Süssheim's tombstone at the Jewish Cemetery in Ortaköy, Turkey.

INTRODUCTION

Karl Süsseim (1878-1947) is known to orientalists as the editor of the *'Urada*, a Seljuk chronicle in Persian, and to Turkish historians as a frequent collaborator to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. His articles on Abdullah Cevdet and Albania, to name only two, have been extensively used (with acknowledgement) by subsequent writers on these subjects. To mark the centenary of Karl Süsseim's birth, Barbara Flemming published a biographical article, in which she drew attention to the value of his journals. Jan Schmidt, who undertook a closer study first of the Arabic and then the Turkish journals, in 1989 brought out his study of Süsseim's contribution as a military censor during the First World War. Karl Süsseim's name, together with that of his brother Max, appears in the major Jewish encyclopaedias.

The Diary (the earliest two copybooks of which are lost) was begun when Karl Süsseim had completed his studies as a historian and began to seek entry into the German university system. Rather than going on with research in German archives, he resolved to try his luck in the comparatively new field of Turkish and modern Middle Eastern studies. It was during a residence of four years in the Ottoman Empire that Dr. Süsseim fitted himself for his new undertaking, by acquiring a thorough acquaintance with various languages of the Ottoman Empire. He returned to Germany with the purpose of obtaining a university post of professor.

He had wide circles of acquaintances both in the Ottoman Empire and in Germany; he knew Turkish, Arab, Albanian, Kurdish, Armenian and Jewish Ottomans, some of whom played a role in Turkey after the Constitutional Revolution. He befriended Persians and other Middle Easterners. His contacts with the Society for Turkish History gave him a deep insight into the condition of Turkish studies in Turkey.

In Süsseim's personal motivations for keeping the Diary the historical impulse must have dominated. A desire to see things as they are, to find out true facts and store them up for the use of posterity, is visible throughout. The diarist takes pleasure in scraps of useful and seemingly useless information. In a characteristically straightforward, deadpan style Süsseim records the weather, prices and other varied subjects; he made entries directly from reports, conversations, or letters; facts or stories are recorded painstakingly in Turkish or Arabic, seldom with comment.

Why he did not simply write in German, Süsseim nowhere explains. Possible reasons, one might suppose, were keeping up his fluency in Turkish and Arabic and protecting his intimate confessions against the eyes of others. This would also explain why he copied German names in shorthand, sometimes leaving blanks instead of inserting names of men whose names he does not care to quote.

The frustrations in his career give a bitter edge to his early journals. On some level, he never ceased to be an outsider. Süsseim soon dropped Seljuk history to concentrate on a genealogic project. Then, next to his journalism, in the nineteen-thirties, Süsseim returned to contemporary history. His unsentimental

appraisal of things as they are is seen in his concerns about his mother, brother and sister, his ancestry, and his marriage plans.

In his desire to become a university professor, Süssheim was willing to carry out a pioneering mission in the Ottoman archives. In this principal object he failed. But he achieved posthumous fame largely by virtue of his manuscript collection.

Back in Germany, working for the military censors, he could exercise his talents, especially his proficiency for languages. He took notes from mail which he had to scrutinize, but he refused an intelligence mission to the Late Ottoman Empire, when it appeared that it provided no opportunity for advancement in his university career.

In the aftermath of the First World War he underwent poverty and a sense of failure. This must have increased his wish to keep his Diary, important parts of which are lost. We catch up with him when he is writing in Arabic, describing his life as the Jewish father of a family under the Nazis: all the while, with a certain sardonic indifference, continuing to walk the streets, to buy his newspapers, to make short railway journeys. His impulse to store things up for the use of posterity is most apparent when, returning from two weeks of detention in the Dachau concentration camp, he sits down to record what he experienced there.

The Turkish and Arabic journals are handwritten in copybooks, in ink, and, for the most part, legible. Süssheim was an accurate speller and he followed the rules of Turkish and Arabic grammar. Whereas his chronology is clear, establishing certain names is a problem, especially those which Süssheim wrote down in his, now obsolete, German shorthand. The Diary actually consisted of at least twenty-one copybooks of which, apparently, only twelve have come down to us.

In 1960, the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, then Westdeutsche Bibliothek Marburg, purchased the Diary from Mrs. Caroline O'Brien, Karl Süssheim's widow, together with Süssheim's collection of periodicals and private papers, and his collection of 338 manuscripts. Both in size and quality the Süssheim manuscript collection is one of the finest private collections covering, as it does, a wide range of periods and including a great number of unique manuscripts acquired by Süssheim whenever possible and kept together by him despite growing difficulties. Certain gaps in the Berlin collection are now fortunately filled by Süssheim manuscripts. Besides enabling the study of Turkish history, some of the unique manuscripts which he acquired have helped greatly to advance knowledge in the field of Turkish literature.

What follows is a selection, in translation, of Süssheim's Turkish and Arabic journals, here called "the Diary", from the summer of 1908 until the summer of 1940. This selection of journals which he wrote between the ages of thirty and sixty-two, when he had to leave his native country, provides at once an intimate impression of, and a monument to, a great collector and one of the great diarists of the last century.

PROLOGUE

1. Origins and Formative Years in Germany

On December 14, 1874, the hop merchant Sigmund Süssheim married Clara Morgenstern. Sigmund was thirty-eight, and Clara just twenty. The wedding took place at Fürth, where the father of the bride, Dr. David Morgenstern, was a renowned jurist. Both families were of the Israelite confession. Sigmund and Clara were to have three children: Max (1876-1933), who later became a socialist politician, Karl (1878-1947), who was to become an orientalist, and Paula (b. 1882). Sigmund Süssheim had been born in Kronach, Upper Franconia, in 1836. He came from a long line of retail merchants recorded in Kronach under the name of Süssel. In 1870 he settled in Nuremberg as a hop trader. His commercial career was a considerable success. He started a hop trading firm¹ together with his partner, Wolfsheimer, in Karolinenstrasse 12. This firm was closed however in 1877, because the partners separated. Shortly afterwards, in October of the same year, Sigmund Süssheim registered his own hop trading firm in Gostendorfer Hauptstrasse 7. From about 1880 the business was run from Rothenburger Strasse 7. In his bachelor years his unmarried sister Mathilde (1838-1875) kept house for him in lodgings above the business in Rathausplatz 7 and Gostenhofer Hauptstrasse 7. We do not know where Sigmund and Clara lived directly after their marriage. Between 1877 and 1879 they moved to a second-floor apartment of the house in Rothenburger Strasse, their landlord being the technical director G. Pöhner. Sigmund Süssheim never gave up ties with his native town. In 1869 he inherited property there which he sold in 1872. He helped found the fire brigade of Kronach. In 1907 he also set up a charitable foundation, the *Sigmund und Clara Wohltätigkeitsstiftung*, with a capital of ten thousand marks (M), to which his widow was later (in 1910) to add another ten thousand M. In 1899, Sigmund drew up his will, in which his wife Clara was made the main beneficiary. Each of the children was left a sum of about seventy thousand M.

Clara's father was the well-known lawyer Dr. David Morgenstern (1814-1882) from Büchenbach. He was the first deputy for Fürth in the Frankfurt National Assembly;² he died when Max was six and Karl was four years old. David Morgenstern's wife, Karl's maternal grandmother Regina, *née* Adlerstein (1823-1907), lived to a very old age. Clara, reputedly, was a lively and intelligent woman. She was also an avid collector; her house was stuffed with old furniture and clocks, paintings and carpets were everywhere. In her times girls were taken from school after an elementary education; her son remarked that she

¹ For the rise of another Franconian hop merchant, Marx Tuchmann, see Monika Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland. Selbstzeugnisse zur Sozialgeschichte 1780-1871*, New York 1976, 241-247.

² Cf. Ernest Hamburger, *Die Juden im öffentlichen Leben Deutschlands*, Tübingen 1968, 212-213.

never really mastered German orthography. The marriage with Sigmund Süssheim had a difficult start, Clara at first refusing "such an old man", eighteen years her senior, and the marriage did go through stormy times.³ The family belonged to the Liberal Jewish community. Sigmund closed his firm on January 1, 1910 and retired. Not long afterwards he suffered heart and lung failure and died on April 30, 1910, aged seventy-four. His funeral was attended by the whole family and a delegation from his native Kronach.⁴

Max, Karl and Paula had five maternal uncles, some of whom played a part in their lives: the industrialist Heinrich Morgenstern (1869-1944) who owned a metal factory near Forchheim where he employed three hundred workers; he was created a *Kommerzienrat* ("Commercial Councillor"). His other uncle Dr. Friedrich Morgenstern (1866-1940) represented the "nobility" of the family as against the wealth of the *Kommerzienrat's* household. His seven maternal aunts were Bertha (Schlüchterer, 1849-1882), Maria (Drey, 1851-1913), a dominating lady, Emma (Orenstein) whom her nephews described as "sweet but simple", Anna (Reiss, b. 1871), Sophie (Löwensohn, 1862-1927), Fanny (Stamm, 1860-1936), and Lina (Vandewart, b. 1856).

It was Sigmund's and Clara's eldest son Max, born July 20, 1876, who was intended for the law. He went to school in Nuremberg, studied in Erlangen and received two doctorates, in Law and Philosophy, in 1898 and 1900. He returned to Nuremberg and was admitted as a lawyer. There, in April 1904, he married Hedwig Strauss, born on August 28, 1884. Both brothers were proud of their maternal grandfather; Max wrote a book on him which was privately published in 1899. Following in the step of his grandfather, Max chose a political career and from 1907 to 1920 he represented Nuremberg for the Social Democratic Party in the Bavarian Diet (*Landtag*).⁵ A brilliant speaker, he became a much-respected figure in Nuremberg and indeed in all Bavaria. His brother Karl sometimes went to the Diet to listen to his powerful and witty speeches. In 1914 Max was elected to the Nuremberg community council (*Gemeindekollegium*) and in 1919 into the newly-formed municipal council (*Stadtrat*), where he sat until 1933. He spoke out in the defence of the workers' councils, a controversial feature of the short-lived communist revolution in Bavaria shortly after the First World War. His partner in his legal practice was Dr. Rosenfelder who lost his wife in the Dachau concentration camp. Max died of a stroke on March 1, 1933; his wife Hedwig committed suicide on November 10, 1938. Max's and Karl's younger sister Paula married Eugen Kirschbaum (1871-1921), a rich industrialist and owner of an international firm, in Nuremberg on June 20, 1905. He often quarrelled with his mother-in-law about financial matters or upbraided Max for

3 Cf. Diary, entry for April 10, 1910.

4 Cf. Chapter One, below.

5 Cf. Hamburger, *Die Juden*, 536-37; Christoph von Imhoff (ed.), *Berühmte Nürnberger aus neun Jahrhunderten*, Nuremberg [1984].

his Socialist convictions. The couple had four children: Rudi, Erna, Karl Eugen and Anna.

Karl Süssheim, born on January 21, 1878 in Nuremberg, was to be the scholar in the family.⁶ After elementary school, he attended the humanistic gymnasium in his home town, first the Melanchthon Gymnasium (1887-1889), later the New Humanistic Gymnasium (in which the Melanchthon had merged). It opened near the Königstor opposite the main station on October 1, 1889. After his final examinations in 1896, Karl volunteered for his one year's military service (as *Einjährig-Freiwilliger*) in the First Royal Infantry Regiment "The King", but after five months and a half he was examined, ruled unfit and transferred to the *Landsturm* reserve.⁷ Having fulfilled his military service, he decided, with the encouragement of the historian Professor von Heigel with whom he became acquainted, to study history.⁸ This he did at the universities of Jena, Munich, Erlangen and Berlin, but he also read widely outside his studies proper. As a historian, with a family tree that could be traced back to the early eighteenth century, Karl had a patriotic preoccupation: his native Franconia and its annexation by Prussia between 1791 and 1806. His dissertation on this subject, for which he consulted the archives of Berlin, Nuremberg and Vienna, was published as a voluminous book entitled *Preussens Politik in Ansbach-Bayreuth 1791-1806*, printed in Berlin in 1902. This patriotic concern was to remain a theme in his life. Karl was a loyal and indeed devoted subject of the house of Wittelsbach. After the Revolution of 1918 he shared the wide-spread regret about the fate of the Bavarian royal house which had been benevolent toward the Jews. Conscious of anti-Semitism, he did not share the conviction that Zionism constituted an effective solution.

The fiery, revolutionary Max contrasted strongly with his capitalist brother-in-law and his sober, royalist, fortune-seeking brother Karl. Despite opposing political views, the brothers got on well. Both felt the anti-Semitism that pervaded German universities and political life. To Karl it evidently meant a great deal to be a Jew; he objected strongly to baptism and was particularly upset when members of his own family had their children educated at Christian schools. In Germany Karl made very few friends who were not Jews.

As a student in Berlin, Karl discovered his considerable gift for the three Islamic languages: Arabic, Persian and Turkish. He taught German to young Turkish students and practised his Turkish with them. Among his friends were Ömer Lutfi, who later returned to Germany to become Consul-General in Berlin

⁶ For biographical data see B. Flemming, 'Karl Süssheim 1878-1947', in *Der Islam* 56 (1979), 1-8; Christoph von Imhoff (ed.), *Berühmte Nürnberger*, Nuremberg [1984].

⁷ Curriculum vitae of 1911, Munich University Archive.

⁸ Karl Theodor Ritter von Heigel (1842-1915), professor of history in the University of Munich since 1885; President of the Bavarian Academy of Science in 1904. For Süssheim's memories of Heigel see Chapter Three, entry of March 23, 1915.

- he died in 1918 -, and the Albanian Bedri Murad Bey.⁹ Thus began Süsseim's lifelong interest in things Turkish.

2. In Abdülhamid's Ottoman Empire

When Karl Süsseim had received his doctorate in 1902, he set out for a visit to Turkey, then part of the Ottoman Empire, no doubt fitted out, as a reward, by his father and armed with letters of recommendation which his benefactor von Heigel had obtained for him from the Bavarian Foreign Ministry. This visit became a sojourn of four years, from the autumn of 1902 to 1906. It must have been in this period that he learnt to communicate with such apparent ease and speed in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, being able to record incidents and conversations in Turkish and Arabic in the diary he began to keep in those years. His first two journals have been lost, but from later references in one of the journals that are preserved we know that he chose the Albanian Debreli Hüseyin Efendi as his teacher of Arabic and that the two men went on long walks through Istanbul, conversing in Arabic. Hüseyin Efendi, who was known as a philosopher and free-thinker, boasted that he never set foot in a mosque. Another teacher was "Jak Efendi".¹⁰ As a relative newcomer to Oriental studies, Süsseim naturally tried to make a name for himself by discovering something important in either Persian Seljuk history or contemporary Turkish literature and politics. His first publication was a newspaper article on Turkish popular literature.¹¹

Contemporary politics of the Near East attracted him: he immersed himself in themes such as the Cretan Crisis or Pan-Islamism, and it is certain that already during his first visit to Istanbul he came into contact with the Young Turk *İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti*, known in Europe as the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). However, in Germany this field was as yet regarded as only of journalistic interest and held no promise for a career which would perhaps in due time lead to a chair in one of the German universities where even Islamic studies had yet to make their way in the face of dominant philological traditions.

Süsseim soon turned his efforts to the fourteenth-century Persian chronicle on the Seljuks entitled *al-'Urāda fī l-hikāyat as-Saljuqiya* ("The Gift from Seljuk History") by Ibn an-Nizām. He procured permission from the Ottoman authorities to edit the work - this was quite an achievement in itself. He copied it, or had

⁹ Süsseim knew him as a student in Germany (entry for September 25, 1908, and below); he was an officer and Young Turk activist and lived in Salonica on a pension of fifty lira; later he became superintendent of the Customs Office (*rüsumat emini*) in Acre (entry for March, 19, 1912), and Police Director in Istanbul (entry for June 14, 1923). He was a friend of Tal'at Pasha, cf. Ulrich Trümpener, *Germany and the Ottoman Empire 1914-1918*, Princeton 1968, 44.

¹⁰ For Debreli Hüseyin Efendi see entry for December 5, 1911, and below. For Jak Efendi, perhaps Jak Samanon, see below, note 272.

¹¹ 'Türkische Volksliteratur', in *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung, Beilage*, March, 1906.

it copied, in Istanbul and collated manuscripts in London and Paris. But when he was ready for publication, the Ottoman authorities threatened to withdraw their permission.

This was a critical moment in Süsseim's life. At thirty, he had as yet made no progress toward a future livelihood, depending completely on his father's support. The book had to be published, and Süsseim travelled to Cairo, where, at a safe distance from the Ottoman censors, he got the Ma'arif Press to print his *'Urada* in the Persian text, with an introduction and an appendix in Turkish.

Apart from this hopeful event, Süsseim's stay in Cairo from May to August 1908 brought him in touch with a number of important Ottoman intellectuals and politicians who opposed the autocratic regime of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1842-1918) and had fled from the sultan's police.¹² Most importantly, he concluded a friendship with Dr. Abdullah Cevdet (1869-1932), which was to last until the latter's death. Abdullah Cevdet was a very remarkable man with an outlook on life which must have been fascinating to Karl Süsseim who was the younger of the two by nine years. Abdullah Cevdet, born into a Kurdish family in Arabgir, about seventy kilometres north of Malatya in eastern Anatolia, received his training at the famous Military Medical College in Gülhane, the pupils of which were imbued with biological materialism and politics.¹³ Abdullah Cevdet became an ophthalmologist, but his scientific and political interests ranged far beyond his own special field. He may be accorded the honour, together with the Albanian Ibrahim Temo (1865-1939) and the Kurd İshak Sükuti (1868-1903) and one or two others, of having founded on May 21, 1889, the secret Society for Ottoman Unity, *İttihad-i Osmani Cemiyeti*.¹⁴ This was the beginning of what five years later was to become the Committee of Union and Progress, the secret nucleus of that formidable organisation which was to carry out the Revolution of 1908, and, from 1913 to 1918, to form the ruling party in the Ottoman Empire.

In Cairo and later in Istanbul, Süsseim witnessed the unbounded joy of his Ottoman friends at the success of the Young Turk Revolution and the Sultan's formal reopening of the Ottoman Parliament on July 13, 1908. Abdullah Cevdet

¹² The Sultan ruled from 1876 to 1909, when he was deposed; the period of his reign is known as one of despotism, '*istibdad*'.

¹³ M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi*, Istanbul 1981 (?), 9.

¹⁴ Described in *İbrahim Temo'nin İttihad ve Terakki Anıları*, Istanbul 1987 - originally *İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyetinin Teşekkülü ve Hizmeti Vataniye ve İnkilâbı Millîye Dair Hatıratım*, Medgidia, Rumania, 1939, 13-15, and with some variations in a letter to Süsseim dated August 9, 1933, see Jan Schmidt, 'The Importance of the Süsseim Papers for Modern Turkish History', in *Proceedings of the International Meeting on Modern Ottoman Studies and the Turkish Republic*, Leiden, 21-26 April 1987, Leiden 1989, 112-13. See also Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Rôle of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement 1905-1926*, Leiden 1984, 13-14; M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jön Türklük (1889-1902)*, Istanbul 1986 (?), 174.

alone remained unimpressed, regarding Abdülhamid as an incorrigible tyrant.¹⁵ Cevdet was the editor of the periodical *İctihad* ("Opinion-Forming" or "Interpretation") which he had set up in Geneva in 1904 to promote the cause of political, intellectual, religious and social liberty, and he also edited the series *Kütübhan-e-i ictihad*, in which many of his own works appeared. When Süsseim came to know Abdullah Cevdet, he was translating six of Shakespeare's plays into Turkish.¹⁶ The mode of address in their correspondence, "Dear Friend", is a token of their friendship.¹⁷

During his voyage from Egypt to Istanbul Süsseim observed and recorded the reactions of returning exiles. This is where part three of the existing journals begins.

15 G.L. Lewis, '*Djewdet*', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second impression (hereafter EI²).

16 İ. Enginün, *Türk Edebiyatında Shakespeare. Tanzimat devrinde tercüme ve tesiri*, Istanbul 1979.

17 Twenty-five letters from Abdullah Cevdet written to Süsseim between June 1909 and May 1930 are preserved in the *Staatsbibliothek* in Berlin as *Nachlass*, 5; see for more details, Jan Schmidt, 'The Importance of the Süsseim Papers', 110-112, and below.

CHAPTER ONE: YEARS OF TRAVEL, 1908 - 1912¹⁸

Between Süssheim's visit to Cairo in 1908 and the time he definitely settled as a lecturer of Munich University in April 1912, he paid two visits to Istanbul, the first to do research on Seljuk history and to promote the sale of his book. The second had the purpose of investigating the Ottoman State Archives for the Bavarian Academy of Science. These two episodes belong to the most interesting parts of the Diary: we get a lively impression of the intellectual and political life in the Ottoman capital in that period, and Süssheim recorded the biographies and conversation of some of the most prominent men of prewar Istanbul, often in great detail. Between these major journeys, Süssheim travelled, mainly for research purposes, to London, Paris, Oxford and Vienna. In the first two cities, moreover, he was to some degree involved in the political life of their Muslim inhabitants and made some efforts to organize or participate in demonstrations, especially those in support of the integrity of Ottoman Crete. In Germany he was, apart from his involvement in family affairs and family history, primarily occupied with obtaining a position at one of the universities. For this purpose he wrote an introduction to the anonymous Arabic "Chronicles of the Seljuk Dynasty" (*Akhbar ad-dawlat as-Saljuqiya*¹⁹) of the late 12th century and was eventually, after a formal examination and trial lecture (*Probevorlesung*), accepted as *Privatdozent* in the University of Munich (May-July 1911).

¹⁸ The period is covered by copybooks 3 and 4 down to fol. 39b.

¹⁹ The work had a second title called 'The Choicest Part of Histories', *Zubdat at-tawarikh*, and is attributed to 'Alī b. Nāsir al-Husaynī; it was eventually edited by Muhammad Iqbal in Lahore in 1933.

1. In Istanbul after the Constitutional Revolution (August 30 - November 15, 1908)

The Diary opens with a description - the early part of it is missing - of the last days of Süsheim's return voyage from Egypt to Istanbul on board a steamer which had picked up more returning exiles in Izmir. Süsheim, on August 30, noted some of their stories:

Nazim Bey had been exiled to the small town of Kula. All the time he cursed in torrents of words full of venom the agents of oppression who had done this injustice to him. Another of my companions was a well-built soldier, originally from Bosnia. He had served as a rifle man (*tüfenkci*) in the Palace but had been exiled to Izmir and had lived there for 22 years. He was so ignorant that he answered to everything that was said to him: "I don't know that much Turkish." In Izmir lives a Turk called Şair ["The Poet"] Eşref²⁰ who has again started to write for the newspapers. He is a very clever satirist. He left the *Kanlar* which was published in Izmir and fled four years ago to Egypt. His satires directed against Abdülhamid, and, recently, the Shah of Persia were so well-done that he was continuously surrounded by people in the [Cairo] Splendide Bar, busy copying [his verse]. When disembarked in Izmir, one of the passengers who sat in my rowboat looked into the newspapers and said: "Ah, Eşref has started to write panegyric verse." Eşref had left Egypt some days before me and had already arrived in Izmir.

The next day, August 31, the voyage continued.

Before dawn we passed Çanakkale. There remained still nine hours to go until Istanbul. When we approached Istanbul, a young woman who had travelled to Istanbul for the purpose, came to the ship with her children to meet her husband who was returning from exile. We paused for a while and were touched by the way she bowed to the ground and greeted [her husband]. I went directly to Istanbul with the two exiles.

Süsheim took lodgings in a cheap hotel in the Sirkeci quarter and informed himself of the changes in personnel and impending reforms at the Ministry of Education, inevitable after the recent Revolution and "Proclamation of Liberty." On August 3, he heard to his and his friends' surprise that his old acquaintance Zekeriya Mazlum Bey²¹ had succeeded in keeping his position as a Public Prosecutor by joining the revolutionary Young Turks at the last moment and going by boat to Salonica just in time to meet them.

During his stay in Istanbul, Süsheim had copies made of several manuscripts kept in libraries in the Ottoman capital and bought many books as well as manuscripts from local booksellers such as Naci Kasımzade, Nasrullah, İlyas

20 Mehmed Eşref (c.1850-1912), civil servant and satirical poet; imprisoned in Istanbul in 1902, he fled to Cairo in 1904 and returned to Izmir in August 1908; see for the biography of the poet and his work, Hilmi Yücebaşı, *Şair Eşref, Bütün Şiirleri ve 80 yıllık hânralar*, 3rd. ed. Istanbul 1984, and Jan Schmidt, 'De dichter Mehmed Eşref tussen Sultan en Sjah', in *Sharhiyyat* 2/3 (1990), 203-37.

21 Zekeriya Mazlum Bey (born 1883-84, died after 1938), lawyer, officer and civil servant (entry for June 20, 1938, and below).

Efendi of *Kanaat* and the publishing houses *Cihan* and *Saadet*. His purchases were regularly sent to Germany.²² He also saw to the sale of his edition of *al-'Urada*, often by the same agents. Parts of the German text of the book were sent to Leiden to be printed by the firm of Brill.²³

For three weeks, from September 25 to October 17, Süsseim made a trip through Anatolia. His main purpose was to study manuscripts of the history of the Seljuks mentioned before, the *Akhbar*, which he hoped to publish. He travelled to Mudanya, where he met the son of his friend, Major Bedri Murad Bey, and went on to Bursa where he visited the Orhaniye Library (on September 28), the Ulu Cami' Library, the Haraccioğlu Library and the library of the Hüseyin Çelebi *medrese* (on September 29). On October 1, he travelled for more than fourteen hours by carriage (which cost him 40 kuruş) to Yenişehir in the company of two police officers from Varna, who, as Süsseim recorded, earned respectively two and three lira per month. Having passed the night in the local caravansaray, Süsseim continued his journey to Bilecik, where he took the train to Eskişehir. On October 3, he reached Konya, where he saw the Yusuf Ağa Library at the Selimiye Mosque, the tomb of the mystical poet Jalaluddin Rumi, the Mosque of the Seljuk Sultan Ala'uddin and the Library of Sadruddin Qonawi.

On October 7, Süsseim took the train to Afyon Karahisar, but before he reached the station he hopelessly lost his way and broke his spectacles. He reached Izmir on October 5 and Manisa on October 11, where he visited the Library of the Çeşnegir Mosque and the Hacı Eyüb Library. He talked with 'Çerkes' Bekir Ağa, the administrator (*mütevelli*) of the Karaosman *medrese*. The man claimed to be a foster-brother of Field Marshal Edhem Pasha.²⁴ He told Süsseim that he had been shot at by his son and had spent more than a month in hospital to recover from his wounds. He regretted that he could not show him the library because the curator had disappeared with the key after a conflict about his salary. After he had seen the Muradiye Library, Süsseim travelled back to Istanbul by way of Izmir where he boarded the Greek steel steamer 'Piraeus' which he preferred to the Ottoman but unsafe-looking wooden 'Gürcei'. The search for his Seljuk chronicle had not been very successful. He reported about his visit to the Anatolian libraries in an article published in the following year, which mainly consisted of a description of the title and contents of a number of manuscripts on history he had seen.²⁵

When not questing for manuscripts, Süsseim searched out men. During his sojourn in the Ottoman Empire, he regularly visited old friends and made new acquaintances, with most of whom he kept in contact during the following years.

22 E.g. on September 24 and 30, 1908.

23 Entry for September 24, 1908.

24 Gazi İbrahim Edhem Pasha (1844-1909), soldier and minister.

25 'Aus anatolischen Bibliotheken,' in *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients* 7 (1909), 77-88.

Süssheim saw Musa Kâzım Efendi,²⁶ the later Chief Jurisconsult (*şeyhülislam*), on August 31 and September 1; Emrullah Efendi,²⁷ the later Minister of Education, on September 1; and Ertuğrul Şakir Bey, founder of the oppositional 'Loyalists to the Nation' (*Fedakaran-i millet*)²⁸ and their paper *Hukuk-i umumiye* ("Public Rights"), on September 3. He presented the former two men with a copy of his *al-'Urada* edition. Süssheim also went to see Hocazade Mustafa Asım, Chief Inspector of Public Libraries, who drew his attention to the Bursa libraries which might be of interest for his research (on September 28 and 29). On his trip through Anatolia Süssheim met EbuZZiya Tevfik²⁹ in Konya (on October 5) and Consul Mordtmann³⁰ in Izmir (on October 10). The latter told him about his collection of Seljuk coins. On board the 'Piraeus', Süssheim made conversation with Mustafa Efendi, former Keeper of the Wardrobe of Sultan Murad V (1840-1904, ruled 1876):

Among our fellow travellers was Mustafa Efendi of Üsküdar who had been in the service of Sultan Murad V, of happy memory, since his childhood and had been his Keeper of the Wardrobe (*esvabci*) at the time of Sultan Abdülaziz's³¹ deposition. During the trial of Midhat Pasha,³² he had been arrested in Yıldız Palace and accused of having killed Sultan Abdülaziz.³³ Despite the fact that Nuri Pasha³⁴ and Mahmud Pasha,³⁵ whom he praised much, had actually conducted

26 Musa Kâzım Efendi (1858-1921), politician and minister; member of the Great Council of Science (*meclis-i kebir-i ilmi*) at the Ministry of Education and after 1908 Senator and Şeyhülislam (1910-1918); exiled to Edirne in 1918 because of his connection with the oppositional Freedom and Accord Party (*Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası*).

27 Emrullah Efendi (1858-1914), littérateur, activist against the Hamidian regime, deputy and minister; Minister of Education in 1909 and 1911.

28 For this political group see Tanık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler I. İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi 1908-1918*, Istanbul 1984, 131-141.

29 EbuZZiya Tevfik (1849-1913), Young Ottoman activist, publisher and deputy.

30 Johannes Heinrich Mordtmann (1852-1932), German orientalist and diplomat; Consul-General at Izmir from 1904.

31 Sultan Abdülaziz (1830-1876), ruled 1861-1876.

32 Ahmed Şefik Midhat Pasha (1822-1884), administrator, reformer and Grand Vizier; tried and convicted of the crime of murdering Sultan Abdülaziz in 1881 on rather flimsy evidence and testimony, he was imprisoned in Yemen where he was murdered.

33 Mustafa Efendi was sentenced to death on June 29, 1881. The sentence was changed to banishment on August 1 of the same year, see İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Midhat Paşa ve Yıldız mahkemesi*, Ankara 1967, 305 and 334-35.

34 The text has 'Buri' or 'Bori' Paşa. A Nuri Paşa (d. 1883) was among the accused and banished to Ta'if, cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Midhat Paşa*, 348-49.

the investigation, he had been interrogated by Sultan Abdülhamid every day. In the meantime, Abdülhamid sent to Abdülaziz's mother³⁶ no less than twenty times men and aides-de-camp, and although he requested her confirmation of the fact that the Sultan had been killed, the mother refused to give it and declared that he had committed suicide and had died in her arms. The result of the accusation had been that Mustafa Efendi, together with Midhat Pasha, had been sent to Ta'if in 1297 (1881), and not long after that, put behind bars in a cell at the fortress of Mecca the Honoured. Although he had regularly been let out into the courtyard, he had not been able to talk with anyone, but he had learned Arabic. During his imprisonment, he had not once gone to the city. He had had nine companions, but he alone had survived. On August 5, he had been set free [after an announcement] in the official government gazette *Takvim*.³⁷ His travel allowance had been collected and paid by the local population. He affirmed that Abdülhamid was a bad man and asserted that he knew that the lawsuits brought against Midhat Pasha and others had been a fake. His knees had weakened from so much sitting and this made it at present impossible for him to walk long distances. He had not heard anything of his family.

Süssheim took Mustafa Efendi's fate to heart and wrote an article on his behalf for the *Hukuk-i umumiye* on October 18.

Back in Istanbul, he saw the Turcologist and historian Necib Asım Bey,³⁸ who drew his attention to the manuscript of the *Tadhkira* by Aqsarayi,³⁹ kept in the Aya Sofya Library (October 21). Library Inspector Mustafa Asım gave Süssheim permission to see it on November 6. He also met Halil Edhem,⁴⁰ then Assistant Director of the Imperial Museum (*Müze-i hümayun*, the present Archaeological Museum) on October 22, and Ahmed Cevdet,⁴¹ the owner of the opposition paper *İkdam* ("Perseverance"),⁴² on the same day. Süssheim requested the latter to write a critical article on the state of Ottoman libraries.

35 Probably Damad Mahmud Celalüddin Pasha (1853-1903), married to a sister of Abdülhamid; member of the Council of State and Minister of Justice (1877); he fled to Europe with his sons in 1899 and was active in the Young Turk movement; he was used by Abdülhamid during the proceedings to produce incriminating evidence, cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Midhat Paşa*, 358-60.

36 Pertevniyal Sultan (d. 1883).

37 Full title: *Takvim-i vekayi* ("Calendar of Events"), published 1831-1923.

38 Necib Asım (Yazıksız) (1861-1935), "the first real Turcologist in Turkey", Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, London, Oxford & New York 1968, 342.

39 The Persian chronicle of Karimaddin Aqsarayi entitled *Musamarat al-akhbar*, reaching the beginning of the fourteenth century, was edited by Osman Turan, Ankara, 1944.

40 Halil Edhem (Eldem) (1861-1938), son of the above-mentioned İbrahim Edhem Pasha; archeologist, musician and politician; Director of the Imperial Museum in 1910; Deputy for Istanbul in 1931.

41 Ahmed Cevdet (1861-1935), oppositional journalist; left for Europe in 1909.

42 The *İkdam* was the paper of the Ottoman Liberal Union Party (*Osmanlı Ahrar Fırkası*, predecessor of the Freedom and Accord Party), published 1894-1928.

The next day, he paid a visit to his friend Abdullah Cevdet. On October 28, he saw Ömer Lütfi Bey whom he had befriended in Berlin and who was now a Police Inspector, and on October 30, he made the acquaintance of Celalüddin Korkmazov (who changed his name to Korkmaz in Istanbul):⁴³

I took up a very close relationship with Celalüddin Korkmaz who had arrived from Paris two days ago. Despite the fact that he is a Circassian on his father's side, he is also related to the Kumüks, a people of 200,000 souls living in Daghestan in the Caucasus who speak a pure Turkish. He left his country about nine years ago. He was subsequently elected as a deputy to the first *Duma*,⁴⁴ but later imprisoned because he was a Socialist. He had been exiled to Siberia as a prisoner but had fled from there to France, and taken up the study of philosophy, in particular that of cultural sciences.⁴⁵ Without having recourse to the registrar's office or spiritual authorities, he at that time contracted a matrimony of conscience with a girl⁴⁶ who was related to Mr. Korolenko,⁴⁷ one of the most famous literary men of Moscow. He came into contact with the *Müsliman Ahaviyet Cemiyeti* (Muslim Brotherhood) and the Young Turks. Although the Brotherhood very much encouraged the idea of a shared religion, as did the Young Turks, religion was completely indifferent to him. His wife did have a penchant for literature, but he himself was concerned with the sources of civilisation and philosophy, in short, with the superior world of ideas. More than through his ideas and journalism, with which he had inspired the Young Turks in Paris, he saw the need to win the people of the country itself for his ideas and aims by having recourse to direct action. Particularly on this point he became annoyed with Sabahuddin Bey⁴⁸ who feared for the life of his comrades if it would go that far. Finally, he went to Salonica and decided that after he had learned some Ottoman there, he would act as a local informant for the Young Turks. But before this decision was carried out the Great Revolution (of 1908) occurred. Later he was invited to come to Istanbul by some of the leaders in order to become a Director of the Training College, '*École Normale*'. He had decided to attend classes at the centre of the Committee [of Union and Progress] to learn the language of the country in exchange for teaching French...

On the evening of the next day (October 31), Süsseim, together with

43 Celalüddin Korkmaz(ov) (d. after 1932), deputy, publicist, Young Turk and Communist activist; of Circassian-Komuk origin, he stayed in Salonica and Istanbul between c.1908 and c.1912; Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Daghestan Soviet Socialist Republic, 1921-1932, see below, Chapter Four; *Bor'ba za ustanovlenie i uprochenie sovietskoi vlasti v Dagestane 1917-1921 gg.*, Moscow 1958, 502; Jan Schmidt, 'The Importance of the Süsseim Papers', 116n.

44 The first *Duma* (Parliament) with very limited power was elected in 1906 but was dismissed two months later by the Czar.

45 The text has '*ulum-i temeddün*'.

46 A Miss Stam-Trotskaya, cf. entry for December 26, 1911.

47 Vladimir Korolenko (1853-1921), Russian writer and publicist.

48 Prince Sabahuddin (1877-1948), son of Damad Mahmud Pasha, Liberal activist and leader of groups opposing the Committee of Union and Progress; he returned to Istanbul in 1908 but was forced to leave the country again in 1913.

Korkmazov, and at the latter's invitation, visited Murad Bey,⁴⁹ an Avar and former member of the *Şura-yi devlet* (Council of State). He also knew the Kumük language.

He [Murad Bey] had in the past been detained at the offices of the Ministry of War (*Bab-i seraskeri*), but had been released later, owing to the state of excitement which held the country in its grip at that time, on condition that he would leave [the country] for a while. According to what Murad Bey told me, the government had not demanded this but had very politely implored him to do so. But this story contradicts all well-known realities of Istanbul. I thought that he would have been broken in mind and body after his severe rebuttal in the Istanbul papers, but his hopes, on the contrary, were brilliant. He spoke with particular pride of his people and language, and said he had the nature of an Avar. This was undoubtedly caused by a nervous disease. Without feeling at all ashamed, he told me that he had willingly sold ten years of his freedom. This shamelessness is only possible in Orientals. He was in the possession of a copy of Aşık Pasha's History.⁵⁰ He had ordered that a general history of six volumes which he needed for his work at the Imperial Library in Vienna and similar places be put in his suitcase [...] The next day, he would leave for Europe by way of Constanța. After a short stay in Montreux, Switzerland, he would finally, after two months, return to Istanbul, he added. He said he was a supporter of the Constitution and had been pursuing a career in the Octobrist Party in Russia. The people who had come to take leave of Murad Bey were all from Daghestan. Lieutenant-Colonel İsmail Hakki Bey⁵¹ who had been our chairman in Egypt, was also present and announced that he would return to the army in the near future.

Finally Süssheim paid a visit to İsmail Bey⁵² who was then finishing his commentary on the "Appendix" (*Dhayl*) to the *Kashf az-Zunun*,⁵³ and had the occasion (on November 6) to meet the well-known scholar Bursalı Mehmed Tahir.⁵⁴

49 'Mizancı' Mehmed Murad (1853-1912), journalist, historian and Liberal politician; born in Tiflis and educated in Russia, he taught History at the *Mülkiye* (School for Civil Servants) and worked for the Public Debt Department; fled to Cairo, he published the anti-Hamidian paper *Mizan* ("Balance"); he became one of the principal Young-Turkish leaders in Paris from 1896; bribed by Sultan Abdülhamid, he returned to Istanbul in 1897 and became a member of the Council of State; he supported the Liberals after 1908.

50 Aşık Pashazade (d. some time after 1484), one of the oldest Ottoman historians. His *Tevarih-i al-i Osman* have been edited three times, by Ali Bey in 1914, by Friedrich Giese in 1929, and by N. Atsız in 1949.

51 Probably Hafız İsmail Hakki Bey, later Pasha (1879-1915), soldier and important member of the Committee of Union and Progress; military attaché at Vienna from 1908; discussed the entry of the Ottoman Empire into the War in Berlin in 1914; see also below.

52 İsmail Bey, later Pasha (1839-1920), soldier and bibliographer.

53 The famous bibliographical lexicon in Arabic written by Katib Çelebi ('Hajji Khalifa', 1609-1657).

54 Mehmed Tahir Bey (1861-1924), officer, Young Turk activist, Deputy for Bursa from 1908; author of a well-known lexicon of Ottoman writers (*Osmanlı mü'ellifleri*, 3 vols., Istanbul 1918-1924).

While in Istanbul, Süsseim employed two members of the Persian community, Mirza Muhsin and Mirza Sayyid Ahmad, as copyists. On November 16 he contracted the last-named to copy, for 1600 kuruş, the Aya Sofya manuscript of Ibn Bibi's Persian *al-Awamir al-'ala'iya fi l-umur al-'Ala'iya*,⁵⁵ which had Süsseim's special interest. In the following years, Süsseim kept making use of the services of Muhsin and Ahmad Bey, but in particular of the latter, because he disapproved of the former's style of writing.⁵⁶ In order to supervise the copying and to handle the financial aspects, Süsseim contracted a personal agent in the person of a certain Sayyid Hasan. He kept in touch with him through a regular correspondence after he had left Istanbul.

On the evening of November 15, Süsseim boarded the train that was to take him back to Germany. He noted the considerable ravages brought about by the latest war in eastern Rumeli when he passed through the area.⁵⁷

2. Canvassing for an Academic Career (November 17, 1908 - December 4, 1911)

On his return to Germany, Süsseim stayed for some months with his mother in Nuremberg, but he remained in contact with Istanbul. He exchanged letters with Sayyid Hasan on the copying of *al-Awamir*, of Hüseyin Vecihi's History and of other works,⁵⁸ and sent money and instructions for the sale of his *al-'Urada* edition. He received ready manuscript copies in return.

His first aim was to achieve a position as *Privatdozent* at one of the German universities. This rank, so important in Germany and Austria, had no exact counterpart in British or American universities.⁵⁹ A *Privatdozent* did not have the right to attend faculty meetings, nor did he receive any salary, but he was permitted to hold a certain number of classes, often on topics outside the regular curriculum. The position was highly prized. It was a necessary condition for any academic advancement, and it enjoyed high prestige with the general public,

55 The work, completed in 1281, is extremely important for the history of the Seljuks of Anatolia. An epitome was edited by M. Th. Houtsma in 1902; Adnan Sadik Erzi published a facsimile edition of the original work in 1957. For references see the translation H. W. Duda, *Die Seltchukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi*, Copenhagen 1959.

56 Entry for November 14, 1908.

57 Eastern Rumelia, which had been administered from Sofia for some time, was annexed by Bulgaria in October 1908.

58 Hüseyin Vecihi (died 1660) was keeper of the seal (*mühürdar*) of the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha (entries for December 25, 1908, and January 24, 1909).

59 The teaching staff comprised regular (*planmässige, ordentliche (ordinarii, Lehrstuhlinhaber)*) professors who had the full status of *Beamte*, and supernumerary (*ausserordentliche*) professors; a *Privatdozent* could be made *ausserordentlicher* professor without appointment to a permanent established post (*Planstelle*).

since it was an assurance of special competence. Very few such positions were granted, so that the small group was considered an élite.⁶⁰ Advancement at the university was made easier by conversion, but this was out of the question for Süssheim. (Another way to start an academic career was to become appointed as a professor's assistant; but this was impossible for Süssheim because he had left his original field of study, had sojourned in the Near East and was by now already in his thirties.)

Most of his time was now spent pursuing his search for support. In Munich he was assured that von Heigel⁶¹ would remain his mainstay, and indeed he never weakened in his support. Professor Kuhn⁶² joined in. His talks with Geheimrat Hommel⁶³ and Hell,⁶⁴ however, alarmed Süssheim; Hell told him he had no chance. He talked to Krumbacher,⁶⁵ Grothe,⁶⁶ about whom Süssheim had heard that he had travelled in the Near East at the expense of the *Reichsbank*, and to von Pöhlmann⁶⁷ (February 3-6, 1909). Later he travelled with letters of recommendation by Georg Jacob⁶⁸ to Strasbourg, where he had interviews with the professors Littmann⁶⁹ and Nöldeke⁷⁰ (February 7), and to

60 Ernest Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*, Lionel Trilling and Steven Marcus, eds., London 1974, 82.

61 He had become President of the Bavarian Academy of Science in 1904; see above.

62 Ernst Kuhn (1846-1920), Indologist; professor at Munich from 1876.

63 Fritz Hommel (1854-1936), professor at Munich University from 1891, orientalist, specialized in Assyriology, but his publications also included studies on the traditions of the ancient Israelites and ancient inscriptions of the Near East, and a History of the ancient Near East ("Geschichte des alten Morgenlandes").

64 Joseph Hell (1875-1950), orientalist, specialized in Arabic poetry; professor in the universities of Munich and Erlangen (from 1911).

65 Karl Krumbacher (1856-1909), Byzantologist; professor in the University of Munich from 1892.

66 Hugo Grothe (1869-1954), Geographer and Ethnologist; travelled extensively in the Near East; he was a public supporter of German colonisation in the Ottoman Empire.

67 Robert von Pöhlmann (1852-1914), historian specialised in classical history; professor in the University of Munich from 1901.

68 Georg Jacob (1862-1937), orientalist, professor in the universities of Erlangen and Kiel (from 1911).

69 Enno Littmann (1875-1958), orientalist; professor in the University of Strasbourg (1906-1914).

Heidelberg, where he succeeded in securing the support of, among others, Bezold⁷¹ and Windelband⁷² (February 8).

During his short stay in Germany, Süssheim regularly went to the balls of several Jewish associations, such as 'Casino' (in Fürth), 'Jacobis' and 'Phoenix'.⁷³ Because he had no regular employment or income of his own yet, he did not think that the time to marry had come.⁷⁴

First visit to London

In the afternoon of February 9, 1909, Süssheim left for London, travelling by way of Frankfurt and crossing the North Sea from Flushing. Upon his arrival in London, he rented rooms from Mr. and Mrs. Griffith at 27 Russell Street, close to the British Museum where he visited the Oriental Reading Room in order to study manuscripts of the *Akhbar* and *al-Awamir*, and to correct his article on the Turkish shadow theatre for the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (ZDMG).⁷⁵

Süssheim's social life in London, where he stayed until May 1, 1910, was focused on the Middle East and British India. As before, he kept in touch with his copyist Sayyid Ahmad, his agent Sayyid Hasan, who sent him copied manuscripts, and with booksellers and publishers in Istanbul. He received copies of the German text to his *al-'Urada* edition from the Leiden publishers Brill,⁷⁶ with whom he also discussed the bill which he wanted his father to pay.⁷⁷ He exchanged letters with Zekeriya Mazlum.⁷⁸ The latter informed him that Şakir Bey,⁷⁹ wounded in an incident on the Galata bridge on April 7 - Hasan Bey⁸⁰

70 Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930), orientalist; professor in the universities of Kiel and Strasbourg (from 1906).

71 Carl Christian Ernst Bezold (1859-1922), Assyriologist; professor in the University of Heidelberg from 1894.

72 Wilhelm Windelband (1848-1915), philosopher; professor at Heidelberg from 1903.

73 Entries of December 2, 1908; January 2, 9, 28 and 30, 1909.

74 Entry for February 3, 1909.

75 ZDMG 63 (1909), 739-773 (entries for December 30, 1909 and March 4, 1910).

76 Entry for February 2, 1909.

77 Entries for February 22, March 25, 1909.

78 Entries of May 26, June 29, 1909.

79 Cf. *The Times* of April 8, 1909 (p. 5), which described the victim as "a former kaimakam."

who was with him had been killed - would be released from the German Hospital in about a month.

Süsseim wrote to Tal'at Bey⁸¹ and urged that the Ottomans hold firm in Crete.⁸² (Although the island was still under Ottoman suzerainty, the Greeks were in complete control since 1897 and formally proclaimed the annexation of the island to Greece on October 6, 1909.⁸³) He also kept in touch with Musa Kâzım Efendi,⁸⁴ İsmail Hakkı Bey,⁸⁵ Abdullah Cevdet - Süsseim sent him photographs showing performances of Shakespearean dramas which his friend had requested⁸⁶ -, and Mustafa Asım Efendi whose permission Süsseim needed in order to have manuscripts, kept in the Bayezid and Es'ad Efendi Libraries in Istanbul, copied.⁸⁷

Among the interesting people he met in the British Museum was Mirza Muhammad Farhang, who, in collaboration with his friend Hüseyin Daniş Han,⁸⁸ had contributed in Europe and the United States to the realization of the Persian

80 Hasan Fehmi Bey (d. 1909), Editor of the opposition paper *Serbesti* ("Freedom") and member of the Liberal Union. The attack caused serious demonstrations of students of the *Mülkiye* (Civil Service School) and *Tıbbiye* (College of Medicine) and was a prelude to the insurrection of April 13.

81 Mehmed Tal'at Bey (1874-1921), leading member of the Committee of Union and Progress and deputy, Minister of the Interior and Grand Vizier (1917-1918) when he became Pasha; escaped to Germany in 1918, where he was assassinated by an Armenian in 1921; see Zürcher, *The Rôle of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement 1905-1926*, 37-41 and passim.

82 Entry for July 18, 1909.

83 Cf. İsmail Hâmi Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi* 4, Istanbul 1972, 367.

84 Entry for August 25, 1909.

85 Entries for September 10 and December 30, 1909; February 8, 1910.

86 Entry for September 11, 1909. The photographs cost Süsseim 19s.6d. Three letters by Dr. Cevdet, written before this date, and sent from Cairo on June 8, July 12 and August 31, 1909, have survived (*Nachlass* 5/3, 5/91, 5/5). On June 8, he wrote Süsseim that he had sent him his translation of *Macbeth*, and on August 31 he informed Süsseim that his translation of *Romeo and Juliet* was being printed and that he was working on *King Lear*. He asked Süsseim if he could send him photos of scenes from these plays; from these he would select fourty to accompany the text. In another letter of October 6 (5/90), he thanked him for his efforts for Crete - "we must never cede Crete without war," he had written on July 12.

87 Entry for November 10, 1909.

88 Hüseyin Daniş (Pedram) (1870-1943), poet and scholar; professor of Persian literature at the Galatasaray Lyceum and Istanbul University (1909-1923), his family originally came from Isfahan.

Constitutional Revolution of 1906-1909.⁸⁹

Süssheim frequently saw members of the *Moslem Brotherhood of Progress*,⁹⁰ an organisation dominated by Indian Muslims. He regularly met its chairman, Sayyid Hasan Balghrami, its secretary, Mirza Mahmud Shirani, and the Indian lawyer Abdulmajid Efendi. He also attended several of its meetings, generally held in Caxton Hall.⁹¹ Süssheim did his best to call attention to the unjust treatment of the Muslim population of Crete by the Greeks and to have a letter of protest formulated. In this he finally succeeded on August 21, when the assembly carried a motion in support of Ottoman sovereignty over the island. In the same motion, Spanish aggression in Morocco was condemned.⁹² Süssheim and Abdulmajid had previously consulted the Ottoman Ambassador, Tevfik Pasha,⁹³ on August 3, and the latter supported their plans unofficially. Süssheim had also tried to arouse interest for the Cretan case with the Consul-General, Rifat Bey, and some of the eminent Armenian merchants residing in London.⁹⁴ He described the meeting of August 21 in his Diary:

I have never seen such a childish political meeting as the one held [today] by the Muslim Brethren. Fifteen to twenty persons attended, most of them Indians under the age of twenty-five; further the converted Miss Pope [?], three other English ladies, the fifty-year-old Mr. Campbell [?] who knows some Turkish and will go to Istanbul as the representative of an English commercial company which intends to build a hotel somewhere in Istanbul, and two Germans. Chairman of the meeting was Abdulmajid who spoke for the organisation. He understands little of politics and has not seen the Ottoman Empire. He is a lifeless creature compared to a European. He did not even suggest in his speech that the Greek officers should leave Crete. An Indian, who asked permission to speak, even humbled himself by requesting that at least the sovereignty [over Crete] remain with the Porte. I did not want to stand up amidst such children. Before the meeting ended I had for fifteen minutes done my best to remove revolting expressions such as "the loss" and "the break-down of the state" from the motion and had not been able to introduce the point of the expulsion of the Greek officers. The most suitable speech was given by Mr. Campbell. The others spoke so softly that their words were incomprehensible. Also present were thirty press reporters. Another motion, related to the question of Crete, was agreed upon. In it, disgust was also expressed about the war that the Spanish had begun in Morocco. The motion on Crete stated this: those present are one in feeling and thought with the Turks in regard to the question of Crete. They demand that the preservation of rights and the territorial integrity

89 Entry for November 26, 1909.

90 Thus called in *The Times* of August 23 (p. 8); our text has *cemiyet-i İslamiye* or *ihvat-i İslamiye cemiyeti*.

91 Entries for April 6, July 12, August 21 and November 26, 1909.

92 In 1909, Spain began the conquest of northern Morocco, especially of the region around Melilla, cf. Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*, 2nd ed. Cambridge 1975), 302-303.

93 Ahmed Tevfik Pasha (1845-1936), Diplomat and Grand Vizier; Ambassador at Berlin (1885-1895) and London (1909-1914).

94 Entry for August 17, 1909.

[be safeguarded] by the Ottoman Government and request the conclusion of an alliance with England.⁹⁵

Similar statements were made during a meeting held on January 5, 1910 - the Ottoman Embassy had again been approached on December 7 and 8 -, but Süssheim was by then discouraged by the ineffectiveness of the previous meetings as well as the objections raised by the Ottoman Ambassador (on December 9); he did not attend.

On several other occasions Süssheim visited the Ottoman Embassy. On the *id-i fitr* (*Şeker Bayramı*, ending the Ramadan feast, on October 16) he paid his respects together with a delegation of the Muslim Brethren, and he also went there on the birthday of the Sultan (on November 3). Through the Embassy Süssheim made the acquaintance of the newly-appointed Embassy Imam, Ahmed Es'ad Efendi - the former Imam had made himself impossible by continually going out and spending his time, sometimes even in seaside resorts, in the company of women. Süssheim first met him on December 5, when Es'ad Efendi told him about his journey from Istanbul to London:

Es'ad Efendi had left Istanbul wearing a turban and *ulema* clothes. He did not deem it improper to have to face people staring at him and he travelled to Belgium in this way. But because he was badly treated there, he took off his turban and began wearing a fez. On Embassy instructions, he now always donned European dress. He was the son of a teacher [*hoca*] from Ödemiş. After he had graduated from the *Mekteb-i nüvvab* ("Assistants' School"), he entered the *Hukuk* (Law School) which he also finished. He was about twenty-eight years old. He was very agile, healthy and a formidable talker; in short, an Ottoman [of a type] you did not see before [the Proclamation of] Liberty. He uses expressions such as "the world", "politics" and "the law", and generally does so with conviction. He has strange notions about politics. He proposed, for instance, to hand over the Province of Basra to the English Government after [the Proclamation of] Liberty, so that it could bring about improvements in public facilities. In exchange for this Egypt should be returned to the Porte within one and a half years. This is an example of insubstantial thinking. What pleased me most was [the news] that Arnavud Hüseyin Efendi, who taught me Arabic, was, at the request of Mahmud Şevket Pasha,⁹⁶ appointed teacher in the Fatih Mosque after his return to

⁹⁵ The meeting was reported in *The Times* of August 23, 1909 (p. 8). The paper stated that the meeting requested "the Ottomans not to entertain any proposal to deprive them (the Muslims in Crete) of the island." The "Indian" referred to by Süssheim was a certain "Mohammed Ismail" who moved "a resolution expressing sympathy with the Ottoman Government in their endeavor to preserve their sovereignty over the island." This motion was accepted. According to the paper, the requirement of an Anglo-Ottoman alliance was put forward in a separate motion moved by a certain Mr. M.A. Khan. The motion on Morocco requested "the powers in Europe to intervene in order to put an end to the chaotic state of affairs there and to leave the Moors in the peaceful enjoyment of their country."

⁹⁶ Mahmud Şevket Pasha (1856-1913), soldier, Minister and Grand Vizier; he became one of the most powerful figures in the Ottoman Empire after the crushing of the counterrevolution of April 13, 1909.

Istanbul with the *Hareket ordusu* ("Action Army")⁹⁷...

This turned out to be untrue, as Süsseim noted two years later, on December 7, 1911, when he continued:

He [Hüseyn Efendi] had earned fame in Istanbul as a philosopher and an irreligious person. Ten years ago, he boasted that he had never set foot in a mosque. I am convinced that you could not find a better teacher in the world from whom to learn the first principles of Arabic grammar and syntax. Because of the question of Crete, the inhabitants of Istanbul and the Ottomans in general are said to be boiling with rage. If Crete will not be rescued from the hands of the Greek, it is possible that insurrections will occur everywhere...

On December 7, 1909, Es'ad Efendi told Süsseim about the (secret) dinner given at the Embassy in honour of Gamble Pasha⁹⁸ who had just arrived from Istanbul and had advised the Ottoman leaders to build a strong fleet. Two days later, on December 9, Süsseim heard from him that Gazi Muhtar Pasha⁹⁹ and his friend Ahmed Cevdet Bey had fled from the Ottoman capital when the 'Action Army' had approached the city. On January 3, he heard that the Imam had, like his predecessor, adopted the habit of going out with English girls, and he apparently no longer saw him.

On January 5, Süsseim had an interview with the Persian Ambassador:

I was invited today at 11.30 a.m. by the Iranian Ambassador, *Mushir al-Malik* ("Councillor to the King") Mirza Mahdi Khan, by way of a letter in his own handwriting. I was exactly on time. He is a rather influential personality and a son of high-ranking nobles. He had been ambassador in London before, was had received the title of "Prince" from Muhammad Ali Shah¹⁰⁰ two years ago, and was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs after Muhammad Ali Shah had been deposed. He studied at Oxford University and knows some French and Russian. He is about thirty-three years old, sturdy and intelligent. He also has a gift for conversation. He is greatly interested in the work of orientalists, is knowledgeable on the subject and posed all kinds of questions. We talked for one hour and a half. He talks a lot, but is nevertheless a cautious diplomat. When I asked if an alliance between Iran and the Porte would be feasible, he said something like: the two countries are brothers and have to be on excellent terms. What amazed him above all was that the Young Turks had been victorious over Abdülhamid. This he

⁹⁷ The 'Action Army', organized in order to crush the counterrevolution of April 13, 1909, consisted of regular units led by the commander of the Third (Macedonian) Army, Mahmud Şevket Pasha, reinforced by volunteer units, mostly Albanians; it occupied Istanbul on 24 April; see Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 102.

⁹⁸ D.A. Gamble, British officer; Rear-Admiral since 1908; Naval Adviser to the Ottoman Government (1908-1910).

⁹⁹ Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Pasha (1839-1918), soldier, statesman, High Commissioner of Egypt (1885-1906), President of the Senate (1911) and Grand Vizier (1912).

¹⁰⁰ Muhammad Ali Shah, ruler of Iran (1907-1909) and Shah of the Qajar Dynasty; he was deposed by the constitutional revolutionaries after he had ordered the bombardment of the Parliament building in Tehran.

considered to be an unbelievable triumph. I told him about the feelings cherished by the Young Turks vis-à-vis Iran, and explained to him the tyranny of Abdülhamid. Although he was ready to admit that [Abdülhamid] "was a rather queer fellow," he said that he [Abdülhamid] had done more than the things [I had told him about].

Süsseim used the interview for articles he wrote for the *İkdam* and the Persian paper *Shams* ("The Sun"), also appearing in Istanbul - these he sent off on January 6 and 7.¹⁰¹

Süsseim met the Ambassador several times afterwards. On April 13, 1910, he explained to him the role of the *Reichsbank* in the financing of the Baghdad Railway.¹⁰² He also paid him his respects on the occasion of *Now Ruz*, the Persian New Year, on April 15. After having assured himself of the cooperation of Abdulmajid, Süsseim also tried to obtain the Ambassador's support for a pro-Iran (and anti-Russia) meeting of the Muslim Brethren.¹⁰³ It eventually was held on March 23. A resolution was passed in which the Russians were requested to withdraw their troops from eastern Anatolia and Persia; Süsseim had heard from the Ambassador that in Tabriz alone 1500 Russian soldiers were stationed.¹⁰⁴ Süsseim himself spoke at the protest meeting and particularly stressed the danger of a Russian expansion in India. He also discussed with the Ambassador the possibility of founding an Anglo-Iranian Society. A certain Yuhanna Davud, a curious personality whom Süsseim had met at the British Museum, took part in these discussions. He was probably a Baha'i from Kirmanshah and intended to play an important part in the Society. He visited Süsseim in his rooms at Great Russell Street, until the latter, exasperated by his unwelcome visits, was forced to throw him out on April 29 - the man was not

101 Sayyid Hasan sent the *Shams* article, bearing the title *Maqalat ba-safir-i Iran dar London* ("Interview with the Ambassador of Iran in London"), to Süsseim on February 10, 1910.

102 On September 27, 1888, an agreement was signed in which the Ottoman Government agreed to the participation of the *Deutsche Bank* in the construction and ultimate operation of a new railway that would extend the existing Haydarpaşa-Izmit line to Ankara, and eventually to Baghdad and the Persian Gulf. A definite concession for the construction and exploitation of the Konya-Baghdad traject was signed with the Germans in March 1903, cf. Stanford J. Shaw & Ethel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey II. Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975*, Cambridge 1977, 227; Burhan Oğuz, *Alman Gerçeği ve Türkler*, İstanbul 1983, 162; E.R.J. Brünner, *De Baghdadspoorweg. Bijdrage tot de kennis omtrent het optreden der mogendheden in Turkije 1888-1908*, Groningen & Jakarta 1956, 120.

103 Entry for March 8, 1910.

104 Entry for March 12, 1910. After the Russian-Ottoman War of 1877-1878, the Ottomans had to cede the Anatolian districts of Kars, Ardahan, Batum and Doğu Bayezid to Russia. In August 1907, northern Persia became part of the Russian sphere of influence in the Anglo-Russian Agreement of that year. In June 1908, the Shah declared martial law in Iran and closed the Parliament, the Russians occupied Tabriz in 1909, taking severely repressive measures, cf. Ulrich Gehrke, *Deutschland in Persien während des ersten Weltkrieges*, 2 vols. Hamburg 1957, 8-10.

impressed, however, and kept returning.

On July 17, 1909, an Ottoman parliamentary delegation arrived at Charing Cross Station, and Süssheim was invited to attend the dinner offered to them.¹⁰⁵ He was present among the group of people, including Halil Halid Bey who taught Turkish literature in Cambridge,¹⁰⁶ who welcomed the parliamentarians at the station. He attended the dinner on July 20, when Lord Curzon¹⁰⁷ gave a speech in which he stressed the necessity of safeguarding Egypt from the Germans. During their stay in London, Süssheim had the occasion to speak to some of the Ottomans delegates, including Abdülhakk Hamid,¹⁰⁸ Rıza Tevfik,¹⁰⁹ Tal'at Bey - at that time Deputy for Edirne -, and, again, Ebüzziya Tevfik, Deputy for Antalya. Süssheim also made the acquaintance of some Ottoman students, among whom Necati Bey, who knew Library Inspector Mustafa Asım well. According to Necati Bey, the Inspector was no more than a shrewd charlatan who, at the time of his appointment, had not even known where to find the Istanbul Public (Umumi) Library.¹¹⁰ He thought that Abdülhamid's fear of being murdered by the Unionist Government, as soon as he would have bequeathed his possessions to the state, was quite justified.¹¹¹

While Süssheim was staying in London, Professor Jacob, a loyal supporter of his academic career, took the initiative of having him appointed by the Bavarian Academy of Sciences (*Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften*) as its official

105 The visit apparently was part of the policy of the Committee of Union and Progress to counter-balance the growing German military influence in the Ottoman Empire and improve relations with Britain, cf. Oğuz, *Alman Gerçeği*, 261.

106 Süssheim had written to him about the visit on July 8. Çerkes-Şeyhzade Halil Halid Efendi had been a friend and adviser to E.J.W. Gibb and Edward G. Browne. For Halil Halid Bey (d. 1934), scholar, politician and diplomat; "a man of fair intelligence and education, very good-looking, rather vain and inclined to laziness," see Sir Andrew Ryan, *The Last of the Dragomans*, London 1951, 24.

107 George Nathaniel Curzon (1859-1925), British politician and statesman; travelled extensively through Persia (1889-1890).

108 Abdülhakk Hamid (Tarhan) (1852-1937). The poet and playwright had served as a diplomat at the Ottoman Embassy in London and later as envoy in Brussels (1906-1912); cf. P. de Bruijn, *The Two Worlds of Eşber. Western Orientated Verse Drama and Ottoman Turkish poetry*, Leiden 1997.

109 Rıza Tevfik (Bölükbaşı) (1868-1949), poet, philosopher and Liberal politician; Deputy for Edirne, 1908-1918; see for his biography: Jan Schmidt, 'Een Osmaanse ode voor Emir 'Abdallāh: Rıza Tevfik's *Kaside-i Kadriye* van 1933', in *Şarhiyyât* 5 (1993), 79-107.

110 Entries for August 6 and 12, 1909.

111 Sultan Abdülhamid, although deposed in April 1909, died a natural death on February 10, 1918, in the Beylerbeyi Palace in Istanbul; his possessions became state property in 1924, cf. Chapter Five, below.

deputy and investigator of the Palace Archives in Istanbul, where, according to reports in German newspapers, very old documents had come to light.¹¹² Süsseim was skeptical about this initiative, assuming that the Ottomans would never let foreigners pry into their secret state papers, but he wrote to von Heigel, President of the Academy, that he would accept if, in turn, he would obtain a position at one of the German universities.¹¹³ On June 21, he also applied for a job as Arabist at the British Museum, but he was turned down because he was a foreigner and over twenty-five years of age.

A month later, a member of the Ottoman Parliamentary delegation, the Jewish merchant Sason Efendi (Ezechiel Sasson), Deputy for Baghdad,¹¹⁴ told Süsseim that the Ottoman Archives would be officially investigated by a commission under the chairmanship of Abdurrahman Şeref Bey.¹¹⁵ Von Heigel wrote to Süsseim on September 15 that he could be sure of being appointed by the Bavarian Academy.

Süsseim had to leave London on April 30, 1910, before he was able to finish his German introduction to, and translation of, the *Akhbar*, when he heard from his brother Max that his father's health had unexpectedly deteriorated.¹¹⁶ He paid 60s. for his ticket from Charing Cross to Nuremberg.

Death of Süsseim's father

Süsseim arrived in Nuremberg on May 1, 1910. His brother Max and their brother-in-law Eugen Kirschbaum met him at the station and told him that his father had died on the day before. Sigmund Süsseim had become unwell on April 29. He had not managed to drink his breakfast coffee and had returned to his bed. When his wife had come back from the market, she saw the untouched coffee and found her husband in bed with a purple face; he was hardly able to move or breathe. The doctor was summoned, but he was at a loss what to do, and prescribed an ineffective potion. Sigmund died of combined heart and lung failure on the 30th, at two p.m., his mother-in-law, Regina Morgenstern, sitting

¹¹² Entry for June 16, 1909.

¹¹³ Entries for June 21 and 23, 1909.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Tunaya, *Partiler* I, 36n.; for Ezechiel Sasson, a Jewish leader who was reserved towards Zionism and was termed 'an Arab patriot', see Isaiah Friedman, *Germany, Turkey, and Zionism 1897-1918*, Oxford 1977, 148.

¹¹⁵ For Abdurrahman Şeref Bey (1853-1925), Ottoman historian and statesman, chairman of the *Tarih-i Osmani encümeni* ("Committee for Ottoman History"), see E.J. Zürcher, "Şeref, 'Abd al-Rahmān", *IE* IX (1997), 417.

¹¹⁶ Süsseim received two telegrams, included in the Diary, dated April 29 and sent at, respectively, 1 and 2 p.m. German time, stating "*Papa krank kein Grund zur Besorgnis komme*" and "*Komme sofort mit naechstem Zug.*"

at his feet. He was buried on May 2. The funeral was attended by Süssheim's uncles, Philipp Vandewart, Sigmund Schlüchterer, Isaak Stamm, Friedrich and Heinrich Morgenstern and their families as well as a delegation from Kronach. The Rabbi of the Nuremberg Liberal Jewish Community gave a speech and praised the deceased's good character, his practical sense and patriotism. His two sons had at first turned against him, the Rabbi continued, but had later repented and mended their ways. Süssheim noted that he remained utterly cool, but Max seemed affected and Eugen cried. His mother was very upset and said she wanted to die. The next day, May 3, the family was rather embarrassed when they discovered that Sigmund's wish had been to be cremated after his death. Mother wept and feared that the corpse would have to be exhumed again, but Max reassured her that the legal conditions for a cremation had not been fulfilled; this would in any case have made it impossible. To alleviate his mother's sorrow and loneliness, Süssheim stayed with her during the night.

Süssheim had to pay some attention to his late father's financial affairs. Sigmund Süssheim was owed money to the amount of forty-eight thousand marks. Eugen Kirschbaum was eager to be entrusted with its collection¹¹⁷ but both Süssheim's mother and Max distrusted him - he had always refused to tell his father-in-law anything about his financial circumstances and he regularly had rows with them. He knew how to irritate Max; on May 16, for instance, he berated the members of the Socialist Women's Choir, calling them "whores" in the presence of his brother-in-law who nearly exploded with anger.

Süssheim stayed in Germany until May 19. Before he again left the country, he began to have his translation of the *Akhbar* typed out.¹¹⁸ He spoke with Professor Jacob (on May 7 and 11), who thought that Hommel, despite the fact that he had originally suggested that Süssheim apply for an academic position in Munich - this had induced him to give up trying his luck in Berlin¹¹⁹ - was biased against his appointment in the former city. He also mentioned Professor Mann's¹²⁰ severe criticism of his *al-'Urada* edition.¹²¹

First visit to Paris

On the evening of May 19, Süssheim travelled to Paris by way of Stuttgart. He

117 Entries for May 8, 9 and 12.

118 Entry for May 4, 1910.

119 Entry for February 4, 1909.

120 Oskar Mann, Iranist and traveller in the Middle East; Director of the Berlin *Staatsbibliothek*.

121 In *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* (OLZ) 12 (1909), 430-434. Mann praised Süssheim's profound and precise research but held that he had edited an unimportant secondary source which, moreover, did not bring any unknown linguistic material to light; cf. Flemming, 'Süssheim', 3-4. Süssheim reacted in an article on June 3, which apparently remained unpublished.

arrived the next day, and took lodgings in Rue Trévisé 15, from where he regularly visited the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.¹²²

The problem of Crete was still occupying him. He made some efforts to organize and find support for a pro-Ottoman meeting in favour of the rights of the island's Muslim population. He heard (on May 26) that about a hundred Ottoman students living in the city had, with the support of the Paris Chamber of Commerce, published a leaflet in which Ottoman territorial rights over the island were defended. Süsseim vainly tried to talk to Nazım Bey,¹²³ councillor of the Ottoman students in Paris and Deputy for Salonica. He also approached Yusuf Kemal Bey,¹²⁴ jurist and Deputy for Kastamonu, who was not very enthusiastic,¹²⁵ and Subhi Bey, a student of economics and leader of the local Muslim Brotherhood.¹²⁶ The latter feared the reaction of the powerful Hellenistic Society in Paris which had the support of Clemenceau¹²⁷ and Jaurès.¹²⁸ He told Süsseim (on June 4) that the leading Young Turk activist Baha'üddin Şakir¹²⁹ intended to postpone the kind of manifestation he had in mind, and wanted to consult the Porte first. Süsseim also tried to interest his friend Mr. Tournan,¹³⁰ Deputy for Cher, on June 2. Also in Paris Süsseim remained in contact with Sayyid Ahmad who sent the last copied manuscript on May 27; on the same day he wrote to Sayyid Hasan and sent him 250 francs.

122 Entry for May 27, 1910.

123 Probably Dr. Nazım Bey from Salonica (c.1870-1926), student in Paris, physician, leading activist of the Committee of Union and Progress; minister; left Turkey in 1918; condemned to death and hanged by the İzmir tribunal of 1926.

124 Yusuf Kemal (Tengirşenk, 1878-1968), jurist, professor of criminal law in Istanbul (1907), Minister of Economic Affairs (1920-1921), Minister of Foreign Affairs (1921-1922), Ambassador in London (1923), and Minister of Justice (1930).

125 Entries for May 29 and June 1, 1910.

126 Entries for June 2 and 4, 1910.

127 Georges Eugène Benjamin Clemenceau (1841-1929), French politician and statesman; Prime Minister (1906-1909 and 1917-1920).

128 Jean Léon Jaurès (1858-1915), French Socialist politician; director of the Socialist newspaper *l'Humanité* (1904-1914).

129 Baha'üddin Şakir (1877-1922), physician and influential Unionist activist; banished in 1891, he escaped to Egypt and Paris; after 1908 he became Deputy and Minister. As political director of the *Teşkilât-ı Mahsusa* he organized the 'relocation' of Armenians in 1915-16 which resulted in the death of enormous numbers of Armenians, see Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 120-121. He was assassinated by Armenians in Germany.

130 Isidore François Tournan (1874-1939), French politician, Deputy and Senator.

Admission to the Habilitation

Having left Paris in the afternoon of June 5, Süssheim arrived in Munich the next day and immediately began a series of confused and rather nerve-racking consultations with Hommel, von Heigel, Hell, von Pöhlmann (then Dean of the Philosophical Faculty), Crusius¹³¹ (Dean of the Literary Section) and Schermann,¹³² in order to be admitted to the *Habilitation*, the examination and formalities required for an appointment as *Privatdozent*, with a view to obtaining the title of professor, preferably in the three Islamic languages, Arabic, Persian and Turkish, before departing on his mission for the Bavarian Academy to Istanbul.

Professor Hommel, who had to approve Süssheim's habilitation thesis, the 'Prolegomena', and to present him for appointment, still seemed to be harbouring doubts, and Professor Hell declared outright that there was no need for him at the University. In the morning of June 17, 1910, Süssheim went to Professor Crusius:

When I told him that Professor Hommel made difficulties, he wrote down that I had the intention of starting a career as lecturer on Islamic History, Turkish, Persian and Arabic, and said that he would discuss the subject at the Faculty meeting taking place next week. He did not consider Hell of any importance, nor did he take my complaints seriously.

At half past two p.m., I called upon Professor Hommel. I said that I did not consider Professor Mann's completely unjustified criticism of my first book a sufficient reason for abandoning a career as a lecturer in oriental studies and that I, moreover, would add a completely historical introduction to the work I was to present to the University. He did not seem to be of the same opinion. After he had made all kinds of remarks that were unfavourable to me, he recommended, nay ordered, that I start a teaching career in Erlangen, because Munich, as opposed to Erlangen, had no use for my knowledge. We parted, and when I reached the door he said as a final touch to the rudeness he had shown me that he might possibly refuse to accept my work on the pretext that he was not the right specialist to judge the work I intended to present. His discourtesy reached its utmost limit when he said that the Philosophical Faculty usually gave this answer if it did not want to accept someone.

All these remarks poured in such an absurd way from his lips that I could hardly repress a smile. Hommel revealed an important thing to me: that this afternoon the regular meeting of the Philosophical Faculty would be held. I realized the importance of today's meeting, and I went immediately to Professor [von] Heigel's house. I told him that Hommel had raised categorical objections to me and had demanded that I go to Erlangen. Thereupon he smiled and said: "Hommel is a child" and told me not to be afraid.

After these discussions I slept very badly for two nights. The first night I even ran a temperature.

131 Otto Crusius (1857-1918), Classicist, professor in the University of Munich (from 1903), President of the Bavarian Academy of Science (from 1915).

132 Lucian Schermann (1864-1946), Indologist, professor in the University of Munich (1901-1933), Director of the *Museum für Völkerkunde* in Munich; emigrated to the United States in 1939.

Some days later, Süssheim's worries proved to be to some extent unfounded and he was accepted as a candidate for the *Habilitation* in Islamic History and Turkish by the Faculty on June 20, partly on the suggestion of Hommel himself who had proposed this combination of subjects. But Hommel informed him, to his dismay, that he had to add a chapter on linguistics to his 'Prolegomena' to the *Akhbar*.¹³³ The day before, Süssheim had already presented the Arabic text, the German translation and the 'Prolegomena' to Crusius. But he accepted the condition, and gave Hommel the linguistic addition on August 31.

During his three months' stay in Germany, Süssheim lived at Dachau, Bruckerstrasse 2. His mother came to stay with him for a week, from September 1 to 8. She wished to escape from Nuremberg, where, she suspected, Eugen and her daughter Paula were planning to build a villa and were squandering the thirty thousand marks she had given them - Max and Karl had received similar sums.¹³⁴ Süssheim continued corresponding with Sayyids Hasan and Ahmad in Istanbul and saw to the copying of manuscripts and the selling of his *al-'Urada* edition.

Second visit to London and Paris

On September 15, Süssheim travelled to England by way of Brussels, where he saw the World Exhibition, and Flushing. He went first to Oxford, where he stayed at 1 Alfred Street, and did research in the Bodleian Library. On September 18, he visited Professor Margoliouth:¹³⁵

In compliance with Professor Margoliouth's invitation, I went to his house at a quarter past one to have lunch. His wife is the daughter of Mr. Payne,¹³⁶ a well-known expert in Syriac; she herself also masters Syriac. Her physical strength has been somewhat reduced by age; she looks quite ugly and is rather fat. She reads all books and journals of Syriac linguistics and has travelled to the East with her husband. Although she is friendly, I do not like her as a scholar.

Professor Margoliouth subscribes to the *Tanin*¹³⁷ and showed me the biography of Abdülhamid II written by Osman Nuri Bey.¹³⁸ He had been personally acquainted with the young Osman. Professor Margoliouth has grown considerably older since I first saw him.

133 Entry for June 30, 1910.

134 Entry for September 1, 1910.

135 David Samuel Margoliouth (1858-1940), classicist and orientalist, Laudius Professor of Arabic at Oxford (1889-1937); he wrote, in collaboration with his wife Jessie, a *Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (1927) based on her father's *Thesaurus Syriacus* (of 1896-1903).

136 Robert Payne Smith (1818-1895), orientalist and theologian; Dean of Canterbury.

137 Principal newspaper of the Committee for Union and Progress, published 1908-1925.

138 *Abdülhamid-i sani ve devr-i saltanatı; hayat-i hususiye ve siyasiye* ("Abdülhamid II and the Period of his Sultanate; His Private and Political Life"), Istanbul 1327 (1909).

In London Süssheim again worked in the British Museum where he once, on October 3, met two Samaritan Jews from Nablus and acted as an interpreter between them and Margoliouth on the following day. He met his cousin Ernst Schlüchterer, son of Sigmund and Bertha Morgenstern, whom he harangued for the Christian education of his children.¹³⁹ On October 5, he attended the festivities on the occasion of the *id-i fitr* at the Holborn Imperial Hotel.

On the evening of October 7, Süssheim left England again and travelled to Paris, probably to undertake research in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. The Diary records that he spoke for an hour with Yusuf Kemal¹⁴⁰ and received a letter from Sayyid Hasan in which the latter complained that he had been forced to pay 10 lira to the customs office in Istanbul on receiving Süssheim's copy of *al-Awamir*.¹⁴¹

Süssheim becomes a Privatdozent

On October 20 Süssheim was back in Munich, where he was to live until the beginning of the next year in rooms at Adelheidstrasse 34 and Hiltenspergerstrasse 19 (from April 1911). During this time he spent holidays in Italy with his mother (November 18 to December 11) and in Bad Kissingen (August 2 to 9, 1911); he also went to Vienna, where he worked at the Imperial and Royal Library (March 16 to April 2, 1911). There he studied the unique manuscript of the History of Ibn Furat,¹⁴² and met Joseph von Karabaček, the Director of the Library.¹⁴³ He also visited Professor Müller,¹⁴⁴ the editor of Yemenite inscriptions, who told Süssheim details about conflicts between Glaser,¹⁴⁵ who had collected thousands of inscriptions, and Hommel, and

139 Entries for October 3 and 6, 1910.

140 Entry for October 17, 1910.

141 Entry for October 18, 1910.

142 Ibn Furat (1334-1405), Egyptian historian and author of a voluminous universal history called *Tarikh ad-duwal wa l-muluk* ("The History of Dynasties and Kings").

143 Joseph Ritter von Karabaček (1845-1918), prominent orientalist and papyrologist; professor in the University of Vienna (from 1881); Director of the *Hofbibliothek* (from 1899).

144 David Heinrich Müller (1846-1912), since 1885 professor of Semitic languages at the University of Vienna, pupil and successor of Eduard Sachau. For his long and honourable career (he had been trained as a Jewish theologian) see Johann Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, Leipzig 1955, 255-257; for an acid remark by Ignaz Goldziher see *Tagebuch*, ed. A. Scheiber, Leiden 1978, entry for September 20, 1892.

145 Eduard Glaser (1855-1908), explorer of Southern Arabia; travelled four times to that area during the 1880s and 1890s; he was unable to pursue an academic career because he had not finished his studies in Vienna; he died in Munich. Süssheim most probably knew him personally,

between himself and Hommel (both were involved in the editing of the inscriptions and the Glaser papers).¹⁴⁶

The main obstacle to Süssheim's *Dozentship* at Munich University remained Hommel, who was probably, as Jacob thought,¹⁴⁷ negatively influenced by his friend Professor Hell. Hommel continually postponed reading Süssheim's 'Prolegomena'. Süssheim, despairing, tried to exert pressure on him through von Heigel, von Pöhlmann and Kuhn. He was particularly exasperated when he heard from Jacob (on December 20) that the latter's pupil Dr. Menzel¹⁴⁸ would leave Odessa and come to Germany:

In the evening after dinner when I was on my way home, I came across Professor Jacob and we talked for about an hour. From what the Professor said, I understood that his pupil Dr. Menzel of Munich had finally managed to bring over his wife's¹⁴⁹ possessions from Odessa to his house here, and was intending to start a career as a teacher at Munich University. Notwithstanding the fact that I was in Erlangen fifty days ago, the Professor did not say anything [about it] at that time. Menzel had gone to Erlangen to visit Jacob before me and after he had communicated his plans to Professor Hommel. I was really astonished now by these plans of Menzel but I did not show my feelings at all. When Menzel last spoke with Hommel, he had been led to believe that Hommel would postpone my case endlessly; his hopes had been raised that Hommel would be able to stand in my way, and that he, Menzel, would be able to start his teaching career at my expense. Professor Jacob really is always a loyal supporter of those who work hard in the field of Oriental sciences, and particularly in that of Turkish language and literature. Although I don't like Menzel's coming, I must remain neutral. Jacob advised me, if I wished to do something against Hommel's lazy negligence, to pay visits to Professors Kuhn and Heigel. I feel somewhat offended by Professor Jacob, though, because he did not tell me anything when I was in Erlangen.

Süssheim went to see Hommel the next day.

He told me in a sharp voice and an unfriendly manner about Menzel's plans. I was made to understand that he had not yet even glanced at the essay that will give me admission to a lecturer's career. He acted as if he had no time and it was not clear whether he would do so in the future. He thought it reasonable to wait until Menzel should have finished his essay.

Kuhn and von Heigel again tried to reassure Süssheim.

Although I actually did not want to go to Kuhn, I changed my mind after so much rudeness, and

cf. entry for September 22, 1911.

146 Entries for March 16 and 28, 1911 and above, note 63.

147 Entry for January 2, 1911.

148 Theodor Menzel (1878-1939), orientalist, professor at Odessa (from 1921); he succeeded Jacob in Kiel (in 1926).

149 Mrs. Menzel was of Russian Jewish origin; they had married about 1903, see also Chapter Five, below.

I went straight to Kuhn.

Süssheim explained the situation.

Kuhn became furious and said it was the rule in Munich that anyone who wanted to start a teaching career was welcome to do so. "You are not obliged to wait until Menzel will be ready. You came first and will start first on your career." He recommended that I forward a petition to Professor von Pöhlmann [...] I went to Heigel who said that Hommel was offended because he had not been elected to the Academy and that he therefore wanted to create problems for me as well.

Süssheim saw Jacob and Menzel by chance in the evening:

Professor Jacob and Menzel were in the Library and left at the same time as I did. We talked from six until eight Central European Time.¹⁵⁰ Menzel told me that he, indeed, wished to start his teaching career in Munich and to obtain a professorship at Munich University. He intended to do so by preparing the unique manuscript of Neşri's History, which is preserved in the Imperial Library in Vienna, for a printed edition. He admitted, though, that he had not yet begun this work and would not be ready to start his career before spring of the next year.¹⁵¹ He stated that he did not want to let me wait that long. He implored me not to spread the rumour that his desire to start his career had anything to do with some sort of plot, or that he was an intriguer. I, in turn, said to him that if he wished to start his teaching career, generally speaking, nothing would keep him from it. When I told Kuhn that Hommel wanted to admit only one person for Turkish, Kuhn said immediately: "He may well want only one person for Turkish, but there is no regulation which might support him in that."

One reason for Hommel's resistance seems to have been that he did not quite know what to do with Süssheim's 'Prolegomena'. On December 29, he handed it over to Jacob who was positive about it. The latter wrote a report and gave it to Hommel on January 9, 1911. But it took another three months before Süssheim was able to get Hommel so far as to promise that he would examine him during the following month.¹⁵² A further delay was caused by the fact that Hommel did not return the 'Prolegomena' to Süssheim. At the latter's request, von Pöhlmann put pressure on Hommel and Süssheim received his work back on May 13. To his surprise, Hommel praised it, and von Heigel and Kuhn signed the document in which Süssheim was recommended for admission to the examination on May 14. But this was not yet all: Hommel seemed to object to Süssheim's former applications (and failures) at other universities. But Süssheim had set things right with von Heigel on May 17, when he explained to him that on those occasions he had only been seeking information about possible vacancies, especially in Strasbourg and Berlin. Hommel, moreover, had at that

¹⁵⁰ The text has '*alla franka*'.

¹⁵¹ For Menzel's share in the edition of this influential early Ottoman history see V.L. Ménage, *Neshri's History of the Ottomans*, London 1964.

¹⁵² Entry for April 3, 1911.

time recommended that he apply for a position in Munich...

On May 22, Süssheim heard at last that he was officially admitted to the examination and might even be allowed to teach Arabic and Persian as well. The examination took place on May 27:

I did not suffer in the least from what is called "examination fever." At eleven o'clock, only Professor Hommel had arrived. Because he had been running, his cheeks were quite red. After him, the Dean of the Faculty, Professor von Pöhlmann, turned up; then Grauwert,¹⁵³ and at a quarter past eleven, Kuhn. When I was conducted to the Dean's room, number 230, the Professor of Russian Language and Literature, von Heisenberg,¹⁵⁴ and an orientalist from the East,¹⁵⁵ whom I had seen several times before, arrived as well. I was given a seat between Professor Hommel and the Easterner [...]

The examination went as follows. Hommel had brought with him a Turkish text which was completely ungrammatical and had been composed and written down about two hundred years ago, possibly by a non-Muslim. The text given to me had been copied by Hommel while he himself kept the printed text. The contents of the text, of the myth genre, were essentially these: the Shah of Persia had a wife and a son. The wife was madly in love with the son. When the wife had died, the new girl taken by the Shah, did not love the Shah but his son. He [Hommel] posed quite a lot of questions about the analysis of the Persian and Arabic expressions. According to him, the origin of expressions like *heft kişver* ["the Seven Climes"] had to be found in Babylonian myths. The only word I did not know was *yengüleşmek* ["to wrestle"], which was, according to Hommel, a word one does not come across in histories but which belonged to popular idiom. Hommel several times said that he would pose some questions about the Orkhon and Turfan inscriptions,¹⁵⁶ but Kuhn moved his lips in disapproval and forced Hommel to continue with the interpretation of the text proper. Thereupon Kuhn posed some questions, among others about the conquest of India by the Muslims. Then Grauwert expressed his amazement about the fact that I did not discuss in my work the importance of the wars between the Crusaders and the Greeks on the one hand, and the Seljuks on the other. My work only mentions the Greeks who were involved in the wars of Alp Arslan's¹⁵⁷ time, and does not in any way refer to the Crusaders. After that, he asked about Vullers' translation of Mirkh^{and}¹⁵⁸ and the story of the famous poet

¹⁵³ Hermann von Grauwert (1850-1924), historian, professor in the University of Munich from 1885.

¹⁵⁴ August H. von Heisenberg (1869-1930), Byzantologist, professor in the University of Munich from 1910.

¹⁵⁵ The text has '*şarkiyeye aşina bir şarkli*'.

¹⁵⁶ Several major Turkic inscriptions in the Runic alphabet from the eighth and ninth century had been discovered in Mongolia in 1889 and deciphered by V. Thomsen in 1893. The term Turfan 'inscriptions' here denotes the manuscripts dating from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries were discovered in the oasis of Turfan in East Turkestan from the nineteenth century onwards.

¹⁵⁷ Adududdawla Alp Arslan, Seljuk ruler (1063-1072).

¹⁵⁸ The Persian universal history with the title *Rawdat as-safa* ("Garden of Purity") by Muhammad Mirkh^{and} (1433-1498), partially translated by J.A. Vullers as *Mirhonds Geschichte der Seldschuken... übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen erläutert...*, Giesen 1838.

Anwari.¹⁵⁹ Finally, Heisenberg posed some questions about the problem of what the Ottomans had adopted from the Byzantine State, and mentioned the importance of some things. When I denied that there had been any influence of the Byzantine State on the Ottoman polity, Pöhlmann said a few words implying that he was of a different opinion. While Hommel was still trying to raise questions about the Orkhon inscriptions, the examination was closed and I was ordered to retire to the Conference Room of the Philosophical Faculty. After two minutes, Pöhlmann opened the door and congratulated me because I had passed the examination...

Süssheim's 'Prolegomena' were published by Harrassowitz in Leipzig¹⁶⁰ but printed at his expense (387.20 M) in Munich; 150 copies were ready on July 24.

On July 29, Süssheim gave his trial lecture on 'The Seljuks and Byzantium', one of three subjects which had been given to him to choose from on July 25 (the two others were: 'India under the Mughals' and 'The Influence of Persian *insha*-prose on Ottoman prose'). The lecture was accepted, the Faculty decided to recommend Süssheim's being appointed a *Privatdozent* in the History of the Muhammedan and Turkish Languages in the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Munich, and on October 17, 1911 the Bavarian Ministry decided to ratify the appointment.

Ottomans in Munich

In July 1911, Munich was visited by an Ottoman parliamentary delegation under the chairmanship of Münif Bey, Deputy for Izmit, which intended to investigate German industrial expansion. Süssheim was invited by the Mayor of the city to participate in the reception committee. He accepted and attended the official dinner offered to the delegation on July 12, which ended in some turmoil provoked by the imperialist ideas of the last speaker:

The Director of the branch office of the *Deutsche Bank*, Galancızade Hakkı Tevfik Bey, whose whole family I know from Istanbul, has been interpreter to the delegation all the way from Berlin [...] During the banquet in Munich, he translated every one of the six or seven speeches that were given alternately in German and Turkish in an extremely eloquent and skilful manner. When I heard his first translation, I realized that he actually was Hakkı Bey, and I went to him. I immediately sat down in an empty seat next to Rıza Bey after I had asked permission to do so, and I amused myself very well with both Rıza and Hakkı Bey. They told me that since the beginning of the journey, the most eloquent men, such as Hüseyin Cahid¹⁶¹ and Ahmed

¹⁵⁹ Awhaduddin Ali b. Wahiduddin Muhammad Anwari (d. probably 585/1189-90), poet patronized at the court of the Seljuk Sultan Sanjar, cf. Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 197-199.

¹⁶⁰ *Prolegomena zu einer Ausgabe der im Britischen Museum zu London verwahrten "Chronik des Seldschuqischen Reiches."* Eine literarhistorische Studie, Leipzig 1911.

¹⁶¹ Hüseyin Cahid (Yalçın) (1875-1957), littérateur and Unionist politician; editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Tanin*.

İhsan,¹⁶² had returned to Istanbul, and they added that only the worst speakers, such as Münif Bey, had stayed with the delegation. The latter spoke slowly, moreover, and made his friends laugh at his ridiculous pronunciation of the word *elbette* ["certainly"]. Mr. Grothe had shaved off his moustache; because he had powdered his face and had become hunchbacked, he looked older than I had known him before. Because the Doctor [Endres?¹⁶³] is young, he behaved impudently as usual. He understands very little Turkish and speaks extremely slowly. He did not even know the words *oyuncak* ["toy"] and *kukla* ["puppet"]. The Consul-General¹⁶⁴ wore a glittering and pompous uniform, sparkling from top to toe with gold, and a fez. Perhaps because Hakkı Bey had praised the Germans in his speech, the Consul-General introduced his son, a respected writer, to Hakkı Bey. Hakkı Bey translated only one thing wrongly when he said that Ranke¹⁶⁵ had given a lecture on history in "Hotel Bayerischer Hof, where the deputies sit" instead of "the Bavarian Palace", i.e. the Royal Palace. Nobody noticed the error, but I did and had to smile slightly. Hakkı Bey, seeing this, looked at me in surprise.

The last speech was given by the editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Neckar*, Dr. Jaechk.¹⁶⁶ He provoked the Turks in a very unseemly way, but Hakkı Bey translated the speech word for word. After he had exaggerated out of all proportion the importance of Germany from several points of view, and the services rendered by her to the Turks, he proposed to reform the Ottoman educational system with the help of Germany. This included the foundation of a German University in Istanbul and the increase of the number, now twelve, of the German schools on Ottoman soil, for which the necessary capital had recently been raised in Germany, up to the number six hundred - of the French schools.¹⁶⁷ All elementary schools, finally, should be handed over to the Germans. Hakkı Bey kept casting these unworthy propositions into a more subtle form in order to make them more palatable to the Turks, but when Hakkı Bey translated the proposal about surrendering the elementary schools to the Germans, one member of the delegation who had been educated in Germany cried: "You translate this wrongly!" When Hakkı Bey asked what had been said, he [the interrupter] in fact gave more or less the same translation

162 Ahmed İhsan (Tokgöz) (1868-1942), civil servant and littérateur; Governor of the Province of Ordu and founder of the literary magazine *Servet-i fînun* ("Treasure of the Arts") in 1891.

163 Dr. Endres, Third Dragoman at the German Embassy in Istanbul. Tentatively identified as Major Franz Karl Endres (1878-1954), formerly General Staff Officer on von der Goltz's mission to the Ottoman Empire officer and military correspondent of the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* and the *Frankfurter Zeitung*; his books include *Die Türkei* (1917), cf. Friedman, *Germany, Turkey and Zionism 1897-1918*, 185 and *passim*.

164 Max Anton Kemmerich (b. 1851), merchant, Honorary Consul-General for the Ottoman Empire until September 1918.

165 Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886), German historian; professor in the University of Berlin.

166 Ernst Jaechk (1875-1959), political writer and traveller in the Middle-East; supporter of German economic and cultural expansion in the Ottoman Empire; founder of the German-Turkish Union (*Deutsch-türkische Vereinigung*).

167 Germany had schools in Istanbul, Izmir, Salonica, Beirut, Haifa, Jerusalem and Aleppo, cf. İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Alman Nüfuzu*, Istanbul 1983, 62-63; Oğuz, *Alman Gerçeği*, 44, 149. Ideas about cultural competition, especially with France, in the Near East were ever more frequently expressed in Germany from the end of the 19th century, cf. Oğuz, *ibidem*, 149-150. Süssheim himself supported the idea of founding a German Technical University in Istanbul, cf. Flemming, 'Süssheim', 4-5.

as Hakkı Bey. When, at that moment, Dr. Jaeckh finished his speech, everyone began to discuss it aloud.

The next day, Süsheim went to the theatre performance given in honour of the delegation.

Süsheim regularly saw his relatives, particularly his mother, Max and Paula, in Nuremberg. During his stay there from October 9 to November 2, 1910, he quarrelled with all of them because of his letter (in French) to their uncle Friedrich Morgenstern complaining about Ernst Schlüchterer's children in London losing their faith.

In April 1911, Süsheim recorded another serious disagreement, this time between his mother on the one hand, and Paula and Eugen on the other. Paula and Eugen did not want her to buy another house and hoped to borrow the thirty thousand marks due to her by an old debtor of her late husband, a certain Mr. Steinlein. Mother refused; she moved, on June 29, from Rothenburgerstrasse 7, where she had lived for thirty-three years, to a rented apartment on Bayreutherstrasse 6a. Eugen was furious; his relation to his mother-in-law was to remain strained through the years. This also affected the relationship between Mother and Paula, who was contemplating a divorce. At Süsheim's request, she agreed to delay such a step until after his wedding.¹⁶⁸

Süsheim also kept in touch with his agents Sayyid Hasan and Abdulhasan Bey (who replaced the former when he left Istanbul for a pilgrimage to Mecca) and his copyist, Sayyid Ahmad, who made several copies of *al-Awamir*, but seemed, regrettably, to have taken to the bottle.¹⁶⁹ Apart from his 'Introduction' to the *Akhbar*, Süsheim wrote his first articles for the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*¹⁷⁰ for which he received 294.10 M.¹⁷¹ He also began to take lessons in Russian conversation (on August 22, 1911), which he continued to follow in later years. From April 28, he began research into his own family history and visited, among others, the Bamberg Archives, saw the old houses in Büchenbach in which the Morgensterns had lived¹⁷² and interviewed, often distant, family members like Rebecca Morgenstern (1832-1915)¹⁷³ and the Lichtenstätters.¹⁷⁴

168 Entry for October 14, 1911.

169 Entry for April 23, 1911.

170 Süsheim wrote altogether twelve articles for the first volume, Leiden & London 1913: 'Abd al-'Azīz'; 'Abd al-Hamīd I'; 'Ahmed *Djiewdet Pasha*'; 'Ahmed Ihsan'; 'Ahmedī'; 'Ak Deñiz'; 'Ak Hisār'; 'Alā'd-Dīn *Pasha*'; 'Ālī'; 'Alī (Sidī 'Alī)'; 'Arnauten'; and 'Aya Sofia'.

171 Entries for March 15 and July 18, 1911.

172 Entries for November 20 and 21, 1911.

173 Entries for September 18, 1911, and May 19, 1915.

3. Struggling to Establish Himself as an Orientalist
(Istanbul, December 7, 1911 - April 4, 1912)

Abortive archive mission

Süssheim now prepared himself for his research mission to Istanbul. He saw Halil Edhem Bey in Hotel Bayerischer Hof on November 2, 1910. Halil Edhem had heard of the plans of the Bavarian Academy from Hommel, and suggested that Süssheim explain his plans to the Society for Ottoman History (*Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni*, TOE), which had just been established (in 1910), and file with them an official request for a research permit. Edhem Bey thought that he had a fair chance of obtaining permission, like Karácson¹⁷⁵ before him, to see the archives. Süssheim followed this advice on November 3, 1911; the official petition was signed by von Heigel and von Pöhlmann.

Süssheim had decided to take a camera with him to Istanbul. On March 10, 1911, he went to Erlangen to get instructions from a certain Mr. Sommer on how to photograph pages in books. He bought a relatively cheap camera through his brother-in-law Eugen for 509.25 M, which sum was nearly completely paid by his mother. It arrived on November 6, and Süssheim tried it out in a laboratory in Erlangen. On November 26, he also bought photographic paper.

Before leaving Germany, Süssheim received 690 M from his mother for travel expenses and cheques to the value of 4000 francs to draw on the Bank of Kohn in Nuremberg.¹⁷⁶

After a train journey lasting three days, Süssheim arrived in Istanbul on the morning of December 7, 1911, and took lodgings at Arif Bey's in the Divanyolu.

The drive toward his great goal - gaining admission to the Ottoman Archives - began with his visit to the offices of the Society for Ottoman History (TOE) on December 17. He tried to speak with Necib Asım Bey, now Mayor (*şehremini*) of Istanbul and an important member of the Society for Ottoman History. They had met in Istanbul before, and Süssheim had been recommended to him by Sason Efendi on July 22, 1909. It turned out that Asım Bey was on the point of leaving for Bulgaria, and Süssheim was unable to see him. The next historian he approached, on December 28, was the most senior of all, Abdurrahman Şeref Bey, a person of great prominence, official chronicler of the Ottoman Empire, Minister of Education, permanent president of the Society for Ottoman History,

174 Entry for September 22, 1911.

175 Imre Karácson (1863 - May 2, 1911), Hungarian orientalist; travelling to Istanbul in 1902, he did research for the Hungarian Ministry of Cultural Affairs (1907-1911), earning fifty lira per month for his work on the financial ledgers (*maliye defterleri*) in the Topkapı Palace Archives; he became a honorary member of the Society for Ottoman History. Cf. Necib Asım, 'Doktor Karaçon', in TOEM 2/8 (1327/1911), 516-520.

176 Entry for December 4, 1911.

and of course chairman of the committee set up to investigate the archives. Süßsheim had already seen him on December 7, when he had asked his permission to make photographs of the Aya Sofya manuscript of Aqsarayi's *Tadhkira*. Süßsheim had received an invitation to Abdurrahman's lecture at the next meeting of the Society for Ottoman History on January 3, 1912. This invitation initiated a series of regular visits to the Thursday-afternoon sessions of the Society. On January 3, Süßsheim noted in his Diary:

I went to the Society for Ottoman History at 2 p.m. Present were the President [Abdurrahman Şeref], Ahmed Midhat Efendi,¹⁷⁷ Secretary-in-Chief [Mehmed] Arif Bey, Safvet Bey,¹⁷⁸ [Ahmed] Tevhid Bey; the secretaries Kelekiyan Efendi and Afzaluddin Bey appeared later. At first there was some informal talk. The reason for Midhat Efendi's being so robust was that he had served in the army in the past; he looked as if he were an old Ottoman. Abdurrahman Şeref Bey read aloud the contents of an ambassador's dispatch (*sefaretname*) sent 200 years ago by the Porte to the King of Poland. Thereupon, when the official part of the meeting began, a secretary called Münir¹⁷⁹ read out a communication which had come in. The most important points were the establishment of sections of the Society at Izmit and on the island of Rhodes. In Edirne such a section had in fact been founded before. The Rhodes section had met with resistance because, apart from the local Director of Education and some other officials, nobody of the island's respectable society had been mentioned. I was requested to read a letter in German that was forwarded to me; it was written by Dr. [Otto] Alberts, who lives in a small village in the Palatinate at the French border, and was directed to the Director of the [Imperial] Museum, Halil Edhem Bey. Having occupied himself for twenty-five years with the *Kutadgu Bilig*¹⁸⁰ and having published a number of articles on that work in philosophical journals appearing in Germany,¹⁸¹ he [Alberts] had conceived the idea of selling a work of two hundred to three hundred pages, containing information and ideas that were indispensable for the understanding of the *Kutadgu Bilig*, for three thousand francs to the Ottoman Government. He had already

177 Ahmed Midhat Efendi (1844 - December 12, 1912), popular novelist and newspaperman during the Hamidian era; after 1908, professor of history and philosophy at Istanbul.

178 Safvet Bey (1869-1913), naval officer and historian; after 1908, member of the Second Section of the Ottoman General Staff and the Naval Council.

179 Çorluzade Salih Münir Pasha (1859-1939), diplomat, statesman, musician and historian.

180 The earliest surviving purely literary text in any Turkish language, written by the Karakhanid poet Yusuf Khass Hajib of Balasagun, dating from 1069. At the time of writing, two manuscripts were known to exist, one in the Uygur script preserved in Vienna (dating from 1439), the other in the Arabic script kept in Cairo, discovered in 1896. The book was first partly edited by Ármín Vámbéry in 1870; a more thorough-going edition had been published by F.M. Radloff in two volumes in 1890/1891 and 1910, cf. A. Dilaçar, *900. Yıldönümü Dolayısıyla Kutadgu Bilig İncelemesi*, Ankara 1972, 38-39; Robert Dankoff, 'Textual Problems in *Kutadgu Bilig*', in *Journal of Turkish Studies* 3 (1979), 89. The work was translated, with an introduction and notes, by Robert Dankoff, *Yūsuf Khāss Hājib. Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilig). A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes*, Chicago and London 1983.

181 'Zur Textkritik des Kutadku Bilik', in *ZDMG* 60 (1897), 715-717; 'Der Dichter des in uigurisch-türkischem geschriebenen Kutadku Bilik (1069-1070), ein Schüler des Avicenna', in *Archiv für Philosophie* 7 (1901), 319-336.

approached the Ottoman Embassy in Paris. He had, however, received no reply, and when von der Goltz Pasha¹⁸² had shown no interest when he had explained his intentions to him, he had written a detailed letter to the Director of the Museum, Halil Edhem. Halil Edhem had seen no other solution than to send the letter to the Society for Ottoman History. After they had forwarded the letter to me to read it, I said that because nobody would understand a work written in German, it was not acceptable. The Secretary-in-Chief to the Society, Arif Bey, who is more interested in Islam and the problems concerning the different law schools [*mezhebs*], said that the *Kutadgu Bilig* had very little to do with Islam and could, from a linguistic point of view, be compared to the *Divan-i Hikmet* ("A Collection of Poems on Wisdom"),¹⁸³ written a hundred years later. The *Kutadgu Bilig*, therefore, was not that interesting for Ottomans. I protested and said that the purchase of a manuscript of the work, even if of a quite recent date, was certainly worth thirty thousand francs; the *Kutadgu Bilig* was extremely valuable and important for the history and culture of the old Turks. Afzaluddin proposed the inclusion of a section about new books on Ottoman history in the Society's Journal [*Tarih-i Osmani encümeni mecmuası*, "Journal of the Society for Ottoman History", TOEM].¹⁸⁴ This point led to lively discussions. In the end it was deemed proper that in exchange for one copy of each of the new books that were sent to the Society, its title, the place where it was sold, and its price be mentioned in the pages of the TOEM. He then explained the etymology of the word "bibliography" in a pedantic way [...] The reason for all these effusions was that Ata Bey,¹⁸⁵ who had translated Hammer's Ottoman History,¹⁸⁶ had approached Afzaluddin Bey for a recommendation [in TOEM].

Despite the fact that Abdurrahman Şeref Bey had invited me to the Society for Ottoman History, he could not discuss the subject of my desire to work on the historical documents that are kept in the Archives, and I was really angry that he was not able to tell me anything.

On the next day, January 4, Süssheim went to Şeref Bey's house in Cihangir, but he refused to see him, and to Süssheim's dismay did not even consent to make an appointment. Indeed, Şeref Bey's attitude continued to be one of evasion and procrastination during Süssheim's stay in Istanbul. Clearly little could be expected from him.

On January 10, he told Süssheim that he could not take a decision in the matter unless the German Embassy gave him an official permit. But even if he had one, his request would most probably have to be decided upon by the Ottoman government. The next day, Süssheim immediately went to the Embassy and spoke with Dr. Weber, the First Dragoman, whom he had already met on his first day in the city (December 7, 1911). Weber suggested that he write a request in German, which the Embassy would forward to the Ottoman authorities

182 Colmar von der Goltz Pasha (1843-1916), Prussian officer; reorganiser of the Ottoman army (1883-1896), Commander of the Ottoman forces against the British in Iraq during World War I.

183 Supposedly written by the Karakhanid poet Ahmed Yasavi (d. 1166).

184 The journal was published in 18 volumes, 1910-1928; from vol. 14, it was called *Türk tarih mecmuası* ("Journal of Turkish History").

185 Mehmed Ata (d. 1918), translator of Joseph von Hammer's *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, which appeared as *Hammer tarihi tercemesi*, 9 vols. Istanbul 1911-1917.

186 Joseph von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 10 vols., Pest, 1827-1835.

through the official channels. Süssheim followed this advice, but nothing happened. On January 27 - Süssheim visited the Embassy on the occasion of the Kaiser's birthday¹⁸⁷ - Weber told him that he would send the Assistant Dragoman, Hayek Efendi, to the Porte in order to obtain an answer. On February 8 - time was pressing - Süssheim went in person to the Grand Vizier's Office (*sadaret*) and heard from the Undersecretary (*müsteşar*), Adil Bey, that an answer to his request had been sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs two days before, but that meanwhile nothing could be revealed about the contents. Finally, on February 20, Hayek Efendi was able to inform Süssheim that the Grand Vizier's reply was negative and that, moreover, there were no old documents in the Topkapı Palace Archives of the sort he was looking for, namely those concerning German-Ottoman relations during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁸⁸ Things were also complicated because some one-and-a-half million documents¹⁸⁹ had been transported to the library of the Society for Ottoman History for selection and binding, as Süssheim could see for himself when he visited it on March 3 in the company of Arif Bey:

Together with Arif Bey I entered the library building. I saw on the first floor how the political documents, brought over from the Topkapı Palace and already partly selected, were kept. On the ground-floor were more unselected papers. The papers were being selected according to the reigns of the Sultans, wrapped into parcels, and then, after this selection, carried out by ten persons, each of whom earned three hundred kuruş for the job, arranged according to years and compiled into different volumes. This was the only moment I was actually able to apply myself to these papers. Although they belong to the Archives, they had been handed over to Abdurrahman Şeref Bey for classification, and this was what was actually happening. Afterwards, the papers are to be returned to the Archives. According to Arif Bey, they are at present compiled into different volumes. In this way one will be able to consult the minutes of the *Divan* ["Council of State"] which contain the political events. Each volume comprises one year [...] For the moment it was however impossible to make use of the Topkapı Palace papers. Minutes of the *Divan* exist from the year 866 [1461-1462] onwards. I looked into a volume of *Divan varidati* ["Revenues of the *Divan*"] which were formerly examined by Karácson and had not been returned. Because it was written in old *ta'lik* script and partially lacked [diacritical] dots, it was very difficult to read. Safvet and Arif Bey could read it easily, but I was, generally speaking, unable to do so.

This indeed was the last glimpse Süssheim would ever have of the Ottoman State Papers. After many confusing consultations between himself, Dr. Weber and Hayek Efendi and the *sadaret* and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (which gave contradictory statements and recommendations), it eventually appeared that the

187 Wilhelm II (1859-1941), Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia (1888-1918).

188 For a summary survey of the contents of the Topkapı Palace Archives and the ongoing efforts of cataloguing see Ülkü Altındağ, 'Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi', in *Osmanlı Arşivleri ve Osmanlı Araştırmaları Sempozyumu*, Istanbul 1985, 117-120. In the light of the state of research at that time, the Grand Vizier's Office would have had no information to base itself on.

189 Altındağ mentions "153000 belge", cf. 'Arşiv', 119.

first responsibility for the Archives was, after all, in the hands of Abdurrahman Şeref Bey, and that he had to decide who was allowed to see them; the official research permit to be issued by the *sadaret* was no more than a formality.¹⁹⁰

On March 19, Hayek Efendi tried his luck for the last time at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Süssheim went with him:

I went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and had to wait there for half an hour. If anything is to be understood, it is the fact that the policy oriented towards Germany has been completely superseded by one of orientation towards England and France. An English dragoman described the charm and orderliness of the streets in Istanbul. Because foreigners are always [to be found] in the embassies of Beyoğlu, they also used to live there, but he said that Istanbul is a more suitable place to live. Thereafter he slipped away to Minister Edhem Bey who entered at the same moment. He spoke for a long time with Edhem Bey in the doorway about political matters. Thereupon the French First Dragoman, who was about fifty-five years old, speaking with another European dragoman, said: "You must take care not to do any business here. I do only as little as possible and am, generally speaking, successful." When the Dragomans' Room had emptied, the French First Dragoman began to talk to me, praising the political progress of the Turks. He said that there are very capable people at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs nowadays.

While the developments at several other ministries were being discussed, Hayek Efendi came in

and began to complain. He sat down beside me and said: "I will give you some advice as a friend: give up your attempts to work in the Archives and return to Germany!"

Although Abdurrahman Şeref did not openly say so, the Society (for Ottoman History) clearly did not want Süssheim to see any documents, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs could not do anything about it.

Süssheim himself had by then reached the conclusion that his plans would come to nothing,¹⁹¹ when he visited the Austrian Embassy on March 12 and asked, just for curiosity's sake, how Karácson before him had succeeded in crossing the threshold of the archives. It appeared that the personal influence of the ambassador had brought it about.

Shortly after midday, I went to the First Dragoman at the Austrian Embassy, Mr. Barger. Before Karácson had met with any success, memoranda had been sent from the Embassy to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for four months. These did not have any result and remained unanswered. Eventually some Imperial Rescripts [*irade-yi seniyeler*] were obtained, but were never delivered in writing to the Embassy. Only the repeated and personal intervention of the ambassador contributed to Karácson's successes. The ambassador had, for instance, presented Dr. Karácson to the Grand Vizier Ferid Pasha.¹⁹² Dr. Karácson was then able, even before the Proclamation of the Constitution [in 1908], to investigate the contents of sacks full of papers kept in the cellars

190 Entries for March 12 and 14, 1912.

191 Entry for March 11, 1912.

192 Mehmed Ferid Pasha (1852-1914), statesman and Grand Vizier (1903-1908).

of the Topkapı Palace. He also acted as mediator in bringing about the foundation of the Society (for Ottoman History). After this important matter had been settled, Dr. Karácson ran into trouble. He continued his investigation of the Topkapı Palace papers until he fell ill. While shaving, he scratched his cheek and during his work in the Palace, dust entered the wound which developed into a boil. He did not pay attention to it and went on with his work. Then he contracted typhoid fever. After a month of illness - in the end he was attended by three doctors - he was taken to a hospital and died of poisoning caused by the boil [...] As regards Karácson's income which he received both from the monastic order to which he belonged and the [Hungarian] Academy, it must have been between eight thousand and ten thousand francs altogether.

On March 22, Süßsheim reported to the Bavarian Academy what had happened. Moderately optimistic letters he had written to von Heigel previously¹⁹³ thus had proved to be premature.

Manuscript discoveries

Süßsheim's stay in Istanbul, despite the failure of his official mission, was not altogether without result for himself. He was able to enlarge his oriental collections; he bought many manuscripts and books. His booksellers included Topal İsmail Efendi, Abdurrahman Efendi (both of the *sahhaflar* market), Nasrullah Tabrizi (at the *adalar iskelesi*, "Islands' Quay", at Sirkeci), Naci Kasımzade and the publishing house of *Cihan* - most of them also sold his *al-'Urada* edition - and he would remain in contact with them after his return to Germany.

Lowering his expectations, Süßsheim made a series of photographs of manuscripts preserved in Istanbul libraries. However, the copying of some manuscripts was not allowed. He was denied admission to the Fatih Library by the secretary of the Ministry of Education on January 27. Copies were made of the Aya Sofya and Yeni Cami manuscripts of Aqsarayı's *Tadhkira*, the Yeni Cami manuscript of Ibn Bibi's *al-Awamir* and the Aya Sofya manuscript of the work then known as *Hibet al-Haqa'iq*.¹⁹⁴

For the actual photographing, Süßsheim obtained the services of a certain Lazar Melaldi Bey of Beyoğlu whom he paid three kuruş per page; but a quarrel broke out over the use of Süßsheim's camera. Lazar Bey had accepted an offer by the Ministry of War to make photographs of a part of the secret reports on

193 Entries for December 26 and 28, 1911; February 1, 1912.

194 The didactic poem *Atabat al-Haqa'iq* ("The Threshold of Truths"), written by Edib Ahmed of Yüknük, perhaps in Central Asia not long before the beginning of the thirteenth century, was first edited in facsimile by Necib Asım in 1918. The Aya Sofya manuscript dates from 1480 and is partly written in the Uygur, partly in the Arabic script, cf. the edition by R.R. Arat, Istanbul 1951, 27.

Mahmud Şevket Pasha kept in the Yıldız Palace¹⁹⁵ for a monthly salary of 150 lira. He wanted to use Süssheim's camera for this job. Süssheim did not object but stipulated that the camera should remain at his disposal and be kept for that purpose at the Köprülü Library. When Süssheim did not find it there on January 20, he demanded that it be immediately restored to its proper place. When Lazar Bey did not comply with this demand, Süssheim, furious, went to the Ministry of War in person. He was severely scolded by Lazar Bey who felt offended by this move. Süssheim got his camera back on January 25, but it meant the end of his connection with the photographer and of his photographing of manuscripts. A month later, when Lazar Bey asked Süssheim permission for borrowing the camera again, the latter refused this out of hand.

Besides the copying of manuscripts, Süssheim did some research on the genealogy of *seyyids* (descendants of the Prophet, also called *şerifs*) and *nakibüleşraf*s (the chiefs of *şerifs*).¹⁹⁶ He interviewed several members of this group. On December 10, 1911, he talked to Mehmed Nuri Efendi, who was related to the *nakibüleşraf* Cezzarlı Abdulkadir. He met Haydarzade Ahmed Bey, a medical doctor, *nakibüleşraf* at Karbala and a descendant of the Safavid dynasty, in the Central Coffee House (*Merkez kıraathanesi*) on Tramway Road, Bayezid, on December 22. He also tried to obtain documents from the secretary to the Istanbul *nakibüleşraf*, Hacı İbrahim Efendi, on December 23. He had an interview with Rıza Efendi el-Cesini,¹⁹⁷ a former *nakibüleşraf* and leader of the *ulema* in the Senate, on December 24. Rıza Efendi could not give Süssheim any documents. The next day Süssheim visited his old friend, the *şeyhülislam* Musa Kâzım Efendi - to his surprise he saw that he kept a pistol in his desk. Kâzım Efendi promised to instruct his secretary to write a report on Süssheim's behalf. Later, on January 3, 1912, he gave Süssheim some information for his research. Mir Ali Eşref Bey, a brother of Süssheim's agent Sayyid Hasan, himself an Iranian *nakibüleşraf*, was able to provide some data on the *seyyids* residing in the province of Gilan.¹⁹⁸

195 They were apparently to be used as propaganda material in support of the Committee for Union and Progress for the coming elections (see entry for January 8, 1912). Under Sultan Abdülhamid an extensive secret police network, directed from the Palace, had collected an enormous amount of secret reports (*jurnal*) on people it suspected, including the Sultan's own bureaucrats.

196 This research was, at least partially, undertaken in order to find the author of the *Akhbar* who himself must have been a *seyyid*, cf. Flemming, 'Süssheim', 4.

197 Rıza Efendi el-Cesini (b. c. 1840), civil servant and Senator; first Imam of Sultan Abdülaziz (1871-1876), Chief Military Judge (*kaziasker*) and *nakibüleşraf* (1900-1908).

198 Entry for January 28, 1912.

Abdullah Cevdet, Zekeriya Mazlum and others

During his stay in Istanbul, Süsseim again spent much time in the company of friends and acquaintances old and new (most of them through the Society for Ottoman History), and paid visits to figures of public interest.

His friend Zekeriya Mazlum told him that he had resigned as a public prosecutor after the murder of a German in Syria.¹⁹⁹ Süsseim again met Halil Edhem (on December 7, 1911, and March 5, 1912). Edhem Bey gave him a letter of recommendation to the Inspector-General of Public Libraries at the Ministry of Education, Mahmud Bey. To him Süsseim applied several times for access to libraries.²⁰⁰ He regularly discussed business with his agent, Sayyid Hasan, and his copyist, Sayyid Ahmad. On February 22, he signed a new contract with the latter for the copying of manuscripts, including Aqsarayı's *Tadhkira*.

On December 11, 1911, Süsseim saw his old friend Abdullah Cevdet²⁰¹ who the next day brought him into contact with the editor of the journal *Türk Yurdu* ("Turkish Homeland")²⁰² and member of the Society for Ottoman History, Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey.²⁰³

After dinner, I went with Abdullah Cevdet to Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey from Orenburg²⁰⁴ who had, on political grounds, deserted from the army during the previous reign and had begun publishing a periodical called *Türk Yurdu*, the first issue of which has meanwhile appeared. He is a cheerful person who often laughs and makes you laugh. His conversation also is very pleasant. Once, in Paris, he entered the class of Barbier de Maynard²⁰⁵ and when his turn had come, he said: "I am a Turk and I certainly know Turkish." After class, the teacher took Akçura apart, who apologized and became one of his pupils. While he was in Berlin during the winters

199 Entries for December 7, 1911, and March 5, 1912.

200 Entries for December 9 and 28, 1911; February 2, 1912.

201 Dr. Cevdet had moved in 1911 from Cairo to Istanbul and lived "opposite the old *Zabıye Kapısı* on the floor above the *İctihad* [office]" in Cağaloğlu, Istanbul, cf. *Nachlass* 5/70.

202 Published from 1911; Yusuf Akçura was its editor-in-chief from 1911 to 1917.

203 Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935), historian, journalist and Unionist politician; a Kazan Turk by origin, he moved to Istanbul for his education; exiled to Libya (1897), studied in Paris and was active as a journalist in Russia; moved again to Istanbul after 1908; professor of history in Ankara (from 1933).

204 He was in fact born in Simbir near Kazan, cf. F. Georgeon, *Aux origines du nationalisme turc. Yusuf Akçura/ 1876-1935*, Paris 1980, 12.

205 Charles Adrien Casimir Barbier de Maynard (1826-1908), orientalist; professor of Turkish at the *École des langues vivantes* in Paris (from 1863); Director of the same (from 1898).

of 1909 to 1911,²⁰⁶ he talked to the professors Hartmann²⁰⁷ and Giese²⁰⁸ and found that of the two Hartmann had the better knowledge of Turkish. At that moment, I made the acquaintance of Mirza Muhammad Amin, editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Iran-i now* ("New Iran")²⁰⁹ which has appeared since recent years in Tehran.

During the following months, Süsseim frequently met both men and their many acquaintances at the house of Dr. Cevdet or in the offices of *Türk Yurdu*. He wrote down as much as he could of the lively talk, and gossip, going on among progressive Istanbul intellectuals at the time. Controversial subjects included reform in the Ottoman Empire, the abolition of classical prosody (*aruz*) for official purposes, the educational policy of the new government, and the talkers' own positions in the new Istanbul. On the evening of January 15, 1912, Süsseim went to the offices of *Türk Yurdu*

and I met First Lieutenant Hülusi Bey,²¹⁰ a Turk, and several others. He told me the following story. About two years ago, a middle-aged Belgian lady came to Istanbul to find out the whereabouts of her Turkish husband. After she had stayed for a while in the Pera Palace Hotel, she took a room in Hotel Messeret in Babi-i âli Street. Gedik Pasha, returning from a journey to Bursa on which he accompanied Sultan Mehmed V²¹¹ as an interpreter, met an Albanian called Cemil, a regimental police officer [*kanun zabıtı*] who had not been to the Military College [*Harbiye mektebi*]. The man had a flirtatious look in his eyes. The officer posed a question to the woman by way of the dragoman. The woman in turn asked the interpreter what was asked her. In fact, the officer asked [...] her hand as well as 100,000 lira on the spot. After they had arrived in Istanbul, they stayed in Hotel Messeret and she gave the officer twenty to hundred lira to provide for his daily expenses. The officer obtained a three months' leave from the Minister of War and married the Belgian lady [...]

Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey, who had already been suffering from the cold for two days, told the history of the robe of honour [*hil'at*] he was wearing. The Emir of Bukhara, the late Abdullah Khan, used to reward people with robes of honour when he wished to do them a favour, and sometimes went so far as to give away the maximum number of thirty-one or even thirty-two [?] robes at a time. In this way he once rewarded İsmail Bey Gasprinski,²¹² the owner of the

206 Cf. Georgeon, *Aux origines*, 77-78, where his sojourns in Germany are not mentioned.

207 Martin Hartmann (1851-1918), orientalist; professor of Arabic at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* in Berlin (from 1878).

208 Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Giese (1870-1944), linguist and Turcologist; professor in the universities of Berlin (1907-1914) and Breslau (1920-1931).

209 Persian liberal newspaper, published from 1909 and suppressed in 1911, cf. E.G. Browne, *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*, Cambridge 1914, 14; 52-53.

210 Possibly Hülusi (Zarflı) (1883-1968), politician and Deputy for the Progressive Republican Party, cf. Zürcher, *Unionist Factor*, 148.

211 Mehmed V Reşad (1844-1918), Ottoman Sultan (1909-1918).

212 İsmail Bey Gasprinski (1851-1914), Crimean newspaperman and Turkish nationalist writer.

Tercüman ["Translator"], published in Bahçesaray²¹³ [former captital of the Crimea Khanate], with seven robes for indoor use. İsmail Bey gave one of them a brilliant red, green, brown, yellow and blue one, to Akçuraoğlu. Although it was small, it was very warm.

When Akçuraoğlu had met Emrullah Efendi in Makriköy during his first period as Minister of Education, he had expressed to the latter, among other things, the need for attracting European professors to the University [*Darü l-fünun*, at Istanbul]. When he will shortly pay him a visit to congratulate him on his second appointment as Minister of Education, he will again discuss this problem with Emrullah. The owner of the *İctihad*, Abdullah Cevdet who also was present, approved of Akçuraoğlu's plan in the strongest terms, but I said that his hopes would be dashed because of the resistance by the teachers who are now lecturing at the *Darü l-fünun* and who have no other wish than to lay their hands on as much salary as possible.²¹⁴

Akçuraoğlu affirmed with all kinds of details that the ferries to the [Princes'] Islands [*adalar*]²¹⁵ were operated in the worst possible way. He claimed that the Ottoman state was thoroughly corrupt and not capable of improvement. In Akçuraoğlu's opinion, the Minister of Pious Endowments [*evkaf*], Hayri Bey,²¹⁶ of all ministers, turned his culture to the most profitable use: he was abolishing all Istanbul soup kitchens [*imarets*] and was founding a lot of public works. Akçuraoğlu said that he had received a letter in Turkish from Dr. Giese, in which the latter congratulated him on his success in establishing *Türk Yurdu*...

On March 5, Süsseim again visited Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey in the company of Dr. Cevdet.

Both talked freely about their situation. Yusuf Bey said he preferred, from a material point of view, to live in Russia, but because the Moscow Government continually hindered and oppressed the Tatars among the intelligentsia, his personal security was in jeopardy. After Russia, Istanbul is the most profitable place for Yusuf Bey, but he is unable to live here without receiving money from his relatives in Russia. Until now he has tried his luck as a merchant, a soldier and a journalist, but he likes none of these professions. For the last two years he has intended to marry, but he has not yet found a wife.

Abdullah Cevdet used to earn in Cairo £72 per month and £40 on average, but in Istanbul he earns only 3 to 5 mecdiye per week. He thinks of going to live in Europe and of leaving Istanbul, with which city he is by now disgusted, after having paid off three hundred Ottoman lira, the remainder of a loan for the construction of the house in which he now lives. Over there, he would know how to live on an income of 25 lira. He will either take his wife with him or leave her here with an allowance of five lira. Cevdet Bey in this respect disregards his son;²¹⁷ he has to look for a job himself. When Abdullah Cevdet moved from Egypt to Istanbul, he was sure he would obtain a high position in the world of politics or literature and easily become a deputy. But at the elections of four years ago, he was only able to obtain sixteen votes in the

213 From 1883 until 1917.

214 See also Klaus Kreiser, 'Deutsche Professoren am Istanbuler Dârülfünûn', in *XXIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 16. bis 20. September 1985 in Würzburg; Ausgewählte Vorträge*, Wiesbaden 1989, 211-218, 212-213.

215 The five islands in the Sea of Marmora near Istanbul.

216 Ürgüplü Mustafa Hayri (1867-1921), Unionist Deputy and Minister; Minister of Pious Endowments (1911-1912 and 1913-1914).

217 Mehmed Cevdet, born in 1889.

district [*sancak*] of Mamuretü l-aziz [Elâzig] for which he was a candidate.²¹⁸ In the elections, which will shortly be held in Mamuretü l-aziz, seventy-six persons have presented their candidature, but only three candidates are to be elected. According to Abdullah Cevdet Bey, the Unity and Progress Party will win the elections everywhere. The Government will call the most important voters aside and recommend that they elect such and such...²¹⁹

Süsseim again met Ahmed Cevdet (on December 13 and January 18). He saw İsmail Hakkı Pasha²²⁰ in the Parliament building and met several members of the latter's *Hürriyet ve İtilaf* ("Freedom and Accord") faction²²¹ on December 17.

In the afternoon I went to the Parliament, which held no general meeting today, and paid a visit to İsmail Hakkı Pasha, Deputy for Amasya. Mehmed Taki, son of the fugitive District Governor [*sancakbeyi*] of Batum, his brother-in-law Ahmed Bey, and Mehmed Şevket Bey, who smuggled İsmail Hakkı Pasha on board a steamer in Rhodes, were with him. After we had greeted each other cordially, I supplied information about the attitude and conduct of the European states in regard to the Italian-Turkish War²²² [...] İsmail Pasha related, by way of a joke, that his own Freedom and Accord Party was given the nickname of "the Reactionaries" by its opponents. Our conversation took place in the meeting room of the Party. At that moment, Rıza Sulh Bey, Deputy for Beirut, Sarıklı ("the Turbaned") Mustafa Efendi, Deputy for Baghdad, Lutfi Fikri,²²³ one of the party leaders I knew from Egypt, and the Deputy for Trabzon came in. According to İsmail Hakkı Pasha, the number of deputies for the Party was seventy, whereas the Union and Progress Faction comprised between seventy and eighty members.²²⁴ [...] Our conversation lasted about an hour.

When we left, Ahmed Rıza Bey,²²⁵ Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies, entered the courtyard on horseback. His hair and beard were grey. His head was bent, he walked slowly and

218 His candidacy in the 1908 elections is not mentioned in Süsseim, '*Djewedet*', EI¹, Suppl. (1938); during 1905-1911 Dr. Cevdet was living in Cairo.

219 The 1912 elections became known as the 'big-stick elections', cf. Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks. The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics 1908-1914*, Oxford 1969, 103.

220 Probably İsmail Hakkı Pasha (Mumcu) (1880-1945), Liberal politician. He was Deputy for Amasya, cf. Tunaya, *Partiler I*, 263.

221 Cf. Tunaya, *Partiler I*, 263-312.

222 The Italians invaded Libya from October 4, 1911. Tripoli and Bengazi were officially annexated by Italy on November 4. Ottomans and Sanusis began an effective guerilla resistance from the interior, cf. Shaw & Shaw, *History*, 289-290.

223 Ömer Lutfi Fikri (1872-1934), Liberal Deputy for Dersim.

224 A month later the growing influence of the Liberal Party was stopped when the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved (on January 15, 1912) and new elections were held, cf. Ahmad, *The Young Turks*, 99-102.

225 Ahmed Rıza Bey (1859-1950), civil servant and Young Turk activist; elected Deputy for Istanbul in 1908 and 1912; President of the Chamber of Deputies.

seemed on the brink of falling down. When I asked if he was married, I got the answer: "He cannot marry, he cannot beget children and is famous for this handicap."

I returned on foot to the Istanbul shore and was amazed how many fez-wearing people were about on this Sunday and how few others. When I reached the Sublime Porte, I saw the Grand Vizier Said Pasha,²²⁶ very much lost in thought. Because he is rather fat and heavy, he needed assistance in climbing the stairs to his office...

On December 19, Süsheim visited the Central Coffee House and met, among others, the satirical poet Rıfki Bey, one of the directors of the journal *Perde* ("Screen").

Rıfki Bey is the son of a former Minister of the Ottoman Public Debt [*düyun-i umumiye*] and is a very agile and capable journalist. A year ago he managed to publish a paper called *Selamet-i umumiye* ["Public Welfare"], but after a month it was suspended by the government. Until the Proclamation of the Constitution, he had spent twenty-three months in jail. He regards himself as a pupil of my friend, the great satirist and retired district governor [*kaimmakam*] Şair Eşref who presently lives in Izmir,²²⁷ and surpasses his master's talent in reciting satirical verse. In his new house he hides a huge volume of satirical verse which he won't be able to have printed. Last summer his old house burnt down in the first of the two fires that ravaged Istanbul;²²⁸ he was only just able to save his life. He amused the public for some twenty minutes with his satirical poetry.

Süsheim gained entrance to Armenian as well as Jewish circles in Istanbul. On Christmas Eve, he was invited by the Maryans.

At their house, I met a sister or niece of Mr. Maryan who has been living in Beyoğlu since four years. She is about twenty-five years old. She is a housewife and said little. Her German actually was very deficient. There is a chance that a Greek engineer will come and be invited to stay with the family with the purpose of marrying her [...] Dr. Fritz Mullich [?], a doctor at the German Hospital and not long ago entrusted with the directorship of the Hospital, had, although he was only thirty-seven years of age, amorous relations with a senior nurse²²⁹ who was much older than he. The senior nurse, Marie Fisch, had been removed from the Hospital two years ago and Dr. Mullich has gone on leave to Germany for three months. Mrs. Mullich [...] consented to a divorce but Dr. Mullich could not marry Miss Fisch as he intended to do. He then founded a hospital for clinical instruction²³⁰ at the Uhlandstrasse in Wilmersdorf near Berlin and made Miss Fisch a senior nurse there.

226 'Küçük' Mehmed Said Pasha (1838-1914), civil servant and statesman; nine times Grand Vizier, also in 1911 and 1911-1912.

227 In fact he was living, since July 1909, in the village of Kırkağaç (Manisa), cf. Schmidt, 'Mehmed Eşref', 208.

228 The fire which ravaged the Bab-i âli Quarter on January 4-5, 1911, cf. Danişmend, *Kronoloji* 4, 383.

229 The text has *baş şvesteri*, *Oberschwester* in German.

230 The text has *seririyat hastanesi*.

Mr. Theophil Loebel,²³¹ who was dismissed shortly after the [Proclamation of] Liberty, has become a commission agent [*komisyoncu*], but apparently has met with little success. Mr. Maryan complained that, because of the Italian-Ottoman War, he has not been able to deliver orders to the amount of five hundred thousand francs...

About a month later, on January 20, Süsseim visited Dr. Wellisch Bey²³² and heard some news about the [Ashkenazi] Jewish community in Istanbul.

I met the Rabbi, Dr. Markus, at his house. Dr. Markus has recently become an Ottoman subject. Mehmed Zeki Bey, whose name I have heard several times in Turkish circles, is actually a Rumanian Jew with a German name who became a Muslim some three to six months ago. The Director-in Chief of the [German] newspaper *Osmanischer Lloyd*, Mr. Grünberg, and his wife originally were Jews but have become Protestants. However, when they wanted to become members of the Teutonia Society two or three years ago, they were first refused because of their Jewish background and were only able to join when Ambassador Baron Marschall²³³ threatened to resign. Dr. Markus and Dr. Wellisch expressed the opinion that the Turks could not become a civilized nation and were only able to govern by force. There are eighty thousand Jews living in Istanbul,²³⁴ but because they have become like Turks, they suffer the competition of Armenians and foreigners. On the other hand, they are unable to get appointed to government offices because they do not know Turkish.

Süsseim also saw Celalüddin Korkmazov again. On December 26, he met him in the company of Yusuf Akçura. He heard that the Russian paper *Viedomosti* ("Gazette") he had begun to publish in collaboration with his wife, had been forbidden by the government. On March 2, 1912, he visited Celalüddin and his wife in their untidy room at Uzunyolu.

Toward evening, I paid a visit to Celalüddin Korkmazov Bey from Daghestan who has the Russian nationality and runs a pension near the Divan Road. When I entered the room where he lives, he, together with his wife, who is Polish and possibly Jewish, was eating from a saucepan made of rough tin and full of vegetable soup of the Russian kind. They invited me to eat something, but my hair stood on end and I declined. The room is low and the walls are yellow. The big bed he apparently shares with his wife. Clothes were lying on this bed and every now and then his cat appeared and walked on these. A bookcase resembling a cupboard stood against one wall, its shelves full of new, unbound and mostly French, books. There is not much space and the whole room was in a vexing disorder. After the rebellion, Korkmazov's father, like the

231 Theophil Loebel (b. 1859), censor at the Ottoman Ministry of Education with the rank of general (1885-1909).

232 Dr. N. Wellisch (1866-1926); born in Jassy, physician and a member of the International Sanitary Commission in the Ottoman Empire; travelled extensively through Anatolia and had many connections in high Ottoman circles; Sanitary Inspector (1908-1918).

233 Adolf Hermann Freiherr Marschall von Bieberstein (1842-1912), statesman and diplomat; German Ambassador at Istanbul (1897-1907).

234 This figure seems exaggerated; in 1886 the Jewish population of Istanbul comprised 22,394 souls, Shaw & Shaw, *History*, 242.

rebel leader Shaykh Şamil's²³⁵ followers, had been forced by the Russians to leave the mountains and settle in the plains inhabited by the Kumüks [...]

There also was a Russian subject in the room, a member of the Ossetian nation, who has escaped from persecution by the Russians. Not long afterwards, a Mr. Wiener from the environs of Odessa came in. Since a year he has been studying at the Istanbul *Hukuk mektebi* [Law School] because, as a Jew, he was not able to enter a university in Russia. Somewhat later, a Georgian came in. I talked to everyone. When I left, I made the acquaintance of some Arabs who are living in the same house. In short, at Korkmazov's pension there are people from every country and nation. Korkmazov published a Russian weekly called "Istanbul News" [*İstanbul havadisı*], but was forced to suspend its publication because he was denied entry to Russia by the Russian Government. He wants to publish a book in Russian about Istanbul. He has enough of Istanbul, though, and will return to Paris in summer.

On December 26, 1911, Süsseim talked to Ahmed Sayib Bey²³⁶ who was ill; he had left the Committee of Union and Progress after '1908' and spoken disparagingly of its members as "pimps".

Among Istanbul 'Turkicists' and men of letters

Süsseim regularly met members of the Society for Ottoman History in public places. He saw the numismatist Tevhid Bey on December 24 and January 3, on the latter occasion in the company of the historian of Amasya, Hüseyin Husamuddin Efendi,²³⁷ in the Diyarbakır coffee house. He was introduced to the history of the manuscript of Kaşgari's *Divan lughat at-Turk* ("Compendium of the Language of the Turks").²³⁸

We spoke a great deal about a work in Arabic, the *Lughât Divan al-Atrak* [sic] [which turned up]

235 Shaykh Şamil (1798-1871) fought against the Russian penetration of the Caucasus in the first half of the 19th century.

236 Ahmed Sayib Bey (d. 1918), of Circassian origin; officer, scholar and Young Turk activist; founder of the paper *Şura-yi ümmet* ("Council of the Nation"); professor of Russian in Istanbul and author of works on Ottoman history.

237 Hüseyin Husamuddin (Yaşar) (1870-1939), historian; author of a history of Amasya, *es-Sefinetü r-rasiye fi tarih-i Amasiye* ("The Anchored Boat on the History of Amasya"), 4 vols. Istanbul 1911-1935; he still frequented the Diyarbakır coffee house in 1916, cf. M. Şakir Ülkütaşır, *Büyük Türk dilcisi Kaşgarlı Mahmut*, 2nd impr. Ankara 1972, 57.

238 The earliest, and by far the most important, Turkish-Arabic dictionary by Mahmud al-Kashgari, dating from between 1072 and 1077. The work has survived in one manuscript of 319 folios, dating from 1265, and is now preserved in the *Millet Kütüphanesi* in Istanbul (collection of Ali Emiri Efendi); it was first published in 1914-1917 by Kilitli Rifat Bilge; a Turkish translation by B. Atalay appeared in Ankara, 1940-1943. It was edited and translated with introduction and indices by Robert Dankoff in collaboration with James Kelly, *Mahmud al-Kashgari. Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dîwân Lugât at-Turk)*, 3 vols., Harvard University Press, 1982-1985.

exactly a year ago.²³⁹ The work in question was written by a one Mahmud al-Kaşgari in, according to Emiri Efendi,²⁴⁰ about 320 AH [932-933], and, according to the librarian İsmail Efendi,²⁴¹ in precisely 464 (1071-1072), possibly in Baghdad.²⁴² It comprises 1500 folios and contains Turkish poetry, songs, proverbs, Uygur script, a Turkish grammar, the names of tribes, symbols and place names. There is also a map in it.²⁴³ The work was offered for sale and tendered on the Istanbul market from the estate of the former Minister of Finance, Nazif Pasha, and had been for many generations in the family. When it was shown for the first time at the Ministry of Education, Emrullah Efendi, then Minister, referred the case to the Librarian İsmail Efendi. The broker, however, did not want to leave it with İsmail Efendi during the night and only let him see it during the day. 'Education' was ready to give twenty lira [for it]. Despite the fact that an Englishman had offered twenty-seven lira, the book was eventually left in the hands of an Egyptian who had offered thirty-three lira. Of these, three were the broker's gratuity. Although Emiri Efendi also wished to buy it, his bid came too late and he was not able to lay hands on it. The loss of the book was generally regretted here.²⁴⁴

The men Emiri Efendi liked least or even downright detested, were Abdurrahman Şeref Bey, the secretary of the Society for Ottoman History, Arif Bey, and the late Karácson Efendi. The reason for this aversion of Abdurrahman Şeref Bey was that the latter united nine functions in his person but did not really practise any of them properly. The historical material, published in [the

239 The story of the appearance of the manuscript is also found in Ülkütaşır, *Büyük Türk dilcisi*, who relied on the authority of Rifat Bilge who frequented Coffee House Diyarbakır around 1916 where he spoke with Emiri Efendi on the matter.

240 Ali Emiri Efendi (1857-1923), littérateur, scholar, bookcollector and civil servant; he brought together an invaluable collection of some 5000 manuscripts, jealously guarded against alien intrusion and bequeathed to the Istanbul Millet Library; he daily visited the Diyarbakır coffee house, to which he had a key.

241 İsmail Saib Efendi (Sencer) (1871-1940), book collector, scholar and Director of the Umumî Library at Bayezid, see Ülkütaşır, *Büyük Türk dilcisi*, 70-71; 169-170. He was "one of the highly learned collectors of manuscripts in modern Turkey... the best scholar of Turkey... He would always be surrounded by a flock of cats, which he loved tenderly... He was one of the original types who are more and more dying out, both in Europe and the East." Hellmut Ritter, 'Autographs in Turkish Libraries', in *Oriens* 6 (1953), 63-90, 63. His collection of 13,000 manuscripts is now kept in the Ankara University Library.

242 Kaşgari began writing his book on Wednesday, 25 January 1072, and completed the fourth and final redaction on Monday, 9 January 1077, dedicating it to the reigning caliph in Baghdad, al-Muqtadi.

243 Reproduced in Ülkütaşır, *Büyük Türk dilcisi*, 99-101.

244 The story as Rifat Bilge heard it (cf. Ülkütaşır, *Büyük Türk dilcisi*, n. 233) roughly went as follows. The broker, none other than Burhanüddin Bey whom Süssheim was to meet later, cf. *ibidem*, 44, and described as a *sahhaflar* market bookseller, offered the manuscript to the Minister of Education Emrullah Efendi, who did not want to pay more than ten lira for it. Emiri Efendi, happening to see the work in Burhanüddin's shop, immediately offered to pay fifteen lira. The legatees of Nazif Pasha's estate, however, had instructed Burhanüddin Bey not to accept less than thirty lira. Emiri Efendi did not hesitate to pay this sum plus three lira commission for the bookseller. The "Egyptian" may have been a pretext to guard the priceless manuscript from the curiosity of foreigners.

Society's journal] TOEM, was brought together through the effort and endeavor of Arif Bey. The latter used to come at all times to Emiri Efendi's house to look at his manuscripts, but he [Emiri Efendi] definitely put an end to these visits. As regards Karácson: when he was collecting data on Rakoczy,²⁴⁵ he could not find anywhere the correspondence of Rakoczy with a certain pasha. Because he was ready, according to bookseller Nasrullah, to pay any price for it, Emiri Efendi, indeed, asked ten thousand lira. Karácson did not pay this and therefore Emiri Efendi did not allow him to see the letters. Four days after [the Proclamation of] Liberty, Karácson, wearing a hat, was at the Porte and, as it happened, so were Emiri Efendi and the owner of the *İkdam*, Ahmed Cevdet Bey. Cevdet Bey turned to Emiri Efendi with the words: "If you don't want to show the Rakoczy correspondence to the gentleman, who is a political friend of ours, he will see it through the Committee." Emiri Efendi answered: "I definitely won't let him see it, not even if he pays me hundred thousand lira." Somewhat later Arif Bey went to Emiri Efendi to tell him that Karácson had found the correspondence between Rakoczy and So-and-so Pasha, but it appeared that the letters in the possession of Emiri Efendi were those exchanged during the years 1020-1029 [1611-1620] with another pasha after the first pasha's death. After spending more time searching, in vain, for the Rakoczy correspondence, he died of grief, Emiri Efendi told [us], laughing aloud and to the highest degree pleased with himself.²⁴⁶

Süssheim saw Emiri Efendi again on January 5, when he received the first part of his *Tezkere-i şuara-i Amid* ("Dictionary of Poets from Diyarbakır"),²⁴⁷ and on January 11, when he discussed a manuscript with the scholar:

Seyyid Emiri Efendi, with whom I spoke in Coffee House Diyarbakır, had Lutfi's *Siyasetname* ("Treatise on Politics") printed at the Amid Publishing House two years ago.²⁴⁸ German encouragement had had nothing to do with it. He had the work printed according to his own wishes and was motivated by a strongly-felt necessity. It would be wrong to suppose that Professors Jacob and Sachau,²⁴⁹ the Director of the School for Oriental Languages in Berlin, were the initiators of the Istanbul edition. In the same way, Emiri Efendi had a copy of the *Tezkire-i Sehi* ("Dictionary of Poets by Sehi")²⁵⁰ from his own library seen through a first printing at the Amid [Press].

245 Probably György Rákóczi (1593-1648), Protestant Prince of Transylvania, ruled 1630-1648; fought successfully against the Habsburgs and was able to secure religious freedom for Hungary with the Treaty of Linz (1645).

246 Nevertheless Karácson was able before his death to publish a "*Rákóczi-Urkundenbuch*" with the title *A Rákóczi-emigráció török iratai*, Budapest 1911.

247 Published in Istanbul, 1912. The author himself came from Diyarbakır.

248 Probably Lutfi's *Asaf-name* ("Book of Asaf"), edited by Emiri Efendi at Istanbul, 1326 (1908-1909), but perhaps not at the Amid Publishing House, cf. Ülkütaşır, *Büyük Türk dilcisi*, 161. Lutfi Pasha (1488-1563), the author of the abovementioned book of advice was himself a grand vizier; the *Asaf-name* was also edited by R. Tschudi in 1910.

249 Karl Eduard Sachau (1845-1930), prominent German orientalist; professor in the University of Berlin from 1876, Director of the Oriental Seminar in Berlin from 1898.

250 Published at the Amid Publishing House, Istanbul, as publication No. 1, in 1325 (1909).

Two days later, on January 13, Süsseim, thrilled by the stories about the Kashgari manuscript, went to the Suriye Coffee House in order to pay a visit to Burhanüddin Bey el-Adli,²⁵¹ a descendant of a *nakibüleşraf* family from Damascus, of whom he had heard that he had been owner of that precious manuscript of the *Divan lughat at-Turk*.

He [Burhanüddin Bey] was sitting there, wearing white gloves. He had been in the possession of four hundred old manuscripts but because everyone had borrowed, now one, then another of them, and had not given them back, his collection was at present reduced to two hundred copies. According to what he said, the *Lughât Divan at-Turk* [sic] consisted of sixteen squires of 16 sheets each and was written around 355 AH [965-966] by Hüseyin al-Kaşgari [sic]. When Emiri Efendi had seen the work, he had immediately recognized its value, had taken it home with him and not returned it. He had paid thirty lira for it. The Chief Inspector of the Libraries, Mahmud Bey, had said to Burhanüddin Bey: "For thirty lira we can buy a whole library!"²⁵²

On January 19, Süsseim went with Burhanüddin Bey to the latter's house and bought some manuscripts. On the 15th, he heard more about the *Divan* from Emiri Efendi:

The writing of the costly *Lughât Divan at-Turk* [sic] was begun in the year 464 [1071-1072] and finished in 466 [1073-1074]. When Caliph al-Muqtâdi²⁵³ succeeded to the throne in 467 [1075], his name was inserted at a place left open in the 'Introduction'. Emiri Efendi told me that he had eventually thrown Tahir Bey, Deputy for Bursa,²⁵⁴ out of his house because of his inanity - he had stayed with him for a couple of months after the Proclamation of Liberty. The men whom Emiri Efendi hated most, were Sultan Salahuddin Ayyubi²⁵⁵ and al-Qadi al-Fadil.²⁵⁶ The reason for this was that upon his arrival in Diyarbakır, he had scattered its library which contained a million volumes. Salahuddin had deliberately routed and destroyed the place where the library of the Fatimid Dynasty²⁵⁷ was preserved.

The next day, January 16, Emiri Efendi gave Süsseim a work called *Mecma-i şuara ve tezkire-i üdeba* ("Assembly of Poets and Dictionary of Writers") written

251 Burhanüddin el-Adli, born in 1887 or 1888 in Taif; apparently a book collector and *sahhaflar* bookseller; he had come to Istanbul around 1888 (entry for January 19, 1912).

252 In Rifat Bilge's version, Mahmud Bey's remark is attributed to Emrullah Efendi, cf. *Ülkütaşır, Büyük Türk dilcisi*, 59.

253 Al-Muqtâdi, Abassid Caliph, ruled 1075-1094.

254 Brusalı Mehmed Tahir, cf. above.

255 Salahuddin Ayyubi, also known as Saladin; founder of the Ayyubid Dynasty in Egypt; ruled 1169-1193; he was famous for his victory over the Crusaders in 1187.

256 Al-Qadi al-Fadil (1135-1200), Councillor and Secretary to Saladin; accompanied him on his military expeditions into Syria.

257 The Fatimids ruled North-Africa, Egypt and Syria, 910-1171.

by a young Ottoman who had recently died and had frequented the German School in Aleppo.²⁵⁸

On January 25, Emiri Efendi and Tevhid Bey came to visit Süssheim in Arif Bey's Coffee House where the latter had his lodgings.

We spoke with each other for two hours. Emiri Efendi mentioned Vámbéry²⁵⁹ and praised his memory, and would do the same in the future, but Tevhid blamed Professor Vámbéry because he had continually changed his religion; he tried to corroborate this idea by a general belief about Vámbéry that is also widespread in Europe. But I stressed Vámbéry's useful contribution to scholarship and praised him for it. Upon this Tevhid Bey began to speak of Eduard Glaser. When the latter at one time visited the Sublime Porte, he spoke an excellent Arabic. He lived in Yemen under the name of Sayyid Husayn. Before returning to Europe, he had visited Aden in the company of two hodjas. He took a room in a hotel and the hodjas took a room next to his'. A little later, when Dr. Glaser had put on a hat, the two hodjas entered the room and asked: "Where is Sayyid Husayn?" Glaser answered: "I am Sayyid Husayn." The two Arabs, thoroughly confused, said: "Good Heavens, we have become Christians, then!"

Süssheim saw Emiri Efendi again on March 14:

I heard some strange things from Emiri Efendi about Ahmed Hilmi,²⁶⁰ Dr. Abdullah Cevdet's opponent at the elections in the province of Mamuretü l-aziz. Because he [Brusalı Mehmed Tahir] had quoted from several works [of his'] but did not mention his *Kitab el-evliya* ["Book of Saints"],²⁶¹ he was going to initiate legal proceedings against Brusalı Mehmed Tahir who moved from Izmir to Istanbul after [the Proclamation of] Liberty. But they were reconciled and travelled together to Anatolia. Since then, both men have been most sincere friends. As regards Dr. Cevdet Bey: he sent hundreds of letters of recommendation to his constituency; they were written by his compatriot Hüseyin Efendi of Arabgir, a teacher at the Bayezid Mosque, who confirmed that he [Dr. Cevdet] had rejected his former dubious religious ideas and had become a full Muslim.²⁶²

258 This was Mehmed Siracüddin Bey; the work had the subtitle *Hammer J. Purgstal'den* ("since J. von Hammer-Purgstall"), referring to Joseph von Hammer's *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, 4 vols. Pest 1836-1838, which, as to its form, may be said to resemble an Ottoman *tezkiye*; the Turkish work was published by *Cihan* in 1325 (1905).

259 Ármin Vámbéry (1832-1913), Hungarian orientalist of Jewish origin; he travelled to Central Asia disguised as a derwish; a freethinker at heart, he seemed to change his religion whenever expediency demanded; he published and lectured extensively on his travel experiences; professor in Budapest from 1865; he later acted as a British secret agent and diplomatic mediator.

260 Hocazade Ahmed Hilmi (d. 1913), Nakshbandi derwish and biographer, particularly of Muslim saints and shaykhs.

261 Printed in Istanbul, 1318-1320 (1900-1902); the quotations probably occur in Tahir Bey's *Aydın vilayetine mensub meşayih, ulema, müerrihin ve etibbanın teracime-i ahvali* ("Biographies of shaykhs, ulema, poets, historians and physicians connected with the Province of Aydın", Izmir, 1324/1910-1911).

262 Dr. Cevdet could be considered a freethinker and pacifist; for this reason he regularly came into conflict with the Ottoman authorities, particularly because of his critical articles in *İctihad* which was published from June 14, 1911, in Istanbul but was forbidden in February 1915; cf.

Süssheim saw Emiri Efendi for the last time and in the company of Husamuddin Efendi and Arif Bey on March 31. They discussed, among other things, the murder of Prince Mustafa, son of Sultan Süleyman II,²⁶³ and the identity of the name *İve* mentioned in the *Divan*.

On February 9, Süssheim went with Mehmed Tahir Bey to the latter's house in Çengelköy:

In the afternoon, I left the Beşiktaş quay for Çengelköy where he lives. Because of the fog, the boat left an hour late and we passed the time inside where we finally began to talk. Tahir Bey lives with Sarim Bey, his son-in-law and Assistant Director of the *Mekteb-i sanayi* [school for arts and crafts], in a villa which he rents for five lira per month. After I had talked with him, we came to Tahir Bey's house and he showed me the first part of his *Külliyat-i müellifin-i Osmaniye* ["The Complete Works of the Ottoman Authors"],²⁶⁴ an essay on the Ottoman historians. He intends to retreat from politics and the military service in order to see to its printing. Although he never saw active service in the army, he is a commander of a cavalry regiment with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. When the boat again arrived in Beşiktaş, it actually did so only after a delay of half an hour in Çengelköy and a stop of more than an hour at the Üsküdar quay.

Continuing on his way home, Süssheim saw Sultan Mehmed Reşad performing his noon prayers in the mosque adjacent to the Dolmabahçe Palace and thought him rather corpulent.

The next day, February 10, Süssheim saw the son of Midhat Pasha, Ali Haydar Bey, at Abdullah Cevdet's house. The latter expressed his pessimism about the situation of his country and the dreary fate of Muslim women. On the same day, Süssheim, accompanied by Rıfki Efendi, attended a lecture by the 'Albanian' philosopher and Deputy for Edirne, Rıza Tevfik,²⁶⁵ whom he had previously met in London. Süssheim exchanged a few words with him after the performance:

Rıza Tevfik is a very learned and superior person, and has connections with several distinguished Englishmen. The most important reason why he was displeased with the Union and Progress Party, was the suicide of his brother Besim in Edirne. He pretended that far more blunders could be ascribed to the present Unionist government on account of its domestic policy than of its foreign policy. When he was asked what he thought about Libya, he avoided a straight answer and changed the subject [...] He also spoke to me for a while in English. His English is most fluent. According to what he said, he received £25 for the fifteen articles he wrote for English

Süssheim, '*Djewdet*', 54.

²⁶³ Süleyman II, "the Magnificent" (1494-1566), Ottoman Sultan (ruled 1520-1566). Prince Mustafa was murdered in 1553 upon orders of his father who feared his growing political influence.

²⁶⁴ Eventually published under the title *Osmanlı müellifleri* ("Ottoman Writers"), 3 vols., Istanbul, 1915-1928; it does not exclusively deal with Ottoman historians.

²⁶⁵ Rıza Tevfik, not of Albanian descent, was born at Mustafa Pasha Köprüsü (modern Svilengrad, Bulgaria).

papers. Despite the fact that he has until now delivered three hundred lectures in Turkey, he has run into debt. He said some insincere words which were meant to give the impression that he does not desire to hold a seat in Parliament. He is inclined to think that a war between England and Germany is possible...

On February 12, Süssheim met Sadık Bey,²⁶⁶ Second Chairman of the Freedom and Accord Party, at his club in Şehzadebaşı Street:

He is short, has a chestnut-coloured beard and repulsive features [...] He is, in short, not a good-looking man. Neither does he look happy. He said that he was unable to give any information about the Party's intentions and its policy, but was ready to tell something about its organisation. It appears not to be represented in Yemen, and apart from the branch office recently opened in Basra, there has not been one in the whole of Iraq up to now. He did not know of anyone who was inclined to do a thing like that in Albania, but [he thought] public demonstrations were of much help in Anatolia. There is also some hope for Syria. But generally speaking, Sadık Bey seemed more pessimistic than optimistic.

Leaving the club, Süssheim came across Eyüb Sabri,²⁶⁷ a former activist of the revolutionary youth organisation, the *Hareket Cemiyeti* ("Action Society").

The Society was discovered and after that he was prosecuted, exiled and banished from Istanbul to Hama in 1308 [1890-1891]. After four years, he was transferred to Damascus; after another four years, to Hawran and then, once more for four years, to Ankara. In all those places he worked as a court registrar. After the Proclamation of Liberty he came to Istanbul, joined the 'Loyalists to the Nation' and retired [...] He is the kind of person that is eager to make friends and succeeds in this. He has a dervish-like and ascetic nature, and has a wholehearted predilection for mystic literature. He is a widower and lives with his sister and nine-year-old daughter on a pension of four hundred kuruş. He often wears a loose robe [*entari*] when he goes out...

Two days later, on February 14, Süssheim paid a visit to the taciturn Editor-in-Chief of the *Tanin* and former Deputy for Istanbul, Hüseyin Cahid Bey, whom he had missed in Munich half a year before:

Because he usually does not say a word, I was obliged to talk all the time. When I told him of my difficulties with the Ministry of Education at present, he confirmed that these were caused by the elections and the fear of the hodjas. He told me that the concession for the Anatolian Railway will be given to the American Chester.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁶ Mehmed Sadık Bey (1860-1940), soldier and liberal politician, but an important member of the Committee of Union and Progress at the time of the 1908 Revolution; founder of the 'New Party' (1910), which united with the Freedom and Accord Party in 1911; left the Empire in 1913.

²⁶⁷ Eyüb Sabri (Akgöl) (1876-1950), officer and politician; founder of the 'Fatherland and Freedom' (*vatan ve hürriyet*) branch at Ohrid; member of the Committee of Union and Progress, Deputy for Çorlu during the Republic.

²⁶⁸ Colby Mitchell Chester (1844-1932), entrepreneur; came to the Ottoman Empire in 1908 with the authorisation of, among others, President Roosevelt; obtained a contract in 1911 for the construction of 2000 miles of railway in eastern Anatolia with adjacent oil and mineral rights, but

On February 16, Süsseim attended a symposium on the reform of the script at the *Darü l-fünun*. The speakers included Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Pasha, President of the Senate, who spoke in favour of the use of separate letters; İsmail Hakkı; and Mahmud Es'ad Efendi,²⁶⁹ Minister of Finance. After the formal part of the meeting was over, Süsseim had the occasion to speak to, among others, Hüseyin Daniş Han, professor of Persian at the University.

On February 29, he met Ali Mail Bey, Secretary of the School for Assistant Engineers (*mühendis-i muavin mektebi*):

He was arrested in 1313 [1895-1896] together with several comrades. After he had been detained for three months at the Taşkısla Barracks, he was exiled to Libya where he was imprisoned. Dr. Abdullah Cevdet from Arabgir, who had previously escaped from Libya, set up a printing press in Geneva with his own money, and began publishing an Ottoman paper.²⁷⁰ He launched such violent attacks against Abdülhamid, that the latter was ready to go to any trouble and expense in order to silence this terrible enemy: he bought the printing press and not only appointed Abdullah Cevdet Bey physician to the Vienna Embassy, but was even willing to set 76 prisoners, detained in Libya, at liberty.²⁷¹ Ali Mail Bey was among them and was released after eleven months of detention. After his rescue, he first ran a coffee shop and then obtained a diploma with the highest honours from the Italian School at Libya in 1903. He also held the title of dragoman for a while. He had originally been a student of medicine, but had not been able to finish his education...

On March 8, Süsseim visited his former teacher of Turkish, Jak Efendi,²⁷²

During my visit, all of a sudden smoke started coming out of his stove which filled the whole apartment within a couple of seconds. Tears came into my eyes and continued to flow. The female servant who usually fills the bathroom stove on the fifth floor with a mixture of wood [?] and coal, had caused this situation...

confirmation was suspended by the outbreak of the Italian-Ottoman War, cf. Oğuz, *Alman Gerçeği*, 188-189. The *Tanin* protested against this concession, cf. Mutluay Rauf, ed., *Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın. Siyasal Anılar*, İstanbul 1976, 134.

269 Mahmud Es'ad Efendi (1856-1918), jurist and writer; Minister of Finance and Justice.

270 Abdullah Cevdet was arrested in 1895 and in the next year transported to Tripoli from where he escaped in 1897; he founded the İctihad Publishing House in Geneva in 1904 and started to publish a paper bearing the same name on September 1 of that year, cf. Süsseim, '*Djewdet*', 56-57.

271 In 1899, Dr. Cevdet, having sent a series of postcards with censorious poetry to the Sultan from Germany, agreed to accept a position as *Botschaftsarzt* at the Vienna Embassy on the condition that 70 prisoners kept in Tripoli were released; he held this post until 1903, Süsseim, '*Djewdet*', 57.

272 It is tempting to see in this 'Jak Efendi' Jak Samanon (1871-1919), from a wealthy Jewish family, who had graduated from Galatasaray and the Imperial Law School and became legal counsellor to the Oriental Railways. He also acted as juridical advisor to several Pashas; among his friends were Hayim Nahum Efendi, later to be Chief Rabbi, and Prince Yusuf İzzeddin Efendi. Cf. Liz Behmoaras, *Kimsin Jak Samanon?*, İstanbul 1997.

After a quarter of an hour the problem was solved.

The next day, March 9, Süsseim went to one of the last meetings of the Ottoman Historical Society he was to attend; he listened to a lecture by Safvet Bey on the British-Ottoman Treaty (*muahedename*) of 1596.

Because I had never found such a treaty mentioned in English histories, I said that we had to assume that it never was concluded.²⁷³ He also erroneously translated that Orator Barton²⁷⁴ was the Ambassador of the English Queen Elizabeth²⁷⁵ and I showed him his epitaph. I said that *profectus* does not mean "ambassador" but "journey."²⁷⁶ I made the acquaintance of Captain Ahmed Refik Bey²⁷⁷ at the Committee that day. He is a friendly person...

On the occasion of *Now Ruz* (March 21), Süsseim went to the Persian Embassy with Hüseyin Daniş Han in order to congratulate the Ambassador, Mahmud Khan:

The Ambassador kissed Hüseyin Daniş three times on his cheeks, after which Hüseyin Daniş Han kissed the ambassador's hands. We had a friendly chat. Above the place where the ambassador was seated hung a portrait of the present Shah, Muzaffaruddin Shah.²⁷⁸ [...] Tea and cigarettes were handed round. After further conversation, we went, with the Ambassador striding ahead, to the big official reception hall. On the walls there were portraits of the Iranian Ambassadors who had been accredited to Istanbul during the last fifty years. After we had sat down on seats which had been put here for us, Hüseyin Daniş read in an oratorical tone and in conformity with the principles of traditional prosody [*aruz*] a moving ode [*kaside*], written in three days, which described the sorry state of Iran. After this fatiguing recitation was finished, the Ambassador, congratulating him, again kissed Hüseyin Daniş Han three times on his cheeks...

On March 27, Süsseim went for the last time to the office of Society for Ottoman History and took leave of Abdurrahman Şeref Bey, Afzaluddin Bey, Safvet Bey and Münir Bey. Some days later, on March 31, he paid a visit to

273 An agreement on capitulations in favour of British commerce was concluded between Whitehall and the Porte in 1580, cf. S.A. Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey 1578-1582*, Oxford 1977, 86-89. It was renewed in 1590, 1593 and 1603, cf. Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey I Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808*, Cambridge 1976, 181-182; Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Osmanlı Muâhedeler ve Kapitülâsiyonlar 1300-1920 ve Lozan Muâhedesi, 24 Temmuz 1923*, Istanbul 1934, 52.

274 Edward Barton (d. 1597), British agent to the Porte from 1588 to 1591.

275 Queen Elizabeth I (1533-1603), ruled 1558-1603.

276 The text has *yolculuk*; *profectus* means, literally, "departed". Safvet Bey published the lecture as 'Üçüncü Sultan Murad'ın İngiltere Kraliçe Elizabet'e bir namesi' in TOEM 3/13-18 (1328/1912), 809-830; the epitaph from his tomb on Heybeli Island is printed on p. 819.

277 Ahmed Refik (Altınay, 1880-1937), officer and historian.

278 Muzaffaruddin Shah, Qajar ruler of Iran (1896-1907); Süsseim probably saw a portrait of Ahmad Shah, who ruled from 1909 to 1924.

Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha²⁷⁹ at his house in Saraçhane and presented the statesman with a copy of his *al-'Urada* edition.

Because all the houses in the neighbourhood had burnt down during the 'Çırçır' Fire,²⁸⁰ the mansion [*konak*] stood in the middle of ruins [...] When I entered [the house], I spoke in the waiting room with one of the Pasha's servants, a Russian. A little later I was led into the reception room which was furnished in European fashion. The Pasha wore a rose-pink caftan, the inside of which was trimmed with white fur. The Pasha rose from the sofa on which he was seated to receive my respects. At both sides of the table two servants were standing. In reply to my question he said that although the political history of the Ottoman State had [truly] begun fifteen years ago, it had only found its fulfillment after he had arrived in Istanbul. More volumes of his memoirs,²⁸¹ the first of which had appeared, were to be published; his servants promised to send them to me.

The next day Süsseim visited the Minister of Postal Services and the Interior, Tal'at Bey:

He thought that I was a Hungarian. He expressed his pleasure at my having obtained a professorship of Oriental Sciences in Munich. When I took my leave of him, he said: "I am glad, my brother, let us begin a correspondence with each other."²⁸²

On April 4, Süsseim packed his bags - his luggage included a bookcase, weighing 212 kilograms, and five oil paintings which he had bought for his mother - and had a last interview with the Sayyids Ahmad and Hasan. The next day he boarded his train bound for Germany at Kara Mustafa Station. He was not to return to the country until the unhappy nineteen-forties.

279 Kıbrıslı Mehmed Kâmil Pasha (1832-1913), statesman, Minister and Grand Vizier (1885-1891; 1895; 1908-1909; 1912-1913).

280 Possibly one of the two fires mentioned above; *çırçır* means, among other things, "cotton gin" and "field cricket"; there also is a Çırçır Street in Saraçhane.

281 Apparently only one volume, with the title *Hatirat-i sadr-i esbak Kâmil Paşa*, was published in Istanbul in 1913, cf. M. Seyfettin Özege, *Eski harflerle basılmış Türkçe eserler kataloğu*, 5 vols. Istanbul 1971-1979, No. 7036.

282 Süsseim had written to him before, see above, note 81.

CHAPTER TWO: ACADEMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 1912 - 1914¹

After his return from Istanbul, Süssheim took up his life as a *Privatdozent* in Munich and rented rooms for 70 M per month at Ansbacherstrasse 2 with Mr. and Mrs. Rinsche (on April 10, 1912). He stayed with them until June 30, 1914, when he moved to Hiltenspergerstrasse 29. He taught a few classes every week, gave a few public lectures, did some research, wrote a number of newspaper articles and continued to contribute to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. He took part, albeit on a moderate scale, in university life. He expected to be appointed to a full professorship by 1916 or 1917.² Much time was spent on genealogical research concerning his own family and even more on his (vain) attempts to find a suitable wife. He remained in contact with Istanbul, particularly with his agents and booksellers, with the purpose of enlarging his collection of manuscripts, printed books, particularly official Ottoman Yearbooks (*salnames*), journals and newspapers.

1 The period is represented in copybooks 4 (from fol. 40a) and 5 (to fol. 37a).

2 Entry for February 25, 1913.

1. Established as University Teacher

Having been appointed *Privatdozent* at Munich University in 1911, Süssheim formally began his academic career on April 22, 1912, by taking the oath. On May 2, he taught his first class of Turkish:

Today, at two o'clock, I began my lessons of Turkish in room No. 112 at the university. There were at least fifteen people, among whom, first of all, a person who had seen service at the German consulates of Havana and Spain. Eleven years ago, he followed courses at Paris of 'Commentary on the Koran' by Mr. Derenbourg,³ of Arabic by Mr. Barbier de Meynard and of Persian by Mr. Huart.⁴ To others were legal experts and intend to enter the German Oriental Service; one of them continues to attend the lectures of Prof. Lindl.⁵ At the end of my class the students made a great deal of noise by stamping their feet, thus expressing their approval and gratitude.

Numbers of persons attending rapidly diminished however from fifteen to eight (on May 7), to six (on May 9), and three (on May 14). His class of Turkish seems to have been the only course he gave during this semester (although it is difficult to be sure because he did not keep a regular record of the lessons and number of students as he later used to do).

During the next (winter-)semester, which started in early November, Süssheim taught three courses: Turkish (attended by three students on November 5), Persian (attended by ten students on the same day, but this number seems to have decreased later in the year), and a course called 'Persian Literature with Respect to Turkey' which was not successful; already on November 8 the two students who had shown up on the fifth failed to reappear.

During the spring term of 1913 Süssheim taught only the first two courses.⁶ After the Easter holiday, he began to teach classes of Turkish and to read literary texts with his students: by Evliya Çelebi,⁷ Hafiz,⁸ and, later, by Mirkh^wand.⁹ These classes were only attended by a few students (their number is not

3 Hartwig Derenbourg (1844-1908), Semitist; Director of Arabic Studies at the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes* at Paris from 1875.

4 Clément Imbault Huart (1854-1926), diplomat and orientalist; professor of Persian at the *Ecole* from 1898; Director of the same from 1908.

5 Ernst Lindl (1872-1921), Semitist; professor in the University of Munich (entry for March 30, 1921).

6 Entry for March 7, 1913.

7 Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682), Ottoman traveller and travel writer; famous for his *Seyahatname* ("Book of Travels"), published in ten volumes, 1842/1843 - 1938.

8 Hafiz (1074-1149), one of the classical Persian poets.

9 Entries for April 29 and June 17, 1913.

specified). Eventually Süsseim had to give up teaching Persian altogether because of a lack of attendance.¹⁰

The next academic year, 1913-1914, began badly: not a single student came to his course of Turkish,¹¹ whereas he managed to attract an average of three students to his course of Persian.¹² Süsseim also taught some Arabic classes, but these lessons were probably given in private. On November 19, he stopped with these when one of the three students could no longer attend. Later that year, from May 1, 1914, he taught only one course, called 'The History of the Eastern Question', which at first was attended by ten students, but soon the number, again, sank to five (on May 15), four (on June 9), one (on July 7) and two (on July 10). Nobody turned up at his planned course of Persian Literature.¹³

With such a limited number of courses and so few students, Süsseim's academic income as a *Privatdozent*, depending on the fees paid by the students for each lesson, was very low. He received 34.10 M on June 3, 1912, 45.60 M on November 30, 1912, 44.80 M on May 30, 1913, and 15.16 M on December 4, 1913. (No other figures are recorded.) Süsseim was certainly unable to live on this small remuneration even if it was occasionally enhanced by examination fees or the reward for an article and he depended, as before, on his share in the revenue from the family fortune, nominally in his mother's possession, as well as from sums in cash paid by her for his travelling expenses or tailor's bills. His official, declared, annual income, kept in a private account at a Nuremberg branch office of the Royal Bavarian Bank, varied between 3000 to 4000 M,¹⁴ but it probably was much higher in reality: amounts of 11,000 M and an interest on capital of 7419.50 M per year are mentioned elsewhere.¹⁵ Süsseim reveals that his family used to declare less than a fourth of its income to the tax office.¹⁶ Süsseim's financial situation would essentially remain the same until his emigration in 1941. His income was largely spent, apart from daily expenses, on capital investments, mainly Bavarian State Bonds,¹⁷ and books, manuscripts and the like, ordered from Istanbul.

10 Entry for July 18, 1913.

11 Entries for November 4 and 7, 1913.

12 Entries for November 4 and 7, December 9, 1913.

13 Entry for May 1, 1914.

14 Entries for April 22 and October 14, 1912; March 5 and July 24, 1913.

15 Entries for February 25 and 27, 1913.

16 Entry for February 10, 1913.

17 Entries for December 6, 1913, and April 6, 1914.

One of his students during these years was Franz Babinger¹⁸ who was himself to become a professor at Munich University. He attended Süssheim's classes of Turkish until December 1913. On July 23, 1914, he took the oral examination for his doctorate - the written part had taken place in Berlin and had resulted, according to Süssheim, in a rather shallow essay on the biography of the Indologist Bayer;¹⁹ Bayer's papers, ordered from the St. Petersburg Academy, had never arrived. The parts of the examinations earned him, respectively, two and three points. Süssheim on this occasion participated for the first, and the last time (as far as can be seen from the Diary) in an examination committee which consisted of Muncker,²⁰ Kuhn, Hommel and himself. Babinger had to read and translate, among other things, the first five pages of the reader accompanying Müller's Grammar.²¹ This he performed without much difficulty, but his linguistic knowledge was not very profound. "He is a capable man, but certainly not an *Examenmensch*,"²² Muncker commented afterwards. Süssheim's fee was 20 M.²³

Sometimes Süssheim was asked to give private lessons, as on October 29, 1913, when an unnamed Syrian Ottoman aged thirty-seven approached him for lessons of Arabic and Persian. The Syrian told him that he was on a secret mission to Europe. He knew no Arabic, although he had always lived in Damascus where his father had been exiled from Istanbul in 1888 and he had been educated at a French monastery (he may have been the Aşar Efendi mentioned as leaving Süssheim's Arabic class on November 19, 1913.) On January 31, 1914, a certain Count Hengstenberg, who had been transferred from London to the Tehran Embassy, asked Süssheim if he would teach him Persian; Süssheim's answer is not known.

18 Franz Babinger (1891-1967), orientalist, specialised in Ottoman history; he was connected with the German Military Mission in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War; professor in the University of Berlin from 1921, dismissed in 1935, visiting professor in the universities of Bucarest and Jassy (from 1936); Professor of the History and Culture of the Near East and of Turcology at Munich University (1948-1958). For his friendship with Ernst Röhm and his emigration to Bulgaria and Rumania in the nineteen-thirties, see Ludmila Hanisch, 'Akzentverschiebung - Zur Geschichte der Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft während des "Dritten Reiches"', in *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 18 (1995), 217-226.

19 Gottlieb Theophil Siegfried Bayer (1694-1738), orientalist and historian; he studied many languages but was most successful in the field of Sinology; professor in the University of Königsberg from 1718; he died in St. Petersburg.

20 Franz Muncker (1855-1922), historian of literature; professor in Munich from 1890.

21 F.A. Müller & H. Gies, *Türkische Grammatik. Mit Paradigmen, Litteratur, Chrestomathie und Glossar*, Berlin 1889.

22 The text has *imtihan adamı*.

23 Cf. entry for July 31, 1914.

After taking his oath on April 22, 1912, Süssheim was a member of the teaching staff of Munich University, and during the following weeks he introduced himself to his colleagues at the Philosophical Faculty by visiting them at their homes.²⁴ One does not get the impression, however, that he became intimate with any one of them and he later was only rarely invited for a visit. Süssheim became a member of the Munich Oriental Society (*Münchener Orientalische Gesellschaft*).²⁵ On April 27, he was introduced to one of its meetings by his distant relation Siegfried Lichtenstätter when Major Haushofer²⁶ lectured on his military mission to Japan. The Princes Arnulf²⁷ and Heinrich honoured the meeting with their presence. Süssheim was to become a regular visitor to its evenings during the following years and would occasionally also himself give lectures for the Society, mostly on contemporary Ottoman developments. A particularly solemn meeting was held on the occasion of the coronation of King Ludwig III²⁸ on November 12, 1913 - the King was a patron and honorary chairman of the Society - a speech was given by Imhoff Pasha, a Prussian general formerly in Ottoman service, who sketched an optimistic picture of the Ottoman Empire's future. The next speaker was the secretary, Consul Kemmerich, who praised the new King excessively.

On November 16, 1912, Süssheim attended the first meeting of the Association of University Lecturers who were not full professors (*Vereinigung der Honorarprofessoren, ausserordentlichen Professoren und Privatdozenten der Universität München*) which had 29 members at that time. Süssheim would continue to go to its meetings during the following years. The Association especially tried to put pressure on the university staff and the Bavarian Ministry of Education to improve the financial and legal position of its members. Süssheim only once recorded a meeting of the Philosophical Faculty (on July 8, 1914).

Recurring features of the academic year included festivities and sad occasions, such as birthdays and burials of colleagues. Twice Süssheim attended dinners given on the occasion of the university's anniversary on June 26. In 1912, sixty-eight colleagues joined a banquet in Possenhofen on the Starnberger See. Süssheim noted that the food was bad. In 1913, the *dies academicus* coincided with the 25th anniversary of the German Reich and the 100th of the conclusion

24 From April 27 to May 11, Süssheim visited 23 colleagues, some of whom he already knew, among them Hommel, von Heigel and von Heisenberg.

25 Entry for November 22, 1912.

26 Karl Ernst Haushofer (1869-1946), Bavarian general and geopolitician: he was sent to Japan in 1908; *Privatdozent* at Munich University in 1918, professor from 1933.

27 Prince Arnulf von Wittelsbach (1852-1907), son of Prince-Regent Luitpold and Auguste von Österreich, cf. Max Spindler, *Handbuch der Bayerischen Geschichte IV/2*, Munich 1975, Table 1. Either Süssheim or Spindler must be wrong.

28 Ludwig III (1845-1926), King of Bavaria (1913-1918).

of the Great War against Napoleon. Professor of economics von Mayr²⁹ addressed words of praise to the Kaiser, who, in his opinion, was doing his utmost to maintain the peace.

On July 16, 1912, Süssheim was present at the celebration of Professor von Heigel's seventieth birthday.

Tonight, at eight o'clock, Heigel's friends and students who presented him with a bronze statue of himself gathered in the hall in the foremost part of the so-called *Künstlerhaus*³⁰ with the intention of relating and celebrating the memory of Heigel's life on the occasion of his birthday which will be next month.

After some speeches

a drama called *Esther*, written by Heigel's brother,³¹ court-poet to the late King Ludwig II,³² was staged by students of the Seminar for History under the direction of the famous theatre director Ernst von Possart.³³ It was hailed with great acclaim. Heigel uttered some words of criticism and said that when the drama was staged for the first time in 1876, the greatest actors of that time, among whom Possart, had pointed him out to the King, although Possart and his cast had been his seniors. The reason was that when Heigel, who belonged to a family of actors and had been forced to suffer a great deal of hardship during his youth, had come to Vienna in a state of absolute destitution, Ernst Possart had rescued Heigel from his sorry state by asking him to teach him (von Possart) history [...] The evening began with the singing of the *Gaudeamus*; later *Alt Heidelberg* was sung. During the evening I spoke with Prof. Bergmann, professor of History at Erlangen, and Professor Rosenles, who smelt disgustingly of wine. I made the acquaintance of the monk Dr. Ofhauser. At my right side sat the linguist Dr. Feldmayer who had passed his exams last year. At my left side was Dr. Endres who has been studying and editing political documents on the Thirty Years' War for the Historical Committee of the Munich Academy for the last two years and intends to enter the university next winter as an assistant professor of History.

Von Heigel gave his last lecture on July 25, 1913.

Süssheim was honoured by an invitation to contribute to the *Festschrift* celebrating the sixtieth birthday of Fritz Hommel.³⁴ Perhaps still lacking assurance face-to-face to the older scholar, Süssheim prepared a careful study

29 Georg von Mayr (1841-1925), jurist; professor of economics in Munich from 1868; Vice-Chancellor (1913-1914); Chairman of the Oriental Society.

30 The text has *san'atkâran hanesi*.

31 Karl August von Heigel (1835-1905), poet and close friend of King Ludwig II; *Hofdichter* from 1876.

32 Ludwig II (1845-1886), King of Bavaria (1864-1886); declared incapable in 1886, he died by drowning in the Starnberg Lake in the same year.

33 Ernst von Possart (1841-1921), actor; Director of the Munich *Hoftheater* from 1878.

34 Entry for July 19, 1914.

which he then put together in a rather haphazard fashion.³⁵ On July 29, 1914, a banquet, organized by Professor Dyroff,³⁶ was held for the eminent scholar. Babinger gave him to understand that he had procured the invitation for Süssheim, who was neither a former student nor a friend. He felt rather awkward at the celebration which was also attended by Hell and Lindl. Hommel recalled his student days in Leipzig where he had studied theology, Sanskrit and Pali, and later Semitic Languages (under H. L. Fleischer³⁷). Stimulated by Eduard Glaser, he had been the first to teach Himyaritic in Munich in 1891, the first to do so in Germany. He expressed his joy that Süssheim, "the Ansbacher" (a reference to the latter's dissertation) was present. Süssheim also went to Hommel's birthday party at the latter's house on July 31, where, among others, he saw the Armenian Hristiyan; Hommel was honoured with a congratulatory telegram from the Kaiser.

There are scanty references to Süssheim's research prior to the *Hommel Festschrift*; he published some articles and gave a few public lectures. On October 28, 1912, the *Fränkische Kurier* published an article by him headed 'Die Bibliotheksschätze Konstantinopels' ("The Library Treasures of Constantinople"); it was based on his experiences in the Ottoman capital. Regretfully he recorded that he was wrongly referred to as "a retired *Privatdozent*." Soon after his return from Istanbul, on April 28, 1912, von Heigel asked him to write a report on his activities for the Bavarian Academy whose official representative he after all had been. But Süssheim had been unaware of his status and had thought that his mission had essentially been a private undertaking. It appeared now, to his surprise, that he was entitled to the sum of 500 M for the covering of his expenses. On May 3, he handed his report to Professor Mayr and received the 500 M. Professor von Kuhn declared himself ready to publish an article on the Ottoman Archives and the Ottoman Historical Society in the November number of the journal of the Academy, but this has not come to light.³⁸

On November 9, 1912, Süssheim lectured on the subject of "The Young Turks during the Past Fifty Years" for the Oriental Society and on May 13, 1913, he heard that an article by him on the art treasures of Istanbul had been

35 For this article which promises a study of the former Grand Vizier Küçük Sa'id Pasha (1838-1914) but gives a biography of his father instead, see Flemming, 'Karl Süssheim', 5.

36 Karl Dyroff (1862-1938), professor of Egyptology at Munich from 1906; Süssheim introduced himself to him on April 30, 1912.

37 Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801-1888), professor of Semitic languages in Leipzig, the greatest Arabist of his time (Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 171).

38 The journal, referred to in the entry for June 30, 1912, as *Münch Akademieası mecmuası*, was probably the *Sitzungsberichte* published by the Academy.

accepted by the *Frankfurter Zeitung*,³⁹ after he had withdrawn it from the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*. He received 30 M for it on July 25.

Later that year, on November 7, Süssheim lectured for the Munich Chamber of Commerce and Industry on "The Defeat of Turkey", thereby earning 100 M. This was to be followed by a second part, but he had not commended himself to the organizer, Professor Bonn,⁴⁰ who told Süssheim on December 18, 1913, that a second article would have to be drastically abridged. On February 7, 1914, Süssheim had an interview with Bonn, who, to his annoyance, had kept him waiting for more than an hour and then spoke enthusiastically about a highly successful lecture⁴¹ by Prof. [Martin] Hartmann which he had organized the previous evening. Bonn repeated the need for an abridgement. Süssheim went to see Hartmann in the Park Hotel where the latter was staying. On April 3, Süssheim recorded that he was working on the article, now called "The Defeat of Turkey in Rumelia"; it was printed in the same year.⁴²

On March 5, 1914, Süssheim had more success with a lecture for the Augsburg *Alpenverein*⁴³ during which he showed sixty-one photographs representing daily life and manners in the Orient. These were projected on a white screen and provided with commentary. During the same period he was working on two articles for the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*: 'Ilghazi' and 'Ibrahim

39 Published under the title *Konstantinopel und seine Schätze* on May 10, third morning edition, p. 1. In it, Süssheim described, among other things, the *Kronschatz* preserved in the Imperial Treasury (*hazine-i hümayun*), and thought it regrettable if the Bulgarians - this was the period of the First Balkan War - were to confiscate it; he concluded drily that a foreign power would undoubtedly be able to greatly boost its budget with it (*damit ihre Finanzen ganz namhaft aufzufrischen*).

40 Moritz Julius Bonn (1873-1965), political scientist; professor in the Munich *Handels-hochschule* (1910-1914); later he taught at the Berlin *Handelshochschule* (1920-1933) and at the London School of Economics (1933-1938).

41 The lecture was called "The Future of Turkey" (*Die Zukunft der Türkei*), published in the *Veröffentlichungen der Handelshochschule München* III. *Die Balkanfrage*, 163-182.

42 As 'Der Zusammenbruch des türkischen Reiches in Europa', in *Veröffentlichungen* III, 69-107; it gives a broad survey of Ottoman history until 1914, richly provided with names, dates, figures and the like, and discusses in three chapters the decay of the Empire up to 1826; the reforms brought about under European influence (1826-1908); and the radical attempts at reform and the loss of the European provinces (1908-1913).

43 The text has *Almanya ve Nemçe dağlar cemiyeti: Deutscher und Österreichischer Alpenverein*, founded in 1873, when the *Deutsche Alpenverein*, founded in 1869 in Munich, merged with its Austrian sister organisation; its aim was to stimulate alpinism and it had branches in most German cities.

Hakki Pasha'. They were sent to Professor Houtsma⁴⁴ in Leiden on July 12.⁴⁵

2. Contacts with Istanbul

Süsseim continued to make use of his agent in Istanbul, Sayyid Hasan, who supervised the copying of manuscripts, the payment of fees to the copyist, Sayyid Ahmad, and of bills to booksellers. Sometimes Süsseim was able to oblige him in small ways, for instance when he sent him pen points for the Persian School (*debestan-i İraniyan*) in Istanbul.⁴⁶ On July 13, 1912, Süsseim, to his dismay, received a letter from Sayyid Ahmad informing him of Sayyid Hasan's sudden death which had occurred in the night of 8 to 9 July. Süsseim recorded that the deceased had served him loyally during the last six and a half years and had been the most respectable person he had ever met in Istanbul. Süsseim replaced him by the supervisor (*nâzim*) of the Persian School, Abulhasan Bey who had temporarily served him before. He was officially contracted about a month later.⁴⁷ But he did not seem to be of much use as an agent; the long and tiresome correspondence with him would be restricted to the subject of the restitution of 20 gold lira which Süsseim had sent through the German Post Office in Istanbul to Sayyid Hasan shortly before the latter's death and of a recently copied manuscript. Süsseim tried to obtain the help of Sayyid Hasan's brothers Mir Ali Eşref Bey and the bookseller Naci Kasımzade, the Iranian Consulate in Istanbul, and the heir and executor of Sayyid Hasan's last will, Habibullah Isfahani.⁴⁸ This repetitive and time-consuming correspondence which continued well into the World War was recorded in full detail in the Diary. It soon appeared that only 10 lira (out of the claimed 2003 kuruş, 10 para) could be found among the deceased's belongings. The man had moreover lost all his possessions in one of the big fires in Istanbul⁴⁹ and Habibullah requested Süsseim to grant him a remission of the remaining 989-odd kuruş. Süsseim disregarded this request in a letter of January 13, 1913. On the 25th, he received 185 M (10 lira), roughly half of the claimed sum, but insisted in letters to Abulhasan and Habibullah that the rest of the money and the manuscript be sent

44 Martinus Theodorus Houtsma (1851-1943), Dutch orientalist; professor in the University of Utrecht (1890-1917), Editor-in-Chief of the *Encyclopaedia* (1897-1924); Daniël van der Zande, *Martinus Th. Houtsma 1851-1943. Een bijdrage aan de geschiedenis van de oriëntalistiek in Nederland en Europa*, Diss. Utrecht 1999.

45 The articles appeared in the second volume in 1927.

46 Entry for June 12, 1912.

47 Entries for September 16 and 19, 1912.

48 He had been appointed as such on January 2, 1913.

49 Entry for August 11, 1911.

as well.⁵⁰ Although Abulhasan wrote on February 7 that the demanded sum would be sent through the Iranian Consulate, nothing ever came of this and further letters to those involved - Abulhasan seems to have been replaced by Hasan Behzad, possibly his son, from April 18 - were of no avail.

Süssheim did not order any new copies from Sayyid Ahmad during this period - his last work apparently was the *Deli Bayezid Tarihi* ("The History of Mad Bayezid")⁵¹ - and his relation with him - he was also a member of the Persian colony in Istanbul - broke off, most probably because of his problems with Sayyid Hasan's heirs. From the autumn of 1912, Süssheim exclusively relied on his booksellers for the acquisition of manuscripts and no longer commissioned copyists. The financial aspects were henceforth handled by himself. Süssheim also abandoned the idea of making photographs of manuscripts; on November 23, 1912, he instructed Harrassowitz in Leipzig to offer his camera for sale in their prospectus. On February 18, 1913, the University Library of Ghent, Belgium, requested Süssheim to send it to the Library Director Dr. de Vries. After having it repaired,⁵² Süssheim did so, putting the price at 370 M (on April 2). But at the end of that month it was sent back.⁵³ Süssheim thought this too late and did not accept its restitution.⁵⁴ A week later he was relieved to learn that de Vries was ready to accept it after all, but now the Library was reluctant to pay. Süssheim threatened to charge it with an extra five per cent on top of the 370 M if it did not pay soon.⁵⁵ When the Library suggested that Süssheim explain matters to Brussels,⁵⁶ he reacted by threatening to settle the matter in court.⁵⁷ On November 8, Süssheim was at last paid his 370 M through the Belgian Consul General in Munich, but was refused the extra 8 M he had demanded. His brother Max, whom he had consulted in the matter, dissuaded him from taking any further steps.

During these years, a great quantity of manuscripts, books and journals were bought by Süssheim from his booksellers Naci Kasımdade, Nasrullah and the

50 Entries for January 29 and 30, 1913.

51 Entry for September 4, 1912.

52 Entries for March 21 to 29, 1913.

53 Entry for April 28, 1913.

54 Entry for May 2, 1913.

55 Entry for September 26, 1913.

56 Entry for October 10, 1913.

57 Entry for October 13, 1913.

Cihan Publishing House, sometimes also from Luzac in London⁵⁸ - volumes of the Journal of the Society for Ottoman History, TOEM, were acquired by direct subscription. On April 26, 1912, Süssheim recorded that the first parcel of books had arrived from Istanbul since his return from the Near East. From April, 1913, he became more and more interested in newspapers, journals and *salnames*. On April 26, he received a copy of the *Takvim-i vekayi* from Nasrullah. It was, however, incomplete and Süssheim did not want to pay for it.⁵⁹ This caused a rupture in his relations with the bookseller until September 25. The next year, Süssheim obtained a large collection of *Sabahs*,⁶⁰ *Servet-i fünuns*, *Ceride-i havadis* and *Ruzmerre-i ceride-i havadis*⁶¹ from Naci Bey.⁶² On May 2, he received from Nasrullah, among other things, a most intriguing catalogue of the library of the former Grand Vizier Said Pasha, to be auctioned in the near future. He commissioned the bookseller to buy certain items mentioned in the catalogue and have a look at Said Pasha's *konak*.⁶³ The Diary does not reveal whether Süssheim was able to obtain any of these items.

Süssheim also sold manuscripts and books for his booksellers to European libraries including the Munich Royal Library,⁶⁴ the British Museum⁶⁵ and the Berlin Royal Library,⁶⁶ in the latter case after he had offered his services to the Director, Professor Mann, on June 11, 1914.

Süssheim's contacts with acquaintances and friends in the Ottoman capital were not frequent during this period. He wrote a letter to Mehmed Arif Bey (on April 28, 1912), sent the memoirs of Schiltberger⁶⁷ to the historian Ahmed Sayib Bey (on June 13, 1912) and discussed the possibility of selling Ahmed

58 See, e.g., the entry for April 21, 1913.

59 Entry for June 8, 1913.

60 *Sabah* ("Morning"), Istanbul newspaper, published from 1876 to 1922.

61 *Ceride-i havadis* ("Register of Events"), *Ruzmerre-i ceride-i havadis* ("Daily Edition of the Register of Events"), a paper founded by the British journalist William Churchill and published from 1840 to 1864.

62 Entries for March 27, May 2 and 22, 1914.

63 Entry for May 10, 1914.

64 Eleven manuscripts on October 14, 1913, and June 6, 1914.

65 More than 42 manuscripts on January 19, May 18, June 10 and 26, 1914.

66 Twenty-two manuscripts on June 27, 1914.

67 Johann Schiltberger, *Reisen aus München in Europa, Asia und Afrika von 1394 bis 1427. Zum ersten Mal nach der gleichzeitigen Heidelberger HS. herausgegeben und erläutert von K.F. Neumann*, Munich 1859.

Cevdet's History⁶⁸ in Munich with Mehmed Tahir Bey (on April 22, 1913). He received letters from the Minister of Finance, Mahmud Es'ad Efendi (on October 1, 1912) - the latter wrote that he would go to Geneva on the ninth and participate in peace negotiations in Europe⁶⁹ - and from the former Grand Vizier and Ambassador at London, İbrahim Hakkı Pasha⁷⁰ whose biography he was writing.⁷¹ The latter informed him that he would come to Munich; Süsheim invited him to stay with him.⁷²

When Süsheim went to Berlin in May 1913, he visited Hakkı Tevfik Bey, whom he had met about two years previously in Munich:

Toward midday, I went to the [office of] the *Deutsche Bank* and paid a visit to Hakkı Tevfik Bey. From half past twelve we were together for one and three quarters of an hour. He induced me to have lunch [with him] in Restaurant Linden. He had rented two rooms in a most beautiful apartment on the 4th floor of the restaurant for 150 M per month. Apart from his elder brother Halid, who is an officer in Çatalca, where he keeps his gymnastic equipment, he complained of all his brothers. Although Hakkı arranged an allowance for his father, he did not get one word of thanks [from him]. Midhat, a physician and captain, is a crook; İbrahim, who joined a commercial house in Vienna, is lazy. Pertev publishes Şerif Pasha's papers in Paris. Hakkı is an enemy of Albanian independence.⁷³ According to Hakkı, anyone who works for the benefit of Albanian independence, must be ignorant, rich and unjust. It was nearly half past two when we separated.

Hakkı Bey also told Süsheim some details about the income of the retired German officers in Ottoman service. Von der Goltz had forty lira and Kamphoevener Pasha⁷⁴ seventy-five lira; each of them also received a lump sum of 80,000 M. The son of İskender Pasha had illegally received an orphan's pension for life, and Imhoff Pasha was reported to have set up an Ottoman

68 *Tarih-i Cevdet* ("Cevdet's History"), first printed in Istanbul in 12 volumes, 1854-1883; Ahmed Cevdet Pasha (1822-1895), Civil Servant, Reformer and official Chronicler (1855-1861).

69 Under pressure of the threatening Balkan War, the Ottomans signed peace with Italy on October 17 at Lausanne.

70 İbrahim Hakkı Pasha (1863-1918), jurist, Grand Vizier (1910-1911) and diplomat; Ambassador at Berlin (1915).

71 Entries for April 1, June 18 and 22, 1913.

72 Entries for July 2 and 3, 1914.

73 Albania had formally obtained independence on December 12, 1912, by the Treaty of London.

74 Louis von Kamphoevener Pasha (1843-1927), Prussian officer and Ottoman Marshal; active in the reorganisation of the Ottoman army.

club.⁷⁵

Süssheim once (on March 4, 1914) met a group of Ottoman students in Restaurant Max Emmanuel in Munich. The group included an Armenian from the Bayezid Quarter in Istanbul, a certain Celal, also from Istanbul, Şerif from Arabgir, Selim Hayyat, a Kurd from Mosul, Ratib al-Halidi, a sayyid from Jerusalem, and a student from Damascus (possibly Aşar Bey). Most of them were studying mathematics.

3. Marriage Plans

After Süssheim had settled in Munich and started his academic career, he thought it was time to marry. He was thirty-four; people often thought that he was five years younger.⁷⁶ The partner he was looking for was a young, beautiful and rich Jewish girl, not more than twenty-three years old. She should bring him a dowry of at least 200,000 M because he wanted to be able to spend at least 3000 M per year on books and other items for his library as well as on printing costs for the works he intended to publish.⁷⁷ As predicted by his relation Mr. Ischmann, this plan was doomed to fail; in particular Süssheim's condition of a large dowry was uncommon in Munich. Ischmann explained to him that one would only find a girl with such a fortune if one frequented the best circles in Nuremberg and Berlin.⁷⁸ Besides, Süssheim himself was ten years older than the ideal twenty-four years. Undaunted by this advice, Süssheim stuck to his plan, in which he was supported by his mother, although time and again he noticed that parents of possible candidates objected to his age, his low income and uncertain prospects, or even his late father's liberal ideas⁷⁹ and Max's Socialist convictions.⁸⁰

To achieve his objective, Süssheim counted in the first place on support from his family in Nuremberg and Fürth, in particular his mother, his uncles Heinrich and Friedrich Morgenstern and their wives Bertha⁸¹ and Franzeska,⁸² although he well realized that they hardly moved in the appropriate circles and that his mother usually led a secluded life. From January 1913, Süssheim began to try

⁷⁵ Entry for May 26, 1913.

⁷⁶ Entries for January 4 and August 11, 1913.

⁷⁷ Entry for January 15, 1913.

⁷⁸ Entries for November 22 and 27, 1912.

⁷⁹ Entry for April 25, 1913.

⁸⁰ Entry for June 15, 1913.

⁸¹ Bertha Morgenstern, *née* Gutmann (1893 ? -1950).

⁸² Franzeska (Franceska) Morgenstern *née* Stern (1876-1958), wife of Friedrich Morgenstern.

his luck with a score of Jewish marriage-brokers who were active in several German cities, particularly in Berlin, and from the winter of 1913-1914, he began frequenting balls and other social gatherings in the better Jewish circles of Munich. Finally, he sometimes made use of the advertisement column in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. On April 20, 1912, he placed one himself after it had become clear to him that his mother would do nothing for him. There was no satisfactory response.⁸³ On October 24, 1913, he answered an advertisement in the same paper, but without result.

A long series of potential brides passed in review during these years and continued to do so well into the nineteen-twenties, but hardly any of the young women, or their parents for that matter, showed much interest in Süssheim.

The first object of Süssheim's and his family's scheming was the attractive Nelly Leoni, a daughter of Eugen Kirschbaum's brother-in-law. Süssheim had met her before⁸⁴ and sometimes saw her at his sister's house,⁸⁵ but she became engaged to another man on March 17, 1913.

More serious efforts were made with regard to two 'candidates' suggested by Süssheim's mother on May 4, 1912: Lina Mohr, daughter of the widow Mrs. Mohr, an acquaintance of Eugen's business partner Julius Neubauer,⁸⁶ and Lilly Nauburger, the pretty daughter of a religious and rich food merchant and antiquarian, both of Nuremberg. After Rabbi Freudenthal had been consulted by both parties about the religious and financial background of both Lina Mohr and Süssheim,⁸⁷ a meeting was arranged. "I went to Nuremberg," Süssheim noted on June 21.

When I arrived at the station, Mother was there to meet me. She told me it had been decided that we would have a meeting that evening in a restaurant called *Gartenhöfchen* [?] ⁸⁸ at Muggenhof Station, and she related in full detail the negotiations that had taken place during the past few days. Because there was no one in Nuremberg who knew me, they [the Mohrs] had only learned from Dr. Freudenthal that I was an assistant [professor] and very pious. They had spoken more than once with *Regierungsrat* ⁸⁹ Dr. Lichtenstätter asking him with which families I had social intercourse in Munich, and he had foolishly told [them] that I had not yet visited many families because I had only recently returned from abroad. Because Miss Lina had set her mind on family life, she must certainly from the outset have made it clear to him that she absolutely wanted to

83 Entry for May 4, 1912.

84 Entry for April 28, 1911.

85 Entries for April 21, May 5 and September 19, 1912.

86 Julius Neubauer (d. 1922), entrepreneur (entry for July 12, 1922).

87 Entry for June 21, 1912.

88 The text has *tarla kasırcığı*.

89 The text has *hükümet müşaviri*.

marry. In the evening, we, together with Uncle Friedrich, his wife and *Justizrat*⁹⁰ Dr. Istern, who had arrived from Würzburg, went from Fürth, where I had gone on my own, to the restaurant in question. My brother Max and his wife⁹¹ were also present; afterwards, their friend Prof. Hess came as well.

After we had talked for a while, Mr. Mohr, Lina Mohr's uncle and guardian who lives in Fürth, came to our table. I did not offer him a seat next to mine but one next to Prof. Hess who was sitting beside me. When conversation was resumed at our table, Mr. Mohr tried to take part in it, and being an outsider he talked freely. Speaking, now with one, than with another [of us], he also addressed some words to me, but it was as if the interest I showed him cooled him off and I was not able to find the right means to hold his attention. After he had stayed with us for a while, he withdrew to his family. He began to discuss me at the table where the Mohrs were sitting. One of the old women said: "Well, but he is very intelligent." It is possible that she was referring to me.

When we were sitting in the restaurant, Uncle Friedrich, who has a sharp eye, rudely nudged me any time Miss Mohr turned around to look at us. When the Mohrs rose to their feet in order to go home, they greeted us very kindly. Uncle Friedrich made some effort to send his wife to the Mohrs' table in order to arrange future visits by Mr. Mohr but Mrs. Morgenstern had set her mind on accompanying my sister-in-law and resolutely declined and further visits were not arranged. Because Miss Lina Mohr is short and I was not able to see her from afar in the restaurant which was actually badly illuminated, she made no impression on me that evening. When I went home at eleven o'clock, I made it clear that I was not pleased with Miss Lina Mohr.

Not only was she too small, she was to receive a dowry of only 150,000 M. Süssheim, therefore, did not want his family to take any further steps to arrange a marriage with her.⁹² Nevertheless, his mother, uncle and aunt went on urging him to make her acquaintance: he had not even seen her properly! But although Süssheim kept her as "a reserve", he never really fancied her; he had not even tried to dance with her at the Nuremberg *Alpenverein* ball on January 25, 1913.

Lilly Nauburger was distinctly more to his taste. Uncle Heinrich promised Süssheim's mother to take matters into his own hands,⁹³ but on August 9 he wrote to Süssheim that the father, regrettably, had rejected him as a future son-in-law because he was too old and because his daughter did not want to live in Munich as the wife of a scholar. During the following year she became engaged to a Mr. Bernett,⁹⁴ and later to a Mr. Hesselberger.⁹⁵

In August 1912 Süssheim accompanied his mother and sister Paula to St. Moritz where he almost every evening went to the balls given in the better hotels such as the Hotel du Lac (where he stayed himself), the Grand Hotel, Victoria,

⁹⁰ The text has *adliye müşaviri*.

⁹¹ Hedwig Süssheim, *née* Strauss (1884-1938).

⁹² Entries for June 23 and 24, 1912.

⁹³ Entries for June 27 and July 21, 1912.

⁹⁴ Entry for June 13, 1913.

⁹⁵ Entry for December 6, 1913.

the Engadiner Hof and Stahlbad.⁹⁶ Süssheim flirted with pretty girls and became particularly interested in a certain Miss Tony Wolff of Charlottenburg. After his return to Munich, he wrote a love-letter to her⁹⁷ and received a long letter in response.⁹⁸ His mother vainly tried to gather information about her background⁹⁹ and Süssheim requested his aunt Franzeska to arrange a meeting through a common friend, Mr. Friedländer of St. Moritz.¹⁰⁰ The detective agency of Salomonsky in Berlin was commissioned to write a report.¹⁰¹ It appeared that Tony's dowry did not exceed 100,000 M. An uncle of aunt Franzeska, Otto Stern, was requested to thoroughly investigate the financial situation of Tony's father, a notary called Bruno Wolff, but he declined.¹⁰² Süssheim tried to reach her by telephone on May 26, 1913, when he was in Berlin, but she did not answer. The affair came to nothing.

After his holiday in St. Moritz, Süssheim enlarged his dancing repertoire by learning to do the waltz and the 'one-step' and 'two-step'.¹⁰³ He went out more often, especially after his winter holiday spent with his mother in Wiesbaden.¹⁰⁴ He was present at the balls¹⁰⁵ given by *Concordia*,¹⁰⁶ the Augsburg *Alpenverein*, and *Licaria*.¹⁰⁷ On November 30, 1912, he went to a bachelors' party at the house of a distant family relation, Dr. Claar;¹⁰⁸ one of the guests

96 Entries for 11 to 31 August, 1912.

97 Entry for September 4, 1913.

98 Entry for September 11, 1913.

99 Entry for October 11, 1913.

100 Entry for October 31, 1913.

101 Entries for December 7 and 31, 1913.

102 Entries for January 1 and 4, 1913.

103 Entries for September 11, 13 and October 4, 1912.

104 From December 23, 1913, to January 15, 1913.

105 Entries for January 18, and 21; February 1 and 2, 1913.

106 The society existed since 1838, cf. Siegfried Danziger, 'Geselligkeit und Gesellschaftsleben der Münchener Juden', in Hans Lamm, ed., *Vergangene Tage. Jüdische Kultur in München*, 2nd revised ed. Munich 1982, 115-117, 115.

107 The society is mentioned in Karl Schwarz, 'Jüdische Kunsthändler, Sammler und Künstler', in Lamm, *Vergangene Tage*, 293-298, 297.

108 Maximilian Claar (1875-1938), surgeon; murdered in Dachau (November 30, 1938); cf. Chapter Five, below.

was the Consul-General of Saxonia, a bon-vivant called Dr. Wilmersdorffer, who suggested that he become member of one of the Jewish clubs in Munich, preferably the *Insel Club*,¹⁰⁹ which would be more suitable than students' associations such as *Concordia*. Süssheim followed his advice and was introduced by Dr. Curtschmann (?) to *Klub 1912* (on December 10), *Nirwana* (on December 14) and others. On February 11, 1913, he went to the *Insel Club* at the Regina Palast Hotel for the first time. He found the conversation there more to his taste than that in the other clubs he had so far visited, where playing cards seemed to be the only pastime and topic of conversation. At the *Insel Club*, nevertheless, there was also card-playing; on April 15, 1913, Süssheim recorded that he lost 1 M while learning one of the games. After several introductory visits, he asked the chairman, Franz Landauer, that he be accepted as a member. His request was granted on October 5. Through the club he was to meet men who were useful to him, among them lawyers who could advise him in legal matters, and ladies, among them Alice Drey, a nice girl who danced beautifully and at whose dinner-parties he was to be a regular guest in the years to come.¹¹⁰

In the meantime, his mother, Hedwig and aunt Bertha produced new 'candidates'. Letters passed to and fro, information was gathered and rendezvous were organized, but all this again in vain. Uncle Friedrich and Aunt Franzeska proposed a marriage-broker, the well-known Isaac Landauer of Nuremberg.¹¹¹ This person visited Süssheim's mother on January 31, 1913, and suggested a certain Miss Stein of Strasbourg, who was between twenty and thirty years old and could count on a dowry of 250,000 M.¹¹² Uncle Friedrich and Brother-in-law Eugen promised to collect more detailed information about her and her family,¹¹³ and Salomonsky was also put on the case. On February 10, Süssheim met Landauer by chance in his mother's house in Nuremberg - she had gone out - and had a talk with him. Landauer said that he had been a cloth merchant and agent for the *Leipziger Versicherungen* but now tried to make a living as a marriage-broker. He was convinced that he was the best in town and that a better man could not be found even in Munich. He boasted that ninety per cent of all well-educated men made use of people like him. (It is clear however

¹⁰⁹ Society founded in 1909, consisting of twenty to thirty affluent, respectable and nearly exclusively Jewish gentlemen, mostly merchants and lawyers, who came together every week in the Regina Palast Hotel and later in Restaurant Scheich in the Brienner Strasse 5/1 in order to play cards for money, consume rich dinners and listen to lectures by prominent *littérateurs* and scholars, cf. Werner J. Cahnmann, 'Die Juden in München 1918-1943', in Lamm, *Vergangene Tage*, 31-78, 37.

¹¹⁰ Entry for November 23, 1913.

¹¹¹ Entry for January 26, 1913.

¹¹² Entry for February 7, 1913.

¹¹³ Entry for February 8, 1913.

that at least some members of the Jewish upper middle class, including Max and Paula, disapproved of these professional go-betweens and their methods.¹¹⁴)

On March 30, Süssheim was invited by the Steins to visit them in Wiesbaden. His mother wanted to accompany him, but he refused. Upon this, he was summoned to Nuremberg,¹¹⁵ where he found Paula and Eugen pointing out to him that it would not be suitable for him to marry before having attained a professorship.¹¹⁶ Süssheim felt offended by their intervention and made his mother promise not to let them meddle again with his affairs.¹¹⁷ Perhaps as a result of this annoying Nuremberg episode, he missed his appointment in Wiesbaden and this must have contributed to the failure of his visit to Strasbourg a month later. On May 10, he travelled there by train and took lodgings in Hotel National opposite the station. Mr. Stein, who looked like a fifty-year-old general, came to see him in his hotel and asked him about his career and convictions. Süssheim was invited to visit the family on the next day:

Because it rained in the morning and was somewhat chilly after the rain had stopped, I studied the catalogue of the hotel library and went out to see some of the huge buildings erected since Strasbourg has come under German rule. At a quarter past eleven I entered Mr. Stein's flat at Kaiser-Wilhelm-Strasse No. 6. The doorkeeper did not react the first two times I rang the bell and only did open after I had done so for a third time. After I had entered, Mr. Stein came to meet me and led me into a corner room that was his office. After we had talked informally for a while, his daughter Elsa appeared from the room next to ours, and after having introduced ourselves without ceremony, we had a chat. Somewhat later, Mrs. Stein arrived and apologized for being late. Of the three of them, the most attractive person was Mr. Stein. Mrs. Stein was ugly and the charms of Miss Stein, referred to as "Else", seemed to consist of her stature - she was approximately of my height or somewhat taller - and had very full breasts. Her eyes seemed to be rather small because for some reason that escaped me she lowered her eyelids a great deal. Sometimes she gave an impression of looking pale, as if her ruddy beauty had already passed its prime. Although her behaviour was not charming, she did not give offense. She was a self-confident girl. Somewhat later a student called Olga Golgota di Lestar came in. She was from Florence and related to an aristocratic family which had moved from the Austrian province of Carinthia to Italy. Her father was a railway employee in Bologna [...] She had come to Strasbourg for her education. She studied Germanic languages and spoke German as well as any German. She was having great difficulty in writing a thesis of 240 pages about a twelfth-century Low German writer. She was cheerful, intelligent, nimble, extremely clever and an incessant talker with a most pleasant conversation. Because she wanted her thesis to be printed soon, I was able to give her some advice about how to find a publisher.

Lunch began not long before one o'clock and continued, coffee included, until two. It was good but not excellent. We spoke some Italian. Towards four, we went to a public promenade called the Orangerie. There were more local strollers about than strangers. When Miss Stein was greeted, this was done very respectfully. She spoke French with Miss Olga. Miss Stein's French

114 Entries for February 10 and 13, 1913.

115 Entry for April 3, 1913.

116 See also entry for January 22, 1913.

117 Entry for April 4, 1913.

conversation is more pleasant and easy-going than her German and she is proud of her love for the French language. Although her mother and father are German, she says that she is not German but Alsatian. Although her parents usually go to the German theatre, she prefers going to the French theatre. She is overeducated, which is apparent from her knowledge of French and her capability of expressing herself in that language.

Well past five o'clock we returned home to have tea. After seven, the Italian Miss Olga left and I remained alone with the Stein family. At that moment, I said that I would leave Strasbourg the next day because I had not yet made any progress in obtaining reliable information about Miss Stein's first engagement and the background of her parents' family, although I myself had given satisfactory information about my education, my studies and my brother Max's political activities. When I took my leave toward nine o'clock, Mr., Mrs. and Miss Stein accompanied me to the door and when I bade them farewell, Mr. and Mrs. Stein expressed their hope that we meet again, and asked me to give my mother their regards. Miss Stein is of a cool, reserved and haughty nature. When we were strolling about, she remained at my right side and I had to walk left. She was treated as a child all the time and did not complain of the fact that she could not travel alone or even in her father's company. She asked how many years it would take before I would rise from *Privatdozent* to professor. She asked about Munich society, how the men were and how the women.

Mr. Stein showed dissatisfaction because I wanted to leave Strasbourg so soon. I gave five marks to the Steins' maid. Back in my hotel, I asked at what time the train would leave for Kissingen the next morning. After I had put my belongings into my suitcase a little past eleven o'clock, I went to bed.

Pondering the outcome of the visit, Süssheim added in the margins of his Diary:

Because Miss Stein looked at me with a cool eye, I did not show too much delicacy. While we were walking on the public promenade and it started to rain heavily, she said, charmingly and rudely at the same time: "You have a big hat and new gloves; put up your umbrella, I certainly don't need it!" In the evening, at dinner, she became angry and said in the presence of her parents: "You think I can't be angry with you, don't you?" Although I did not react, I showed signs of disapproval and pretended to feel vexed. There is no doubt that she had become cross with me, the principal reason being that I had not come to Wiesbaden. Girls desire to give the impression that a first meeting happens by chance and my coming to Strasbourg ruled that out.

On May 19, Süssheim wrote to Mr. Stein that he certainly was interested in his daughter, who was, as he had learned two days previously from Salomonsky, twenty-seven years old, but Elsa, as it turned out, did not want him. When he heard from Landauer on the same day, May 31, that another girl had also more or less turned him down, he looked at his landlord Mr. Rinsche as if struck by a fatal disaster.

After this first attempt with Landauer, Süssheim developed an extensive correspondence with other brokers and tried to profit from their female contacts for the lowest possible commission of, at most, one or two per cent of the dowry offered, to be paid after marriage. We come across the names of Friedländer of Berlin, Bandermann, Aaron Levi - both of Hamburg - Polack of Berlin, Podžos, a Latvian, also of Berlin, and many others.

A most promising party was proposed by Levi on March 12, 1913, in the person of the beautiful Miss Gertrud Nassauer who would come into a dowry of 250,000 M. A meeting in Bad Kissingen was arranged. Süssheim first saw her

in the dining room of Hotel Kurhaus where he was staying.

I left Strasbourg at 7.17 a.m. and arrived at 2.45 p.m. in Bad Kissingen. Three days later, the Regent¹¹⁸ was to honour [the place with his presence] and occupy room No. 50 of the Kurhaus Hotel. I took room No. 110 which is located in a small villa and cost 5 M, for a bed only, and 7.50 M, including all meals. I visited my mother in Hotel Angleterre and spoke with her friends. She had a look at my room. Then I went to the dining room. After I had dined, I saw a well-mannered, elegant and delicate girl whose name I did not yet know in the salon¹¹⁹ behind the door. I understood later that she had been Gertrud Nassauer, referred to as "Gerda".

The next day, May 13, he tried to enter into contact with Mr. Nassauer.

At midday, I sent my card to Mr. Nassauer who was staying in room No. 86. Because I did not yet know who the Nassauers were, I asked him to come to the reading room¹²⁰ so that I could make his acquaintance. "The gentleman is in bed, perhaps another day," was the answer. I was annoyed by this offhand reaction.

On the morning of the next day, the 14th,

Mr. Nassauer let me know, by sending me his card, that he could not see me in the reading room that afternoon. At noon I had lunch at the same table as Miss Nassauer and I spoke with her without yet knowing who she was. In the afternoon Mr. Nassauer came to me and said: "You can only attract the attention of a girl if you please her. We don't need to introduce ourselves. If she understands that you are not serious, she won't pay any attention to you. You can introduce yourself to me and my wife through the girl afterwards." Afraid of the girl and excited, he again left. I understood by then that I had unwittingly made the acquaintance of the girl.

In the late afternoon, I went with Mother to a place of recreation called the *Klaushof*. I was greeted by a smiling Miss Nassauer who had by chance gone there too. After dinner in the salon, I inquired after her welfare and we talked a lot while strolling through the *Kurpark*,¹²¹ accompanied by her parents and alone. I was now introduced [to them]. Afterwards, we again went out with her parents to a restaurant called *Frühlingsgarten*¹²² and we had an intimate *tête-à-tête* for no less than one hour and a half.

The next day, May 15, the resort was visited by the Prince-Regent and his five unmarried daughters who looked to Süssheim like the tragic queen of a Shakespearean drama. The Prince inaugurated the *Regentenkreis*¹²³ and there

¹¹⁸ Ludwig, the future King Ludwig III, who had become regent upon the death of the Prince-Regent Luitpold von Wittelsbach (1821-1912), Regent (for Otto) from 1886 to 1912.

¹¹⁹ The text has *selamlık*.

¹²⁰ The text has *mütalâa salonu*.

¹²¹ The text has '*Kur*' *seyirgâhi*.

¹²² The text has *ilkbahar bağçesi*.

¹²³ The text has *nayib dairesi*.

was a concert in the evening, after which Süssheim and the Nassauers visited the Café Messerschmidt, and the Prince attended a beer party at which he, as Süssheim recorded, downed three and a half litres. When His Royal Highness had entered the Kurhaus Hotel dining room earlier that evening, Süssheim had shouted the traditional '*hoch*', but to his embarrassment it had fallen flat and nobody had joined in his cheering.

Later that week - Süssheim meanwhile had hired the detective Seitz to write a report on the girl¹²⁴ - he was able to dance only once with Miss Nassauer at the Regency Ball, although he had spent 7 M on her corsage. The next day, May 18, Süssheim saw a chance to caress her for a short while, after which the family departed. Later that month, Süssheim wrote to Levi that the girl had pleased him. When he opened the agent's reply on June 19 with sweat in his hands, he learned that the family had rejected him. This depressed him thoroughly.

During the same month, Süssheim went for a short visit to Berlin - we already referred to his meeting with Hakki Tevfik there - to see some of his brokers and their candidates.¹²⁵ He took a room in Hotel Excelsior near the Anhalter Bahnhof and went to the offices of Podžos, Lina Hirsch and Polack (whom Süssheim, after a vexing correspondence, had reluctantly paid a commission of 100 M beforehand). The first proposed a Russian woman who had two children and was more than thirty years old; the second brought Süssheim into contact with a nice but plain Miss Gertrud Schiff who was entitled to a dowry of a mere 75,000 M; and the last had on offer a Miss Nasch with a dowry of 115,000 M. Thus, the trip was again useless and greatly contributed to Süssheim's wretchedness at the end of the month. He had however liked the city:

I very much enjoyed walking through Berlin. The houses are big, the buildings new and extraordinary large, and splendid promenades are being laid out. Everywhere progress and clean streets. But the inner city has not changed as much as has been said.

During the summer, Süssheim went to Veldes (Bled) in the Habsburg Monarchy,¹²⁶ where a Miss Hilda Dub of Prague, age twenty-eight, was staying with her mother. The marriage-broker Bandermann had put her forward on February 24. He had written to Süssheim on March 11 that she liked his photograph and Süssheim had ordered a report from the detective agency of Lesser & Liemann, which cost him 30 M. He saw Hilda's mother in Veldes on July 30:

In the morning I sent a letter to the Rigli [?] Health Institute where Mrs. Dub is staying and asked if I could see her. In the afternoon she brought a letter in which she informed me that she would come to the hotel at four o'clock. But because she did not come, I went to the Rigli instead and

124 Entries for May 14 and 15, 1913.

125 Entries for May 24 to 26, 1913.

126 Entry for July 29, 1913.

spoke with her. Somewhat later, we went to the *Kurhaus* garden¹²⁷ and sat in the café. She is a very charming woman. While in the park, she told me that her daughter, Miss Hilda, had fallen in love in Veldes a short while ago. She had made the acquaintance of a gentleman. Because they saw each other continually, she did not think it suitable to introduce me to her. I understood that Mr. Hirschberg, who lives in Berlin, was to come early in July and that I, therefore, had been invited for the end of the month. Today they have become bride and bridegroom and have made a trip in the surrounding of Veldes. Mrs. Dub arrived in Veldes at the beginning of July and her daughter joined her somewhat later. Mr. Hirschfeld [sic] is staying at the Park Hotel where I am staying myself for fourteen days. I spoke with Mrs. Dub for about three quarters of an hour. She has light-brown hair and is very elegant and flattering. Her body is well-proportioned. She is slender, comparatively tall and likes talking. Her conversation is pleasant and she is a warm-hearted and attractive woman who cannot be without men [...] In the evening, Mr. Hirschfeld and Mrs. and Miss Dub had dinner in the Park Hotel. Although I bore my unhappiness well, I had somewhat lost my appetite and my sleep was disturbed during the night.

The Dubs and Mr. Hirschberg left on August 1. The next day Süssheim went to a ball and met a pretty Miss Brüll of Vienna. He paid her a visit in her villa 'Generös' on the 4th and wrote to her later (on the 23rd). On November 15, strolling with his mother through Munich, he came across her. He did not recognize her at first. As her cheeks were heavily powdered and she was accompanied by two men, he thought she was a prostitute. It turned out that one of the men was her husband and that she had a daughter Nelly in Vienna.

After his holiday in Veldes, Süssheim travelled to St. Moritz on August 7 and stayed until the 23rd in Hotel Du Lac, where he had been a year before. He again went to many balls organized for the summer guests of the fashionable hotels. He had the gray hairs removed from behind his ears for 1 franc. The girl who most impressed him was a certain Margot Leiser. When he took leave of her and her parents at the station on August 11, he offered her a bouquet of roses (which had cost him 5 francs) and proposed to her, saying that he wished to include her in his family's genealogy. The agency of Lesser & Liemann again was ordered to write a report.¹²⁸ It appeared that Miss Leiser would come into a dowry of 200,000 M, but somehow the match did not work out and the girl is not mentioned again in the Diary.

At the beginning of September Süssheim went to Nuremberg. There he heard that his mother had been invited to the Cohns [?] who had a marriageable daughter, Helen, but she had hesitated and had finally not gone. Süssheim was furious.¹²⁹ Max's wife Hedwig had recommended the girl¹³⁰ and Süssheim again felt despondent because of his mother's clumsiness.

At the end of November 1913 Süssheim began what was perhaps the most

127 The text has *kurhaus bağçesi*.

128 Entries for August 14 and 28; September 19, 1913.

129 Entry for September 9, 1913.

130 Entry for September 4, 1913.

out-going period of his life. He regularly went to meetings and parties of the *Insel Club*, to *Concordia*, *Phoenix* and *Thuringia* balls, to the popular Tuesday evenings at the Wilmersdorffers, to large-scale dinner parties at the Curtschmanns, Claars and Bauers, and to "artistic" teas at the home of Miss Manz,¹³¹ a singer whom Süssheim met at Dr. Claar's on March 7, 1914. He often did not see his bed before four or five in the morning. He even once, on February 14, 1914, performed the role of the Turkish ambassador in a play called "The Ambassadors' Conference".

Süssheim met a lot of pretty girls and he fell hopelessly in love with a certain Miss Susi Stern. He met her for the first time at the *Concordia* ball of November 30, 1913:

I went to the concert and the ball given by the *Concordia* Association. The concert was a potpourri of selected pieces performed by the best musicians. Mr. Brodersen, Mr. Erb, Miss Michaelis and Miss Fanny were overwhelmed by applause. After the concert, which lasted from eight till half past nine, dinner was served. My table partner was Miss Susi Stern, born on October 30, 1895, who is slender but robust, erect and rather tall. She has a ruddy complexion and a pretty face. The girl, in short, pleased me very much. She behaved ingenuously, but is a bit too serious for her age. She wore two rings on her fingers; one of them was set with a big but coarse turquoise. Her fingers were red from the cold; their joints showed signs of inflammation and there were boils on them. She is a member of the recently founded Israelite Youth Alliance.¹³² I had been invited on the recommendation of my friend Dr. Loeb and had dinner for 2.50 M, which was both cheap and good. At our table were the art connoisseur, Mr. Schwab, and Miss Erna Fraenkel as well as the students Katzensteiner, Dr. Felix Wassermann and Miss Sabbath [?].

Miss Stern's ball-dress was very low-cut in front and I could see her breasts. She fancied a very lustrous engagement ring and would like to spend her honeymoon, depending on the season, in Scandinavia. Because she had caught a cold, she had spent the last three days in bed. This was the first day she had gone out. Together with twenty-one other girls, she has since recently been going to a private school in order to learn cooking, one of [her future] domestic duties. At noon they eat the food they have cooked themselves. She is at school from nine, [Central-] European time, until three o'clock. Although marriage means that your dancing days are over,¹³³ she does not pay attention to young men who have already found a wife and will avoid the possibility of waiting until she is twenty-three before marrying.

When, after dinner, I wanted to pay [for her], she refused this. While Miss [Susi] was not accustomed to alcoholic drinks, she reproached me, jokingly, that I had ordered a red wine called St. Julien for 4.50 M. When I sent the bottle of wine, which was still full after dinner, to her parents who shared a table with their business partners, the Sabbaths, they did not let me pay for it and paid it themselves, saying: "You are our guest." Because I danced only a little, I held her shawl which was embroidered with silver thread in a traditional pattern and helped her to find gentlemen who wanted to dance with her. I also danced with Miss Sabbath, Miss Drey and Miss

131 Maria Berta Manz (b. 1884), concert singer and teacher.

132 The text has *İsrailli gençlik ittifaki*, possibly the *Verein 'Jung Israel'*, a Zionist organisation founded in 1892 in Berlin, cf. Yehuda Eloni, 'Die umkämpfte nationaljüdische Idee' in Werner E. Mosse, ed., *Juden im wilhelminischen Deutschland*, Tübingen 1976, 633-688, 638.

133 The text has *evlendikten sonra güzel vakt bitmiş demekle...*

Lehmann. When I was talking at length with Miss Stern about honeymoon trips, she said that first of all it would be necessary to know each other. When I [whispered] some pleasant remarks in her ear, she said: "Flattery and joking don't suit you." When I said that I could only marry a girl who pleased me, she asked: "Why?" but did not get an answer.

At half past three the ball ended. When people began to leave [...] I brought Miss Lehmann her overshoes which she wears over her dancing-shoes. Before they left in the Sabbaths' car, they invited me to their house. I came home at four o'clock.

At two p.m. [on November 31], when I rang to inquire after Miss Stern's health by telephone, I spoke for a while with her mother because the girl was at school...

Süssheim discovered that the Sterns were extremely rich. The father had, together with the father of Susi's friend Grethel Sabbath (who, unfortunately, was not pretty), founded a grain business. Susi was to receive a dowry of perhaps even 500,000 M.¹³⁴ Nevertheless, it was clear from the beginning that Süssheim hardly had a serious chance. He regularly tried to phone her and often went to her house, but all in vain. Either she was not at home or tried to avoid him, and even when he had an opportunity to speak to her, she interrupted him and went away.

Süssheim saw her again at a *Thuringia* ball in Hotel Bayrischer Hof on January 31, 1914. The evening was in full swing and before he discovered he was in the wrong part of the building, he had already danced with ten girls at the *Apollo* ball held in the same hotel. At a certain moment he spotted an attractive girl at the entrance of the *Thuringia* ball-room. He approached her to make her acquaintance. "Don't you recognize me?" the girl said. Süssheim was hardly able to control his emotions when he saw that she was none other than Susi Stern. She allowed him one dance.

On February 19 he met her again at a *Concordia* ball, but she danced with Felix Wassermann all the time, and only once did she reluctantly agree to let Süssheim take her to the floor. She was more beautiful than ever, Süssheim noticed with anguish. Hopes flared up when he was invited to tea at her house on March 10, but she turned out to be very aloof. When Süssheim recalled their first intimate talk, she remarked that Felix would certainly object to a honeymoon spent in a northern country.¹³⁵ This seemed to settle the affair, but Süssheim did not give her up completely. When he heard that she would be going to England for three months in order to improve her English, he took leave of her by sending a bouquet of tulips (which cost him 6.50 M) and presenting her with a novel by Hermann Hesse.¹³⁶ Upon her return, on July 3, he gave her roses. As usual, he ordered a report from Lesser & Liemann.¹³⁷

134 Entry for June 20, 1914.

135 Entry for March 15, 1914.

136 Entry for April 3, 1914.

137 Entry for July 20, 1914.

Süssheim also met other attractive girls during this bustling period. One of them was the daughter of Consul Wilmersdorffer, about nineteen years old. But she made it clear to him that she was not interested and openly flirted with a student called Ernst Goldschmidt in his presence.¹³⁸ Others included Miss Erna Fraenkel, Centa Bach, Miss Pauson, Miss Moser, and Miss Becker. Marriage-brokers continued to present Süssheim with new candidates: a Miss Kaufmann of Leipzig, proposed by Levi,¹³⁹ and a Miss Lange of Strasbourg by Rothenberg,¹⁴⁰ but they did not satisfy his wishes.

4. Ancestry and Relatives

Karl Süssheim took great pride in his lineage. As the second son of the respected merchant Sigmund Süssheim, Karl was four when his maternal grandfather the Paulskirche Deputy died, and hardly knew him. But he had his grandmother and uncles and aunts to turn to. Research into his family's history was one of his hobbies during this period and he devoted a considerable amount of time to it. On April 18, 1912, he visited the historian of the Bavarian Jews, David Wassermann,¹⁴¹ who was by now old and deaf. He was allowed to have a look at the manuscript of the magnum opus he was writing and see what the author had written on the Süssheims and Süssls of Bavaria. Süssheim visited him again on July 29. Through his research he also came into contact with a Rabbi, Dr. Werner,¹⁴² to whom he was introduced by Dr. Lichtenstätter on April 27, 1912. The Rabbi allowed him to make use of the documentation of the Jewish Community (*Israelitische Kultusgemeinde*). A friendship developed between the two men, and Süssheim was regularly invited to the Rabbi's house, often on the occasion of Jewish feasts such as Passover, New Year and Purim.¹⁴³ On these days he also went to the synagogue of the Liberal Community. Werner described Süssheim as a "good" but not Orthodox Jew to a marriage-broker who

138 Entries for February 16 and May 19, 1914.

139 Entries for March 9 and April 19, 1914.

140 Entries for June 20, July 1 and 8, 1914.

141 Probably David Wassermann (b. 1847), owner of a vinegar and spirits factory; collector of antiquities.

142 Cossmann Werner (1854-1918), Rabbi at Danzig and Munich (1895-1918). Famous for his rhetorical talents, he was called *Sprecher der Juden in Deutschland*, cf. Leo Baerwald, 'Juden und jüdische Gemeinden in München vom 12. bis 20. Jahrhundert', in Lamm, *Vergangene Tage*, 19-30, 25-26.

143 The Werners received guests every Friday evening, cf. Bertha Badt-Strauss, 'Studententage in München', in Lamm, *Vergangene Tage*, 197-200, 198.

investigated Süssheim's background.¹⁴⁴ Dr. Werner was a staunch promoter of Jewish emancipation and had on the invitation of the Bavarian Prime Minister, Baron Hertling,¹⁴⁵ contributed two articles to the *Neue Regierungsanzeiger* (?)¹⁴⁶ in which he once more refuted the fifteenth-century blood libel claiming that Jews had murdered Christian boys, an accusation which had been renewed in circles of the Catholic (Centre) Party after the Kiev pogroms.¹⁴⁷ Sometimes Süssheim consulted Mrs. Werner on the subject of suitable girls.¹⁴⁸

He talked to members of his large family or to people connected with its history. In this way he saw the Bärns, who had played a role in bringing about his parents' marriage,¹⁴⁹ Dr. Adlerstein,¹⁵⁰ and Mr. Ischmann,¹⁵¹ all in Munich. He exchanged letters with Mr. Hamburger, a Jewish teacher of Mühlhausen, sending him 7.50 M.¹⁵² He travelled to Kronach to visit Mrs. Gerst, Hedwig Bachmann and Mr. Keller-Dessauer.¹⁵³ He asked information from the ninety-year-old Michael Mossbacher of Nuremberg¹⁵⁴ and from old Mrs. Rosenbusch-Adlerstein of Augsburg.¹⁵⁵ He visited the Bavarian State Archives in Munich,¹⁵⁶ saw documents kept by the Jewish Community in Fürth,¹⁵⁷ and studied inscriptions at the cemetery of Edeldorf-Zegern.¹⁵⁸ On

144 Entry for October 2, 1913.

145 Georg Friedrich Freiherr, since 1914 Graf, von Hertling (1843-1919), Catholic statesman and philosopher; Bavarian Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs and *Staatsminister des königlichen Hauses* (1912-1917); Reich Chancellor (1917-1918). Süssheim made his acquaintance on April 27, 1912.

146 The text has *yeni tesis edilmiş 'muhbir-i devlet'*.

147 Entry for November 21, 1913.

148 Entry for July 10, 1914.

149 Entries for May 12 and October 19, 1912.

150 Entry for June 20, 1912.

151 Entries for November 22 and 27, 1912.

152 Entry for July 9, 1912.

153 Entry for September 11, 1913.

154 Entry for September 24, 1913.

155 Entry for March 6, 1914.

156 Entry for December 11, 1912.

157 Entries for January 6 and 7, 1913.

the same day he paid a visit to Uncle Heinrich's factory at nearby Forchheim. He learned that the latter employed three hundred workers and that the works had recently begun to produce tin-foil. From September 11 to 21, 1913, he made a tour along the Upper Franconia and Kronach archives. This research enabled him to trace the family lineage back to the year 1701. The next year, he went to the courts of Herzogenaurach and Höchstadt near Büchenbach in order to see legal documents, particularly those concerning the legacies of the Morgenstern family.¹⁵⁹

Süssheim's interest in his family was not only historical. He regularly travelled to Nuremberg and Fürth to see his relatives, his mother in the first place. During the Bavarian *Landtag* sessions, he sometimes went to visit his brother in the Diet building. On April 16, 1912, he noted that he heard Max speak against the profuse gifts of honorary titles and decorations by the Bavarian Government. On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Kronach fire brigade, of which his father had been a co-founder, he went to the town with Max and his mother in order to attend the festivities.¹⁶⁰

Süssheim kept a record in his Diary of important family events. On July 7, 1912, Paula's second daughter Annie was born. On November 23, 1912, Süssheim recorded the death of Karl Frankenthal who had emigrated to the United States as a fourteen-year-old boy. He had returned to Munich to seek a cure against his, as it appeared, fatal intestinal cancer. On July 5, 1913, he heard that his aunt Marie Drey, her daughter, son-in-law and grand-daughter had been killed in a car accident in the United States.

Süssheim remained concerned about the preservation of, at least, the formalities of religion in the family and recorded his worries, accompanied by sleeplessness, about his relative Kurt Lessing's intention to have his daughter baptized,¹⁶¹ and Eugen Kirschbaum's unwillingness to have his children taught Hebrew. Eugen had even left the Jewish Community in order to avoid paying contributions.¹⁶²

Eugen remained a controversial figure in the family. On September 19, 1912, Süssheim was present at the banquet on the occasion of twenty-fifth anniversary of his brother-in-law's entry into the firm of Benda, an international company owned by Eugen's father and by the father of his partner Julius Neubauer. The next year, a serious conflict broke out between Eugen on the one side and Clara

158 Entry for September 10, 1913.

159 Entries for April 6 to 9, 1914.

160 Entry for July 21, 1912.

161 Entry for October 4, 1912. Kurt Lessing had married Karl Süssheim's first cousin Frieda Löwensohn on 7 June 1909 in London.

162 Entry for March 21, 1913.

Süssheim and Max on the other, about the purchase of a house. Max had encouraged his mother to buy a larger house because he wanted to rent an apartment in it which could house his office. Eugen opposed this idea, as did Karl and Hedwig, who was repelled by the idea of having to live in the same house with her mother-in-law.¹⁶³ In October 1914 Clara had rented the first floor of the house Marientorgraben 9, which was then owned by the Privatier Georg Engelhardt (in 1885 the house had cost 190.000 M). Clara was an avid collector; her apartment was overcrowded with collections of old furniture and clocks, paintings and rolled carpets. On March 18, 1914, despite the opposition of her son-in-law, Clara bought the house Marientorgraben 9 and turned two rooms into a gallery for her collection of paintings. Eugen now offered financial support, but this was rejected out of hand. Hedwig made a terrible row with her mother-in-law which was only concluded by her apologies two and a half weeks later.¹⁶⁴ Hedwig was not an easy person to deal with, as Süssheim experienced at Veldes, when she violently and unexpectedly scolded him for not having taken notice of her and Max upon their arrival on the day before.¹⁶⁵ (Hedwig and Max stayed in the same Park Hotel where Süssheim was residing during his holiday.)

Nor was Süssheim's mother always pleasant company. After a prolonged stay in Munich, Süssheim noted with relief that she had not given him a headache this time because she had been too busy and had only claimed his evenings.¹⁶⁶ Paula complained of her jealousy towards Eugen and herself. When Mother had seen Paula's lorgnette, she had also ordered one, more beautiful and set with diamonds. She also imitated her daughter in buying a black fur coat. She had even been jealous of Eugen's ring and had herself ordered an expensive one, costing 2000 M! Eugen concluded that she had gone mad and should be subjected to legal supervision.¹⁶⁷

5. Housing and the Threat of War

During most of this period Süssheim lived happily at the Rinsche's in the Ansbacher Strasse 2, and relations with his landlord, landlady and their son Erich were friendly. When Süssheim suffered from a throat ache, Mrs. Rinsche tried

¹⁶³ Entries for September 5 and 19, 1913.

¹⁶⁴ Entries for September 5 and 22, 1913.

¹⁶⁵ Entry for August 3, 1913.

¹⁶⁶ Entries for November 1 to 17, 1913.

¹⁶⁷ Entry for January 22, 1913.

to ease the pain with damp bandages.¹⁶⁸ On his birthday, January 21, 1914, when his family seemed to have forgotten him, Mrs. Rinsche congratulated the forlorn Süssheim, Erich offered cakes, and the maid Ernestine brought soup-extract. There was trouble only once with one of the other lodgers, a certain Mr. Fuchs, a Post Office employee, who went mad and claimed to have invented a simplified form of the telegraph. He promised Mr. Rinsche 5000 M from the forthcoming profits and organized an enormous party at Hotel Below. He quit his job and was eventually confined to the lunatic asylum at Egelfing.¹⁶⁹

Süssheim left the Rinsches in May 1914, after a quarrel had broken out over the electricity bill. Süssheim discovered that he had to pay more for his electricity than the sum, 7.45 M, paid by Mr. Rinsche for the entire house although it had been arranged that he would pay only two-thirds of that amount.¹⁷⁰ On May 23, he consulted his friend, the lawyer Willy Hahn, who recommended that he go to the police. On the evening of the same day, he announced to the Rinsches that he would look for other rooms. Constable Schaffner came to the house on May 27. Mr. Rinsche, when asked to show the bill, tried to excuse himself by saying that it included an indemnity for a broken alabaster copy of the Venus of Milo. Mrs. Rinsche, who arrived later, was shocked to see a policeman in her house and burst into tears.

At the end of the next month, Süssheim packed his belongings, including his collection of books, manuscripts and papers, which weighed about 500 kilograms, and moved to the Heidners¹⁷¹ in Hiltensperger Strasse 29.¹⁷² On July 1, Rinsche presented him the final bill amounting to more than 100 M, which included costs for the broken statuette, the removal of fat stains from the counterpane and carpet, and other items. Süssheim thought he could do things more cheaply, and on a number of consecutive days he visited bric-à-brac shops, the fleamarket, Italian stone-cutters and plaster-carvers, and compared the prices of laundries in town. Eventually he ordered a statuette at Giulici's for 5 M (Rinsche had demanded 85 M), took a stained towel and tablecloth to a laundry in Hiltensperger Strasse to have them cleaned¹⁷³ - Rinsche forbade him to do the same with two counterpanes on July 8 - and brought the Exminster carpet, measuring 245x342 cm, to Baun's, where he paid 6 M for its cleaning, far less

168 Entry for December 22, 1913.

169 Entries for October 6, 7 and 21, 1913.

170 Entry for May 2, 1914.

171 Hans Heidner owned a delicatessen shop at Hiltensperger Strasse 29, cf. the bill of May 1, 1916, kept in *Nachlass* 4/1; at that time Süssheim paid a rent of 70 M per month and 4.88 M for breakfast.

172 Entries for May 29 and 30, 1914.

173 Entry for July 7, 1914.

than the 1.80 M per square m. Rinsche had calculated in his bill.

While Süssheim was worrying about a suitable wife and Rinsche's bill, international political tension had perceptibly increased after the assassination of Franz Ferdinand¹⁷⁴ in Sarajevo on June 28. The Diary is silent on this and Süssheim seems to have been mostly interested in public events connected with Bavarian royalty, such as the burial of the Prince Regent Luitpold on December 19, 1912, of which he was a witness - he noted the presence of the Kaiser and Graf Zeppelin¹⁷⁵ -, and the ceremonies around King Ludwig III's coronation which he watched with his mother from the ground-floor of the Regina Palast Hotel on November 12, 1913. He recorded that a tip of 0.50 M had sufficed to gain entrance.

By the end of July 1914, however, political tension and the threat of war could no longer be ignored. Although four of Süssheim's *Insel* Club friends expressed their pessimism on July 25, he still was confident that the Serbian Prime Minister Pašić¹⁷⁶ would accept the Austrian ultimatum. But public anger directed itself against Serbia, and the café Farich (Neusiedler Strasse 40) where they were sitting was attacked by a group of demonstrators later that evening. Five days later, on July 30, Süssheim noted that Serbia would hardly be a problem, but that the population seemed to be depressed by the idea of having to wage war against enormous Russia; only lowly riffraff was enthusiastic about the approaching war.

The next day, July 31, the population seemed distraught; a funereal silence reigned in the Royal Library. When late in the evening Süssheim accompanied Miss Odenheimer to the station - she had just passed her doctorate examination in economics - he saw many travellers returning from the mountains. One of them shouted "*hoch!*" but nobody shared his fervour.

174 Francis Ferdinand (1863-1914), Archduke of Austria.

175 Ferdinand Graf von Zeppelin (1838-1917), inventor of the aircraft bearing his name; personal advisor to the King of Württemberg from 1891.

176 Nikola Pašić (1846-1926), eight times Serbian Prime Minister (1904-1914).

CHAPTER THREE: THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 1914-1918¹

Although Süssheim's life in Munich did not change much, he felt the impact of the war, particularly towards its end when revolution and civil strife became a disturbing reality. The war itself seemed not to make much impression on him; he was strangely fearless and not afraid to die, as we will have the occasion to observe for the Nazi years. The war gave him the opportunity to become active in the service of his country as an orientalist, albeit in the rather marginal position of a censor. Continuing themes of these years remain Süssheim's preoccupation with his academic career - he expected to be promoted soon - and marriage: neither project was realized. Most of his scholarly work and public lectures were, again, dedicated to contemporary Ottoman developments. Süssheim continued to see a lot of his relatives in Nuremberg and Fürth. He also kept in touch with Istanbul until the end of the war, when communication lines broke down, and he regularly met Muslims, most of them Ottomans, in Munich. Among them were the members of several Ottoman delegations which came to visit the Bavarian capital. Süssheim's role as interpreter on these occasions brought him some fame and recognition as an accomplished Turcologist. He also kept up his Arabic and was, besides, fluent in other languages, including French and Ladino, English, Italian, Spanish, Classical and Modern Greek; he took lessons in Russian and taught himself Armenian and Mongolian (see Chapter Four).

¹ The period is represented in copybooks 5 (from fol. 37b), 6, 8, 9, 10 (up to fol. 3b) - we have no data on the period between June 9, 1916, and January 4, 1917, described in the lost copybook 7.

1. The War

Süssheim devoted only slightly more space in his Diary to the events of the outside world than he did during the preceding periods. As said above, he recorded the growing tension in Munich during the last days of July, and noted on August 1, 1914, that Germany had declared a general mobilisation of her troops. The next day Germany declared war on Russia, and Süssheim recorded that both steps caused suspense and elation among the Munich population although he also saw weeping women in the train when he went to visit his mother in Nuremberg on the same day. The rejoicing, indeed, was not free of anxiety; several of Süssheim's male relations were called up for military service, among them Bruno Stern, a brother-in-law of Uncle Heinrich,² and his cousin Fritz Reiss, son of Aunt Anna Reiss of Metz, who suffered a serious nervous breakdown because of it.³

The war also brought immediate financial difficulties for those who had invested money in Britain or the USA, among them Eugen Kirschbaum⁴ and the banker Mr. Burger, a relation of Bertha Morgenstern⁵. The banker committed suicide after he had lost 250,000 M. War also brought death and sorrow; already on October 20, Süssheim was told that his old schoolmate Wilhelm Schelling had died as an officer at the front, and on December 13, that Mr. Bachrach, an *Insel* Club member, had been killed in Flanders - others were to follow during the ensuing years. On September 30, rumour spread through Nuremberg - in these years of censorship the population was often dependent on these for information - that sixteen thousand wounded soldiers were being nursed in Nuremberg hospitals alone.

Already on August 16, 1914, Süssheim recorded that the population of Munich seemed depressed, although flags were seen all over the city on the occasion of the fall of Mons. But a month later, on September 22, Süssheim heard from one of his students, the archivist Dr. Ignaz Hösl,⁶ that the German troops had difficulties in taking Verdun. An officer and member of the *Insel* Club told Süssheim on October 18 about the rapacity of German troops behind the lines and the excessive fear of fifth-columnists in Bavaria itself:

2 Entry for August 3, 1914.

3 Entry for September 6, 1914.

4 Entry for August 9, 1914.

5 A daughter of Mr. Burger was married to Martin Gutmann, a nephew of Bertha Morgenstern.

6 Ignaz Hösl (b. 1881), Curator at the War Archives (*Kriegsarchivassessor*), cf. 'Verzeichnis der bei der Militärischen Überwachungs-Stelle I. A.K. verwendeten freiwilligen ehrenamtlichen Mitarbeiter etc.', in *Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (BHSA), Stellvertretendes Generalkommando (S.G.) I. A.K. No. 1621, 5.4.1916.*

Towards evening, I went to the *Insel* Club and stayed for two hours. Dr. Rheinstrom, who has recently been promoted to the rank of sergeant-major, was present. Another sergeant-major, Mr. Basch, was present as well. He told us strange things about soldiers returning from the war [and said] that our troops rob French corpses of high boots and jewelry and take all kinds of things, valuable or not, from the population by force.

The younger brother of Mr. Loewy, who owns a gift shop in Venice, had been staying in Munich at the time of the declaration of war. On his way to his regiment at Straubing, where he had his quarters, he had a rest in the vicinity of a bridge somewhere in Lower Bavaria and was looking out over the surrounding fields in a serious mood, when a car with some men appeared. He was brought to a village because he was suspected of being a well-known Serbian or Russian spy. There, under the supervision of a reserve officer, a court-martial was hastily formed and he was condemned to death. The evidence: in his pockets were some French gold coins, a normal medicine of which they erroneously said that it was nitroglycerine, and a scribbled note which they called "the bridge-plan". Moreover, he had no documents on his person; his passport and all his other official papers were at his regiment. He was brought to a subterranean prison in another village nearby for his execution. Twenty minutes before the execution and after a telegram had arrived from his regiment, he was sent to Straubing and released. When he arrived in Straubing, all the regimental officers came to welcome him.

I made the acquaintance of the ugly wife of the straw hat merchant, Mr. Eppstein.

Worry about bad news

Süssheim also recorded alarming news from the Near East. On January 8, 1915, he heard from the Rabbi Dr. Werner that the Turks had been defeated in the Caucasus.⁷ This undoubtedly contributed to his pessimistic view of the Ottoman role in the war which he expressed to the US journalist Sydney Rieser, correspondent for the (*New Yorker*) *Staatszeitung*⁸ and the *St. Louis Republican*, on March 5:

We spoke for about an hour and a quarter. Hasan Pasha,⁹ a grand-son of the former Khedive of Egypt, İsmail Pasha, had, in an exaggerated and phantasmagoric way, declared in an interview that the Ottomans would cross the Suez Canal and would trigger off an enormous rebellion in Egypt, and that they would defeat the Russians in the Caucasus, in short, would be successful in everything. He [Sydney Rieser] had sent the two-page interview with Hasan Pasha, which was full of erroneous ideas, to the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*. In an interview with the Pan-Germanist, Mr. Albrecht Wirth,¹⁰ he had heard that Germany would be victorious. I, for one, said that I

⁷ An Ottoman counter-offensive under Enver Pasha was heavily defeated at Sarıkamış, on the road to Kars, in January, 1915; only 12,000 out of 90,000 troops survived; see Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 119.

⁸ The text has New York *vatan gazetesi/ muhbiri*. The paper was published between 1834 and 1934. We are indebted to the late Professor Roderic Davison of Washington D.C. for this information.

⁹ Hasan Pasha (1855-1884), Field Marshal - he was in fact the son of the Khedive İsmail Pasha (1830-1895), cf. Emine Foat Tugay, *Three Centuries. Family Chronicles of Turkey and Egypt*, London, New York and Toronto 1963, Tree No. 3.

¹⁰ Albrecht Wirth (b. 1860), *Privatdozent* at the Technical University in Munich.

believed that the situation of Turkey was serious and that her prospects were not at all bright. He also asked me what I thought of the Turkish ideas about Zionists and of von Bissing's¹¹ optimistic views [...] Mr. Rieser is the son of man who was originally a journalist but became later, in 1893, American Ambassador at Tehran. He was living at his sister's house in Munich. He is correspondent for South Germany.

Süssheim was to see this colourful personality again on December 11, 1918, when he told him that he had been involved in the great January strikes¹² of that year and had become member of a Workers' Council.

Süssheim's pessimistic view on the role of the Ottomans in the war seemed to be confirmed by what he heard in the *Landtag* on February 24, 1916, where he went to see his brother Max:

I made the acquaintance of a political friend of mine, Mr. Müller,¹³ Deputy for Munich. He was acquainted with Baron von Rosenberg,¹⁴ head of the Turkish desk at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin [...] The Turks were lately causing so many problems that he had begun to fear that they would quit the Alliance. We were not able to import food and milk from Turkey, on the contrary; for the last two, three months we have even been forced to send wheat to Turkey. We, in turn, obtained wheat from Russia through Sweden and in exchange had to deliver Zeiss binoculars...

The war continued to bring distressing news. On April 11, 1915, in the Maria Theresia Café, Süssheim talked with Dr. Max Claar, who had recently returned from the western front. Up to the last two weeks he had served as a captain in the medical troops - this earned him 650 M per month plus 10 francs per day for food - but had been dismissed because he had not been able to get along with his superiors. He told Süssheim that the main reason why the German advance came to a standstill at the Marne had been the reluctance of Italy to enter the war at the side of the Central Powers, so that the French had been able to dispatch another eight army corps from the Italian border to the north. The battle had cost the German army 120,000 men.

The Kaiser had been so frightened and so convinced of his incompetence that he had not dared

11 Friedrich-Wilhelm von Bissing (1873-1956), Egyptologist; professor at Munich University from 1906, at Utrecht University from 1924.

12 The *Januarstreik* and the concomitant large demonstrations took place between January 28 and February 3, 1918, in the main Bavarian industrial centres; it was organised by the radical Independent Socialist Party (USPD, founded in 1917) led by Kurt Eisner, see Max Spindler, *Handbuch der Bayerischen Geschichte* IV/1, Munich 1974, 383-384.

13 Ernst Müller-Meiningen (1866-1944), Liberal politician; member of the *Landtag* (1905-1925); later member of the *Reichstag* and German Minister of Justice.

14 Baron Frederic Hans von Rosenberg (1874-1937), diplomat; Reich Minister of Foreign Affairs (1922-1923); Ambassador at Ankara (1933-1935); cf. Friedman, *Germany, Turkey and Zionism*, p. 458.

to take military matters into his own hands [...] At the beginning of March, 320,000 to 350,000 German troops had been killed on the western front alone.

Dr. Claar had spoken to Dr. Jaeckh in Munich, where the latter gave a lecture on April 9. The Kaiser had talked to Dr. Jaeckh at the Imperial Headquarters in Mézières and had disclosed some secrets to Dr. Claar. The General Staff was apparently divided on the question how to terminate hostilities. One group, supported by the German Crown Prince,¹⁵ wanted to force Britain to start peace negotiations at any price.

Since November there had been forty to fifty balloons stationed near Bruges, eight to ten of which formed a separate unit [...] They were to be sent to London, at a mere hour's distance from there, at Christmas, in order to try to destroy the Houses of Parliament, the Downing Street ministries and the Bank of England. Until now, however, they had not been sent. Their expected advantages had not yet been demonstrated.

Another group within the General Staff, led by the Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg¹⁶ and von Falkenhayn,¹⁷ wished to keep Britain as far as possible out of the war and were ready for some concessions.

According to Dr. Claar, the 42-inch guns had their optimal effect at a distance of 7.5 km. They destroyed all trees within their range and threw all roofs and men to the ground [...] Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria¹⁸ was reported to be merely an average general, dependent on the judgements of others [...] Dr. Claar wants to enter the Ottoman service at any cost but I told him that it was doubtful whether he be accepted soon or could be of any use.

On June 29, Süssheim was at the *Insel* Club and heard from Mr. Schindler that the Germans had suffered heavy casualties again in April; 300,000 men were reported to have been killed, 780,000 wounded and 215,000 captured. As was clear from public placards, more and more groups of recruits had to leave for the front lines. On November 6, 1915, for instance, it was announced that forty-two- and forty-three-year-olds had to enlist at the recruiting office.

On January 4, 1916, Süssheim heard from the chairman of the *Insel* Club,

15 Friedrich Wilhelm Victor August Ernst von Hohenzollern (1882-1951), eldest son of Wilhelm II; Commander of the Fifth Army (1914-1916) and the South Army (Western front), 1916-1918; Crown Prince of Germany, 1888-1918.

16 Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg (1856-1921); Reich Chancellor, 1909-1917.

17 Erich von Falkenhayn (1861-1922), Prussian army officer, served in China as military instructor; Prussian Minister of War (1913-1915); Chief of the German General Staff (1914-1916); Commander of the Ottoman forces in Palestine and Syria (1917-1918); see below.

18 Prince Rupprecht von Wittelsbach (1869-1955); from 1916 Field-Marshal and Commander of an Army Group named after him on the Western front; after 1918 he spoke repeatedly in favour of a restoration of the monarchy in Bavaria.

Landauer, that the German offensive near Douai had failed.¹⁹ Military plans had apparently fallen into enemy hands. Landauer said that he had not been able to get an appointment as an officer because he was a Jew. At the front he had once been forced to defend, at gun-point, a strategically important battery which had already been given up.

The ongoing military stalemate induced the German government to take desperate measures. On February 1, 1917, Süssheim recorded that unrestricted submarine war had been declared. This led to the severing of diplomatic relations with the USA. The population was shocked and Max was convinced that this meant the end for Germany.²⁰ On March 26, during a train journey, Süssheim heard from soldiers on leave from the East that the Russian front had come to a standstill. On August 5, he heard from a corporal, Herbert Reicher, at Egern (Tegernsee) that a Mesopotamian campaign,²¹ of which he had not heard before, would soon be started. Reicher would be sent there as an intelligence officer. On November 20, he heard that Jaffa had fallen into British hands.²²

Süssheim remained an impassive observer of the often bloody events. They did not shake his feelings of loyalty to his fatherland and he remained ready to leave for the trenches if required to do so.²³ He did not have to perform military service but, as he told his mother on August 26, 1914, he was not afraid of war or death, although he preferred, of course, to continue his scholarly work, but, "like a Muslim," he would certainly, if necessary, adapt himself to altered circumstances.²⁴ He contributed to war-relief funds²⁵ and bought war bonds in 1915 to an amount of 9000 M. His patriotic loyalty was shared by many German Jews, among them the Munich Rabbis Dr. Ehrentreu²⁶ and Dr. Werner. On February 10, 1915, Süssheim noted:

19 In the spring and autumn of 1915, heavy fighting occurred in the area between Ypres and Arras; Douai, near Arras, was about 15 miles behind the front.

20 Entries for February 4 and 20, 1917.

21 The Ottoman army group called Yıldırım "Lightning" under von Falkenhayn tried to recapture Iraq from the British from early 1917; it was redirected to Palestine where it fought a losing battle against the British. For Falkenhayn's refusal to execute Cemal Pasha's plan to "relocate" all Jews from Palestine, see Holger Afflerbach, *Falkenhayn. Politisches Denken und Handeln im Kaiserreich*, München 1994.

22 Ramla and Jaffa were lost to the British in mid-November; Jerusalem fell on December 9.

23 Entry for January 18, 1918.

24 Entry for September 1, 1914.

25 Entry for November 12, 1914.

26 Jona Ernst Ehrentreu (b. 1896), Rabbi of the Munich Orthodox Jewish Community from 1927; he emigrated to Britain in 1938.

In the evening I was invited to a lecture given by the Rabbi of the Orthodox Community, Dr. Ehrentreu, who spoke on the subject of "The War and the Jewish Scriptures" for the so-called "Loge".²⁷ It was very useful for me. Afterwards, Dr. Werner rose to say a few words. He said that, considering the fact that the Thora was indispensable and in favour of war, whereas the Gospel opposed it, he preferred the Jewish religious law and criticized the Christians. Although he paid particular attention to the situation of our time, Dr. Ehrentreu spoke more as a scholar.

Dr. Werner also opposed Zionism, and Süssheim shared this opinion: he refused to sign a declaration of support for Jews living in Palestine although he was ready to contribute 25 M for their welfare.²⁸

Anti-Semitism

All the more grievous, therefore, was the growing tide of anti-Semitism in Germany during the war; it rapidly became more than a marginal phenomenon. On June 18, 1918, Süssheim was invited by the Werners.

[Dr. Werner] talked about his connections with Bavarian statesmen. At the time of Mr. Landmann's²⁹ appointment to the Ministry of Education, his secretary of state, the late von Schätz,³⁰ had approached Dr. Werner. He told [him], alluding to the Minister's intolerant attitude, that the Sabbath, that is, the Jewish feast, was in danger; this aroused Dr. Werner's anger. After a serious discussion, he was able to exempt the Jews, as before, from the obligation to do office work on Saturdays. Recently, the Rabbi of Günzburg, Dr. Kohn [?], had requested by petition that three Jewish pupils from the village of Reichenhausen, who frequented the secondary school in Günzburg, be permitted to absent themselves from lessons on Fridays during winter because if they returned [then] from Günzburg by the four-thirty train, they were unable to arrive on time for evening [prayers] at the synagogue in Reichenhausen. The officials of the Munich Ministry of Education had become cross and had sent for Dr. Werner.

It was arranged that the Jewish pupils were to be allowed to leave school at half past one in winter in order to catch an earlier train. The policy of the Bavarian government was, on the whole, quite liberal.

The Bavarian official Mr. von Krazeisen³¹ had told Dr. Werner that he was willing to appoint Jews to any position, be it governor or minister, but that the governor of Lower Bavaria was

27 The *München-Loge* was founded in 1897 on an American model and united Liberal and Orthodox Jews with the purpose of promoting "welfare, brotherly love and unity" among all Jews through social gatherings and charitable activities, cf. Cahnmann, 'Die Juden in München', 33.

28 Entries for May 4 and 17, 1915.

29 Robert August von Landmann (1845-1926), Bavarian Minister of Education and Religious Affairs from 1895 to 1902.

30 August Ritter von Schätz (1856-1911), *Ministerialrat* at the Bavarian Ministry of Culture from 1907.

31 Karl Johann Ritter von Krazeisen, official at the Ministry of Internal Affairs (1895-1906).

unwilling to do so.

Incidentally, he showed the same attitude towards Protestants.

[Some people] apparently still have the false idea that the Jews killed Jesus...

Half a year later, Süssheim was harrassed.

I left Munich by the eight-fifteen a.m. train. In Castell, two stations early, I thought I was in Wiesbaden. When I left the train, I happened to bump against one of the many soldiers who were standing on the platform. He said to me in a sneering way: "Bist du verrückt, Jude?" I moved on without looking into his face and was reminded of the fact that I was in an anti-Semitic country.

In order to resist the growing anti-Semitism, Jewish religious leaders summoned their communities to show solidarity and defend their co-religionists against this evil. Rabbi Freudenthal did so in his Passover sermon of 1917 which Süssheim attended on April 8. The ominous development caused his brother-in-law, Eugen Kirschbaum, to definitively give up his and his childrens' membership in the Jewish Community. This grieved both Süssheim and his mother.³²

The last year of the war

The year 1918 was to bring an end to the war. On June 18, Süssheim recorded the first open revolt of soldiers who refused to return to the front lines in one of the Munich barracks:

It had been decided that a number of soldiers from the Munich regiment of His Majesty's Own Infantry³³ should be sent to the front on June 12, but because of their unwillingness they were imprisoned in their barracks and drill-hall for three to four days. Today at one p.m., they were finally sent off. Their train left at three. At 11.30 a.m. they still had not known they would have to go, and when they realized that they would be transported to the front, they took, in their rage, everything they could find in their quarters: chairs, beer pitchers and gas masks, and threw them onto the street. Until evening the space in front of the barracks was brimful with bits and pieces of jugs. It was not reported that anyone was punished.

When they finally left their barracks, rifles were emptied into the pavement or into the air in protest, and many soldiers escaped before the regiment reached the station.

At the end of the next month, rumour spread that Hindenburg³⁴ had died,³⁵

³² Entry for October 21, 1917.

³³ The text has *Münih piyade-i hasse alayı*.

³⁴ Paul von Beneckendorf und Hindenburg (1847-1934), Field Marshal and Chief of the General Staff (1916-1918), President of Germany (1925-1934).

and on September 26 the population of Munich was shocked by the initiative of Bulgaria to come to a separate peace with the Entente.³⁶ They were followed by the Ottomans on October 8.³⁷ Details however were not published in the press. Some days later, on October 13, Max Süssheim demanded the abdication of the Kaiser and the Crown Prince before a large meeting of the Bavarian Socialists. Rates on the stock-exchange threatened to collapse³⁸ and Süssheim thought it wise to put his shares, worth 224,000 M, into a safety-deposit in the Royal Bank in Munich (on October 29).

On 7 November 1918 the Revolution began in Munich (see Chapter Four); on 11 November the armistice was concluded. The war was over - Süssheim only made a note about his normal classes of Turkish on that day - but in Munich things would take a turn for the worse.

On November 8, commenting on the rapacity of soldiers in the city, Süssheim recorded that the whole system of food-rationing threatened to collapse, something which had never happened during the preceding war years. Shortage of certain products had increased and prices had gone up, especially during the last phase of the war, and the quality of food had declined, but only after the November Days did Bavaria experience chaos.

The war economy

The Diary provides many details of economic developments, particularly of the availability and prices of primary goods. On January 16, 1915, Süssheim ate his first distasteful war bread and recorded that the rationing of food was to begin on March 23 of the same year:³⁹ every civilian would be entitled to one quarter pound of bread per day, and this amount continually decreased during the following years. From June 22, beer was only sold during restricted hours, and from May 1916, meat was to become subject to rationing.⁴⁰ On January 2, 1917, Süssheim recorded that he was served only three potatoes per meal in his

35 Entries for July 26 and 27, 1918.

36 The Bulgarian Army surrendered to the Allies on October 2, unable in a final effort to breach the Central Front opened by the Entente forces after they had landed in Salonica in September 1915.

37 On that date Tal'at Pasha and the Unionist cabinet resigned. The armistice signed on 31 October 1918 at Mudros between an Ottoman delegation under Hüseyin Rauf Bey, the Navy Minister, and Admiral Calthorpe, commander of the British Black Sea squadron, really amounted to an Ottoman capitulation. See Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 138 and passim.

38 Entry for October 22, 1918.

39 Entry for February 19, 1915.

40 Entry for February 21, 1916.

restaurant. On January 22, the distribution of flour and rice was stopped altogether. Ice-cream had become an extravagancy; Süssheim ate it on the occasion of his birthday on January 21, 1917, recording that he had not done so for the past two years. From February 2, public buildings, such as restaurants, had to close at ten p.m. because of the coal shortage, and this contributed to the fact that Süssheim had to teach in ice-cold rooms during winter. On January 3, 1918, for instance, the indoor temperature did not exceed 12° C. Apart from the marked shortage of potatoes during the last two war years,⁴¹ milk was no longer distributed to men from October 1917.⁴²

From July 18, 1915, Süssheim and his mother started to send each other food-parcels in order to fill gaps in their rations (although Süssheim received far more than he sent), which practice continued into the nineteen-twenties.

Metal shortage was reflected in the public announcement that copper and nickel had to be handed over to the authorities for fixed prices⁴³ and in the introduction of iron five and ten-Pfennig coins.⁴⁴

2. Translator for the Military Censors⁴⁵

Although Süssheim professed not to be afraid of the trenches, he never had to prove his courage during the war despite the fact that he was in the reserve of the Bavarian Army. The only - distant - experience of the onslaught he had during his holiday in Oberstdorf in the summer of 1915, was when, during one of his long walking tours, he heard the rumbling of gun fire from beyond the Alps.⁴⁶

Immediately after the outbreak of the war, on August 2, 1914, Süssheim inquired at the local Military Headquarters as to what he could expect for the near future with regard to active service. His mother was most anxious, even literally ill from worrying, about this possibility, and she as well as Max suggested that he offer his services as an interpreter to the Bavarian

41 Entries for February 8, May 28, and June 30, 1917.

42 Entry for October 24, 1917.

43 Entry for August 3, 1915.

44 Entries for November 9, 1915, and February 26, 1916.

45 See for the following three sections also Jan Schmidt, "Karl Süssheim, die Militärische Postüberwachung und das Schicksal der Türken in Deutschland während des I. Weltkriegs", in *XXIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 16. bis 20. September in Würzburg. Ausgewählte Vorträge*, Stuttgart 1989, 234-244.

46 Entry for August 8, 1915.

government.⁴⁷ Max pointed out to him that the Ottoman Empire was a German ally and that he should do his duty by writing articles and giving lectures for the benefit of mutual understanding and good relations between the two countries. Süssheim was not unwilling, but refused to take the initiative, either in Munich or Istanbul, fearing that his academic reputation and career might be damaged by such an initiative.⁴⁸

It wasn't long before he did become involved in translation work connected with intelligence gathering for the military. His student Dr. Hösl, who worked for the First Bavarian Army as a censor⁴⁹ at the Post Office⁵⁰ in the Bayerstrasse, sometimes asked Süssheim to help him translate documents. Thus, on September 6, 1914, Süssheim translated his first three letters. At the end of that month, on September 29, he visited the censor's office for the first time:

When I came across Dr. Reismüller⁵¹ and Dr. Hösl in the Royal Library at half past twelve, they told me to come to the censor's office at four in the afternoon in order to translate some Turkish documents. I went there and after I had been introduced to the Director, Lieutenant-Colonel Sixt,⁵² he expressed his gratitude to me in the name of the Commander-in-Chief of the First Army. Instead of taking the oath, I had to give my word of honour that I would maintain complete discretion. I had to translate four postcards and two letters in Turkish and one letter in Persian.

As it turned out, Süssheim continued to work for the Mail Censorship (*Postüberwachung*) until the end of the war. As it happened, the newspapers reported on May 9, 1916, that his brother Max protested against the censorship

47 Entries for September 1, 5 and 11, 1914.

48 Entry for September 23, 1914.

49 Hösl's task was to inspect papers arriving from Rumania, Bulgaria, Turkey and Egypt, and make translations from the Rumanian, Turkish, Arabic, Rhaetoroman, Bulgarian and Modern Persian; he pretended to speak 24 languages in all, cf. 'Verzeichnis' in BHSA, (S.G.) I. A.K., no. 1621, d.d. 5.4.1916.

50 The censor's office was called in full *Militärische Überwachungsstelle der I. bayerischen Armeekorps beim Bahnpostamt 1 München*, more briefly (*Militärische*) *Postüberwachung*; in the text we find *mekatib muayene heyeti*, cf., e.g., entry for May 15, 1917.

51 Georg Reismüller (1882-1936), Sinologist, Curator of the Royal Library at Munich; his task at the censor's office was to inspect papers arriving from Great Britain, Switzerland and Russia, and act as an interpreter from the Chinese, Japanese, Swedish, Danish and other languages; he pretended to speak 18 languages, *ibidem*.

52 Among the letters monitored by Sixt in October 1914 was one letter addressed to Erich Mühsam which Sixt had specifically released ("militärischerseits freigegeben"). See the following chapter.

in an interpellation in the Bavarian Diet after he had found out that letters from the front to himself and other members of the Diet had been opened by military censors. The Minister of War, Baron von Kress, answered immediately (letters from the front had to be monitored, just as outgoing mail had to be monitored by the military postal control at home).

Either the Director of the Post Office, Rauscher, or Hösl would regularly come to Süssheim's house with letters and postcards, mostly in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, or they would hand them to Süssheim when they met him by chance in public places such as Restaurant Lohengrin in the Türkenstrasse where he used to have his meals during the first years of the war.⁵³

On March 6, 1915, Süssheim had to undergo his first war-time military medical examination. This greatly upset his mother who found the summons on his desk in Munich. He was found fit to serve as an artilleryman. In a second examination on June 8 he was found fit for service in the infantry. It looked as if he was to be sent to the front at the beginning of autumn. He was relieved when he was offered a permanent position at the censor's office by Director Rauscher on September 9. He had met Rauscher in Restaurant Lohengrin on July 6, when the latter had asked him which languages he knew. His appointment implied that he could remain in Munich and avoid active duty in the field. This was confirmed by Major Ivo Schneider, who had meanwhile replaced Sixt as director of the censor's office - the latter had been promoted to Berlin on August 30, 1915. Süssheim met Schneider for the first time at the Bayerstrasse office on September 16, 1915:

When I returned some letters I had investigated, I again discussed with Mr. Rauscher the possibilities of arranging an exemption from active military duty for me. I entered the room of the new director, Major Schneider. I also found there ...⁵⁴ and Lieutenant Felsenstein. After I had introduced myself, the Major, a small, plump and friendly man, said: "I know you very well!" I explained that I had been making translations from the Turkish, Arabic and Persian for a year and that I wondered whether I might be accepted for further service. "You're most welcome, I thank you very much!" he said.

After a third medical examination on January 12, 1916, Süssheim heard that he, together with five other employees of the office, was definitively exempted from active field duty.⁵⁵ The exemption was again confirmed during in the following years on the grounds that he was considered indispensable at the censor's

53 After March 1916, Süssheim began to frequent the Regensburger Hof in Augustiner Strasse (entry for March 15, 1916).

54 There is a blank in the text here.

55 Entry for April 20, 1916.

office.⁵⁶

The work for the office focused on identifying material that might arouse animosity against Germany or the German-Ottoman alliance, and on collecting data which might be useful for political and military intelligence. For that purpose Süssheim wrote or dictated translations of important passages. Urgent cases - more than twenty in all - were reported in writing to Schneider, who, in turn, sent them to the Military Commander of the First Bavarian Division or directly to the military counter-intelligence (*Abwehr*) in Berlin, whose authorities had to decide on possible steps to be taken. These activities were often very time-consuming, and without being paid a penny for his trouble, Süssheim at times had to toil for hours on end, sometimes for more than six hours per day, although there were also days or weeks during which the office had no employment for him. Despite his efforts, he had the strong impression that he was not appreciated as he should have been, and that he even was slighted on official occasions. He thought that this was primarily due to his brother's reputation as a Socialist and Republican. He was grieved that he was neither invited to the royal inspection of the office on December 11, 1915, nor awarded the Ludwig Cross, as were nine other staff members on April 29, 1916. He went so far as to send a petition to the Military Headquarters on May 2 and received a reply by General von der Tann⁵⁷ on the 6th that he certainly would be decorated later. He did in fact receive the Cross at the turn of that year, in December 1916 or January 1917.

More than once, he was annoyed by the duplicity of his go-between, Dr. Hösl. On May 15, 1916, he discovered that Hösl pretended to Major Schneider that he had done work which had actually been done by himself. Hösl was apparently anxious to prove his indispensability to the office and to avoid being sent to the front.⁵⁸ Süssheim feared his competition and even suspected that he intended to apply for a full professorship at his expense.⁵⁹ On May 16, he arranged with Schneider that he would send his translations and reports directly to the Bayerstrasse, or would do his work there. But this did not eliminate the

⁵⁶ Süssheim's task was to inspect mail written in Turkish, Arabic and Persian; he was considered indispensable because of the enormous mass of Turkish letters and postcards that passed through the Bayerstrasse office, cf. 'Verzeichnis' in BHSA, (S.G.) I. A.K., no. 1621, d.d. 5.4.1916.

⁵⁷ Luitpold Freiherr von und zu der Tann-Rathsamshausen (1847-1919), Deputy Commander-General of the First Bavarian Army from 1914 until his dismissal in 1918.

⁵⁸ Entry for March 22, 1916; by then he had the same status as Süssheim - he was, with the latter, probably the only staff member able to process the great quantity of Ottoman letters passing through the Bayerstrasse office, cf. 'Verzeichnis', BHSA, (S.G.) I. A.K. no. 1621, dated April 4th, 1916.

⁵⁹ Entry for May 7, 1916.

mediation of Hösl⁶⁰ and the same problem again manifested itself.⁶¹

The authorities increasingly became aware that the casual way in which the mail was often handled and carried around to private addresses posed serious security risks. The Diary itself is proof of this: nothing prevented Süssheim from copying at will passages from interesting letters into his notebooks. In the second half of the war, Military Headquarters tried to impose measures to tighten security. Süssheim was summoned to the office on May 15, 1917:

Mr. Rauscher telephoned me at eleven o'clock [and told me that] Major Schneider wished me to come to the office at six o'clock in the evening for an important matter. I went there [and saw that] the Rabbi, now also Professor, Werner, Professor Steinmayer,⁶² Dr. Reismüller, Mr. Rauscher and another Post official were already in Major Schneider's room. A little later Professor ---,⁶³ too, came in. Major Schneider read out a rather long letter from the Field Marshal, Baron von der Tann, which he held in his hand. It said that persons who had connections with the Entente Powers, especially France, had recently misled prisoners of war, that is, captives detained in military camps, and had skilfully incited them to spy [for them...] Documents forwarded to the *Postüberwachung* Office should, for secrecy's sake, never leave the office. Therefore, Mr. Rauscher wants the few persons who work for the office as volunteers to come to the office in person any time [they are needed], even at hours that may be inconvenient to them. On the morning of May 15, Major Schneider had explained at Military Headquarters that it might [sometimes] be necessary to transport mail to [private] houses by military courier. His right to do so was acknowledged, but if a parcel of letters was to leave the office, it should be sealed. We were strongly warned never to speak to anyone anywhere about our affairs. We were requested to inform the authorities in case we met a suspect person. The activities of the Munich *Postüberwachung* Office were appreciated everywhere...

On October 31, Süssheim had to sign a document in which he promised secrecy. From June 22, he was, moreover, ordered to work at the office; Schneider rebuked him for his frequent absence: 1260 letters had arrived from the Breslau Office - the local censor had fallen ill - and were awaiting inspection.

The new security measures do not seem to have been applied strictly; Süssheim went on taking letters home.⁶⁴ On August 5, 1918, Dr. Rauscher's umbrella and coat, which carried a letter in Ladino, on its way to Professor Lindl for translation, were stolen in the Augustiner Restaurant, Neuhauserstrasse,

60 Entry for May 17, 1917.

61 Entries for August 31 to September 3, 1918.

62 Josef Steinmayer (b. 1872), high-school teacher (*Realschullehrer*); he was a translator at the censor's office for a number of East-European languages and pretended to know 42 languages, cf. 'Verzeichnis', *ibidem*.

63 A blank in the text.

64 Entries for December 31, 1917; April 1, 1918.

during lunch-time.⁶⁵ Letters by staff members themselves were also subjected to censorship, as appeared on September 1, 1917, when Süssheim was again reprimanded for having written to Brusali Tahir Bey about the frequent thefts of letters and books by Post Office employees.

On May 28, 1917, Süssheim was invited to attend the official inspection of the Bayerstrasse Office by Marshal von der Tann. But he felt slighted when he realized he was not invited to the official opening by the King of an exhibition in the Post Office of anti-German propoganda materials spread by the Entente on April 18, 1918. Max Süssheim's Republicanism may have been the reason. On the 25th, nevertheless, he was able to join a group of four officials of the Bavarian Ministry of Education who were shown around by the Head Archivist. He saw, among other things, documents on German atrocities committed in Belgium and on the devious ways in which the Entente Powers tried to circumvent German security measures:

When, on August 4, 1914, the German Government had obtained full powers from the Reichstag⁶⁶ to wage war,⁶⁷ it had entrusted its members with a *White Book*, dated August 3, 1914. Because information on foreign policy was relatively restricted at that time, the political data contained in the *White Book* might also be regarded as insufficient and obsolete [...] Foreigners were eager to demonstrate, in fact, that any German publication was no more than a collection of falsifications. Documents published by certain German circles which tried to prove that Belgium and England had been preparing an assault on Germany also contained a file mistakenly left behind in Brussels by the Belgian Government at the time of their flight. This file contained minutes of negotiations held in 1906 between Belgian and English officials with the French heading *Conversation*, which had been read as *Convention* [by these circles...] This has been considered by foreign publications as the most outstanding example of German forgery for three to four years: no treaty or agreement had been concluded at that time, but only negotiations had taken place.⁶⁸ The exhibition also showed some works in which both the English and Belgian Governments had published investigations on the conduct of German soldiers and civil servants on Belgian soil, which was described as bestial. Not long after the beginning of the war, German authorities had ordered the production of oil from the bones of dead animals, *cadavers*. One of the most repellent calumnies spread throughout the world by the English is that the Germans were eating bones of human corpses - *cadavre* meaning human corpse in English...

This in particular had been effective in inspiring feelings of abhorrence about the

65 Schneider to Commander-in-Chief of the First Army, BHSA (S.G.) I A.K., No. 1621/9994, 5.8.1918.

66 The text has *meclis-i me'busan*.

67 On August 4, 1914, all Reichstag fractions, including the Social Democrats, approved the '*Kriegskredite*' demanded by the Government.

68 The *Deutsches Weissbuch, Aktenstücke zum Kriegsausbruch* (without place and date), 83, mentions a dossier called 'Intervention anglaise en Belgique' and maintains that Belgian neutrality was violated in 1906 because the Belgian Government would permit a British expeditionary force to be sent to the country in case of a Franco-German war.

Germans among their Indian and Chinese allies.

There were also some famous examples of the literature published on the case of Miss Cavell,⁶⁹ who had been executed [after having been] found guilty of espionage.

It appeared that the Entente was especially active in Switzerland and had even found Germans willing to write anti-German propaganda, to be smuggled into Germany, on a large scale.

Although authors who were writing for the Entente in Switzerland have since recently and because of a lack of funds been unable to continue their work, the Americans bought a big house [for them] at the beginning of the year; since the Entente has also begun to give enormous salaries to their Writers' Association, the number of Entente publications has again increased [...] They have recourse to various means of introducing propaganda materials into Germany. The most ordinary and widely used one is to hide such publications in newspapers allowed into Germany [...] In order not to attract undue attention, they generally use newspapers of a small size and a very restricted readership [...] Another means of transport is to use an envelope with a false label. Innumerable letters bearing the label of the Bavarian Embassy in Bern entered Germany in this way. But the counterfeit figure of the lion on the label had some small flaws. The German Mail and the censor's office had been instructed to let letters from Germans and the allies pass unopened and this was known by the Entente.

Another method was to send Entente publications to German officials of high rank through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This type of mail sometimes succeeded in reaching its destination through the smaller censor's offices where the staff often had less experience and was more often replaced than in the Munich office. "Among the visitors to the exhibition," Süssheim concluded,

one elderly [official] was continually laughing. Another gave vent to his indignation by grinding his teeth. They were all men of the high ranks of *Geheimrat* and *Regierungsrat*. They know me by name and suspected that I was related to the famous Socialist Deputy Süssheim. Two of them in particular were suspicious and cast scrutinizing glances in my direction.

Süssheim again felt slighted when he, as the only staff-member, was not invited to attend an inspection by General von Martini,⁷⁰ the new Commander-in-Chief of the First Army, on September 14 of the same year and thought that he would not be admitted without an invitation.

⁶⁹ Edith Cavell (1865-1915), Director of a School for Nurses in Brussels from 1907; in 1914 she established a hospital for wounded Allied soldiers in Belgium. She was executed by the Germans after it had been noticed that many soldiers nursed in her hospital, often only lightly injured, had escaped to the (neutral) Netherlands with the assistance of a clandestine organisation set up for this purpose.

⁷⁰ Karl Ritter von Martini (1855-1935), Commander-in-Chief of the First Bavarian Army from September 4 to November 23, 1918.

3. Refusal of an Intelligence Mission

During the war many German officers, including Bavarians, were sent to the Ottoman Empire in order to contribute to the joint war effort of the Central Powers in the Near East.⁷¹ On November 1, 1914, Süssheim heard at the *Insel* Club that two hundred Bavarian officers had been taken into Ottoman service. Among those who volunteered to serve in the Ottoman Empire were numerous orientalist, including Süssheim's onetime students Franz Babinger⁷² and Gotthelf Bergstraesser. The latter, a *Privatdozent* for Semitic Languages, accepted a call to the University of Istanbul. With another fifteen colleagues leaving for the East as interpreters on October 1, 1915, there was concern among Süssheim's family and friends about his own career. His aunt Franzeska,⁷³ his friends at the *Insel* Club⁷⁴ and, perhaps not without reasons of her own, his great love Susi Stern on becoming engaged to Felix Wassermann, all urged Süssheim to join his orientalist colleagues, perhaps as an interpreter to the German Embassy in Istanbul.⁷⁵ In his despondency he very nearly followed Susi's advice,⁷⁶ but he remained reluctant to take the initiative. On November 27, 1914, he heard from his colleague Dr. Wolff that he would actually be requested by the government to leave for Istanbul, but nothing happened. When on September 16, 1915, he was promised exemption from active military duty, his peaceful existence in Munich seemed assured. He noted that he would seek a position as interpreter of the Russian, Tatar and Kumük languages in German POW camps if he were dismissed from *Postüberwachung* service.

If that, in turn, would also be impossible, I will think of going to Istanbul on an official Ottoman or German appointment. Only if there is no other solution will I be ready to enter Ottoman service as an unpaid volunteer.

Süssheim continued to work for the censor's office until, on January 26, 1917, he received an unexpected invitation to present himself at the General Directorate of the Munich Police:

71 By the end of the war, some 25,000 German soldiers in all had seen military duty in the Ottoman Empire, cf. J.L. Wallach, *Anatomie einer Militärhilfe. Die preussisch-deutschen Militärmissionen in der Türkei 1835-1919*, Düsseldorf 1976, 253.

72 Entry for December 7, 1914.

73 Entry for May 1, 1915.

74 Entry for November 22, 1914.

75 Entry for September 23, 1914.

76 Entries for November 30, 1914; September 4, 1915.

Count Berchem,⁷⁷ Captain in the Bavarian General Staff and its Intelligence Officer for Political and Military Affairs regarding the Orient, has an office consisting of three rooms at the General Directorate of the Munich Police. Matters are, actually, kept dead secret. I only saw two of his men, one of them being Max ...,⁷⁸ recently promoted to a regular professorship at Münster. This friend of mine telephoned me yesterday. Because he wished to see me, it was decided that I was to come to room No. 360 at the Police Directorate after 4.30 today. I still remember the telephone number: extension 108, one of the disconnected lines of the Police Directorate.

[The office] was on the third floor. It had to be a secret place because the officials working on that floor denied that there was such a high number there. Finally, I entered through a glass door and reached No. 360. I went in. Professor --- was there in civilian clothes. Although he had been under arms before, he was recently exempted from active duty but would have to undergo another examination by the Medical Board. Because I had recently been assigned to field service, --- told me, this connection would be the right thing for me. The room next to ours was empty. Beyond it was a third room where Count Berchem has his office. We greeted each other. Count Berchem is tall, powerfully built, and about thirty-six or thirty-eight years old. He appeared to be working for Political Affairs at the Bavarian General Staff. Up to a certain point I was able to answer his questions and inform him of the present political parties in Turkey, the movements under the political surface that are active against the present German or Turkish Governments, and the persons representing these. He laughed at the incompetence of the Young Turks who had been so clumsy as to destroy the secret service of Abdülhamid. The problems with the postal connections - they had been cut off almost completely - made it impossible to give him all the information he wished to have. As soon as I said: "It will only be possible to gather the information you desire if one goes to Istanbul," he replied: "It would be very good if you would go to Istanbul." Avoiding a direct answer, I explained the difficulties involved in obtaining permission to leave from the Munich Military Command. "We will fix that," he replied. What he wanted from me above all was information about the Entente connections in Istanbul which have survived up to now and about the men who maintain them. When I said that, even if I knew where to gather this kind of information, I did not want to do so myself because it would imply mixing with all kinds of social circles, he quickly retorted that I would not need to do that. Upon this he told me that he had been at an official banquet together with Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Pasha. According to what he said, the pasha in question was paying a visit to the German western front of the present World War. When the Emperor⁷⁹ had been late in joining the banquet, he had greeted [those present] by raising his hand. Count Berchem did not know that Mahmud Muhtar Pasha who frequently stays in Munich was the pasha's son. When I told him this, he was astonished. He asserted that Mahmud Muhtar Pasha was a liar, but I defended the pasha. I gave him detailed information about the reason why Mahmud Muhtar Pasha had come into conflict with the Committee of Union and Progress,⁸⁰ about the influence of Mehmed Cavid Bey⁸¹ from the

77 Not identified; he might have been Franz Freiherr von Berchem (1869-1947) or Edgar Freiherr von Berchem (1877-1935) who were both officers connected with the Bavarian General Staff at that time.

78 Illegible.

79 The text has *padişah*.

80 Mahmud Muhtar Pasha was dismissed as Ottoman Ambassador at Berlin in 1915; he became estranged from the ruling Committee of Union and Progress because of his different, aristocratic, social background and his neutralist attitude; he also greatly disliked Grand Vizier Said Halim Pasha, then in office, cf. Tugay, *Three Centuries*, 64; Ahmad, *The Young Turks*, 174.

Ministry of Finance and the heir-apparent's, Yusuf İzzeddin's,⁸² suicide. I stayed for about an hour with Count Berchem. I did not tell him that I worked for the *Postüberwachung*. Before I left, I asked him to think things over and that, if he wished me to go to Istanbul, to call me again by mid-February.

Before I went to the interview with Count Berchem, I had felt by intuition that he wished to send me to Istanbul. But although one often feels such things, they seldom turn out to be true. After I had left the Count, I felt ashamed of the mission I was to perform. This was not simply bashfulness, but [a feeling] that I was repudiating my whole past. If I were to do a thing like this, it might be compensated by a professorship. I decided to demand and obtain it prior to leaving for Istanbul.

Süssheim was again invited by von Berchem on March 5, 1917.

After Professor --- of Münster University, who is connected with the Intelligence Office at the Police Directorate, had informed our university that he had to see me urgently, and I, in turn, had heard this from one of the ushers, I rushed off to the telephone and it was decided that I come to the same office. When I arrived there, and, not knowing whether the room number was right, I asked the doorkeeper. He said he was sorry, but did not know anything about it because everything that had to do with the office was considered a secret. I took the lift upstairs. After I had been looking around for a while, I discovered the number and went in. Inside [the room] was a mustacheless and beardless person above forty years. He was ordered to come back at 10.30 the next day. After he had left, Professor --- approached me [...] I was led by the professor to room No. 362 where Baron Berchem was present. To make me feel good, Professor --- said: "Don't be modest in your financial demands," but I answered: "I don't want to make the impression of being greedy and will only ask for my expenses."

After greetings and some small talk, [Berchem] began to say the following: "We want to have reliable information on the currents inside the political world of Istanbul. Although, without doubt, it is convenient for us that Tal'at Pasha moved to the Grand Vizierate,⁸³ it is now the right moment for us to ask whether there are any oppositional movements. The Turks rely on themselves and think they can do everything on their own." I interrupted him there and ventured to protest, telling him that the Turks were not cowards and that their self-confidence made them courageous to a degree that was conditional for continuing the war. Count Berchem, then, passed on to the fall of Kut al-Amara.⁸⁴ The Turks ought to have relied on the Germans. The same was true with regard to the failure of the Egyptian Campaign: they ought to have left the commandership in the hands of the Germans, who would have shown them how wrong they had been! Asking whether I had anything to say to that, I answered that in order to obtain information about Syria, it was necessary to go to that country in person. My time did not permit me to do

81 Mehmed Cavid (1875-1926), son of a *dönme* (crypto-Jewish) merchant from Salonica. Director of a college in Salonica; member of the "Ottoman Freedom Society", which later merged with the Committee of Union and Progress; several times finance minister and once minister of public works. A tough negotiator, he was able to obtain a number of loans from the German Government. Executed in 1926. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 351.

82 Yusuf İzzüddin Efendi (1857-1916), eldest son of Sultan Abdülaziz.

83 Said Halim Pasha, dissatisfied with his cabinet's war policy and the growing influence of Enver Paşa, resigned on February 3, 1917.

84 Kut al-Amara, a town in Iraq on the Tigris, was besieged by the Ottomans in 1915-16; it surrendered to the British on September 29, 1915.

so, but I knew the places in Istanbul frequented by Arabs and would be able to obtain information there. But how about the situation in Egypt then? When I denied that much news about Egypt reached Istanbul, he did not think that this was absolutely certain and objected that excellent news reached Istanbul through the Greek Ambassador in Switzerland. Count Berchem continued by expressing his wish to know the Turkish point of view regarding a peace settlement. The Turks were already pretending that before the war they had been promised all kinds of things, and now, having gone so far, they demanded no less than the status quo ante when peace would be concluded. The Count told me that we should investigate the wishes and demands of the Turks regarding a peace settlement.

When the Count asked whether I was ready to go to Istanbul and pass information to him, I told him that he would first have to explain in all frankness what kind of information he exactly wanted. Thereupon, the Count explained his ideas more openly and in more detail. The Turks apparently said last year that they had formed an army of two million [men] by calling to arms a great number of recruits they had not yet used. Which categories of soldiers were in arms now and which were not yet called to arms? Which men in the Committee really exerted influence and who supported his [Tal'at Pasha's] ideas? How was the food situation in Istanbul? Was there food shortage or famine? What were the food prices? How concerned were they about the close Turkish-German friendship? How could it be improved?

The programme unfolded before me was rather lengthy, but he wants me to stay in Istanbul for only one month. There is a special reason for this. After he had shown me his programme, I told him that I was employed by another military office and that it was very difficult for me to leave Munich and go to Istanbul whenever it pleased me. Although I did not want to tell him about it, he asked whether I worked for the *Postüberwachung* and I could not deny it. I told him that it was very difficult to obtain permission for leave and that I did not want my post occupied by anyone else during my absence.

Von Berchem did not think this was a problem: Süssheim's mission would be endorsed by the same Ministry of War that controlled the censor's office and Schneider could easily be overruled, but

in order not to offend Major Schneider, the furlough should be limited to one month only [...] I came up with another problem. I requested to be given the rank of professor before my departure for Istanbul. Although Count Berchem expressed doubt whether the Ministry of War would be willing to interfere with the affairs of Education, I said that I would not go to Istanbul before being made a professor. I reasoned as follows: for fifteen years I had been known in Istanbul as "Doctor" and I would feel ashamed of returning to Istanbul as a "Doctor" without having been honoured by a promotion. A second reason was that many Germans had recently obtained an appointment in Istanbul, but not I. I was thirty-nine years old and had already been a *Privatdozent* for six years. From the beginning of the war, I had served as a volunteer for the military staff, and I told him that Mr. von der Tann [?] or the Minister of Education, or even the Prime Minister, would have to be applied to. But Count Berchem expressed his fear that the secret of my mission would be disclosed because, if he would apply to them, they would boast that they had such and such a person. After we had discussed this for quite a long time, we considered it right to obtain the order for my advancement from the Ministry of Education on special grounds which involved military affairs concerning the Ministry of War, without telling them the real reason.

Our interview lasted from a quarter past five until six-thirty. [...] When I went downstairs, I found the main entrance of the Police Directorate locked so that I had to leave through a back door. Passing Hotel Bayrischer Hof, I briefly phoned Count Berchem in order to pave the way for my promotion, but the recklessness that I felt previously had already begun to fade.

Süssheim's proposal apparently was unworkable; he heard no more from von Berchem. But when he met the Count by chance in the Ludwigstrasse on November 28, he assured him that he still could go to Turkey if he wanted to.

At the very end of the war, on September 20, 1918, Süssheim heard from Schneider that the Prussian Ministry of War, obviously impressed by his *Postüberwachung* and Police reports which had been forwarded to the Berlin Military Headquarters, was seriously interested in sending him to the Ottoman Empire. Süssheim declined because he was afraid of being sent to Syria or the Caucasus. Official documents were sent to the Bayerstrasse.

Major Schneider called me to the *Postüberwachung* Office (on October 3) because some official letters had arrived from the Ministry of War. Because I had known what was going on for the past thirteen days, I had actually expected this turmoil. An official letter from the Prussian Ministry of War had arrived at the Bavarian Ministry of War. It said that the mission for military reform in Turkey requested that I be enrolled for duty at the translation office of the Seventh Army Group. It had been transmitted from the Bavarian Ministry of War to the *Postüberwachung* Office six days ago, and today the Bavarian Ministry of War applied [to the office] for a quick answer. I immediately went to the office. When, at a quarter to eleven, I entered the Major's office, he was talking about me on the telephone. "This man is the only one in Germany for our kind of job. I won't let him go." He asked me if I was ready to go to the Prussian Ministry of War if the military mission in Turkey wanted me. I replied to Major Schneider that before giving a definite answer to that request, I needed to know a lot of things, for instance, where the Seventh Army Group was stationed and, what was more, before reacting to the request, I had to be sure that my official position was confirmed. Therefore, I had to speak with both the Dean of the Philosophical Faculty and the officials at the Ministry of Education because [my transfer] would affect the present academic budget. At three o'clock in the afternoon, I had an interview with the present Dean of the first section of the Philosophical Faculty, Professor Baron von Bissing. It was very short. Von Bissing said: "I have always thought that our oriental policy and the Baghdad Railway were a joke. I have always warned everyone not to go to the East. [I am not speaking] as the Dean of the Faculty, but as a private person. I advise you not to go. Try to smoothly avoid accepting by emphasizing the urgent nature of your academic tasks. I must, moreover, tell you that our Ambassador in Istanbul, Count Bernstorff,⁸⁵ has still been able to reach Istanbul by the last Balkan Express, but that his servant had to stay behind in Vienna. Communication lines had been cut off." Our conversation did not last longer than five minutes. Gratefully, I thanked him and went away. There was no more need to consult Education. Towards five o'clock, I returned to the *Postüberwachung* Office and very much pleased Major Schneider, who objected to my going, by telling him that I wanted to continue my teaching because the Minister of Education considered it of the utmost importance that I did not interrupt my classes at the university...

In this way Süssheim was recognized, at least by the military authorities, as an indispensable expert in his field and was able to stay where he was until the end of the war which was now quickly approaching.

⁸⁵ Johann Heinrich Graf von Bernstorff (1862-1939), diplomat; German Ambassador to the Porte (September 1917 - October 1918).

4. Ottoman life Mirrored in Intercepts

Süssheim described in his Diary, often in full detail, his work for the censor's office and sometimes - this was illegal - quoted, completely or partly, letters, postcards and documents which he read and which caught his interest. The extant Diary contains 130 references, including short descriptions or quotations, to papers that passed through his hands. Süssheim did not hesitate to make use of their contents for his articles or lectures.

Although his task was inspecting letters written in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, part of the mail that passed through his hands turned out to be written in other languages such as German, French and Ladino.⁸⁶ This is an indication that he saw an unselected cross-section of, if not all, postcards, (still to be opened) letters and other parcels from the Ottoman Empire that passed through the *Postüberwachung*. Most letters and postcards must have been handwritten, although, to his surprise, Süssheim found one specimen typed in Arabic script on November 15, 1915. Most letters and postcards he saw came from, or were on their way to, the Ottoman Empire, which in most cases meant Istanbul, and were transported by the Balkan Express via Vienna.⁸⁷ A direct railway connection with Istanbul was established from January 1916 after the defeat of Serbia by the Central Powers.⁸⁸ The other important station through which in-coming and out-going mail from or to the Ottoman Empire passed was Breslau.⁸⁹ All the Turkish, but also the Bulgarian, letters and postcards had to ultimately pass through the Bayerstrasse office,⁹⁰ although the Diary mentions, apart from Breslau, inspection centres in Berlin, Dresden, Stuttgart and Frankfurt which were apparently less well-staffed than Munich. The Bayerstrasse office was particularly important as a checkpoint for mail passing from Switzerland to Istanbul and from Germany to Italy until that country became involved in the war on the side of the Entente. Also many letters and cards from or to Egypt went through Süssheim's hands. These probably originated from, passed via, or were destined for neutral Switzerland. Mail of great political or military value was not forwarded by normal, public, channels.

Süssheim's excerpts from letters, postcards and other documents produced a stream of sometimes humdrum but often riveting intelligence from various layers of Ottoman society during the First World War, including Ottoman students,

⁸⁶ Entry for June 21, 1917. Süssheim had told Rauscher on July 6, 1915, that he knew not only French and Ladino, but also English, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Classical and New Greek.

⁸⁷ Entry for January 14, 1916.

⁸⁸ Cf. Ulrich Gehrke, *Persien in der deutschen Orientpolitik*, 65.

⁸⁹ Entry for June 21, 1917.

⁹⁰ Cf. 'Verzeichnis', BHSA, S.G., I. A.K., No. 1621, 5.04.1916.

recovering patients, commercial agents, diplomats, journalists or military men stationed in Germany, often in direct consequence of the war, who exchanged letters with their relatives or colleagues in the Ottoman Empire. One letter was addressed by Tal'at Pasha to Süssheim himself⁹¹ and another was written by his fellow-Turkologist Dr. Menzel.⁹²

The economic situation in the Ottoman capital, Süssheim learned from one correspondent, seemed to be quite desperate by the early summer of 1915. On June 24, he read a postcard in which a woman called Şabia, living in Üsküdar, wrote to her son in Germany that there was no longer any kerosene available, a double tin costing one lira. Onions cost six kuruş and the prices of other products had soared in the same way. The poor woman, who had gone without food for two days, had been lucky being eventually able to find someone who had arranged for a bottle of kerosene for her. "The world has become a prison for me," she concluded.

On January 14, 1916, one Hasan Bedrüddin, also from Üsküdar, wrote to Sarıcızade Refet, a friend and student in Berlin about the unsuccessful attempts of his father to find a suitable wife for him. Another Ottoman student, a certain Osman İpekçi, studying at the Technical College⁹³ at Mittweida, wrote a long letter to his brother Bedi in Istanbul about the possibilities for making money in Germany (on November 13, 1915). Süssheim cites the lively letter nearly in full:

Bedi, the first thing I have to tell you: whenever you get a chance, come to Germany, the sooner the better. Perhaps you won't believe it, but on the last day before leaving Berlin, they came to me [and told me that] they had started Turkish evening classes in Leipzig. 300 People want to learn Turkish. Each of them will pay 1 mark per hour. Think of it, Bedi, you will teach 150 persons three times each week, and another 150 persons on the remaining three days of the week. Imagine the amount of money to be earned! Of course, I could not accept the offer because I have to go to school now in Mittweida. To be honest, it would have been better if I had not left Berlin: I was making 500 mark per month there.

Two or five months ago, a rich manufacturer came to the office of our Oriental Colonization Committee.⁹⁴ He asked if we could recommend a Turk to act as his vegetables commission agent in Istanbul and other places in Turkey. He is director of a canned food plant. I give you this example to show that the local manufacturers and firms need very many Turks. Recently, a sugar manufacturer approached me and asked in which part of Turkey the best beets are grown, which town is most suitable for building a sugar factory and many other questions. Of course I informed him as well as I could. I advised him to write a letter in Turkish to the Association of Muslim

91 Entry for September 8, 1915.

92 Entry for October 14, 1914.

93 The text has *mühendishane*.

94 The text has *şark heyet-i istimariye*; a reference either to the *Deutsche Colonial Gesellschaft*, cf. Ortaylı, *Alman nüfuzu*, 30, or the *Deutsche Vorderasienkomitee*, cf. Edward Mead Earle, *Turkey, the Great Powers and the Bagdad Railway. A Study in Imperialism*, rev. ed. New York 1966, 28.

Tradesmen⁹⁵ in Istanbul and told him that these merchants are able to give him the necessary information.

If there is one thing I should advise you, Bedi, it is [this]: don't concentrate your efforts on Berlin alone because there are many Turks in Berlin. There are also pretty many Germans who know Turkish. Especially in the northern, western and southern parts of Germany, that is, in Bavaria and Mecklenburg, people have sympathy for Turks but not in any of the other parts. Therefore, friendship for Turks is most seriously felt in Hamburg, Hanover, Leipzig, Dresden, Nuremberg, Kassel, Karlsruhe, Bremen, Munich and in all other cities like these. It will do you no harm if you consider trying to get a job [here], to obtain recommendations from some places, in particular from the Ganz Company.⁹⁶ It will also be useful to have letters of recommendation from shop[keepers] and that kind of people, because here they have a very high regard for a big name or an important personality. The more distinguished you show yourself to be, the more respect you earn here. When I mentioned that I was a reserve officer of the Black Sea [Fleet] in Istanbul, I made many friends among the officers here. When they understood that I was a correspondent for the *Tasvir-i efkâr*, I became involved in discussions on all kinds of topics with a lot of journalists. These people attach much importance to those things. Although we don't attach that much importance to officers, when I told them that I was a reserve officer, I was treated as if I were one of the most important men of Turkey.

In short, Bedi, [you have to be] quite diligent here - that is condition [number one] - and when you are shrewd, [you can earn] much respect. If you [have] a job and you are important, you earn money. As soon as I came here, I [started to] wear a fez by day, and going here and there, I made the acquaintance of a lot of people and got to know many others. If I present myself to someone, I immediately give my card, explain that I went to school in Berlin and that I am an interpreter now, do some journalism, give Turkish lessons, write Turkish articles for German newspapers, write about Turkey and then give my address. There are even some women and some intimate relations and a lot of [amorous] conquests!

Bedi, I told you this to make things clear to you. However big a man shows himself to be, so big they believe him to be, but on condition that he also shows that he worked [...] I'll tell you one thing about money: you are able to live handsomely here on 150 M. If you could make 350 to 400 M per month that would be excellent...

But not all Ottoman students in Germany were content about their circumstances. In November 1917, Süssheim reported to Schneider about repeated complaints by Ottoman pupils at the Agrarian School (*Landwirtschaftschule*) in Triesdorf (Franconia) about the food situation. After larger rations had been assigned to the school, the complaints stopped and Schneider saw no further reason to hold up their letters.⁹⁷ The Diary does not mention this episode.

During the Battle of Gallipoli in 1915 (which cost the lives of 145,000 Allied soldiers alone), many wounded Ottoman officers were sent to Germany, particularly Wiesbaden, to recover. They regularly sent letters home; on October 3 and 4, 1915, Süssheim had to scrutinize some seventy letters and postcards from Wiesbaden. He recorded (on the 4th) that

⁹⁵ The text has *İslam tüccaran cemiyeti*.

⁹⁶ The electricity works in Istanbul for which Bedi worked.

⁹⁷ Handwritten note by Süssheim to Schneider, 13.11.1917 and letter by Schneider to the Military Commander, BHSA, S.G., I. A.K., No. 1523/8349.

it had been assured by the Porte that the expenses of the banquets in Vienna and Berlin by which the Ottoman officers were to be cheered and distracted during their stay in Germany, would be covered. Nevertheless, since their arrival in Germany they have not even been given their normal pay. Everyone of them became penniless. They had in fact to be lodged and fed for nothing. But because it is usual in Wiesbaden to pay a tip of at least 30 Pf. for every service rendered, they complain intensely. Some of them stay in the Hotels Alleesaal and Lendig Eden but Sezai Pashazade and Dr. Nihad Sezai, who are the richest among them, stay in Hotel Nassauer Hof. But they are by now also penniless. They find Wiesbaden unbearably expensive. A lot of them remember Istanbul and yearn for it and wish to go back as soon as possible. A first lieutenant called Mehmed Sezai of Makriköy suffers from rheumatism in the stump that is left of his leg and although the doctors treat him with electric massage, he only expects to be healed after a surgical operation. Although he came to Wiesbaden as a cripple, he is much better now.

Later in the war, in February and April 1918, Süssheim wrote some reports about complaints uttered in letters to his wife and military authorities in Istanbul by an Ottoman officer called Osman Cevdet who was suffering from lung disease and was being treated in Sanatorium 'Wehrawald' in Todtmoos (Baden). The complaints, contained in two letters of February 8 and 10, concerned the Sanatorium and the scarcity of food in Germany. Süssheim recommended that the letters not be forwarded. In another two letters of April 26, Osman Cevdet requested to be transferred to a Hungarian or Swiss Sanatorium, preferably in Davos or Arosa, "although," Süssheim reports,

he finds no fault with the nursing in Wehrawald. He only mentions that he buys butter and eggs for much money in the surroundings [...] But a request for a transfer from W. to Switzerland contains *unfounded* criticism of one of the best German sanatoriums and therefore diminishes the value of the German sanatoriums in the eyes of the Inspector-General of the Turkish Military Sanitary Commission [Süleyman Nu'man Pasha].⁹⁸

Süssheim again recommended that these letters be kept back.⁹⁹

During the war, Ottoman navy pilots were trained on [the island of] Norderney and at Schleissheim. Süssheim saw letters sent home by them on February 29 and May 4, 1916. A test-pilot called İhsan Bey complained to the staff of the Naval Aviation School (*Bahriye tayyareci mektebi*) in Aya Stefano (Yeşilköy) of being badly treated by the Inspector-General of the Bay of Wilhelmshaven.¹⁰⁰ Süssheim again reported the case to Schneider. He also reported on a series of letters found in the possession of Arif Cemil Bey,

98 The third letter, of April 26, was addressed to İsmail Bey, adjutant to the mentioned inspector-general; of the latter Süssheim writes that he had studied in Germany 20 to 25 years previously and had visited Germany many times afterwards; he felt personally responsible for the well-being of the Turkish officers nursed in Germany.

99 Handwritten report by Süssheim to Schneider, undated, in BHSA, S.G., I. A.K., No. 1523/1783; an earlier report on, probably, the same case is mentioned in the Diary, entry for January 20, 1918.

100 Entry for May 16, 1916.

correspondent for the *Tanin* in Tetschen (Dečín) and confiscated by the police. Süssheim recommended the suppression of some passages in a letter addressed by a certain Rıfki to Ahmed Hayri, a proofreader and accountant at the Ottoman Parliamentary Press in Istanbul. Rıfki mentioned rising prices in Berlin and complained about his superior at the cartographical section of the German Military Headquarters, who showed animosity toward Turks. Süssheim also recommended that Rıfki's wish to continue his studies be quickly honoured in order to avoid complications, such as the dispatch of Ottoman inspectors to Germany.¹⁰¹

Other interesting letters were written in connection with the Muslim prisoners of war, many of whom had been captured from the ranks of the Russian army. On October 30, 1915, Süssheim read a letter written by a certain Kazanlı Osman Kazi who was apparently sent by the Ottoman Government to inspect the POW camp near Zossen. It was addressed to Ali Bey Efendi, member of the Council of State at the Ministry of War in Istanbul. Süssheim quotes:

[Upon arrival] in the camp where the Muslim prisoners of war are kept, we began our task. There are exactly twelve thousand Russian Muslims. Because of their great number, until now three prayer services have been held on Fridays as well as the five worships on normal days. Every day in the afternoon a sermon is held and on one occasion the poem on the Prophet's birthday [*Mevlid-i şerif*]¹⁰² was recited by Hafız Tahsin Efendi [...] On Fridays as well as on the other days, after sermon and prayers, cries of "Amen" are directed from the bottom of their hearts to Heaven by the large, grieving and lamenting congregation and it is impossible not to weep yourself amidst this deeply felt sorrow; it is as if you were at Arafat or Mina¹⁰³ [...]

As regards the camps, they have been completely arranged for normal habitation in summer and winter. Every battalion disposes of a separate kitchen and toilet. The innumerable baths and showers resemble a village built twenty years ago. [The camp] is built on the edge of a pine grove near the station of Zossen which is an hour by train from Berlin. The captives are divided into twelve battalions, and every battalion has six barracks at its disposition. Every *khoja* and teacher has his own classroom, complete with desks and blackboards. Until now, they have taught at twelve different places for three hours in the morning. We have organized [teaching] programs; one of our friends has set up [a course on] the Noble Koran, another on the religious sciences and a third on orthography etc. [...] After midday prayer, groups of twenty persons are instructed by the *efendis* who know the Koran by heart [*hafız*] at four different places in the mosque and they also practice there. They also study German for two hours every day [...] The total number [of students] exceeds five hundred. We also started an arts and crafts class of eighty students but we saw to it that they are also taught religious subjects for two hours every day. In short, everyone is eager to learn but this is not possible. In the arts and crafts class they make very funny toys and some wooden things. At the same time, shops are opened to sell the products they make and they give the workers a share [in the profits].

There is, moreover, much food and they give [the POW's] good clothes. The prisoners have,

101 Entry for March 7, 1918; Süssheim's report to Schneider, undated, BHSa, S.G., I. A.K., No. 1523/2738.

102 Most probably the popular *Vesiletü n-necat* by the Ottoman poet Süleyman Çelebi (d. 1422).

103 Arafat (Arafah) and Mina are places near Mecca, visited by Muslim pilgrims during the *hajj* ceremonies.

on the whole, been content and happy since our arrival. They do not miss a lesson or a prayer service and attend the sermons. There are some twenty khojas who pray for the Padishah of Islam day and night. They want us to teach them Koran interpretation [*tefsir*] but we have got no books. You would make us very glad if you could help us with 15 to 20 copies of a small *tefsir*, preferably the *Tafsir-i Jalaliya*.¹⁰⁴

Apart from well-known personalities of high rank, there are many very poor men here. This causes serious religious and worldly problems, the details of which I will not relate because that would be too difficult. We need much more money for charitable works [...] We beg you, could you pay attention to this aspect and send money to me by way of the Exalted Embassy...

Some days later, Süsheim read letters written by a music student called Ali and a certain Süleyman Şükri who had visited the camp in the company of the Ottoman Ambassador. Süsheim quotes from Ali's letter:

We, a group of young men in formal dress consisting of a black tie, a dark suit and a fez, went by train to the POW camp. It was rather cold [...] We waited for the ambassador; later we performed the prayers [...] How shall I describe it? There was a large open space somewhat elevated on the sides. On this open space, thousands of Muslim Tatar prisoners of war were standing in line. In front of them there was a prayer niche made of wood, and the Imam. We, the visitors, made up the rear, the ambassador, his retinue and myself standing in front [...] Beside me stood the Berlin military attaché. During prayers, we talked to him all the time [...] After some persons, the secretary, the head dragoman Rifat Pasha¹⁰⁵ etc. had finished, prayers were performed by Ambassador Hakki Pasha [...] Thereupon, some of us went among the captives [...] I began to speak in the little Tatar I know [...] I asked what food they got, how many times a day they washed, whether they worked, earned any money or could write letters to their country, how they were treated by the Germans, everything... They were most content [...] Then we moved on, all through the regiment of captives. They cheered three times "Long live the Padishah!" [...] We then we saw the things they make: toys, baskets, rope, handbags etc. After that, we returned [...] The band played, the ambassador stepped into his car and we went back, leaving the captives behind [...] An elderly [captive] came to my side - I was the youngest - and stroked my back with his hand [...] What should I have said? [...] "May God have mercy upon you," he said [...] With tears in his eyes, he again stepped back among the [other] prisoners [...] Thereupon, we returned to Berlin by train.

Süleyman Şükri wrote:

We were invited by the government to perform the Bayram prayers in the Tatar POW camp near Zossen. We went there by train. It really was an honour to perform the prayers with the twelve thousand men. After the prayers, sermons were held by khojas appointed for that purpose by the authorities. They were all held in the presence of the German military authorities and officers. Thereupon, three oxen and fourteen sheep, presented by the German authorities and decked out with red and white ribbons, were sacrificed to the acclaim of the crowd. Afterwards the German Commander, His Excellency the Ambassador Pasha and we, in his retinue, passed before the captives, our Turkish, Arab, Indian, in short, all our Muslim brethren, who were standing in line,

104 Probably the popular *Tafsir al-Jalalayn*, cf. Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* II, rev. ed. Leiden 1949, 114, 145.

105 Mehmed Rifat Pasha (1860-1925), diplomat and statesman; succeeded Hakki Pasha as ambassador at Berlin in 1918.

and received Bayram congratulations. Passing along, every battalion stood ready to say the "Long live our Padishah!" Somewhat farther, Russian prisoners stood watching from inside a wire cage. We were all pleased that our friends were free, whereas they were confined [...] Together with the commander and the officers, we saw where the captives live, their products, the things they make, their kitchens, in short, everything. We returned, pleased that we had seen that their comfort was ensured.

Süssheim also saw a letter by Hafız Tahsin, mentioned in the first letter, to Edhem Ruhi Bey, director of the Filibe (Plovdiv) 'Balkan Paper' (*Balkan gazetesı*) and member of the Ottoman Senate. It described the situation of the Zossen camp in much the same way.¹⁰⁶

On November 8, Süssheim read a letter from a certain Monlazade Avnuddin of Haniye (Khania, Crete), directed to his brother Captain Ibrahim Bey in Germany. It was folded in a copy of the paper 'The Future' (*İstikbal*)¹⁰⁷ of September 20, 1331 (1915). Süssheim, who, as we have seen before, had a special interest in the fate of the island, quoted from the paper and the letter. The paper contained a long article which described the immediate expropriation and desecration of a number of mosques and Muslim schools in the province of Haniye by the Greek authorities who had declared general mobilization,¹⁰⁸ supposedly for the purpose of lodging reservists in them. It was reported that after the Hünkâr Mosque had been handed over to the authorities, Christians had entered the building and taken away the pulpit, pieces of the prayer niche, candlesticks, chandeliers, carpets and other things. Ancient copies of the Koran, including one in the handwriting of Sultan Ibrahim,¹⁰⁹ were torn to pieces and monks attached crosses and the Greek flag to the walls. Elsewhere on the island, in Kandiye (Heraklion) and Resmu (Rethymion), holy places had been destroyed. The Muslim population had been attacked with stones and sticks. Avnuddin wrote:

On the occasion of the Greek mobilization, they wanted three mosques from us in order to lodge this bunch of insects in them, brought together from the whole island. The Office of Pious Endowments [*evkaf*], which considered it better not to offer resistance in times like these, handed the keys of the three mosques referred to [in the paper]: [the Hünkâr], the Yusuf Pasha and the Kastel Mosques, to the authorities. But the purpose was not to lodge the beasts there, but to turn our mosques into churches. After two or three days, and without informing us of their perfidious intentions, they attacked all our mosques and badly destroyed and pillaged them. The authorities did not say a word. But these were not the only savageries that took place here [...] After fifteen

106 Entry for November 1, 1915.

107 The paper was founded in 1907 by Lutfi Bey, cf. the same entry.

108 The Greek Prime Minister, Venizelos, had invited Allied troops to the country in order to assist in the defence of Serbia; this led to a declaration of war to Greece by Bulgaria on October 12, 1915; Greece finally joined the Entente on June 29, 1917.

109 Ibrahim (1615-1648), Ottoman Sultan (1640-1648).

hours, the government did not do more than take down the Greek flag from the eastern elevation of the Hünkâr Mosque and the crosses attached to some other mosques. But after all this, it was impossible to read the call to prayer or perform the prayers themselves and there is no need to write you that it will also be impossible to perform the Bayram prayer. Our public mosques have been changed into barracks, and farmers and soldiers have occupied them. Brother, they did not even inflict such bestialities on the Arabs when they were chased from Andalusia...

The Muslim Brotherhood (*cemiyet-i islamiye*) had been informed of the crimes and a long protest telegram of five pages had been sent to the King.

Sometimes Süssheim saw mail sent by high-ranking Ottoman officers connected with the Imperial Headquarters, the *Grosse Generalstab* (*karargâh-i kebir*) such as General Zeki Pasha. He wrote a letter to the Minister of War, Enver Pasha,¹¹⁰ on February 4, 1915. Süssheim noted in his Diary:

While Zeki had been in Syria, he had given Cemal Pasha¹¹¹ 3000 lira, Sabih Bey and his confidants 1000, had paid the Arab shaykhs, had spent 1000 lira in 'sword money' [*kılıç akçesi*]¹¹² and [had incurred] other expenses. The title-deeds were with him. Although upon his return from Syria, he had wished to speak with Enver Pasha, this had been impossible because Enver Pasha had been in the Caucasus 'House of War'. Correcting the idea of the War Minister, Zeki Pasha then states that according to information obtained from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was supposed to be aide-de-camp in times of peace and plenipotentiary with the task of participating in peace talks in times of war. He absolutely denies that he had become ADC to the German Emperor. At Headquarters, they showed him much respect and preferred him altogether to the other members of the Ottoman delegation. Because in Zeki Pasha's opinion a particular value is ascribed to the principles of honorific precedence at peace conferences, he requests the presentation to him of a German silver medal and considering the fact that at Headquarters the division generals, who are much less auspicious than Zeki Pasha, are promoted to the rank of infantry generals, he requests, because he has been involved in a number of important affairs, that he be granted the rank of a first division general. The German Emperor expressed his pleasure that Enver Pasha had returned from the Caucasus¹¹³ and asked whether a bag he had sent to Istanbul had arrived.

On November 13, 1915, Süssheim read another letter by Zeki Pasha, this time

¹¹⁰ Enver Pasha (1881-1922), Unionist leader, junior but most famous member of the Ottoman ruling Triumvirate consisting of Enver, Tal'at and Cemal Pashas; Minister of War from 1914; killed in Turkestan while fighting the Bolsheviks.

¹¹¹ Ahmed Cemal Pasha (1872-1922), soldier and statesman; senior member of the Young Turk Triumvirate and Minister of the Navy; posted to Syria in 1914 to command the Fourth Army; assassinated by an Armenian in Tiflis in 1921.

¹¹² Originally the income from a yeoman's fief of an annual value of 3000 akçe.

¹¹³ Enver Pasha personally commanded the Ottoman counter-offensive of December 21, 1914, against the invading Russian troops in the Caucasus. It broke down during January, 1915; on January 11, Enver, apparently still optimistic, decided to return to Istanbul, cf. Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Makedonya'dan Ortaasya'ya Enver Paşa III*, Istanbul 1978, 143-144.

addressed to Hüsnî Bey, Quartermaster-General at the Istanbul Ministry of War¹¹⁴ "in which he explained that he was entitled to either 3000 or 3300 [lira] or an amount in between."

Münir İbrahim Bey, another Ottoman officer connected with the German Headquarters in Charleville (46, Rue Forest), who travelled through Germany in order to award decorations to the Kaiser and several German princes, wrote a series of letters about his experiences at the courts of Berlin, Munich and Dresden to his brother Dr. Fuad İbrahim Bey in Şişli (Istanbul) and his wife Seniha in Geneva. In a letter of January 7, 1916, he wrote to his wife

that on December 25 [1915] he had received a picture of the Kaiser on horseback, at the bottom of which the latter had put his signature. On the same day he had been honoured by an interview of ten minutes with the German Crown Prince. The latter was to depart for the front on the next day. Afterwards, he would return to Berlin and, from there, present the German Kings with the medal of the Red Crescent, and after that, return to Istanbul.

On January 8, Süsseim saw a letter sent by İbrahim Bey to his brother from Munich on the 3rd:

Today we were the guests of His Majesty the King of Bavaria at the Residence Palace. After an hour, that is, at two p.m., we were invited to dinner by His Majesty. Shortly before dinner, the formal presentation took place. Having spent the night here, we will visit His Majesty the King of Württemberg tomorrow evening at five and present him with the glorious decoration in conformity with His Most Honourable Majesty the Padishah's command. On January 5, we will be received by His Majesty the King of Württemberg. Our journey is extremely agreeable and useful. Until now I have made the acquaintance of nearly all Their Majesties the Princes of Prussia and Their Majesties the Princes of Bavaria, Saxonia and Württemberg, directly after the German Reich Crown Prince. We had supper with the Bavarian Crown Prince and had dinner with the German Emperor's second son, Prince Eitel Friedrich.¹¹⁵ Yesterday we dined with His Majesty the Imperial Brother-in-Law, *Generaloberst* Luitpold. Everywhere I was charmed by the good manners [shown to us]. My brother, at my return I will give you more details of my trip. May God Our Lord spare our beloved fatherland and may He give us continuing and incessant successes. Amen...

On January 11, Süsseim read on a postcard by İbrahim Bey to his wife:

Yesterday late in the afternoon, we were received by His Majesty the King of Bavaria and he presented me with the *Mérite Militaire* medal [*Militärverdienstorden*] with his own hands. He asked us to have dinner with him. After the meal, we remained for two hours in his presence and he ordered me to personally attach the war medal, bestowed on him by His Most Honourable Majesty the Padishah, to his breast. Today I was introduced to Her Majesty the present Queen and Their Royal Highnesses her four daughters.

On the same card he wrote that his father should send him some money because

114 The text has *harbiye nezaretinde levazimat-i umumiye dairesi şube-i umumiye müdiri*.

115 Prince Eitel Friedrich von Hohenzollern (1883-1942).

he had spent all he had. On January 7 he had written from Berlin:

This morning, we returned to Berlin... This evening at ten o'clock, we will board our train to Karlsruhe. Tomorrow morning at nine, we will arrive there. At noon we will be received by His Majesty the Grand Duke. In the evening, we will go on to Dresden, the residence of the King of Saxonia. I do not know yet what our program there will be. Much respect is owed to Miss Largie [?] in Geneva who was my language teacher. Thanks to her, I am able to speak with the Kings.

In a letter of January 9 İbrahim Bey had written to his wife:

Today, half an hour ago, we arrived in Dresden, the capital of Saxonia. We were met at the station by a colonel, aide-de-camp to His Majesty the King.¹¹⁶ We drove to the palace in palace carriages. They assigned me an extraordinarily decorated sitting-room and bedroom. After having passed the night here, in the palace, we will be received by His Majesty the King tomorrow afternoon. In the evening we will return to Berlin. From there, I will go to Warsaw and will - if God permits - be back a day later, that is, on January 14, or January 15 at the latest, and will be with you again. Until now there have been three decorations. If the King of Saxonia will do us the honour tomorrow, we will be so happy as to make them four, won't we, darling...

Ali Nuri Bey, a captain of the Ottoman General Staff, travelled to Germany for medical reasons and described, on January 27, 1916, his trip through the Balkans to the former Grand Vizier Tevfik Pasha in Beyoğlu. Süssheim recorded:

Because he had been struck with pneumonia, [Ali Nuri Bey] went from Istanbul to Professor Romberg¹¹⁷ of Munich University for a medical examination. The latter recommended that he go to Luoz near St. Moritz in Engadin, Switzerland. He had obtained 3000 M through the Bank of Mendelsohn. When Ali Nuri departed from Istanbul, he installed himself in one of the three compartments occupied by the orphaned children of the late Baron Wangenheim.¹¹⁸ The railway cars were old, normal express carriages.

Quoting from the letter, Süssheim continued:

At Doljevac station near Niš, the Bulgarian King¹¹⁹ entered the dining car where we were sitting at that moment. Seeing that we all rose to our feet, he said he would leave because he did not want to disturb us and went to the compartment of Mrs. Wangenheim. He stayed in our train until Niš. In his company were the Crown Prince, his second son and a great number of officers. At Niš station, while I was walking to and fro, the King passed before me and I saluted him. Thereupon, the King came to me and asked who I was. Upon my answer: "a courier", he said: "You have escaped from the English at Gallipoli. Now we have a free hand and the duty to chase them from Iraq."

116 Friedrich August III (1865-1932).

117 Ernst von Romberg (1865-1933), Professor of Internal Medicine from 1912.

118 Ernst Friedrich Ulrich Alexander Hans Freiherr von Wangenheim (1859 - October 25, 1915), Ambassador at Istanbul from 1912.

119 Ferdinand (1861-1948), King of Bulgaria (1908-1918).

Süssheim noted that Ali Nuri Bey was staying in Hotel Bayerischer Hof, where he paid 14 M for a room with a bath.

One is given there five rolls per person per day. Because that amount of bread is not enough, he obtained some bread ration-cards from the Consul-General in Munich.

Süssheim also mentions and quotes from letters by, or addressed to, Ottoman princelings. On November 20, 1914, he saw a letter written by Ahmed Nihad Efendi¹²⁰ and Osman Fuad Efendi,¹²¹ who made a tour of inspection along the German armies, to their father Prince Salahuddin¹²² in Beşiktaş.

They had spoken for four hours with the Kaiser [...] and had been invited for lunch and dinner. He had entrusted them with his private car.

Süssheim also saw the extensive correspondence between members of the Khedival dynasty, particularly the many letters exchanged between the related princesses - Süssheim had the impression that they were all sisters - Ni'met[ullah] (living in Berlin, Munich and Lausanne), Behiye (Munich), Emine (Territet, Switzerland), Ülfet (taking the waters in Germany after a serious operation) and Tevhide (Ortaköy), and with other relatives. Ni'met was married to the former Grand Vizier and Ambassador at Berlin, Mahmud Muhtar Pasha. After his dismissal as ambassador in July 1915, he came to live in Munich; his son Halil¹²³ was studying in Plauen. Behiye was married to Aziz İzzet Pasha who lived in Switzerland. Ülfet was married to Mehmed İbrahim Halim Pasha, and Tevhide to the latter's son, Abbas Halim, born in 1897.¹²⁴ On December 16, 1915, Süssheim read a letter by Emine to her niece Behiye:

The confusion in Egypt apparently is very great. I heard this from Agathon Bey when he arrived

120 Ahmed Nihad Efendi, first son of Salahuddin, cf. Kenize Mourad, *De la part de la princesse morte* (Paris, 1987), Table 1; he is not mentioned in A.D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty*, Oxford 1956, Table XLIX.

121 Osman Fuad Efendi (1898-1972), second son of Salahuddin Efendi; member of the Kaiser's private guard; served later as general in Libya.

122 Mehmed Salahuddin (1861-1915), first son of Sultan Murad V.

123 Halil Muhtar Pasha (1901-1932).

124 For biographical data see Tugay, *Three Centuries*, Trees 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; Ni'metullah (1875-1945), was a daughter of the Khedive İsmail Pasha (ruled 1863-1879); Behiye was a daughter of Tevhide, who in turn was a sister of Behiye; Emine (Azize, 1874-1931) was another sister of Behiye; Ülfet (Fazıl, b. 1875), was a grand-daughter of Prince Mustafa Fazıl, younger brother of the Khedive İsmail.

here. The Khedive¹²⁵ amuses himself very well here. If there is a man in the world I never understood, it undoubtedly is he. There have passed fifteen to twenty days during which he did not even leave Territet. After some travelling around in Switzerland, he went to Geneva. There was a bullet in his tongue. They operated on him and removed it. It seems that he is bored by Geneva and complains all the time. But then, why doesn't he leave and why doesn't he go to Istanbul? Lately - pardon the expression - a French trollop¹²⁶ has been inseparable from him, let alone from Switzerland. In fact, she openly and before the eyes of friend and foe has taken the place of his own wife. I have never in my life seen such passion for a woman and such scandalous behaviour, such *immoralité*, as during the time they were staying in the Grand Hotel here with his daughter, son-in-law and this woman all the time around him. And what is more, he is offended that so-and-so doesn't take his side. But what side was there left to take anyway? Ought the son of a father, who really was an angel, have become like this? They say that Geneva and Lausanne have practically turned into *faubourgs* of Istanbul; ladies, do you want to go to the casino [?] or to gamble, [go ahead,] there is no end to indiscretions,¹²⁷ but don't you complain if you are left without a penny!

Changing the subject to her sister, Ni'met, she wrote:

Since she has come to Berlin, she has had no rest or peace [...] She suffers much from rheumatism and is unable to leave her bed. "I am in very bad shape," she said, "send for Emine." And Emine went on December 5, 1915, and could keep her company, at least for a while. Really, her illness [is caused] by worry and fatigue. Consequently, my sister has weakened considerably. In the last letter I received from her, she said, in her own handwriting, that she felt a little better. On the one hand it is the cold winter, on the other the exposure to the public which is unfavourable to our persons. Isn't it the same for my mother and myself, who are left with all these papers and worries? There is no repose in this world or peace [...] Yesterday, Şevki Pasha¹²⁸ was here. Speaking about the English defeat in Iraq,¹²⁹ he imitated how the English and Indians had fled. We fainted with laughter. So far so good, but this doesn't mean the end of the war and that is too bad [...] Has Adil¹³⁰ really been expelled from school? I heard this from Prince Mehmed Ali,¹³¹ but he has it from hearsay. Word reached me from Istanbul that Ferid Pasha's son-in-law, Halil Bey, has been appointed military attaché to the recently opened Embassy at

125 Probably Abbas II Hilmi (1874-1944), Khedive of Egypt (1892-1914); retired to Switzerland after his dismissal, cf. Tugay, *Three Centuries*, 154.

126 The text has *şillik*.

127 The text has *yemedikleri nâne yok*.

128 Şevki Pasha, husband of one of Mahmud Muhtar Pasha's sisters; Secretary to the Ottoman Legation in Bern, cf. Tugay, *Three Centuries*, Tree 1; Martin Gilbert, *Sir Horace Rumbold. Portrait of a Diplomat 1864-1941*, London 1973, 169.

129 Probably a reference to the British defeat at Selman Pak on November 22, 1915, at the hands of von der Goltz Pasha who had taken over the defense of Iraq, cf. Shaw & Shaw, *History*, 318.

130 Adil, Emine's nephew and grandson of her uncle Mustafa Fazıl, cf. Tugay, *Three Centuries*, Tree 5.

131 Possibly Mehmed Ali Alhan Pasha (1884-1947), son of Şevki Pasha.

Bern. If this is true, poor Ni'met. How sad she will be! O God, improve all our youngsters!

Sometimes the family received accounts from their enormous possessions in Egypt, Syria and Istanbul, and Süssheim often cited these in full.¹³² Princess Ni'met received a monthly allowance of 150,000 francs from her Egyptian estates. In June 1917, this income was cut off by the British, who forbade further capital export to neutral countries, but thanks to the intervention of Sultan Husayn, the measure was cancelled and the crisis passed.¹³³

The letters generally, as is clear from the quotation above, contained personal communications and superficial gossip, but sometimes also news about the war in the Near East; a certain Hüdai regularly sent telegrams on political developments from Egypt to the family in Switzerland.¹³⁴ On January 19, 1916, Süssheim read a letter by Tevhide to Behiye, then living in Hotel Bayerischer Hof:

The expulsion of the infidel lobsters from around Anafarta¹³⁵ has pleased all of us. Soon it will be the turn of the French and after them, Egypt will be cleaned up! Thank God! I have not abandoned all hope. Some people laugh at me behind my back but I, in turn, secretly laugh at them. I am completely satisfied. Sooner or later, we will see our country liberated from the infidels, perhaps not at once now but it will happen sometime. May Our Lord give us the life-span so that we may see that day!

The group of letters under discussion here interested Süssheim especially for their biographical details and he used them as sources for some of his reports to Schneider such as the one on the conflict between Mahmud Muhtar Pasha and the Committee for Union and Progress since 1912, written in January 1917,¹³⁶ and a second one, written in May of the same year, on the difficult position of the ailing Sultan Husayn¹³⁷ - he was watched with suspicion by both the British and the Egyptian nationalists - and Mahmud Muhtar Pasha's mission to Istanbul in

132 On March 23, 1915, Süssheim saw an account of the salaries received by the Ramla estate personnel in the service of İbrahim Halil Pasha; on June 13, 1915, he quoted from accounts connected with İzzet Pasha's possessions in Syria and Istanbul; on April 9, May 8, June 3, 1917, he quoted from accounts of Ni'metullah's Egyptian estates.

133 Entry for July 14, 1917.

134 Entry for October 17, 1915.

135 On the Gallipoli Peninsula; this refers to the Allied debacle of the Dardanelles Campaign in 1915.

136 Entry for January 29, 1917.

137 Husayn Kamil Pasha (1845-1917), Sultan of Egypt (1914-1917).

April.¹³⁸ On April 24 Süssheim read two letters by Muhtar Pasha to his wife in Munich.

Travelling from Berlin, he had arrived in Istanbul on April 17. The Pasha had been astonished that the newspapers had not written about his arrival. Cavid Bey had come to Sirkeci to meet a certain Bilkis Hanım. The Pasha said to Cavid Bey: "In two weeks I will leave again." But Cavid protested and said: "Coming is in your hands, but your going in ours."

On June 14, Süssheim read that the Pasha presented his old friend, a certain Muhyiddin, who worked for the Silk Board,¹³⁹ with fifty lira on the occasion of the birth of his son Mustafa and bestowed a monthly pension of one lira on Hasan Fehmi Efendi of Makriköy, a retired customs' inspector who had begged him for money.

A few of the letters Süssheim scrutinized were of economic interest. On April 15, 1915, the Quartermaster-General's Office of the Ottoman War Ministry sent a letter to a Nuremberg factory about the delivery of electrical installations. During 1915 and 1916, Süssheim also followed with interest the correspondence between the tobacconist Hasan Akifzade in Salonica and his agent in Munich, Grathwohl, concerning the purchase of cigarettes by the German Army, 800,000 on November 15, 1915, and a further 300,000 on December 17 of the same year. On January 19, 1918, a staff-member of the Grathwohl factory, a certain Rıza Hüsni, sent, as Süssheim reported, a "false and distorted newspaper article" from the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* on the performance of the Ottoman Palace Orchestra (*Saray-i hümayun müzikası*) in Munich to Hasan Veli Şefik, a member of the orchestra. Süssheim recommended that the clipping, in which the performance was described as a failure, be removed from the letter.¹⁴⁰ Süssheim himself was present at a concert by the orchestra in the Odeon theatre on the 13th and noted that the Turks had been enthusiastic but that the Western pieces had indeed been played without real understanding.

A painter named İsmail Hakkı Bey travelled to Munich in order to buy printed cards for the Association for the Defense of the Nation (*Müdafaa-i millet cemiyeti*). On October 6, 1915, Süssheim read

that he had arrived in Munich from Istanbul after a journey that had taken eight days and two hours. Because of the measures for a general mobilisation in Bulgaria,¹⁴¹ [travellers] had been forced to wait for two days in the streets and sit on their suitcases. In Rumania he had been

138 Entry of May 4, 1917; Süssheim's report to Schneider of the same date, BHSA, S.G. I. A.K., No. 1509/399. Mahmud Muhtar Pasha was requested by the Ottoman government in Istanbul to take over the military command from Vehib Pasha at the Caucasus front; this he refused.

139 The text has *divan-i umumiyesi ipek dairesi*.

140 Report by Süssheim to Schneider, not dated, BHSA. S.G., I. A.K., No. 1528/889.

141 Bulgaria joined the Central Alliance on September 6, 1915, before attacking Serbia.

forced to leave his luggage behind and had practically abandoned all hope of ever recovering his valuables and an overcoat that had been in it.

He eventually bought 20,000 cards from the firm of Brockmann.¹⁴²

On April 3, 1917, Süsseim wrote a report on the economic situation of the Salonica harbour, based on the contents of an unspecified letter. In the same month, he also wrote a report on the economic situation of Egypt, which seemed to be suffering from fuel scarcity, partly caused by the German submarine warfare. It was based on data from some issues of the Cairo paper *al-Muqattam*, sent to Dr. Himmet, an Arab physician living in Munich. The Intelligence Bureau in Berlin showed much interest in this rapport and encouraged Schneider to have more reports written on the subject - *al-Muqattam* was not available at the War Press Agency (*Kriegspresseamt*) and the Oriental Seminar in Berlin - but nevertheless refused to pay for a subscription to the paper via Switzerland.¹⁴³

Even more important for his reputation with the military authorities were Süsseim's reports on cases of espionage, real or imaginary. The first case concerned a certain Osman Nuri, possibly the son of Tevfik Pasha, who lived in Munich and was suspected by the police of spying. On April 29, May 7 and 14, 1916, Hösl brought letters that required urgent translation. Süsseim heard no more about the case, until, on May 30, he was by chance placed next to a Munich police inspector at the banquet given in honour of a visiting Ottoman delegation. He asked the inspector about Osman Nuri's fate and received the evasive reply that the latter "was only a big mouth."

In March of the following year, Süsseim wrote a report on the shady but probably not very harmful activities, which apparently had to do with the restoration of Prince Wilhelm¹⁴⁴ to the Albanian throne, of Süreyya Bey Vlora,¹⁴⁵ supposedly an Albanian secret agent living in Lausanne. He noted in his Diary:

It is possible that Süreyya Bey Vlora, who was an Albanian agent in Vienna two or three years ago, is now staying as a guest in Hotel Lausanne Palace in Lausanne, Switzerland. His brother Neşet Pasha, member of the Ottoman Council of State, is living there. Before coming to

¹⁴² Entries for October 19 and November 15, 1916.

¹⁴³ Entry of April 20, 1917; Süsseim's report to Schneider, April 6, 1917, BHSA, S.G., I. A.K., No. 1509/300; letters by Schneider to Nachrichten-Offizier, Berlin, April 9, 12 and 13, 1917, *ibidem*; letters by Nachrichten-Offizier, Berlin, to Schneider, April 9 and 18, 1917, *ibidem*.

¹⁴⁴ Prince Wilhelm zu Wied (1876-1945); appointed *Mbret* of Albania in 1913, but failed, during 1914, to establish his authority in the country.

¹⁴⁵ Süreyya Bey Vlora, father of Ekrem Bey Vlora who published his memoirs in German as *Lebenserinnerungen*, 2 vols. Munich 1968-1973.

Germany, Süreyya Bey saw Yeğen Pasha¹⁴⁶ in Zurich. On that day, he paid a hotel bill of 130 francs. Every day, he travelled around by car. Kemal Bey was also there. He passed the border at a place called Siegen¹⁴⁷ and after he had been in Berlin for two hours, he spoke to the wife of the Albanian Prince Wilhelm. Thereupon, he went to Waldenburg. The Princess was in Dresden and Süreyya Bey travelled there in the late afternoon of February 28, 1917. On March 10, he spoke to the Princess. The Princess thinks that a complete victory has been won, or at least gives that impression, but Süreyya Bey is pessimistic. The possessions which the Prince's family had to leave behind in Duraç (Durrës), Albania, when they fled, had been collected by the Austrian Government and arrived recently. Süreyya Bey thought that this pointed to [the fact] that the Austrian Government was not much in favour of Prince Wilhelm's return to Albania. Süreyya Bey was to depart from Dresden to Vienna at ten o'clock in the evening of March 1.

The next year, Süssheim wrote three reports on the spying activities of a certain Bekir Sidki (Yoldaş). He recorded on March 6, 1918:

Four days ago, a parcel arrived at the *Postüberwachung* from the Munich Police which contained papers concerning a case of espionage by a student called Bekir Sidki. The case is as follows. Sidki was born in Gördes, Province of Izmir, in 1897. He is the son of Hacı Abdurrahman Remzi Efendi, a tax-collector of Mahmudiye who died in Izmir from the consequences of an aircraft bomb. In 1915, he was sent to Switzerland for his education, financially supported by Deputy Ubeydullah Efendi.¹⁴⁸ Most of the time, particularly in 1917, he was at a private school in Zurich called Concordia. In June 1917, while he was sitting in the Café de la Paix, a person called Matthews, passing for the British Consul in Basel, sat down beside him and told him that Tal'at and Enver Pashas, who had urged the Ottoman Empire to take part in the World War, should be eliminated. Hasan Midhat, the Consul's man, accompanied Sidki during the following days. After having spent some money, he was ordered to go to Basel for an interview with Matthews but he was not admitted to see him. On June 25, he departed for Istanbul via Buchs and Vienna in order to gather information about the situation in that city. He stayed a week in Vienna and reached Istanbul on, approximately, July 10. On orders of Ubeydullah Efendi, who had been in Afghanistan since 1915, the Deputy for Bursa, Memduh Bey, gave Sidki some money, as others did too. In September and October, he stayed for a fortnight at his parents' house. Having obtained quite a lot of money in Istanbul, he left that city on November 23, and arrived in Munich in the early evening of November 25. He spent an extraordinary amount of money. Apart from the 300 M he had received in Istanbul from October 25 until November 30, and 425 M he had borrowed from different persons in Munich, among which 50 M from the Ottoman Consulate, he received 160 [M] from Hasan Midhat in Switzerland on November 14, 400 from the same person on November 19 and 500 M from Diyarbakırlı Yani Cudi, who frequents Coffee House Diyarbakır in Divanyolu, on November 20. The total amount of these payments is more than 1700 M. His expenses during the same period amounted to 1500 M. Hasan Midhat is in the service of England and is a well-known personality in Zurich. Yani Cudi is another friend of Midhat, who is also called Hasan Midhat, and is, most probably, in the former's service. In June 1917, Hasan Midhat gave Sidki a sulphur-pen with which he lets him know when he sends information. He was apparently found out while writing such letters and cards. He was interrogated at the Police Office on February 22 and 23, and made many statements but absolutely

146 Possibly Midhat Yeğen Pasha, married to a daughter of the Khedive İsmail Pasha, cf. Tugay, *Three Centuries*, Tree 3.

147 Süssheim was not sure of the reading.

148 Ubeydullah Efendi (1857-1937), statesman; Deputy for Aydın.

denied that he had been spying.

I was informed of the Sidki case on Friday evening and worked at the censor's office for 20 hours [on it], on Sunday until noon, on Monday and Tuesday from morning till evening, and, finally, on Wednesday for two hours in the afternoon. I delivered a detailed report of more than seven large pages.

Süssheim wrote a second report, based on new evidence: sixty-seven postcards found on Sidki's person, on March 18, and a third one on August 12.

After the war, on April 20, 1919, Süssheim, to his surprise, read in the official paper of the Bavarian Councils' Government that Sidki had been released from prison during the November Revolution of 1918 and sent on a mission to Budapest in order to help spread Communism in eastern Europe. Later still, Bekir Sidki - if, indeed, he is the same person - wrote a thesis on the Baghdad Railway for the Freiburg University.¹⁴⁹

The last two translations Süssheim wrote on direct orders of the Army Commander were those concerning reports in Arabic written by an Egyptian in Switzerland. These dealt with the British intelligence organisation, the position of a number of important Egyptian personalities and contained recommendations for a Nationalist Egyptian policy toward both the Central and the Entente Powers. The first report, which Süssheim received on August 30, 1918, was the most detailed. It sketched the ramification of the British intelligence network with its oriental contacts and informants. Its staff was said to operate from Nieseneggstrasse 5, Bern, and to consist of four British officers: Major Binns¹⁵⁰ of the Oriental Section - he had been in Istanbul before the war and had participated in the Dardanelles campaign - Major Fischer of the German Section, formerly a lawyer in Zurich, Captain Langley of the Austrian Section and Captain Greasley (?) of the Swiss Section and member of the General Staff of the Navy. The report, then, mentions the contacts of the four officers. Major Binns had fourteen: five British, two of whom worked at the British Consulate in Lausanne, a Dutchman, two Albanians, a Bulgarian, four Ottomans, two of whom were Arabs, one an Armenian, and another one a Greek, and an Egyptian. Of special importance were the Albanian Mübarek Vlora, son-in-law of the Ottoman Military Attaché in Switzerland, who lived in the Savoy Hotel in Lausanne, and Dr. Faridi who gathered data from Ottoman officers recuperating in Switzerland; he passed this information on to the British and French embassies in Bern. Very useful were also the Cretan İbrahim Paposalakis, who stood in direct contact with the Ottoman Ambassador Fuad Selim Bey,¹⁵¹ and Dr. Barudi, member of the Egyptian Mission in Geneva and supposedly completely

149 Bekir Sidki, 'Das Bagdadbahnproblem 1890-1903', Diss. Freiburg 1935.

150 Major Binns, Military Attaché at Bern, cf. Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi* III/4, Ankara 1967, 153.

151 Fuad Selim Bey made some efforts to negotiate a separate settlement with the British from March 1917, cf. Bayur, *Tarih* III/4, 149-153.

corrupted by the British. The latter, in turn, managed fourteen contacts, among whom Prince Hasan¹⁵² and Prince Cemil Tusun.¹⁵³ Prince Cemil had been seen dining with Lieutenant Ömer Hilmi, son of the former Grand Vizier Said Halim Pasha,¹⁵⁴ in Geneva. The Lieutenant was assistant to the Ottoman Military Attaché. Fischer, Langley and Greasley had only a few, apparently unimportant contacts, almost none of them oriental.

The report continued with some "general remarks" and discussed the position of, among others, the Secretary of the French Consulate, Gaston Lagnier, and his four agents, Prince Abdulmun'im¹⁵⁵ and Said Halim Pasha. Prince Abdulmun'im lived in Zurich and associated with one of Fischer's contacts. He was asked by the British to return to Egypt. Said Halim Pasha apparently aimed at a deal between Egypt and both Britain and the Ottoman Empire and had aspirations to become High Commissioner himself. The report stated:

It had been thought in political [circles] before the war that Said Halim would become High Commissioner¹⁵⁶ of Egypt. He himself was of the opinion that Turkey would remain on the side of England. The Director of German Military Intelligence in Istanbul, Dr. Weber [?], and the German Embassy were informed of this. He formed a special party to implement his ideas. Its leaders were Fuad Bey Selim, Dr. Behcet Vehbi,¹⁵⁷ Mehmed İmadüddin, Dr. Faridi, Dr. Ahmed Fuad [Director of the Public Security Department in Istanbul - Süssheim would meet him

152 Hasan Tusun (d. 1948), great-grandson of Muhammad Ali Pasha, ruler of Egypt, cf. Tugay, *Three Centuries*, Tree 6.

153 Cemil Tusun Pasha (1873-193?), brother of Hasan Tusun, cf. Tugay, *Three Centuries*, Tree 6.

154 Mehmed Said Halim Pasha (1863-1921), Grand Vizier (1913-1917) and diplomat, grandson of Muhammad Ali; suspected of being ready to bargain with the British if they would return his Egyptian estates to him, cf. F.G. Weber, *Eagles on the Crescent: Germany, Austria and the Diplomacy of the Turkish Alliance, 1914-1918*, Ithaca 1970, 209.

155 Mehmed Abdulmun'im (b. 1899), son of the Khedive Abbas II Hilmi, cf. Tugay, *Three Centuries*, Tree 3.

156 The text has امير اعلى.

157 Behcet Vehbi was mentioned earlier in the report as an intimate friend of one of Binns' agents and a contact between the Ottoman Ambassador and Dr. Faridi; described as "a former employee of the Egyptian Government whose Egyptian pension was paid through the British officials in Berne. His brother was an official attached to the Grand Vizier's Office in Istanbul", Gilbert, *Sir Horace Rumbold*, 169. Together with Mahmud Muhtar Pasha and Şevki Pasha, he had been in contact with the British Ambassador in Bern, Sir Horace Rumbold, since July 1915, in order to arrive at a separate agreement with Britain, *ibidem*, 162-163; 169-170. Aubrey Herbert, moreover, was sent on a secret mission to Switzerland by the British Foreign Office in July, 1917, and spoke with a number of Ottomans, among whom Şevki Pasha, cf. Margaret Fitzherbert, *The Man Who Was Greenmantle. A Biography of Aubrey Herbert*, Oxford 1985, 192-194. None of these talks came to anything.

in Munich in 1920], Iwad al-Bahrawi, Ahmad Tahir and İsmail Kâmil,¹⁵⁸ the last three of whom were editors of *L'Égypte* published in Geneva. In order to realize their plans and to find support among the Egyptians for their activities, they did their utmost after the entry of Turkey into the war at the side of Germany to make a distinction between Turks and Egyptians because they suspected that the whole country wished for peace between Egypt and Germany, Egypt being in desperate need of help from Germany, the same help that was obviously given by Germany to Turkey. The party went so far as to regard it necessary to arrive at a peace between Turkey and England - this subject has been explained in the report sent to the Central Powers through the Austrian Consulate in July, 1917 - so that Ambassador Fuad Bey Selim even advised in a letter to the Egyptian students that they take British passports.

The report concluded with "the most important points". These were: German help for Egyptians through the Nationalist Party (*al-Hizb al-Watani*)¹⁵⁹ - the group of Egyptian students was particularly important here -; measures against British espionage in Egypt and Syria; the activities of the Egyptian press in Switzerland; "Şefik Pasha and Muhammad Salih Ibrahim;"¹⁶⁰ the Ottoman Ambassador and the former Grand Vizier and their activities for the Party - these were bound to reinforce the position of the British; and the permission given by the Ottoman Ambassador to Egyptians to have British passports.

On August 31, Süssheim recorded that he submitted a translation of the report

in stenographic German, together with some notes, to Dr. Hösl who will see to it that it will be typed out for the Commander-in-Chief of the Army Corps today. I think that it was drawn up by an Egyptian connected with the Nationalist Party and was to be sent to one of the political party's leaders. It may have been confiscated from someone who passed the border and sent to Munich for investigation. Dr. Hösl does not share [my opinion...] He thinks that it was somehow captured from among the papers of an embassy and that the envelope of the letter was opened by chemical means at the Munich Army Corps Headquarters. Dr. Hösl is convinced that such methods are by now generally accepted by us. A month ago, the interview given by the Ottoman Ambassador in Bern, Fuad Selim Bey, to the Hungarian paper *A Világ* was examined in the same way and was translated from the Hungarian into German by Dr. Hösl. Fuad Selim Bey complained afterwards

158 Possibly İsmail Kâmil, member of the Council of State and one of the important "anti-war Turks" in Switzerland, cf. Gilbert, Sir Horace Rumbold, 162.

159 The Nationalist Party was active in Egypt from 1879 to 1953; its main aims were the establishment of a constitutional and democratic government and the cessation of foreign influence in the country. During the last years of the war, Germany made some efforts to bind the exiled Egyptian Nationalists to her and started to pay "small doles to the indigent Egyptian politicians and students who languished in cheap hotels in Switzerland", especially after money from Egypt was cut off by the British. Germany also began negotiations with the Nationalist politician Muhammad Farid. The Ottoman Ambassador, in turn, announced that he would pay every Egyptian exile a monthly subsidy of 300 francs in order to combat German propaganda against which Ambassador Hakkı Pasha also protested in the Wilhelmstrasse, cf. Weber, *Eagles on the Crescent*, 238-239.

160 Muhammad Salih Ibrahim (b. 1901), member of the Khedival dynasty, cf. Tugay, *Three Centuries*, Tree 4. Both personalities were mentioned earlier in the report and had connections with the former Khedive and Dr. Barudi.

that the Germans had interfered in Ottoman politics. He was particularly angry because Germany had not permitted Ottoman expansion in the Caucasus.

The Munich police sometimes turned to Süssheim to get difficult things done. On March 8, 1918, he was asked to identify two deserters picked up in Bavaria. They both turned out to be Albanians from Kosovo; one of whom spoke excellent Turkish. They had fled from the Galician front because they had not heard anything from their families for a long time. On April 4, Süssheim was requested to translate a statement of a Moroccan prisoner of war who had witnessed the theft of a piece of cable by a fellow prisoner. Süssheim found it difficult to understand the man.

Süssheim wished to be paid for these side-jobs but the authorities were not very accommodating. He eventually received fifty marks from the Munich Army Headquarters on September 10.

On top of that he did some translating work for Schneider in private.¹⁶¹ He also translated the diploma (*berat*) that accompanied the jewelled Mecidiye Order bestowed on the Bavarian Queen¹⁶² – he worked on it for two days.

After the war, Süssheim was officially thanked by Major Schneider for his "fifty months of loyal service" to the *Postüberwachung*.¹⁶³ On January 3, 1919, he paid his last visit to the Bayerstrasse office:

Today, as during the last days, it was rather warm, you might even say extraordinarily hot for the season. I intended to give my best wishes for the New Year to the former director of the *Postüberwachung*, Major Schneider. Some time ago, the office had been moved to an upper floor. Major Schneider, however, has left. His relation with the Workers and Soldiers' Council, set up in the office, had, day by day, become increasingly disturbed until he resigned on December 14. A captain who had been there for a long time temporarily replaces him. The old energy and efficiency have disappeared and there is only little work to be done. *Studienrat*¹⁶⁴ Professor ---¹⁶⁵ Dr. Hösl and Dr. Ruppert¹⁶⁶ were, in fact, still coming. For a long time, they had been used to arrive at nine o'clock but today Dr. Ruppert arrived at a quarter past ten and the others were still absent. Although there had formerly been 500 male and female [employees], the

161 Entry for April 14, 1917.

162 Entry for May 18, 1918.

163 Entry for November 21, 1918.

164 The text has *ilmi müşavirlerden*.

165 A blank in the text.

166 Otto Ruppert (b. 1883), *Privatgelehrter*; translator for Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan, and inspector for Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and South-American newspapers for the *Postüberwachung*, cf. 'Verzeichnis', BHSA, S.G., I.A.K., No. 1621, 5.4.1916.

number of male [personnel] in particular has dropped; at present, there are a hundred and fifty girls and only thirty-seven men. The work at the office consists solely of looking through letters on their way to foreign countries. Most attention is paid to letters to Switzerland. There are desks for every single Swiss canton.¹⁶⁷ At present, the question most intensely discussed under the authority of which ministry the *Postüberwachung* stands, whether under that of the Bavarian Ministry of Postal Service or that of the German Ministry of Finance, and whether the military personnel will stay or leave, and whether it will remain under army control or not.

Süssheim met Schneider for the last time on February 25, 1919. His former superior had become a bank manager and looked definitely less sun-tanned than before.

5. Uncertainty of Academic Future

As before, Süssheim recorded in his Diary the few courses he gave during the three semesters of the academic year. There were three of them during 1914-1915: two of Turkish Grammar and a third one entitled 'Muhammad and the Koran'. These were attended by an average of ten students. To Süssheim's dismay, the numbers of his students tended, as he had experienced before, to decrease rapidly after the first lessons when some forty students turned up.¹⁶⁸ During the third semester he also gave a course of Arabic Conversation, for which, as for teaching Persian, he obtained official permission on February 16, 1915. Süssheim was paid for teaching twelve students; for the first semester he received 51.04 M and for the last one 63.52 M.¹⁶⁹

The next year, Süssheim again gave three courses: Arabic Conversation, Turkish Grammar and Turkish Texts, the last two of which were attended by the unusually high number of seventy students, but this number gradually declined to nineteen.¹⁷⁰ During the third semester, Süssheim taught Turkish Conversation, Persian and Turkish for Beginners, attended by some twenty-five students in all. He received a little less than 470 M this year, a considerable improvement on the previous year.

During 1916-1917 - we are only informed about the last two semesters - Süssheim gave courses of Turkish Grammar and Turkish Literature, attended by ten to fifteen students in all. Numbers of students seemed to decrease even more because of the continuing war and Süssheim was glad that any people showed up at all. On May 7, 1917, he noted in his Diary:

At my class of Turkish Grammar, Part II, the same usual three persons were present. If I had

¹⁶⁷ The text has *mutasarrıflık*.

¹⁶⁸ Entries for November 3, 4 and 6, 1914.

¹⁶⁹ Entries for December 18, 1914, February 24, 1915, and July 19, 1915.

¹⁷⁰ Entries for November 4, 1915, and February 24, 1916.

been afraid of one thing, it was this class of Turkish for Beginners. But the number of attendants has unexpectedly increased and reached the level of six persons today. The relief I felt is beyond description.

Süssheim received a meagre 31,06 M on February 20, and another 80 M on May 21, 1917.

During the last year of the war, Süssheim taught Turkish Grammar, Turkish Literature and Turkish Conversation, during the first semester also Arabic Conversation, and, for the first time, Calligraphy, attended by an average of five students. They included an Ottoman student of Medicine.¹⁷¹ His income was roughly the same as in the year before, about 150 M. In November 1918, at the beginning of the new academic year, Süssheim began teaching Turkish Grammar for Beginners and Turkish Literary Texts in the usual way, seemingly disregarding the fact that the world around must have appeared to be on the verge of collapse.¹⁷²

Sometimes Süssheim recorded the names of his more interesting students and the conversations he had with them after classes or at his home. They included Dr. Hösl, Björkman,¹⁷³ who attended some of his classes of Turkish Conversation in May, 1918, and the Armenian Dr. Hristiyan, whose lessons of Russian Conversation he would attend later. His brother Max was present in one class, on July 30, 1915.

Franz Babinger, who had already concluded his studies, still visited Süssheim regularly at the university or at home. On October 24, 1914, he asked his former teacher to help him with an article he was writing, but Süssheim resented the irregular way in which he had attended his classes and tried to avoid the responsibility. He appears to have been somewhat suspicious, perhaps also jealous, of Babinger's often rash manners, scientifically and otherwise.

On December 7, 1914, Babinger went to Berlin to offer his services to the German Foreign Office and the Ottoman Ambassador. On January 22, 1915, he appeared in one of Süssheim's classes in the uniform of an artillery officer. Some months later, on July 29, on leave from Istanbul, he visited Süssheim at home.

He [Babinger] will remain on leave in Germany until September. Excavations in the surroundings of Troy had brought much pottery and many coins to light, which he keeps in his house in Beyoğlu. He has no intention of giving the Ottoman museums their share of the findings but wants to bring them to Germany. He spoke of the Turks with the utmost contempt and mockery [...] and could not stop laughing at me and the Turks, wondering how I could have passed half my life amidst such people. The word he hated most [hearing] from the Turks was the answer "yok"

171 Entry for May 18, 1918.

172 Entries for November 11 and 12, 1918.

173 Walther Björkman (b. 1896), orientalist; obtained his doctorate at Kiel (1919); Professor at Berlin (from 1929), Breslau (1944), and Uppsala (1948); taught Classical languages at Ankara from 1953.

[No] one receives upon ordering something. When he got this reply, he used to flare up and scold [the person in question] so that in the end nobody any longer dared to say "yok" to him. Another ridiculous expression was the question "öyle mi?" [Is that so?] and the [corresponding] answer "öyle ya" [Oh, yes]. He went so far as to pronounce the words "öyle ya" separately on purpose, to indicate that he had heard them correctly. All the Germans in Istanbul are connected with the Military Mission and comprise seventy to eighty persons. Three of them are pashas, namely Liman-Sanders,¹⁷⁴ Bronsart von Schellendorf¹⁷⁵ and another person. Although Liman-Sanders is an able man, it is clear that the most capable is the Minister of War, Enver Pasha. He is the most efficient and far-sighted. Mr. Babinger wears the Iron Cross, Second Class, and another decoration. He is Second Lieutenant and has a monthly income of 650 M. He will shortly become First Lieutenant. Although he spoke with a lot of Ottoman pashas, he cannot remember their names and does not know anything of anybody. A certain İsmail Hakkı Pasha, a brigadier, speaks of the Germans as "those dirty Germans." Babinger has not made the acquaintance of any scholar, member of the Ottoman Historical Society or writer. He knows Emiri Efendi only by name. Of the booksellers, he only knows Nasrullah and İbrahim Hilmi Efendi. He has never gone to the Teutonia Society. Nor has he made the acquaintance of Mr. Loebel.

The Military Attaché, Colonel Leipziger,¹⁷⁶ [did not die] by suicide but by accident. Mr. Babinger was present: while he was undressing himself, he threw his pistol in its holster into a corner of his room. The pistol went off because of the sudden blow when it fell down. The bullet hit him straight next to his right eye. Since Baron Wangenheim has left Istanbul in the summer of last year, his nerves have completely given way. Mr. Babinger travelled from Istanbul in the same railway carriage as Baron Wangenheim and a Tatar who carried the Embassy mail. Among the travellers had also been Prince Salahuddin, his about nineteen-year-old daughter and her fiancé who is a physician. They were on their way to Switzerland. He was acquainted with the Director of the Museums, Halil Bey. Halil Bey, who is very ill at the moment, is in Switzerland in order to rest. He was not yet informed of the changes at the Berlin Embassy. He had recently spoken to the new Ambassador, İbrahim Hakkı Bey, who has grown very fat [...] He highly praised his intelligence. He also knows the Dragoman, Dr. Weber, Dr. Schönberg and the Armenian Hayek. Mordtmann is now also at the Embassy. *Studienrat*¹⁷⁷ Professor Schmidt learned Turkish within six months. Those who are now able to speak Turkish, are Dr. Mordtmann, Professor Schmidt and Babinger himself.

The Armenian owners of the *Sabah* and the *Cihan* Publishing House had been exiled.

During the three quarters of an hour that Mr. Babinger was with me, he was most cheerful and did not show a trace of bad temper. In his opinion, the Ottoman state is beyond recovery and the madhouse of the world. As a consequence of the light wounds on his arms and legs, received in combat, he had been ordered to take a rest in Istanbul for fourteen days until he recovered. When Babinger goes to ministries and offices in Istanbul, he behaves in an overbearing way. The

174 Otto Liman von Sanders (1855-1929), Prussian General and Ottoman Marshal; Head of the German Military Mission to the Ottoman Empire from 1913.

175 Friedrich Bronsart von Schellendorf (1864 - after 1942), Prussian General; member of the Military Mission (1913-1917) and Chief-of-Staff at the Ottoman Headquarters.

176 Reference to von Leipzig, cf. Wallach, *Anatomie*, passim, and Trumpener, *Germany and the Ottoman Empire*, 88n.

177 The text has *maarif müsteşarı*.

famous Arabist Dr. Rescher¹⁷⁸ has been killed in action in France. He had been a Jew by origin and related to a very wealthy family from Stuttgart but because his father had come into conflict with the Jewish Community, he had left it and become unreligious. He had his son baptized. He published very many articles and books in Arabic. His death is a real loss. I learned his death from Babinger.

Süssheim met Babinger again in the Royal Library on September 30, just before he was to leave for Istanbul. Nevertheless, he appeared at Süssheim's door on October 11:

Between eight-thirty and nine p.m., Dr. Hösl and Mr. Babinger showed up. They intended to take me out and have a good time during the night. Because Mr. Babinger has not yet printed his dissertation and is not yet entitled to bearing the title of doctor, he all the same calls himself "Doctor" on his *carte de visite*.¹⁷⁹ He is at present a reserve second lieutenant of the First Bavarian Artillery Regiment and a first lieutenant in the Ottoman Army. Although his furlough ends on October 17 and he is obliged to present himself at the Istanbul Ministry of War on the same day, he thinks it will not do any harm if he arrives one or two days later. He will pretend that [the delay] was caused by Rumanian chicanery. He will leave tomorrow afternoon at two o'clock because the evening train to Vienna has recently been cancelled. He will arrive in Vienna at ten o'clock in the evening.

He claims that the Heir Apparent, Yusuf İzüddin Efendi,¹⁸⁰ is an enemy of Germany and will be eliminated. The monthly pay received by officers is 680 M. He also receives 500 M per month as correspondent for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*; thus he makes ends meet nicely.

He was recently in Berlin for one day and a half [...] Like all soldiers coming home on leave, he has had a taste of the pleasures of our peaceful life. This will not last and he will have to return to the battlefield. He nevertheless hopes to obtain a quiet and pleasant post at the Istanbul Ministry of War. "I will not stay in Turkey, not even for fifty-thousand marks," he boastfully exclaimed. The German professors who have recently been appointed at the Istanbul *Darü l-fünun*, do not receive their annual salary of 20,000 M from the Ottoman government, but from the German government. Nonetheless, Professor Kuhn of Munich University gets only 8200 M. According to what Babinger said, the Germans who have been appointed will not speak Turkish as well as I do even after twenty years. The former Consul-General, Dr. Mordtmann, has to ponder everything [he wants to say] and speaks, albeit pure Turkish, very slowly. He works at the Embassy from ten until twelve and from three until six p.m. Baron Wangenheim, reportedly, is sixty years old.

Although the Süleymaniye Mosque has been turned into a military workshop, nobody is prevented from entering it. Dr. Mordtmann who wished to show Mr. Babinger around was stopped at the entrance but when Mr. Babinger who was in mufti produced a picture of himself wearing an uniform, he as well as Dr. Mordtmann were at once admitted.

Dr. Hösl and Mr. Babinger left me at ten o'clock and had to amuse themselves on their own.

178 Babinger was mistaken. The famous Arabist Oscar Rescher (born 1883) died in 1972. He was a professor of German at the Military Academy in Istanbul (from 1925) and acted as an agent for the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (1925-1933); stripped of his German citizenship in 1937.

179 Franz Babinger became a real "Doctor" in 1921, cf. J.H. Kissling, 'Franz Babinger (1891-1967)', in *Südostforschungen* XXVI (1967), 375-379, 376.

180 Yusuf İzüddin Efendi committed suicide on February 1, 1916 - Babinger thought that he had been killed because of his anti-German attitude (entry for February 4, 1916).

Süssheim saw Babinger again on December 17, 1915.

There were, together with Mr. Babinger, only two persons in my class of Arabic. Afterwards Dr. Babinger gave some information about Istanbul although he does not know any Turkish.

Two days later, on December 19, Süssheim wrote:

Dr. Babinger, who left for Würzburg yesterday, will go to Tehran, allegedly for the Mannesmann Company, and will work there under the leadership of a certain Prince Blücher. According to me, he will be a member of the delegation which, apart from Dr. Babinger himself, consists of aristocrats and is nothing but a military mission with the task of instructing the Persian Army and fighting the Entente Powers.¹⁸¹ According to Dr. Babinger, there is no lack of conflict in Istanbul between the Military Mission, Enver Pasha and [other] Ottoman circles.¹⁸² Enver Pasha was recently in Warsaw and Berlin. Field Marshal Liman has become used to moving about like a despotic Turkish pasha.

The next day, Süssheim again spoke to Babinger at the university and heard that his former student was to leave in January after he had completed his dissertation.

It would be another two years before Süssheim saw him again. This was on September 22, 1917, in the Royal Library:

He [Babinger] had been connected with the 15th Ottoman Army Corps which operated in eastern Galicia from August 1916 until September 17, 1917. From his experience there, his animosity against, and disgust with, the Turks has increased to the utmost, indescribable, limit. The Turks are the most foul and shameful people that exist on earth. In matters of extortion, pillaging and killing people, they are even worse than the Russian Cossacks in eastern Galicia. The troops of the Fifteenth Army Corps are all Anatolian Turks and they clearly demonstrate the immorality of the Turks. There had only been eighteen thousand men who were commanded by the forty-eight-year-old Cevad Pasha. The Fifteenth Army Corps hasn't any military value whatsoever. Nonetheless, some officers of that army were of the opinion that if they had not been there, the Russians would have advanced as far as Vienna, according to others even as far as Berlin. All German officers who had been sent to the Turks did not want to stay with them and had resigned. Only the Bavarian Major, Count Wolfskehl, and Dr. Babinger stayed until the end. Cevad Pasha knows German and is a worthy person. At the time of Abdülhamid, he had been Field Marshal. Without exception, the Ottoman officers at present were men who had risen from the ranks. Dr. Babinger was convinced that the Turks are a nation that should be exterminated from the surface

¹⁸¹ Probably a reference to the Military Mission headed by von der Goltz and set up in Baghdad in 1915; it came too late because the Russian Army succeeded in invading western Persia in the Spring of 1916; von der Goltz died in April, 1916, cf. Gehrke, *Persien*, 233 ff. Wipert von Blücher was Secretary to the German Legation at Kirmanshah, *ibidem*, 288 - he recorded his Persian adventures of that period in *Zeitenwende in Iran. Erlebnisse und Beobachtungen*, Biberach 1949, 30-126. H.R. Mannesmann of the Mannesmann Company was, together with, among others, Dr. Jaeckh, member of the Foreign Affairs Committee which prepared the German Afghanistan expedition from August 1914, Gehrke, *Persien*, 24.

¹⁸² Apart from continual conflicts within the German Military Mission itself, the most serious troubles were caused by the difficult relation between Liman von Sanders and Enver Pasha who were involved in a perpetual power struggle, cf. Wallach, *Anatomie*, 174-182; 224-227.

of the earth.

Süssheim saw him for the last time during the war "in *Feldgrau*" on May 28, 1918. He was to leave for Palestine. Süssheim gave him a copy of his *al-'Urada* edition for presentation to Dr. J.H. Mordtmann in Istanbul who had asked for one.

Another student, a certain Mr. Behne, also served in the Near East. Süssheim talked to him on April 1, 1917.

Mr. Behne of Izmir, a student at Munich University, whom I have known since 1914, paid me a visit after he had phoned me in the afternoon. He had been a volunteer at the beginning of the war, had joined [His Majesty's] Own Infantry Regiment¹⁸³ at Munich, had been sent to the East at the end of 1915 and had become a Bavarian Second Lieutenant and an Ottoman First Lieutenant. Everything makes it clear that he has learned Turkish well. Until February 1917, he was in Syria and Palestine and saw Damascus, Beirut, Aleppo and Jerusalem. According to what he said, the Baghdad Railway is now serviceable up to Ra's al-'Ayn. Only two tunnels are not yet completely pierced. In Palestine the principal railway branch reaches Bi'r as-Sa'b.¹⁸⁴ Another railway starts there and is 30 km long. But it is only a very small donkey-track, operated by donkeys pulling light cars.¹⁸⁵ The front and back parts of the trains are occupied by Arabs. All Arabs, of whatever religion or creed, are enemies of the Turks and all of them long for a victory of the Entente armies. Arab soldiers do not want to face their enemy and very often desert to the enemy's army. Cemal Pasha is an able statesman and someone who is feared. Most astonishing was his story that last August an expedition was launched from Palestine to Egypt with the purpose of filling the Suez Canal with sand. Although it had come very near the Canal at [al-JQantara, the Turks were scattered by the English.¹⁸⁶ Mr. Behne thought that the expedition had been ordered from Berlin. Because of the summer heat and the lack of water, it had, in his opinion, been a most troublesome affair. According to me, we had thought that it would have been possible to counter-attack the English at the beginning of the Battle of the Somme [in July, 1916] but that turned out to be a hopeless experiment. Dr. Weber [?] served as a political spy in Syria but left his post a long time ago. In Iraq, General Kressenstein¹⁸⁷ supervises campaign matters. Mr. Behne stayed no less than one hour and a half and ate well from my cakes.

183 The text has *hasse piyade alayi*.

184 The present Be'ersheva.

185 The Baghdad Railway was not finished before the end of the war; the Amanus tunnel was pierced in September, 1915, the Taurus tunnel only in September, 1918; the traject Ra's al-'Ayn - Samara was not completed during the war, cf. *Earle*, *Turkey*, 289; Gehrke, *Persien*, 65. In Palestine, the main railway branch reached Bi'r as-Sa'b on October 30, 1915, cf. Wallach, *Anatomie*, 195.

186 An expeditionary force of 80,000 commanded by General Cemal Pasha moved in January 1915 against the Canal but was repelled by the British - the Egyptian population, as had been expected, did not rise in rebellion; a second expedition of July-August, 1916, commanded by General Kress, was equally unsuccessful and was defeated at Rumani, 40 km to the east of the Canal on August 2, cf. Wallach, *Anatomie*, 195.

187 Friedrich Kress von Kressenstein (1870-1948), general; Commander of the Eighth Army (October - December, 1917), cf. Trumpener, *Germany and the Ottoman Empire*, 374.

Behne was to die of his wounds on March 10, 1921.

Dr. Endres,¹⁸⁸ another veteran from the Near East, had served at the German Embassy in Istanbul and had been a member of Liman von Sander's staff but, suffering from malaria, had returned prematurely. He asked for Süssheim's advice about his book on Turkey¹⁸⁹ on September 25, 1915. He attended Süssheim's class of Turkish Conversation on May 8, 1916 - his Turkish appeared to be very weak. He promised to present him with a copy of his book as well as the other ones he intended to write. Süssheim again saw him on May 30 and March 1, 1917.

Disillusionment about a professorship

Contrary to his expectations, Süssheim remained a *Privatdozent* throughout the war. He hoped that as a professor he would earn a monthly salary of at least 1000 to 1500 M. Reading the *Hilal* of October 5, 1915, he was dismayed to see that, unlike seven Germans among whom were two Turkologists, he was not offered a professorship at the Istanbul *Darü l-fünun*. The *Hilal* had been sent to him by Tal'at Pasha, then Minister of the Interior, who had obviously done nothing to promote his career. On November 3, Süssheim read that Giese and Mordtmann had actually been appointed to professorships in Istanbul.

On January 29, 1916, Süssheim heard from Gratzl¹⁹⁰ in the Royal Library that his promotion would occur soon but later on the same day he read in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* that the matter had only been discussed in the Diet after a motion presented by the Liberal Deputy, Professor Günther. But there appeared to be other possibilities. On February 14, Süssheim, following Professor Schermann's advice, attended a meeting in which the foundation of a new Language School in Munich was discussed; there he had the pleasant experience of being praised for his linguistic capacities by none other than Professor Hommel who had caused him so much trouble in former days. He now appeared to him more as a figure of ridicule than of fear because of his strange way of gesticulating, shouting and his Franconian accent.¹⁹¹ On May 14, 1917, Süssheim heard that he had been appointed to the committee that was to prepare the founding of the Balkan Institute. Like the Language School, its chief purpose was to foster practical knowledge of the Near East and its languages which would

188 Franz Karl Endres (1878-1954), General Staff Officer on von der Goltz's mission to the Ottoman Empire; officer and military correspondent (see also Chapter One).

189 *Die Türkei* (Munich, 1916); it was reviewed by Süssheim in *Deutsche Offiziersblatt XX (Kriegsausgabe No. 87)*, Berlin 1916.

190 Emil Gratzl (1877-1957), orientalist and librarian; head of the acquisitions department at the Munich Royal Library, later State Library (1899-1938).

191 Entries for January 17 and 18, 1916.

be particularly useful for German intelligence officials. On the meeting of June 11, it appeared that the Institute would need a lecturer in Turkish, in particular someone who could give instruction in the "sciences connected with Turkey". To his annoyance, Süssheim was soon excluded from these meetings.¹⁹² He later heard that the Institute would not be established before the end of the war.¹⁹³ Meanwhile, the desirability of creating a professorship of Turkish at Munich University had again been discussed in the Bavarian Diet. The Catholic faction appeared to be the main obstacle. When Professor Günther proposed to found a special missionary chair at the university with the purpose of making Süssheim's appointment acceptable to the Catholics, they wished such a chair to be part of a separate missionary foundation.¹⁹⁴ The Socialist Deputy Müller and the Minister of Education were against this idea.

On April 23 the matter was also discussed in the University Senate. On May 21, 1917, Süssheim heard that Professor Lindl had dared to propose at its last meeting that he, Lindl, teach classes in his, Süssheim's, own fields, including Arabic Conversation and even Modern Turkish History, during the following semester! "In this way, he wants to take the professorship which is due to me," Süssheim commented in his Diary. Nothing of the kind, however, happened but Süssheim sadly remarked on September 1 of the following year that even junior colleagues had been promoted on the occasion of the King's birthday and that he, again, had been slighted. Two colleagues, to whom the same had happened, went so far as to lodge official complaints at the Ministry of Education on October 4. One of them gave vent to his indignation in an article published in the clerical *Passauer Zeitung* in which Süssheim's name was also mentioned.¹⁹⁵ Süssheim feared that this might harm his reputation.

On May 3, Hommel asked him to forward a list of his publications - Süssheim sent one containing fifty-four items - but this was not the prelude to a promotion or an appointment at the Language School or the Balkan Institute as he had expected. On May 8, he was asked instead whether he would be ready to give a special course on the Near East. Despite his disappointment, he declared that he, as a matter of course, was prepared to spend two days per week on a special course on the History of Muslim Countries.

In academic circles

Apart from classes and doing research (see below), Süssheim was involved in a score of other activities more or less connected with his work for the university.

192 Entry for September 1, 1917.

193 Entry for May 7, 1918.

194 Entry for April 1, 1916.

195 Entry for March 13, 1918.

He attended staff meetings and those of the group of teachers of non-regular professoral rank, often amply described in the Diary. He went to solemn gatherings, for instance, on the occasion of the *Kaisertag* on January 27, 1915, when he heard an impressive lecture by Professor Marx on the ominous political developments which had led to the present war. Sometimes, he attended receptions. On June 6, 1915, he noted:

The Vice-Chancellor¹⁹⁶ of the University, the physician Professor von Müller,¹⁹⁷ had invited a third of the university teachers between four and seven p.m. I was among them. Because he lives very far away in the direction of the Bavaria statue, I was only able to arrive there at four-thirty. The actual receiving was done by the professor's third and fourth daughters. There are five daughters in all. The first of them is the tallest, the second works for a number of military hospitals and was not present. Although the third daughter is 17 years old, she is very stout and heavily built. The fourth and fifth daughters are tall and stout compared to their heads. In the back part of the villa, the professor himself stood ready to receive his guests. He is a very friendly person. During the time I obtained my teaching permit, my name had very often been mentioned. He led me to his wife and introduced me. The first three tables were already fully occupied, so I sat down at the fourth where the oculist Professor Sicherer¹⁹⁸ and the veterinarian Professor Kitt¹⁹⁹ were seated. I made the acquaintance of the priest Professor Walter²⁰⁰ [...] When I arrived, Professor von Müller's wife sat down at our table and mostly spoke to Professor Gruber.²⁰¹ There were five to six persons connected with the military medical service. Professor Marx, who looked very sad, came too late and only with difficulty could a place be found for him. Afterwards, he sat down beside Mrs. von Müller and did not leave her side until he went home. After six o'clock, the last [guest], Professor Hommel, arrived.

Drinks consisted of coffee, tea and beer. Small white pipes, seventy to eighty centimetres long, were new to me. Although Professor von Müller at a certain point began smoking big, black cigars, the cigars presented [to the guests] were all light ones. Food consisted of pastry and meat rolls. There were many guests but there was too little food for them. The university teachers were being invited by Professor von Müller in three groups; I belonged to the second group. At six-thirty people started to leave. A little later, when the hard core and everyone else had left,

196 The text has *müdir*.

197 Friedrich von Müller (1858-1941), internist; Professor and Vice-Chancellor at Munich University.

198 Franz Heinrich Casimir Otto von Sicherer (1869-1918), Professor of Medicine from 1908.

199 Theodor Kitt (1858-1941), Honorary Professor of Veterinary Medicine; accused of having been involved in the Revolutionary *Hochschulrat* in 1918-19, he was dismissed in 1920-21, but rehabilitated in 1926; he was regular Professor from 1930 to 1932.

200 Probably Franz Xaver Walter (1870-1950), Professor of Social Ethics at Munich University (1904-1935).

201 Probably Maximilian Franz von Gruber (1853-1927), hygienist; Professor at Munich (1902-1923).

I departed together with Dr. Brunswig.²⁰² On our way home, he told me that Dr. Semeka²⁰³ who had taught Roman and German Law at the Law Faculty of the university was a Russian spy and had fled when the war broke out...

Süssheim also attended the burials of colleagues. The death of Heigel on March 23, 1915, moved him deeply. He commemorated him in his Diary:

I heard from one of the ushers of the Philosophical Faculty that the President of the Academy, von Heigel, had died at one-thirty a.m. It was impossible not to be grieved by this news. I paid him my first visit in his house in the Bahrerstrasse No. 54, where he had a flat, after I had finished secondary school, in July 1896. He encouraged me to study history but I did not find his lectures on the Revolution of 1789-1815 or his exercises during the summer semester of 1899 very useful. While I was busy preparing my work on Franconian history at that time, he, again, after it had been published, urged me to lecture on my work for the Academy. When I went to the East in 1902, he obtained effective letters of recommendation for me from the Bavarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1906 and 1907, when I wished to obtain a position in Berlin, it was again Heigel who did his utmost to help me with all kinds of recommendations. But from 1902 onwards, his recommendations had all been useless until, in 1908, he proposed that Munich accept me as a *Privatdozent*, and from 1909 until 1912, he continually exerted all his power and influence to realize this desire. In 1909, he made the Academy charge me with a mission to Istanbul. In short, from 1902 onwards, apart from my parents, no one rendered me such invaluable services as he did. His illness began six weeks ago when he contracted influenza which turned into stomach aches so that he was no longer able to hold down his food. This, in the end, did him in...

Sometimes Süssheim's advice was sought. Dr. Carl Frank of Strasbourg University was looking for someone with whom to practise his feeble Turkish, and his friend, the singer Berta Manz, consulted him on the pronunciation of some folk songs, *türküs*, she had to sing at a concert on December 10, 1915. At other times Süssheim wrote letters of recommendation, for instance for his old friend Fritz Schaller on July 17, 1915. Fritz was to leave for Istanbul as a legal expert mediating in disputes between the Ottoman Government and German capitalists after the abolishment of the capitulations.²⁰⁴

6. Research, Journalism and Lectures

Although the war kept him busy as a censor for the *Postüberwachung* and he had

²⁰² Alfred Brunswig (1877-1927), Professor connected with the Philosophical Faculty at Munich University from 1913 to 1916.

²⁰³ Gregor Semeka (b. 1879 in St. Petersburg), diplomat, traveller in the Orient and jurist; *Privatdozent* in Munich from 1911; disappeared in 1914.

²⁰⁴ On September 8, 1914, the Porte announced the abrogation of the capitulatory privileges of all foreign powers; notwithstanding the refusal of Berlin and Vienna to agree, the Ottomans began to take measures to realise their intentions from October 1, cf. Trumpener, *Germany and the Ottoman Empire*, 38-39.

to teach a number of classes at the university, Süssheim did manage to write quite a few scholarly articles and give a series of public lectures. As before, he also went to lectures given by others and frequented the meetings of the Munich Oriental Society. Both his publications and his lectures dealt mostly with contemporary Ottoman history and the position of the Empire in the war.

Shortly after the outbreak of the war, he concluded his article on 'The Decline of Turkey in Europe'.²⁰⁵ He sent another one on the policy of the Ottoman Empire toward Britain and Russia to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.²⁰⁶ It was based on information given by Tal'at Pasha in a letter of February 13. It was unfortunately not accepted and returned to him on the 18th. Süssheim dictated three unspecified articles, perhaps book reviews, on April 17 and wrote an essay on Küçük Said Pasha for the *Festschrift* to be presented to Hommel. It was at first refused - it appeared to be impossible to publish for the duration of the war for reasons of censorship²⁰⁷ - but it was nevertheless accepted in February, 1917.²⁰⁸ In April 1915, he received 116.25 M from the Leiden firm of Brill, probably for his contributions to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.²⁰⁹

Süssheim did research on the revolt of Shaykh Mansur in the Caucasus,²¹⁰ wrote some book reviews²¹¹ and gathered materials, especially of a topographical nature, for a study named 'The Ottoman Archives and the Porte', ready on March 22, 1917.²¹² He asked the Ottoman Ambassador at Berlin, İbrahim Hakkı Paşa, for information on this topic.²¹³

Curious is his record of a flash of inspiration, early in the morning of January

205 Entry for December 4, 1914.

206 Entry for February 14, 1915.

207 Entry for April 27, 1915.

208 Entry for April 27, 1917; it appeared as 'Die Memoiren Kütschük Saïd Paschá's, ehemaligen osmanischen Gross-wisiers', in *Orientalische Studien Fritz Hommel zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 31. Juli 1914 gewidmet von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern* II, Leipzig 1918, 295 ff.

209 Entries for April 21-22, 1915.

210 Entry for July 7, 1915; Shaykh Mansur (b. 1722) led a revolt by Muslims in the Caucasus against the threatening Russian expansion in that area, cf. Cemal Gökçe, *Kafkasya ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kafkasya Siyaseti*, Istanbul 1979, 117-123.

211 Entries for July 30 and September 11, 1915; in 1915, Süssheim wrote about six reviews, mostly for the *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, see personal file Süssheim, University Archive, Munich, December 12, 1918.

212 This study was probably never published; it does not occur in the *Personalakt*, mentioned in the previous note.

213 Entry for January 7, 1916.

20, 1916. Süssheim "saw" all of a sudden that the term 'Huns' was, of course, derived from the Turkish *kun* and not from the Chinese *Hiung-nu* which, in turn, was most probably a derivation from the Turkish *koñur*.²¹⁴

He was requested by the Strasbourg Publishing House of Trübner to write a Turkish grammar, but he declined on January 31, 1916.

On February 2, 1917, Süssheim decided to take up again, after six and a half years, his research on the history of the Anatolian Seljuks. He began to read and correct Aqsarayi's History in the copy of Sayyid Ahmad.²¹⁵ On April 29, he also started to revise his 'Introduction' to Ibn Bibi's *al-Awamir*. This preparatory work for the edition of both works continued, off and on, during the remaining years of the war. On December 6, he checked Koran quotations in Flügel's *Concordantia*²¹⁶ and did the same for the Arabic poetry in ath-Tha'alibi's *Syntaxma*²¹⁷ on July 23, 1918.

Süssheim also continued his Russian studies and from September 1918, he took conversation lessons from Hristiyan.²¹⁸ When he went on holiday to Oberstdorf on July 31, 1915, he took along his grammars, dictionaries and text-books of Russian and Mongolian with him. He also studied some Hungarian.²¹⁹

On March 14 and 15, 1917, Süssheim wrote an editorial on the siege of Baghdad for the *München-Augsburger Abendzeitung* - it appeared on March 17²²⁰ - and wrote an article on Turkish painting²²¹ which appeared on June 15 and 18. He received 75 M for it on July 5. He had interviews with, among others, the Armenian Miss Terzakian, who lived with her 78-year-old father in

214 The verbs *kun-* and *koñur-* have the meaning of, respectively, "to steal" and "to uproot", cf. Gerald Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 632 and 640.

215 Entries for February 5, March 1 and April 5, 1917.

216 G. Flügel, *Concordantiae Corani Arabicae* etc. (Leipzig, 1842).

217 Abu Mansur ath-Tha'alibi, *Ahass kalim an-nabi*, edited as *Talibii Syntaxma Dictorum Brevia et Acutorum*, Leiden 1844, cf. Brockelmann, *Geschichte* I, 284-286.

218 Entries for September 16 and 30; November 2, 1918.

219 Entry for September 8, 1918.

220 'Bagdad', Saturday *Vorderabendblatt*, p. 1. In it, Süssheim sketches the political and strategic background of the siege laid by the British army from March 12, and pays particular attention to British imperialist designs in the area - the British, among other things, had tried to persuade the Porte in 1913 to cancel the German concession for the construction of the Basra-Kuweit track as part of the Baghdad Railway. The town surrendered in mid-March, 1917.

221 'Die Malerei in der Türkei', in *Der Sammler* 72-73 (Munich, 1918).

Munich, and received information on the artist Tahir Bey.²²² He heard from her that their relation Vramian Terzakian, Deputy for Van, had been in that town at the outbreak of the war. Not long afterwards, he was summoned to the Governor (*vali*) with whom he had been on friendly terms but by whom he was imprisoned with the words "You remain here." They heard no more from him. "Miss was sure that he had been strangled."²²³

On February 14, 1915, Süssheim tried in vain to interview (Aziz) İzzet Pasha who was staying in Hotel Bayerischer Hof, but he succeeded in speaking with the former Khedive Abbas Hilmi Pasha in Garmisch on August 21, 1918 - both were known to him through their correspondence passing the *Postüberwachung* office. He was received by Dr. Weber of the Istanbul Embassy who accompanied the ex-Khedive on his German tour. "I knew him in Egypt ten years ago," Süssheim noted in his Diary,

but we had not seen each other since that time. When we stood face to face, I recognized him and told him my name. But he no longer recognized me and was serious about this. We went to the second floor by lift. He [Weber] went to the Khedive and after he had asked [permission], he let me in. The Khedive received me without ceremony. He said he had read my Arabic letter and thought it had been written by an Egyptian. He asked when I had been in Egypt and with whom I had spoken there. He hesitated to give information and explained that there was nothing [to say] outside the bulletins published by the Young Egyptians²²⁴ in Berlin. He told me that the Egyptian papers should be able to easily enter [Germany] by way of Geneva. There was no shortage of coal and petroleum in Egypt; prices generally were not high and nothing really extraordinary was taking place in the country. Nor was there anything noteworthy about her foreign policy. He twice said to me to come back another time. As I understood afterwards from information imparted to me by one of the chamberlains as well as Dr. Weber, he [the Khedive] had first been at the German Headquarters...

He was to return to Istanbul, where he had a house in Bebek, by way of Vienna.

My visit was short; I was about twelve minutes in the hotel. The Khedive is plump, fat and apparently very strongly-built. He is a pleasant and cheerful man. According to what Dr. Weber told me, he does not want any publicity around himself and his ideas in the papers. There is perhaps a special reason why he told me this: if I were to publish something in the press, it would hardly give currency to his Pan-Germanic views. Before I entered the Khedive's room, the tall, blond and pretty sister of the Kaiser, the widow of the Prince of Schaumburg-Lippe,²²⁵ left the room. It is possible that the German Emperor encouraged the Khedive to come to Garmisch in order to obtain information about his ideas. The stiff shirt-collar with its somewhat turned-down

222 Entries for February 21 and 22, 1918.

223 From mid-May, 1915, the Armenian population of the Provinces of Van, Bitlis and Erzurum was ordered to move out of all areas where they might undermine the Ottoman campaigns against Russian or British troops; during the ensuing confusion between 300,000 and 1.3 million Armenians were massacred or died of exposure, cf. Shaw & Shaw, *History*, 315-316.

224 The text has *genç Mısrılular*.

225 Viktoria von Hohenzollern (1866-1929), married to Adolf von Schaumburg-Lippe.

upper part he was wearing during my visit was not only out of fashion but not very clean either. The golden pin which made his dark blue tie stand out belonged to the antiquated fashion of fifteen years ago. The rather coarse suit he was wearing was striped, rose-coloured and made of wool. What Abbas Hilmi Pasha desired first of all was to recover his properties and possessions in Egypt when peace will be signed.

Süssheim gave several lectures during the war. He always did his best to speak loudly and to make as little use as possible of his notes. At the request of the Munich Oriental Society, he spoke, on January 30, 1915, on 'The War of the Turks against England and Russia'. Afterwards he noted in his Diary:

The King of Bavaria had gone to the Western Army but Prince Leopold, who had a quarrel with his brother because of an inheritance and had not been present at any of the winter sessions of the Society, came this evening. The retired General von Stengel²²⁶ was there too. Most attendants were women. From the members of the ruling committee, Dr. Werner was present and I had an open-hearted conversation with the Society's Secretary, Baron von Stromer. The Attorney Bauer had responded to my invitation and of my other acquaintances, Dr. Hanauer and Mr. Herbert Oesterreicher were there. From among my own acquaintances I had invited Dr. Ischmann because he had shown interest. My lecture lasted almost one hour and a half. It was followed by much acclaim. After I had made a rough draft of the whole lecture, I had, apart from the last words, noted the most important points on eight sheets of paper and I spoke without ever raising my eyes from the paper [...] The audience listened carefully and the Prince expressed his satisfaction afterwards. Thereupon, my friends came to me and spoke words of gratitude. I went with some of the Society's leading figures to the tavern downstairs and stayed there for another one hour and a half. I made the acquaintance of the virgin daughter of the chairman, Professor von Mayr. I gave Dr. Wirth, the Secretary-General of the Society, some information on the Young Turks. Curiously enough, he thought that the word *damad*²²⁷ was a proper name and stood for Damad Mahmud [Muhtar] Pasha. His knowledge of Turkish personalities is most unsound [...] The words with which the chairman concluded my lecture were laudatory: my exposition had been straightforward and free of exaggeration.

The lecture was reviewed in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* of February 9.²²⁸

On April 29, 1915, Süssheim gave a lecture at the Nuremberg *Handelshochschule* with the title 'Germany and Turkey'. It was sponsored by the Red Crescent and the German War Relief Fund. He had a couple of preliminary

226 Emil Freiherr von Stengel (1842-1925).

227 "son-in-law".

228 'Die Türkei im Kampfe mit Russland und England', pp. 3-4; according to this article, Süssheim emphasized the fact that the Ottomans had entered the war on the Central side in order to stop British actions towards a dismemberment of the Empire; it also mentioned that the lecturer had lived in Turkey for a long time and was on friendly terms with its leading men, especially with Tal'at Bey, the Minister of the Interior; in concluding his lecture, it continued, Dr. Süssheim announced the contents of a letter from the Turkish minister in which he expressed his satisfaction on the understanding which the abolition of the capitulations had found in the German press.

meetings with the Ottoman Consul, Bach,²²⁹ on April 4 and 6. In the latter's company, he met a rather conceited Ottoman Jew called Ali Elmas, alias Diamand, whom, he found out, did not speak a word of Turkish. Bach told how he had obtained his appointment in 1903 when the Nuremberg Consulate had reopened. He had met the Ottoman Ambassador, Tevfik Pasha, at a car exhibition in Berlin and had been presented to him by a certain Count Talleyrand-Périgord. The Ambassador had been charmed by him and had immediately dropped all other candidates, saying "Ou Vous, ou personne!"

On the day of the lecture, Süssheim recorded that

during the last few days everywhere in the city huge placards, painted a yellow-red colour, had been attached to the advertisement pillars and public buildings. It was impossible for my lecture to have escaped public attention. Because no entrance fee was asked, everyone went to [the Director's,] Professor Dorn's, office in order to obtain tickets. By yesterday, all of these had been handed out [...] Mother was so glad of the public enthusiasm that she gave me a present of 100 M before the conference. Because I had prepared my lecture well, I felt no trace whatsoever of nervousness or fear, either before or on the day of the lecture itself.

Accompanied by his mother, Süssheim arrived in the town hall shortly after eight p.m. and was presented to, among others, the Director of the local Chamber of Commerce, Seiler [?], Professor Hess and the Rabbi, Dr. Freudenthal.

Thereupon, Professor Dorn led me to the lecture room and showed me to the pulpit. Standing there, I seem to have created the impression of being pale and very serious, there being no trace of pleasantry on my face. The subject of my lecture was the influence of German world policy on the Near East. It followed the series of main points noted on four sheets of paper and lasted for one hour and a half. I spoke as loudly as possible. Because I had been warned to speak slowly, I overdid this and during the last half hour, I was forced to accelerate my pace after I had begun to hear the clicking of watches. The lecture had a historical orientation and I had to conclude that many things were unknown to the audience. It was generally felt that the growing hostility by which we had been forced to close ranks against Russia and England and the present war had been the result of our abandoning the policy of Bismarck²³⁰ during the reign of the present Kaiser. In order not to hurt anyone's feelings and for propriety's sake, I followed and confirmed this idea. Beyond the seven hundred chairs, the audience occupied all standing space and virtually all steps of the staircase leading to the upper floor. The statement that appeared, finally, to attract most attention was my idea that the English had attacked the Gallipoli Peninsula with the purpose of turning it into a second Gibraltar, something which until now has not been written in any paper. The name of Tal'at Pasha was repeatedly mentioned and, in the end, his promise of economic favours for the Germans, based on our correspondence.

When I finished, a general applause resounded. The first person who hurried to congratulate me was the Ottoman Consul, Mr. Bach, the second Professor Dorn. Thereupon, we retreated to the vestry and more congratulations followed. Mother's face was beaming. Dr. Morgenstern of Fürth, his brother Heinrich Morgenstern together with his wife, and Mr. and Mrs. Vandewart

²²⁹ Siegfried Bach, merchant (*Kommerzienrat*); Honorary Consul for the Ottoman Empire at Nuremberg from 1904.

²³⁰ Otto Eduard Leopold von Bismarck-Schönhausen (1815-1898), Prussian statesman; first Reich Chancellor (1871-1890); resigned after a conflict with the Emperor Wilhelm II.

joined us and congratulated me. The congratulations I was most pleased with came from my old school teacher, now Director, Professor Lösch [?]. After the lecture, I went with some people to Beerhouse *Krokodil*. My companions there were Professor Dorn, Consul Mr. Bach, Mr. Seiler, [Secretary to the Chamber of Commerce] Dr. Gunz [?], my brother Max and his wife, and Dr. Morgenstern. The smoke spreading through the beerhouse stunned me as if I had drunk alcoholic spirits. During the general conversation, Mr. Bach gave some details of his journey to Istanbul in November 1907. At that time, he wrote an excellent report on the expansion and reform of cotton farming for which he was awarded the Mecidiye Medal, Third Class. He went to the Ministry of Agriculture and appeared before the Minister, Selim Melhame Pasha. He was seated in an armchair, smoking his water-pipe, while Mr. Bach ponderously briefed the pasha in French. At the pasha's side and feet, three clerks were waiting. One of them explained Mr. Bach's account by translating it from French into Turkish [...] and [the pasha], in turn, spoke a word or two to be translated back into French. Mr. Bach could hardly believe that the pasha, who had received a French education, perfectly understood French.

Mr. Bach had wished to receive the Mecidiye Medal during his stay in Istanbul and to that end he applied to the Head Dragoman at the Embassy, Dr. Giese. Dr. Giese told him that because it was common practice for the diploma [*berat*] accompanying the decoration to be written by hand in an expert way and because there already was a delay of 100 to two hundred [diplomas], he would only be able to receive it after six or seven months [...] Mr. Giese also advised him to be very careful with his binoculars during the *selamlık*.²³¹ Watching the *selamlık*, he put his hands into his pockets. He was approached by a policeman who though he [reached for] his pistol or another weapon and told to follow him to jail. While his pockets were being searched at the police post, his wife hurried to Dr. Giese and pleaded with him to rescue her husband. But nothing, actually, happened to Mr. Bach.

When Mr. Bach arrived by train in Istanbul, he thought that because he was protected by the dignity of his consular rank he would be exempted from the obligation of giving bakhsheesh. But four or five customs officials messed up his belongings and found some books. While all the other passengers had already left, he had to remain behind. One after the other [of the officials] rushed to his side and did not let him go before he had taken his bakhsheesh... At a quarter past eleven, we left the beerhouse.

The next day, April 30, Süssheim was visited by his brother.

Since he is a member of the municipal council,²³² he meddles with all kinds of affairs, private and public, and gives all kinds of advice and instructions. As soon as he had heard of my lecture, he had applied to Professor Dorn and had taken it upon himself to arrange my affairs. He confirmed that my voice had been strong enough to reach all the corners of the huge room in the town hall but he criticized me for speaking too softly at the beginning - this had given a weak impression - and advised me to speak loudly from beginning to end. He blamed me for having lost a quarter of an hour by speaking too slowly during the first hour [...] but, on the whole, I had done a good job...

Unfortunately, Süssheim's lecture was badly received by the *Fränkische Kurier* on April 30; he received a hundred marks for it on November 16.

On November 3, he was invited by the Deputy Müller-Meiningen to lecture

²³¹ Public procession of the Sultan to a mosque on Fridays.

²³² The text has *belediye cemiyeti*; Max Süssheim was *Gemeindebevollmächtigter* from 1915 to 1919.

for the Liberal Association 'Young Munich'. Two weeks later, on November 17, he did so and spoke on the subject of 'A Revolution in the Ottoman State'; the lecture was accompanied by slides. It earned him 100 M.

The next month, on December 8, 1915, he lectured on 'Anatolia, Syria and Palestine' for the *Alpenverein* in the Munich Löwenbräukeller.

I went there on foot. It was very crowded. Beginning shortly after eight-thirty, I introduced the audience to [the subject of] Anatolia for one hour and a quarter. After a break of ten minutes, I spoke to them about Syria and Palestine. Because the chairman, Professor Rotpletz,²³³ told me that the first part had been difficult to follow because of my hoarse voice, I spoke more loudly during the second part. I received much acclaim. The final part was about the railway to Bi'r as-Sa'b, opened on November 12, 1915, and [I explained that] the place was situated 75 km south-west of Jerusalem but was still at a distance of 290 km from the Suez Canal. When I said 290 kilometres, a kind of despondency spread among those present and deep sighs were heard. In order not to increase the distress, I concealed the fact that military operations in the Sinai Desert were only possible until the end of February and that it would not be possible to cross the Suez Canal before November of the next year [...] When the audience began to leave, they went on discussing the risks of the Suez Campaign...

On January 12, 1916, Süssheim lectured for the same society on 'Mesopotamia and Arabia' - after the intermission he was rather rudely requested not to continue - and concluded the series on February 2. He received 50 M for each performance.

On February 12 of the same year, he was invited by Professor Hartmann to lecture in Hotel Krone in Schweinfurt. The lecture probably was about poetry; Süssheim recorded that he recited an Arabic poem. He received eighty marks.

Two years later, he spoke, invited by Consul-General Kemmerich, for the *Deutsch-türkische Vereinigung*,²³⁴ of which he himself had not wanted to become a member because of its outspoken political nature.²³⁵ He was crestfallen about the incident which occurred on April 10, 1918. Commenting on his own lecture in which he had portrayed the financial instability of the Ottoman regime, he found that

my lecture contained one big and essential mistake: my lecture was neither nationalistic nor emotional but a scholarly analysis. By enumerating the great difficulties and expense that Germany had been ready to incur for the sake of Turkey and forgetting to mention the most exaggerated idea that, in the end, Germany would recover her loans by deception but [by

²³³ August Rotpletz (1853-1918); Professor of Geology and Paleontology at Munich University from 1895.

²³⁴ The association was established in Berlin under the honorary presidency of Dr. von Gwinner of the *Deutsche Bank* and the active supervision of Dr. Jaeckh; together with the *Deutsches Vorderasienskomitee*, led by Hogo Grothe, its aim was to promote a closer relationship with the Ottoman Empire and to disseminate information on the Near East and its importance for the war effort, cf. Earle, *Turkey*, 281-282.

²³⁵ Entry for May 15, 1915.

suggesting] that Germany gave money away to Turkey, I unwittingly stimulated the negative ideas of the Germans present about Turkish greediness and German farsightedness. I also presented facts which did not please the Turks present when I enumerated the Turkish defeats on the Anatolian front at the beginning of the World War and examined the weakness of the Turkish financial situation which it has become a principle of rhetoric to pass over in silence. The acclaim was unusually lukewarm.

7. Contacts with Ottomans and Middle Easterners

During the war years, Süssheim kept in touch with Istanbul and made new acquaintances among the Ottomans who were staying in Germany. First of all, he kept enlarging his collection of Ottoman books, periodicals and manuscripts and regularly sent orders to Istanbul booksellers. Sometimes, he sold copies, acquired from Istanbul, to the Munich Royal Library.²³⁶ He also kept an eye on the sales of his *al-'Urada* edition in the Ottoman capital.²³⁷ By doing so, he kept exchanging letters with, and receiving parcels from Nasrullah, *Cihan*, Otto Gehl,²³⁸ Nafiz, *İkbal*, *Kanaat*, İbrahim Hilmi, and *Zaman*. On October 6, 1918, he received his last parcel from the publishing firm of *Zaman*, and came as far as the 2831st item in his private collection. Relations with Kasımzade became strained because of his conflict with the latter's deceased brother's, Sayyid Hasan's, family and their reluctance to pay back the remaining part of their debt to him. Süssheim eventually decided to confiscate a collection of *Ce-ride-i havadis* papers received from the bookseller.²³⁹ Süssheim also received some books from the Society for Ottoman History, published together with their periodical, the TOEM.²⁴⁰ During the last month of the war, communications with Istanbul were interrupted and Süssheim's last payment to *Zaman* was returned to him on November 9.

Süssheim also maintained a considerable correspondence with many of his Ottoman friends and acquaintances. He often sent letters of congratulation on the occasions of a Bairam, a victory of the Central Powers and the like, or asked them for information concerning his research.

Most letters were written to Tal'at Bey, later Pasha; unfortunately Süssheim committed few details about their content to his Diary. He exchanged opinions on political matters with him. Süssheim also gave him, perhaps not altogether

236 Entries for February 6 and 10; March 6, 1916; February 22, 1917.

237 Entry for April 3, 1916.

238 Entry for February 3, 1916.

239 Entries for August 20, September 10, October 24 and 30, November 30, 1914; March 2, 1916.

240 Entries for July 14 to 18, 1917.

welcome, advice.²⁴¹

To Mahmud Muhtar Pasha, Süsheim sent a copy of his *al-'Urada* edition, upon which he received a letter of thanks on February 19, 1915. He also exchanged letters with the Second Chairman of the Red Crescent, Beşir Ömer Pasha, and İbrahim Hakkı Pasha. He congratulated the latter upon his appointment as Ottoman Ambassador in Berlin on August 11, 1915. The correspondence continued until January 1916.²⁴² Süsheim thanked the Director of the *Tanin*, Yusuf Ziya Bey, on August 18, 1915, for sending a copy of the *Hilal* and congratulated İsmail Hakkı Bey with his appointment as Governor at Tokat after his reconciliation with the Committee for Union and Progress.²⁴³ He sent the Ottoman Consul-General in Berlin, Ömer Lutfi Bey, at the latter's request some information on German higher education.²⁴⁴ Lutfi Bey died of heart failure during a hernia operation on April 23, 1918. Süsheim wrote letters of condolence to the family on the next day. He recorded that he had known him for twenty years and had met him for the last time in November 1908 when the latter had been Police Director in Istanbul. Lutfi Bey had been forced to give up his position at the change of Sultans in 1909 and had been Assistant Governor of Baghdad from 1909 to 1913. He came to Germany in 1917 to take the waters; Süsheim's mother met him in the Palast Hotel in Bad Kissingen with two women and his thirteen-year-old son Kemal who afterwards stayed for a couple of days at Paula's house when his father was away in Vienna for business. Süsheim recorded:

Lutfi came to Bad Reichenhall [sic] at the beginning of the year [1918] to rest and regain strength but his body was in poor shape. On the one hand his position as Consul-General and the vast amount of duties, on the other his passion for women, had ruined his body, which had seemed indestructible, in a short time. When I made his acquaintance in 1898, he looked like a very strong young man, full of bones, muscles and flesh. At times, he was in high spirits or seriously-minded but he always remained dignified. It was for this reason that Ottoman students in Berlin, who wished to lodge a complaint about their lack of income, sometimes sent Lutfi Bey to one of Abdülhamid's envoys if they came to Berlin. Up to a certain point I contributed to Lutfi Bey's success because in 1903 I partly wrote myself, partly dictated, the thesis by which he obtained his doctorate at Erlangen University...

Süsheim also exchanged letters with the Minister of Finance, Hakkı Adil Bey,

241 Entries for October 12, 1914; February 13 and 26, August 17, September 8 (congratulations on the victory at Gallipoli) and 26, November 6, 1915; January 7, March 4, April 8 (including a signed photograph of himself), June 2, 1916; March 1 and 8, April 18, May 1 and 22, December 4, 1917; January 12, April 23, May 12 and 13, June 21 and 24, July 11, 17 and 19, September 10, 1918.

242 Entries for October 25 and December 31, 1915; January 7, 1916.

243 Entry for October 11, 1915.

244 Entries for March 23, 1916; August 17, 1917.

in order to gather information about Ottoman institutions²⁴⁵ and met him later, on January 8, 1917, in the Royal Library. He also kept in contact with Musa Kâzım Efendi²⁴⁶ and Abdullah Cevdet. His correspondence with the latter mainly concerned the purchase of Ottoman Provincial and Ministerial Yearbooks which Cevdet Bey sent him in subsequent parcels. At his request, Süssheim sent his friend illustrated, de luxe, editions of Umar Khayyam's Quatrains.²⁴⁷

On February 4, 1918, Süssheim congratulated Ahmed Sayib Bey on the occasion of his daughter's marriage to Zekeriya Mazlum Bey, whom he sent a gilded cheese board²⁴⁸ which had originally belonged to his mother, as a present on July 26, 1918. Mazlum Bey thanked him on September 23.

On April 5 of the same year, Süssheim offered his condolences to the family of the deceased Minister of Education, Mustafa Haşım Pasha, whom he had met in 1916 when the latter had come to Germany as member of an Ottoman parliamentary delegation. He received, furthermore, biographical material from Halil Edhem Pasha and the painter Ali Rıza²⁴⁹ on September 25, 1918. On October 23 - postal connections had been interrupted for twenty days - Süssheim received his last mail, in this case newspapers, from Istanbul.

245 Entries for February 12 and 25, 1916.

246 Entries for May 16, 1916; October 18, 1917; July 12, 1918.

247 The correspondence was resumed by Dr. Cevdet on March 21, 1917, when he requested Süssheim to send him the mentioned Khayyam editions for the second edition of his Turkish translation of the work, cf. *Nachlass* 5/63. On March 27, Süssheim received a copy of this translation. Dr. Cevdet asked Süssheim in the same letter (the first war-time letter) for a copy of Schiller's *Räuber* which the Dresden bookseller Lorenz had not been able to procure. Süssheim sent him this work on April 6. On July 10, Dr. Cevdet wrote that he had bought a rare Yearbook of the Province of Aydın (*ibidem*, 5/29) and on August 5, that he had been able to buy a collection of no less than seventy yearbooks for him (*ibidem*, 5/31). They were sent to Munich in September and October (5/23 and 5/60). On September 25, Dr. Cevdet informed Süssheim that there were no copies of the *Takvim-i vekayi* nor of any *İkdams* for sale in Istanbul (*ibidem*, 5/23). In the meantime, Süssheim had bought a copy of the Vedder edition of the Quatrains for 150 M (entry of October 5, 1917). It was forwarded to Istanbul through Prof. [Friedrich Johann] von Kraelitz-Greifenhorst [1876-1932] in Vienna, a friend of Dr. Cevdet's, direct postal connections being cut off at the time. The book safely arrived on December 4, cf. letter of the 5th, *Nachlass*, 5/8, and postcards by Kraelitz to Süssheim (*ibidem*, 5/40, 5/64 and 5/20). On February 18, 1918, Dr. Cevdet requested Süssheim to pay him 1196 kuruş for the yearbooks, including mail expenses; he also informed him that a book on the Kurds, for which he had asked on December 5, had arrived safely (*ibidem*, 5/67). See also entries for May 22, June 30, July 17, September 19, October 15 and 25, November 16, 1917; March 20, 1918.

248 The text has *cübnelik*.

249 Ali Rıza Bey (1857-1930), painter of the Realist school.

German-Ottoman relations

During these years, Süssheim was also involved in several activities intended to contribute to a reinforcement of good relations with the Ottoman ally.

On January 19, 1915, he was invited to be present at the founding of the Munich branch of the Ottoman Red Crescent in the town hall. The Mayor, Dr. von Borscht,²⁵⁰ was elected Chairman and Consul-General Kemmerich Assistant Chairman. Süssheim discussed with the latter the possibility of organising a soiree for its benefit.²⁵¹

On May 27, 1916, Süssheim was requested by the municipal authorities to translate the speech which the Mayor was to give to the Ottoman parliamentary delegation which was about to visit the city - Süssheim worked on it for five hours - and be present at the station at their arrival from Berlin. At half past nine on the next rainy morning, Süssheim, wearing his top-hat, presented himself in the station. Kemmerich, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, von Hirschberg,²⁵² and two Ottoman students were already there. The delegation, Süssheim critically recorded, consisted merely of Turks or men who had become 'Turkicized'. It consisted of the spokesman Hüseyin Cahid Bey, Secretary and Interpreter Hasan Rıza Pasha - he was a veteran of the Cretan war of 1897 and Deputy for Hadide - the Deputy for Istanbul, the Circassian Salahuddin Cimcoz Bey, the Deputy for Izmir Seyyid Bey (originally a member of the Committee for Union and Progress but from 1911 a candidate for the Freedom and Concord Party), the Deputy for Burdur Haşim Bey - he was a Twelver Shiite and Professor of International Law at the Istanbul *Darü l-fünun* - the Deputy for Sivas Ömer Şevki - he was also physician at the Cerrahpaşa Hospital - and the former Governor of Iskodra and Adana, Deputy for Kangırı and President of the National Defense (*müdafaa-i milliye*) Society Mustafa Nedim; aged sixty-five, he was the senior member of the delegation.

The delegation was accompanied by four officials of the Reich Ministry of Foreign Affairs: the former Assistant Dragoman at the Istanbul Embassy, at present Consul at Beirut and Cairo, Dr. Padel, von Kulemann, the former Dragoman at the Istanbul Embassy Dr. Arthur Schmidt and Baron Ow-Wachendorf - Mustafa Nedim could not help repeatedly shouting "Au, au!" as if in great pain, Süssheim noted.

Speeches of welcome were pronounced in the station building, after which the delegates were taken to Hotel Bayerischer Hof by car. They were received by the King at 10.30 but Süssheim was not invited. Meanwhile he drank hot chocolate with Dr. Hösl and the two Ottoman students in the downstairs hotel buffet. In the

250 Wilhelm Ritter von Borscht (1857-1943), Mayor of Munich (1893-1919).

251 Entry for March 10, 1915.

252 Anton Freiherr von Hirschberg (1853-1924), jurist and diplomat; Bavarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1915-1918.

afternoon, Süssheim accompanied the delegates to the race-track at Riem and recorded:

In my car were seated Seyyid Haşım Bey and another person I did not know. Seyyid Haşım gave me much information. The historian Mehmed Arif is jealous and refuses to give information to anyone, doesn't help anyone and only shows his studies to his friend Şevket Bey. According to Haşım Bey, the richest library, from an historical point of view, is that of Emiri Efendi. Haşım Bey did not want to speak about Tevhid Bey. Afzaluddin Bey has just become Director of 'Urgent Affairs' at the Ministry of the Interior. In the case of Enver Pasha's resignation, Mahmud Kâmil Pasha will succeed him and Ahmed İzzet Pasha²⁵³ will become commander of the Anatolian armies.

We arrived in Riem before the races had started. There I made the acquaintance of, and became friendly with, all members [of the delegation]. When the races were interrupted for a while we retired to the café which looks like an Oriental coffee house, having an open entrance hall and being wholly made of wood. While some of the delegates drank beer and others took tea, coffee or chocolate, Hasan Rıza Pasha was accosted by a reporter of the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* and asked his opinion on the present war. This developed into a complete interview.

Meanwhile, Süssheim was approached by a certain Miss Cohn, reporter for the Zionist paper *Teghia* (?), and he arranged an interview for her with Cahid Bey.

Although it was raining hard, the Turks didn't mind and kept watching. Salah Cimcoz Bey intended to stake a large sum of money but I was able to keep him in check, pointing to the fact that it would give a bad impression to gamble in these serious times. He then took only a bet of five marks...

Serious times indeed; during the races Süssheim heard that a fellow member of the *Insel* Club, Karl Löffler, had died at Verdun, having been hit by a shell fragment.

In the evening, Süssheim attended the banquet offered by Kemmerich in the *Künstlerhaus*. Having seen the exhibition organized for the benefit of the Red Crescent, the delegation moved to the banquet hall. Süssheim was requested to take a seat next to Seyyid Bey because the latter only understood Turkish.

Seyyid Bey was at my right side; at his right side was the Minister of Education, Dr. von Knilling,²⁵⁴ and at the latter's right side was the second *Darü l-fünun* professor, Seyyid Haşım Bey. At my left side was the Chairman of the Diet [...] Opposite me, was the owner of the famous Zuban cigarette factory, Kâzım Emin Bey of Salonica [...] At first, the Minister of Education thought that I was an Ottoman and began to ask how long I had been here. I answered, "Four years." Responding to his question of what I was doing, I could no longer hide my identity. My acquaintance with my country's Ministry of Foreign Affairs was made in the same way. The Minister had graduated in Law and wished me to let Seyyid Bey know that they were colleagues. Thereupon, the latter smiled contentedly at the Minister [...] Some 120, 130 persons were present. But according to what the Consul-General said, ten to fifteen persons had come

253 For Ahmed İzzet Pasha, Commander of the Second Army in eastern Anatolia (1916-1917), see Metin Ayışığı, *Mareşal Ahmet İzzet Paşa (Askerî ve Siyasî Hayatı)*, Ankara 1997.

254 Eugen Ritter von Knilling (1865-1927), Bavarian Minister of Education (1912-1918).

whom he had not invited. Among them were the two students who were learning the spirits trade and had, without authorisation, been invited by me in the morning [...]

The first speech was, as a matter of course, given by the Consul-General Mr. Kemmerich. Although he tried to speak *ex tempore*, he began intermittently consulting [his notes] and ended up reading out the entire speech. He charged me with the task of translating it after each paragraph had been finished. He had sent me the text of his speech yesterday evening and I had prepared a translation but, unfortunately, I tried to give a free translation instead of using the text I carried in my pocket. After that, although the translation had not pleased me, the audience appeared most impressed by my performance. When Professor Mayr rose to his feet, he cordially welcomed the Turks in his function as President of the Oriental Society and expressed his desire that their sphere of influence in Africa become enlarged and that Egypt be restored to them. On Mr. Kemmerich's request, I translated this speech too. The third speech was given by General Hasan Rıza Pasha. He said in German that he thought that the delegation of Ottoman members of parliament was received cordially everywhere. The deputies were proud of having seen so many great and respectable people. All speeches were met with a great amount of interest and received much acclaim. People started leaving shortly after eleven o'clock...

On the morning of the next day, May 29, Süssheim presented Seyyid Haşim, who claimed to be a descendant of the Safavids²⁵⁵ much to the latter's annoyance, with a work on that dynasty's genealogy which showed that his claim was very unlikely. The delegates were received in the town hall with speeches and the national anthems. After that they were led to another room where

meat rolls were offered to them. Because it is thought in Munich, and consequently in the whole of Germany, that pork is the richest and most savoury meat, the servants did not hesitate to give pork rolls to the Turkish deputies. Although I said that Turks do not eat pork, most of them, even old Nedim Bey, took their share of, particularly, the pork. In fact, these pork rolls were preferred above all. I spoke to the former Bavarian Prime Minister, Count Podewils²⁵⁶ [...] While we were in this room, it was proposed to send a telegram of friendship to Sultan Mehmed V. It took quite a long time to draft [...] It was finally read out by the First Mayor and I read the translation.

Thereupon the delegation returned to their hotel where a lunch was served. I was invited by Mr. Padel to be present. Although, when the ham arrived, I protested against their eating it by exclaiming, "Really, you won't eat ham, will you?" the deputies ate it with great relish. Mr. Padel interrupted me and said that I should not attract their attention to such things. Hinting at a person who sat opposite me, he began criticising the fact that he was also eating the ham: "Human beings do a lot of things but are often not aware of doing them", he said, friendly and rightly condemning what I had said. The lunch was eaten very quickly.

After Mr. von Donle,²⁵⁷ Counsellor at the Bavarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, had joined us, we went to the station and without problems boarded a first class railway car specially reserved for us. We met there the Assistant Professor of German History at the Munich Technical University, Dr. Wirth. Cahid Bey, Rıza Pasha and Nedim Bey withdrew into the railway car in order to have a rest, but although they lay down, stretched out on their backs, the others

255 The Safavid dynasty ruled Iran from 1521 to 1732 and had been established by Shaykh Safiuddin of Ardabil (d. 1334).

256 Graf Klemens von Podewils-Dürnitz (1885-1922); Bavarian Prime Minister (1903-1912).

257 Ludwig Donle (b. 1869), jurist and civil servant.

continued chatting. Because the Turks were all tired, every now and then, they dozed off in their seats.

At the beginning of the trip, Dr. Wirth discussed the problem of the Oriental Society's chairmanship in a very serious way with Mr. Kemmerich, but I did not take part in [the discussion] nor listen to it. Mr. Wirth mentioned the names of Muslims and Turks he, subsequently, had come to know and asked the Turks who were present what they thought of them. But although this continual questioning and quizzing annoyed the Turks beyond measure, I was not able to ward him off all the time, because he is a formidable writer and one of the founders of Pan-Germanism whose opinion is listened to by the German Government. Dr. Wirth said for instance that the famous Tunisian Shaykh Abdulaziz Shawish²⁵⁸ was sent to Berlin by Enver Pasha and was considered to be the Second Ambassador at the Berlin Embassy, but Seyyid Haşim thought that Shaykh Shawish was an adventurer who was completely disregarded. Because Dr. Wirth kept insisting, all Ottoman deputies exclaimed that Shaykh Shawish had not been sent by Enver Pasha. Haşim Bey also thought that Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey was a charlatan. Seyyid Bey reckoned the famous Siberian traveller Abdurrahim İbrahim to be a zero but Haşim Bey did not share this view.

At Prien station, a great multitude had gathered from far and wide to see the Turks and cheered them with a "*Hoch!*" When we left the train at Chiemsee station, it was the same. We boarded a special steamer. The tables on deck were decorated with flowers. While the steamer was in motion, sixteen mines were exploded, one after the other, at the expense of a Munich manufacturer. On the island of Herrenchiemsee, we first went to the restaurant. After we had left our things there, we went to Chiemsee Palace, the building and the ensuing costs of which had caused the dethronement of the Bavarian King Ludwig II.

At our departure from Hotel Bayerischer Hof, it had completely stopped raining. Now it was mild and soft weather, even warm, really, the sun appearing now and then. The small island was in full bloom and full of flowers. The sight was attractive. The visitors were very cheerful and happy. When we were on our way to the castle, I acquainted Cahid and Salah Cimcoz Bey with the details of the last four royal successions, the first of which had been an abdication, the second a dethronement, the reason for this dethronement of Ludwig II being in particular the building of Schloss Chiemsee, his dethronement and suicide bearing a resemblance to the end of Sultan Abdülaziz, caused by poison.

In front of the palace there had originally been a pond and a spouting fountain but the pond had fallen dry and was covered with grass. One of the men who showed us around in the castle had been a servant of Ludwig II; he was still robust. The uniform, which was already fifteen years old, fitted the faithful servant very well because of its antiquity. The whole place, although it is small, is a perfect imitation of Versailles, built by Louis XIV [...] The castle's rooms are brimful of statues and pictures of that King. The inscriptions at the bottom of the pictures, in which the greatness of the King is reverently expressed in French, immediately caught the eye of the Turkish members of parliament and showed how much this King [Ludwig II] had been a francophile.

When they saw the majestic clocks, beds and chairs, the Turks were all amazed and found the King's behaviour odd; they concluded that he had been mad. Because they did not know German, they did not understand the warnings 'Forbidden to trespass or touch', and were eager to touch everything and go everywhere. Especially Cahid Bey took a great fancy, despite the prohibitions, to sitting down on costly and impressive chairs.

On the boat, near the castle and inside it, twenty pictures were taken of our delegation by a Munich photographer. After we had left the castle, a twenty-year-old girl followed us. We invited

²⁵⁸ Abdulaziz Shawish (1876-1929); Ottoman civil servant, lecturer at Oxford University (1902-1905), activist for the Egyptian National Party and newspaper editor (from 1912), Ottomanist and Pan-Islamic activist, resident in Berlin from 1915.

her to join us. Particularly the Consul-General clung to her side and jokingly walked arm in arm with her. When we returned to the restaurant, the girl was persuaded to sing nationalistic songs. In order to make her family seem important, the girl astonished us by saying that her mother had been the only [female] servant of King Ludwig II in the castle. "But then she is the daughter of a king!", our friends began to comment but it was evident that the girl was too young for that and that our conjecture was wrong. The Ottoman most interested in the girl was Salah Cimcoz Bey and in order to poke fun at him, they encouraged him to [make advances to] the girl. Especially Rıza Pasha, who knows German, repeatedly said to the girl: "If you wish to get to know Turkey, be it visually or factually, this person is your man!" The girl did not pay attention to these proposals and politely but firmly rejected them out of hand. Nevertheless, she kept us company up to the restaurant.

We sat down to supper at about five-thirty and had a perfect meal. In truth, there had not been the least lack of anything, either in the Bavarian Hotel or anywhere else. There was so much butter that we fainted at the thought of having more of it. So many eggs had gone into the cherry cake that we could not conceal our surprise and delight. Von Donle stated the real cause of the perfect way care had been taken [for our guests] when he said that if the Bavarian Government had not taken the right measures, this would not have happened. Because we had to catch the Munich train and the steamer was waiting for us, we had to eat somewhat hastily. The girl, who had accompanied us from the castle, saw us off at the quay. We shook hands and took our leave. People in the restaurant waved their handkerchiefs and showed their hospitality until the boat was already at a far away [...] When we approached the opposite shore, another sixteen guns went off. Again, people had gathered at Prien station and applauded, shouting "*Hoch!*" We departed from the quay at Prien with the 7.13 p.m. train for Munich.

The journey took a long time. Quite a number of the Ottomans, lying down or sitting upright, fell asleep and had a nap. Dr. Wirth, who had heard from me that Salah Cimcoz Bey was a Circassian, attacked him by bringing up the problem of nationalities. Dr. Wirth erroneously claimed that Enver Pasha, also a Circassian by descent, was an Albanian. Although Salah Bey made it clear that he was wrong, Dr. Wirth told him that he had heard from Enver Pasha himself that he had been born in Albania. "So what? Does that make him less of an Ottoman Turk?" Salah Bey retorted in an agitated way. Although he saw that Salah Bey and the other Ottomans present were very annoyed by his bullying, Dr. Wirth did not give up and passed on to the subject of Salah Bey's own people, the Circassians. When he came to speak of them, he spoke in a superficial manner about his travels and his adventures on the Turkestan front but all of a sudden returned again to the subject of the situation in the Caucasus. "Have you been there?" he asked Salah Bey. When the latter answered in the negative, Dr. Wirth said: "What a pity." His again turning to the subject of the Circassians very much annoyed Salah Bey. Von Donle and the officials of the Berlin Ministry of Foreign Affairs had to smile but were at the same time irritated by Dr. Wirth's rudeness.

Before we reached Munich station at about nine-thirty, another example of Dr. Wirth's inattentiveness was discussed. During the trip, there hadn't been any ashtrays around and Dr. Wirth used the brim of one of our top-hats lying on the table as an ashtray. When he dropped his cigarette ashes there, one of our company said: "What are you doing with that hat?" and although his attention was called to [what he was doing], Dr. Wirth answered: "At least it is not my hat." The Berlin officials who heard the story said, criticising Wirth's behaviour, "That sounds just like Wirth." It so happened that the hat thus mistreated was mine.

Back in Munich, Süssheim dined with Kemmerich and von Donle at Pschorr's restaurant. Commenting on the trip, he noted:

Because of the bad weather, some of the deputies had at first not wanted to go to Chiemsee but our King being a very enterprising man and having fixed our program by putting his signature below it, it had been out of the question to make changes. Hüseyin Cahid Bey and some others

had agreed to go with the rest of them and were very pleased. Because Cahid Bey had been wearing a hat, the others had not been received as well by the population. I suggested that they wear a fez next time...

The next day, May 30, the delegates visited the German Museum. A large crowd acclaimed them again with "*Hoch*". Afterwards, they went to the Löwenbräu Brewery,²⁵⁹ Süssheim had lunch with them and translated the speech by Director Miltner. In the afternoon, the party went to the New Botanical Gardens in the Nymphenburger-Strasse and visited the Nymphenburg²⁶⁰ itself. A simple tea was offered. A dinner followed in Hotel Bayerischer Hof. The delegates travelled there in four cars.

I took my seat in a car together with Dr. Padel. Dr. Padel, who had taught Turkish at the Berlin War Academy during last winter, had written a very simple Turkish Grammar and was busy having it printed by one of the most famous Leipzig booksellers, Harrassowitz. He told me he would present me with a copy. Criticising the fact that I considered it important to speak Turkish eloquently, he said: "You know Turkish too well."

At half past nine that evening, the delegation left Munich by train. Süssheim felt satisfied:

The official visit of the Turks was a welcome diversion from my normal activities, and instructive. I heard quite some news about Istanbul. It was also useful for spreading my fame in distinguished Munich society.

Especially his qualities as an interpreter had found recognition and admiration.

These three days have been very useful and fortunate. During the four years I have lived in Munich, I never mixed with such distinguished and respectable society. I ate, albeit only a few times, at the expense of both the German State and the Bavarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The food was excellent [...] The Turks were given the impression that there are no problems with shortages and high prices...

A year later, Tal'at Pasha visited Munich. Süssheim went to meet him at the station in the evening of April 29, 1917, again wearing his top-hat, against the explicit wish of Kemmerich, but it soon appeared that the Grand Vizier would not arrive before early the next morning. Süssheim again presented himself at the station on that day and saw, among others, Kemmerich and von Donle on the platform where the special train, coming from the direction of Ulm, was to arrive at eight-forty a.m. The pasha and his small delegation, consisting of his Secretary and Interpreter Fuad Pashazade Es'ad Fuad Bey, his aide-de-camp, Major Ömer Abdulkadir Bey, his Foreign Affairs Counsellor, Reşad Hikmet Bey, and Dr.

259 The text has *arсланlı bira fabrikası*.

260 The text has *periler hisarı*.

Akil Muhtar Bey together with General von Lossow,²⁶¹ member of the Military Mission at Istanbul, and Baron Ow, attaché at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin, were received by von Donle, who wore a magnificent uniform for the occasion, and Major von Kress²⁶² of the War Ministry, whose breast was loaded with decorations. Süssheim noted:

After they had left the train, General von Lossow ordered the Grand Vizier and his distinguished companions to proceed on their way by saying: "Come along now!" He apparently deemed it improper that they lingered. The Ottoman delegation was led into a reception room beside the first platform. There the King of Bavaria was waiting for them. At his side, were his aide-de-camp, Baron Perfall, and some others. The first Ottoman presented to the King was the Grand Vizier; he greeted [the King] profusely in the Turkish fashion. The King gave Tal'at Pasha a medal from a box held by Baron Perfall. Thereupon Tal'at Pasha presented his friends, one after the other, to the King and all of them received a decoration from the King. While the King was at his side, Tal'at Pasha approached me and said, smiling: "Süssheim." When I heard my friend pronounce my name, I felt a great joy in my heart.

When I was standing near the Ottomans, Mr. Kemmerich did me the honour of introducing me to the King. The King knew my name from the Oriental Society. Thereupon, the Master of Ceremonies, Baron Mogi [?], opened the door to the station and encouraged those who were present to leave. He also turned me out by shaking my hand. Inside, the King sat down next to the Grand Vizier and asked for information on the political and military situation.

The delegation was driven to Hotel Regina Palast by car, whereas the King, who looked younger "because he had partially shaved his beard", hurried back to the western front by train. In the hotel Süssheim heard from one of Tal'at Pasha's servants that his master

lived at present in a house in Yerebatan Street near the Aya Sofya [...] When his house burnt down five years ago, he moved to a slightly bigger house in the Aya Sofya Quarter [...] He lives there now with his mother and does not receive anyone at home. Most other ministers also live in Istanbul. Only Hayil Bey lives in Nişantaşı and Enver Pasha in Kuruçeşme...

At one p.m., Süssheim, together with the Ottomans who had returned from a visit to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, entered the dining-room.

I had not been invited to the banquet and did not know who the host was. Nor did I ask. I thought it was the Bavarian Government. But I was completely mistaken [...] I presented myself to Mr. Treutler whom I did not know. A little later the Prussian Ambassador [von Treutler], scowling, looked around and showed his surprise. He whispered something to Consul-General Kemmerich. Mr. Kemmerich immediately came toward me, took me by the arm and, in a friendly way, urged me to leave. He said it was a private banquet, offered by Mr. von Treutler. I immediately reacted

²⁶¹ Otto von Lossow (1868-1938), General; succeeded von Leipzig as Military Attaché at Istanbul (1915-1918); he later gained notoriety as Reichswehr Commander in Bavaria, particularly during the events leading to Hitler's Putsch of 1923, cf. Trupener, *Germany and the Ottoman Empire*, 88, and Chapter Four, below.

²⁶² Gustav Freiherr Kress von Kressenstein (1872-1956), head of the Arms Inspection (*Rüstungsinspektion*) at the ministry.

by saying that I had not been aware of that. He continued: "If we had known this, we could have taken different measures. This could have landed you in a lot of trouble." Thus, the problem was solved for him and we parted.

Süssheim had dinner for 5 M in the public dining-room. Afterwards, he met Hermann Roth,²⁶³ a journalist of the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, in the tea-room. He also had been denied admission to the banquet. Süssheim gave him an interview, pretending to be connected with the delegation. Meanwhile, he saw Tal'at Pasha leave the banquet-hall, talking to his friend Enver Hamdi Bey - Süssheim had met the latter a year before - who told the Grand Vizier, among other things, that he longed to see his native Salonica again. At a quarter past four, Süssheim took leave of the delegation at the station - the Ottomans had been shown around the Nymphenburg Park in the afternoon. With them were Kemmerich, Ow, von Donle, Kress and von Lossow. Süssheim found the attitude of the Germans despicable:

Time and again it becomes painfully clear how much the Germans make fun of Turkish politics and the Ottoman State. Travelling from Istanbul to Berlin and on their excursion through Germany, which ended in Munich, they had been escorted by German officials. At their departure from Munich, they were locked in a special railway carriage and kept from mixing [with other people]. The aide-de-camp, Ömer Abdulkadir, was the last to enter the carriage. When he saw General von Lossow, he said: "Please come in." The general made it clear by his behaviour that he did not want to comply. Ömer Abdulkadir, amazed, asked him if he would not join them. While the general's behaviour and movements made it even more clear that his answer was absolutely negative, the small train began to move. After it had gone, General Lossow and Major von Kress laughed long and loud at the thoughtlessness and uselessness of the Turks. Baron Kress, making a shoving and pushing movement with his hand, was apparently amused by the fact that the Turks had departed like prisoners under lock and key. Without doubt, this kind of irreverence and unreasonableness often occurs.

Süssheim had suggested to Baron Ow that the delegation leave by the express train of 1.00 p.m. But

Baron Ow sarcastically replied that it did not matter that the train proceeded slowly and would only arrive in Vienna the next morning. "Just the thing those sleepy-heads need." By this he meant to say that it did not matter at all that the Ottomans slept and did not pay any attention to the situation of the world. On the contrary, Germany thus could more easily handle her own affairs.

Süssheim recorded that Tal'at Pasha had gained weight and showed signs of incipient baldness and graying. He had behaved rather reservedly to Süssheim who had had the occasion to exchange a few words with him after lunch, but he had not been unfriendly and had addressed him as "my friend". Süssheim blamed the pasha's reticence in the afternoon on his own *faux pas* at the banquet. The snatches of conversation between Kemmerich and the Grand Vizier that Süssheim

263 Hermann Roth (b. 1865), writer and journalist.

overheard were about the former's improving his Turkish. When asked whether he had lessons from Süssheim, he replied, untruthfully, in the affirmative.

Süssheim thought that the Ottomans were satisfied with the visit. A Libyan was sure that the chance that Tripoli would be recovered from the Italians had increased. The next day, Süssheim sent a copy of his interview with Roth to the Grand Vizier.

On July 11 and 12 of the same year, Minister of Education Şükri Bey visited Munich University and the Royal Library. Süssheim was introduced to him.

A week later, the city, after Berlin and Leipzig, was visited by a delegation of Ottoman journalists, members of the Turkish Press Association (*Türkçe matbuatı müntesibini cemiyeti*) founded at the beginning of the month, as rumour had it, by Dr. Feldmann of the *Berliner Tageblatt*. They had been selected and invited by the German Press. They included Mahmud Sadık²⁶⁴ (President of the Association), Abdullah Zühdi Bey (correspondent of the *Sabah*), Ahmed Emin²⁶⁵ and Yunus Nadi Bey²⁶⁶ (Editor-in-Chief of the *Tasvir-i efkâr*). Ahmed Ağaoglu²⁶⁷ (of the *Tercüman-i hakikat*) and Muhyiddin Bey (of the *Tanin*), exhausted by the ceremonies, had stayed in Berlin.

Süssheim was not invited to assist in receiving the delegation, perhaps because he had declined to become a member of the German-Turkish Association, but he attended the banquet at the *Künstlerhaus* in the evening of July 18, offered by the Munich journalists and organized by Hermann Roth.

Speeches were given by von Donle, Kemmerich (who spoke in the name of the two governments and proposed a toast to the health of Sultan and Kaiser), Freund²⁶⁸ (who recited a poem by Aşık Pasha in the translation by Hammer²⁶⁹ - it was translated back into Turkish by Ahmed Emin), the Director of the *Münchener Zeitung*, Hans Buchner (who spoke in the name of the

264 Mahmud Sadık (1864-1930), journalist and writer; Editor-in-Chief of the *Servet-i fûnun* from 1908; Professor of Economics at the Istanbul *Mülkiye*.

265 Ahmed Emin (Yalman), journalist; owner of the *Vakit* ("The Time"), later of the *Vatan* ("The Fatherland"); active propagandist for the Central cause; he had good connections with the German Embassy in Istanbul and was head of the United Turkish Press, cf. Ögüz, *Alman gerçeği*, 255.

266 Yunus Nadi (Abahoğlu) (1880-1945), journalist and parliamentarian; wrote for the *İkdam*, the *Tasvir-i efkâr* and other papers; founded the *Cumhuriyet* (1924).

267 Ahmed Ağaoglu (1869-1936), journalist, politician and professor; of Azerbaijani origins, he came to Istanbul in 1909 and worked for, among others, the *Türk Yurdu*; Deputy for Karahisar (1912); intelligence officer for Azerbaijan (1918); exiled to Malta in 1919.

268 Kajetan Freund, President of the Bavarian branch of the German Press Association.

269 Aşık Pasha (d. 1332) was the author of the *Garibname* ("Book of the Stranger"); fragments from this poem were translated by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall in his *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst* II, Pest 1836, 54-62.

publishers - his speech was summarized in Turkish by Süssheim), and Mahmud Sadık Bey (who thanked his hosts for their hospitality and expressed the hope that the German and Ottoman cultures would become united after the war, something by which especially Ottoman women were to profit - the speech was translated into German by Ahmed Emin). Finally, there was music and belly-dancing.

Süssheim had the opportunity of talking to Abdullah Zühdi Bey who recognized him from the offices of the *İkdam* in Istanbul and told him that Ahmed Cevdet now lived most of the time in Lausanne with his German wife, who did not want to live in Istanbul, and his two (unveiled) daughters. Süssheim also had a word with Yunus Nadi who promised to send copies of the *Tasvir-i efkâr* - they immediately became friends. Süssheim recorded that the food had been simple and sparse and had been accompanied by light beer and German champagne (*Sekt*).

The next day, he saw that he was mentioned in the papers, although the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* had his name wrong.²⁷⁰ Next evening, he took leave of the journalists at the station where he dined with Kemmerich in the buffet. He noted:

I obtained some news about the Embassy dragomans from the journalists' host Dr. Feldmann. Dr. Weber was now in Izmir. Dr. Schönberg had taken his place. Dr. Schmidt was also there. The First Dragoman of the Consulate, Dr. Nort [?], also worked at the Embassy. He was very good in Islamic Law. According to Yunus Nadi Bey, *Studienrat* Dr. Schmidt was useless in Turkey, even positively harmful. He was paid a salary of 40,000 M. Because the professors at the *Darü l-fünun* in Istanbul did not want to profit from the government or the population, they - this surely was right - were not requested to offer their services either. In short, it was the same story as in the time of Abdülhamid.

Süssheim felt pleased that the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* had mentioned his name; he thought that his reputation was now definitely established in the Bavarian capital.

In January 1918, as mentioned above, the Ottoman Palace Orchestra came to Munich in the course of their five week tour through Germany. The tour cost, according to Süssheim, 35,000 lira. On January 4, he was invited by Kemmerich to join the reception committee and went to their concert in the Odeon on the 13th - the ticket cost fifty marks. The orchestra, consisting of fifty-eight musicians, was conducted by Zeki Bey. Süssheim learned more details about their tour from a letter by Ruhi Neşet Bey, a student of Zeki Bey, which passed through the *Postüberwachung*.

On the day of their arrival, the members of the orchestra were conveyed by car from the station to the so-called Bayrischer Hof Hotel. They did not like the way in which the opera *Der fliegende*

²⁷⁰ 'Türkische Gäste in München', in MNN of July 18, 1917, morning edition - in this article Süssheim's name is spelled correctly; it mentioned that the speech by Buchner was translated into Turkish by '*Privatdozent* Dr. Süssheim'.

*Holländer*²⁷¹ had been performed in the Opera House that night. Between the acts, the audience hadn't left Zeki Bey alone. Zeki Bey had been wearing a gold-embroidered uniform with all his decorations attached to it. He had literally sparkled at the moment he passed under the electric lights. On the morning of the next day, a Sunday, he rehearsed with the orchestra, consisting of sixty-one persons, in the Odeon. After that, the orchestra members dispersed in the city and bought everything they wanted without ration cards. In the evening, when the royal family visited them in the artists' room, Zeki Bey repeatedly asked Neşet Bey what was said to him. According to Zeki Bey, they had never performed more successfully. The next day, a Monday, at four p.m., Zeki Bey played the violin in Neşet Bey's house at the latter's invitation. In the evening, they gave a most successful concert in the hall of the *Künstlerhaus*, regardless of the fact that the audience tactlessly ate and drank throughout the performance.

During the same month, Süssheim wrote an article about Turkish music for the *München-Augsburger Abendzeitung* - it appeared on January 11.

Delegations and chance encounters in Munich

Süssheim did not only meet Ottomans who came to Munich on official visits. On March 12, 1915, he made the acquaintance of Hüseyin Mehmed Vaktaki, a physician from Crete, who had been living in Munich for three years and was looking for an opportunity to earn money by teaching Turkish - in this he succeeded by the end of the war.²⁷² Süssheim met him again at the banquet offered to the Ottoman delegation, on May 28, 1916.

On June 11, 1915, he was again visited by Aşar Efendi (Ibrahim ibn Ashar), the Syrian Ottoman who did not speak any Oriental language and had been active as a political agent.

Today I obtained more information, namely that he was connected with a non-political secret society that intended to work for the development of Syria. A branch of it had been established in Iskenderun. The society was not purely Christian but also included Muslims, especially imams and village chiefs. Because its aims were similar to those of the Zionist Party, it regarded the Zionists with sympathy, but they did not know any well-known Ottoman personalities. He is related to Danilof, a railway official in Sofia, and has a Kurd among his relations in Istanbul. Because it has been impossible for the past ten months to get money from Istanbul or to freely exchange letters, he intends to return to Istanbul in about a week and come back to Germany after the war [...] He has abandoned hope that Turkey will win the war.

In Wiesbaden, where his mother was taking the waters, Süssheim met Lieutenant Şemsüddin Tahir Bey who had served in the Caucasus campaign.²⁷³ He discussed the military situation in the East with him. On April 20, 1916, he spoke to two Ottoman air-force officers who were trained in Germany and perhaps known to him through their letters.

²⁷¹ The text has *uçucu Felemenk*.

²⁷² Entry for November 22, 1918.

²⁷³ Entry for December 28, 1916.

On May 13 of the same year, Süssheim met the aforementioned Enver Hamdi Bey. He was a relation of the Ottoman Ambassador in Berlin, İbrahim Hakkı Bey, and originally from Salonica. He had been on the run since 1912. He had been in Russia, Egypt and Palestine, where he taught Turkish at the Jewish Lycée of Jaffa. He was arrested in Jerusalem during Cemal Pasha's campaign and was deported out of the country. He gave Süssheim some particulars about the situation in Palestine:

In about November 1914, a Syrian civil servant from Beirut had come to Jaffa on an official mission to study the Zionist question. This person was opposed to the presence of more than forty-thousand Jews on Palestinian soil and was an enemy of the Zionists. Nevertheless, Enver Hamdi had an enormous sympathy for them because of their lofty ideals and the fact that they had brought to life their dead language. The price of an Ottoman identity card had formerly been eighty kuruş but had recently risen to hundred kuruş. Groups of Jews in Palestine, who were ready to adopt the Ottoman nationality, were now already being asked sixty francs per person. The majority of those who were not able to pay [this sum] live in Jaffa and chased five thousand Ottomans from their property. A lot of unfounded calumnies are told about the Jews. Following a conflict between members of the religious community, stamps of a few kuruş were sold to them after the [positive] judgment by their Rabbi but this was said to interfere with the sovereign rights of the Ottoman State. But Enver Hamdi ascribed one important fault to the Zionists: their avoiding of any intercourse with the Arabs and the fact that they keep their children from playing with Arab children. He had been living for 40 years in the country but had never met a Jewish immigrant who spoke Arabic accurately. This could be explained by the bad treatment of idealists with lofty ideals by uneducated men [...] Another reason for the aversion of the population [for them] were the efforts of the Jews aimed at the monopolisation of all commercial and economic [enterprises]. But although it was feared that they would take all the land in Palestine, this was, according to Enver Hamdi Bey, not correct. The sum total of the available land consisted of thirty million *dönüms*, whereas they only possessed five hundred thousand *dönüms*, that is one-sixtieth.

Enver Hamdi Bey, although he did not know German, wanted to give private lessons at Munich University. But this would also be impossible because he did not have the required official documents. But the next year he appeared to have succeeded in finding some private pupils.²⁷⁴ He asked Süssheim to approach Kemmerich for a regular job for him. His earlier contact with the Greek Consul-General on this matter had led to a row. But the same happened in the case of Kemmerich; Enver Hamdi even considered publishing a public denunciation of the Ottoman Consul.²⁷⁵

The war and the German-Ottoman friendship was accompanied by a growing number of Ottoman students at German universities. "In the past only very rarely one or another Muslim student visited a Bavarian university," Süssheim told the Oriental Society, "but the war brought a greater number of young Turkish scholars to Munich." They used to gather around a special table (*Stammtisch*), marked by a Turkish flag, at the Restaurant Lohengrin in the Türkenstrasse from

²⁷⁴ Entry for April 12, 1917.

²⁷⁵ Entry for May 24, 1917.

the end of 1916 onwards. This group founded their own society, the *Verein türkischer Studierender*, in December 1918. Süssheim occasionally came into contact with one of these students.²⁷⁶

During the last two years of the war, Süssheim made some efforts to help a certain Bedri Tahir, who had been expelled from his school in Munich²⁷⁷ and tried to find someone who could help him pass his exams.²⁷⁸ On July 6, 1918, he told Süssheim he intended to go to Prussia where rules were less strict than in Bavaria. Süssheim wrote the necessary letters for him and paid his school fee.²⁷⁹

On May 25, 1917, he was visited by a certain Muzhir Pashazade İlhami Bey upon the recommendation of Consul Ömer Lutfi in Berlin. He was an Ottoman student who worked at a farm attached to the 13th-century Castle Hohenkammern near Petershausen. It appeared that Ahmed Rifat, a son of Grand Vizier Halil Rifat Pasha,²⁸⁰ had stayed on the farm during the years 1904-1908 and had brought important political documents with him. He had tried to mediate between Abdülhamid and the Young Turks during the April events of 1909. Süssheim's interest was aroused and he visited the farm on June 10. He ate ten eggs but was not able to see the interesting papers. He met İlhami Bey's friend, Hasan Efendi, whose fingers had been frozen during the Caucasus campaign. He performed the five daily prayers, tears pouring from his eyes.

Taking the train from Munich to Garmisch on August 5, 1918,

the famous Liberal Taqizade²⁸¹ was... in the same railway car [as I was]. He had been accompanied by his mistress all the way from Berlin. We had been friends in Istanbul at Yusuf Akçura's. In 1912-1913, we had exchanged some letters about Sayyid Hasan's will, but had not been in touch since that time, that is, for the past five-and-a-half years. I was reading the Persian periodical, *Kave*,²⁸² which I had received in the morning mail. The *Kave*'s Editor-in-Chief is Mirza Sayyid Taqizade. He was standing at my side and sat down opposite me with his beloved.

276 Cf. 'Die Beziehungen zwischen Bayern und der Türkei im Wandel der Jahrhunderte. Vortrag, gehalten am 31. Januar 1919 in der Münchener Orientalischen Gesellschaft von Professor Dr. Karl Süssheim,' in *Altbayerische Monatsschrift* XV/2 (1919/20), 1-10, 6.

277 Entries for April 22 and 23, 1917.

278 Entries for April 16 and July 3, 1918.

279 Entries for August 4 and 27, 1918.

280 Halil Rifat Pasha (1830-1903), Grand Vizier (1895-1901).

281 Sayyid Hasan Taqizade, Deputy for Tabriz in the first and second Persian Parliaments, but forced to leave the country soon afterwards; worked for the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs from January 15 under a false name in order to recruit Persians living in Europe for the Central cause in Persia and formed a committee for the purpose, cf. Gehrke, *Persien*, 69, 88 and 236.

282 Persian periodical published in Berlin (1916-1919), cf. Gehrke, *Persien*, 351 - *Kave* is the name of a mythical blacksmith who figures in Firdawsi's *Shahname*.

The woman, familiar with Mirza Sayyid Taqizade's affairs, saw that I was reading the *Kave*, and looked alternately at me and at her gentleman. This went on for some time. After we had been travelling for an hour, Mirza Sayyid Taqizade came towards me and asked in German: "You are Süssheim, aren't you?" Thereupon, we talked with each other for another hour. Since we had been acquainted in Istanbul, he had not been in Iran and has been living for three years in Berlin. I thought that Christian Beck²⁸³ had gone to Iran but now I heard from him that this was not at all true. Christian Beck is apparently translating articles from the *Kave* into German for the German Government, but he speaks only a little Persian. His calligraphy, however, is excellent and the periodical's name on the front page is in Christian Beck's hand. Quite a few Iranians are living in Berlin. Only 40 of them are politicians. The Iranian Ambassador in Berlin, Mirza Mahmud Khan, who arrived in Berlin at the end of April, is still in Berlin. He is possibly negotiating the Ottoman-Iranian border dispute...

On October 31, 1918, Süssheim went to pay his respects to the new Consul-General in Munich, İsmail Hakkı Bey, apparently a bon-vivant of about forty. He was a grandson of Grand Vizier Edhem Pasha and formerly Consul-General at Marseilles. "He received me at once," Süssheim noted,

but when I left, he only accompanied me to the parlour door and saw me off without uttering a word.

8. Marriage Plans

Süssheim continued to look for a suitable wife, much along the lines he followed before the war, after his appointment at the university. His family and acquaintances stayed on the alert. He still believed that his mother could be useful in the matter,²⁸⁴ although he at the same time resented her doing too much or acting peremptorily without consulting her son during every stage, beginning with the gathering of information, or her involving Paula without his knowledge. Distressed by her uselessness, he wrote on April 24, 1916 - his mother was staying in Munich -:

The fact that Mother has no connections with any family in Munich - she hasn't any in Nuremberg either - makes me more angry every day and has finally produced a complete depression so that I was only able to sleep until one o'clock last night. I spent the rest of the night in my bed sighing and moaning; during the day I was completely listless. When Mother confidentially asked for the reason of my sadness, I answered that she, just as she did in Nuremberg, ruins my social position in Munich by coming to Munich as often as she does. Mother's face distorted in an ugly way.

Süssheim kept making use, though more rarely, of marriage brokers such as

283 Reference (probably) to Sebastian Beck (1878-1951), Iranist; worked for the Intelligence Agency for the Orient (*Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient*) in Berlin (1915-1921) and was censor for Persian and Turkish letters, cf. W. Björkman, 'Sebastian Beck', in ZDMG 105 (1951), 1-5, 1.

284 Entry for October 17, 1915.

Rothschild of Frankfurt,²⁸⁵ Aaron Levi²⁸⁶ - he broke with the latter when he demanded two instead of one per cent of the forthcoming dowry - Mrs. Hirsch,²⁸⁷ Mrs. Schwarzband (engaged by his mother),²⁸⁸ Rothenberg of Berlin,²⁸⁹ and Mrs. Waitzner.²⁹⁰ Sometimes he again made use of the services of private detectives.²⁹¹

Süssheim continued to meet girls directly during the short holidays for which he needed permission from Major Schneider. He liked to spend them in mountainous areas, making long walking tours and drinking large quantities of fresh milk. (Once, he tried to sleep outdoors but had to give up at half past eleven at night because of chilly and moist weather.²⁹²) Dancing parties, doubtless because of the war, are now rarely mentioned.

Süssheim regularly went to the *Insel* Club and there were teas, dinner parties and soirées, albeit much less frequently than in the period immediately before the war, to which he was invited by friends and relations, most frequently so by *Kommerzienrat*²⁹³ Dr. Siegfried and his wife Therese Drey,²⁹⁴ parents of Alice Drey. Thoughts about finding Süssheim a suitable partner apparently were never far away from anyone's mind. On November 14, 1915, we read:

At their invitation, I went to a tea party at the Dreys' at four-thirty p.m. I spoke for the first time with *Kommerzienrat* Mr. Siegfried Drey. In the same way, I made the acquaintance of his youngest son Franz, who, some months ago, had been promoted to the rank of sergeant-major,²⁹⁵ and was on leave in Munich. The other guests were: Dr. Frauenfelder of Nuremberg, a registered lawyer, also on leave in Munich, the young Mr. Josephsohn, a relation of the Dreys, Mrs. Drey's brother, Mr. Cohen, and the two daughters of the famous Parisian

285 Entries for January 17, 1915; December 14, 1917.

286 Entries for February 17 and 20, 1915.

287 Entry for April 16, 1915.

288 Entries for October 18 and 20, 1915.

289 Entry for November 21, 1915.

290 Entry for February 24, 1916.

291 Entry for October 24, 1917.

292 Entries for August 6 and 7, 1917.

293 The text has *ticaret müşaviri*.

294 The art dealer Siegfried Drey owned a big art gallery at the Maximiliansplatz; until 1933 he was President of the Munich Chamber of Industry and Commerce, cf. Thomas Wimmer, 'Gedanken über jüdische Kultur in München', in Lamm, *Vergangene Tage*, 498-500, 499.

295 The text has *baş çavuş vekili*.

antiques dealer, Mr. Heilbronner, the eldest of whom might be approximately thirty to thirty-two years old, and the youngest, called Yvotte, twenty-six to twenty-eight years old. At the head of the table sat, opposite each other, Mrs. Drey and her divorced daughter Luise. I was at the right side of their uncle Theodor. At my right side was the elder Miss Heilbronner. In October 1914, the Heilbronner sisters had come from Paris to Germany via Biarritz. When they departed from Paris, they left their costly belongings behind, stored in their cellars or entrusted to others. Although they had, for a while, been kept informed about these, the two sisters were no longer able to correspond with their French servants who were serving in the French Army. The family had not had news from Paris for the past three months. According to what Mrs. Drey told me, the Heilbronners had a fortune of ten million. She particularly wished to match me with Miss Yvotte. At Mrs. Drey's request, I promised to show the girls around the university. After tea, Miss Alice performed a song on the subject of 'sitting on eggs', that is, of marrying soon. There was also a Christian, Miss Bauer, who has lived in Munich since the famous hotel on the border between the Tyrol and Italy, owned by her mother, was raised to the ground during the fighting. I accompanied the Heilbronner sisters to their Hotel Bayerischer Hof.

Alice married the dentist Dr. Schindler on March 25, 1917. Her mother made some efforts to arrange an engagement between Süssheim and Luise²⁹⁶ but the project apparently fell through although Süssheim asked information about the family from Mrs. Werner.²⁹⁷ Süssheim did show the Heilbronner sisters around the university²⁹⁸ but they are not further mentioned in the Diary.

Less frequently, Süssheim was invited by his pre-war friends and acquaintances like Consul Wilmersdorffer,²⁹⁹ Mrs. Augusta Bauer,³⁰⁰ Gretl Sabbath,³⁰¹ Lilly Stahl,³⁰² Theodor Erlanger³⁰³ and Mrs. Claar.³⁰⁴ In March, 1916, in the Nymphenburg Park, he renewed the acquaintance with the singer Berta Manz whom he met several times; he had tea with her and some friends of hers in the garden of Hotel Regina Palast in the early summer of the next year.³⁰⁵

On October 31, 1917, he was invited to eat supper with the newly-married

296 Entry for June 12, 1918.

297 Entry for June 15, 1918.

298 Entry for November 18, 1915.

299 Entries for March 9, 1916; April 25, 1918.

300 Entries for February 4, 1915; May 4, 1916.

301 Entry for March 29, 1915.

302 Entry for September 23, 1915.

303 Entries for September 18, 1915; January 19, 1918.

304 Entry for March 6, 1917.

305 Entry for June 7, 1917.

Schindlers. When he left at eleven p.m., he noticed that he had forgotten his keys and found himself forced to spend the night in a hotel - he was not able to sleep for more than three-and-a-half hours.

Süssheim regularly saw the Werners - we already referred to some topics discussed on their Friday evenings. He noted that the Rabbi received the title of professor on January 7, 1917. Professor Werner died unexpectedly on June 22, 1918.³⁰⁶ The next day, Süssheim was requested by Major Schneider to lay a wreath in the name of the *Postüberwachung* on Werner's tomb, but he excused himself, explaining "that I was not able to go and had to teach at the university." In the afternoon, he went to present his condolences to the widow. Warned by Dr. Baerwald,³⁰⁷ Professor Werner's assistant who was soon to succeed the deceased Rabbi, he only stayed for a few minutes. "I found Mrs. Werner very strong and resigned. I brought her some food." On June 25, the Rabbi was commemorated in the Synagogue in the Herzog-Max-Strasse where a large crowd had gathered. Süssheim recorded that Werner had generally been esteemed as a "mouthpiece and spokesman for German Jewry", and the Rabbi of Augsburg, who was the first speaker, added that what the deceased had desired most and eventually succeeded in realizing, was "the peaceful and happy concord" inside the Munich *Kultusgemeinde*. Dr. Freudenthal of Nuremberg praised Werner's virtues but forgot to mention, according to Süssheim, his

gentle manners and words that gave a special grace to his nature [...] Professor Werner had always defended his opinion that every man is endowed with a basic goodness and he believed that mankind is always developing and making progress [...] He defended those who do not share in the prosperity of their fellow countrymen and forbade any scolding of the poor.

Munich and, indeed, the German Jews in general, were bereft of one of their most eminent personalities.

At the outbreak of the war, Süssheim was still in love with Miss Susi Stern whom he had first met at the *Concordia* ball of November, 1913, but prospects remained dim. On August 30, 1914, her birthday, he tried to speak with her by telephone:

When I heard from her mother that she was ill, I sent a flower basket, worth seven marks, to her as a present. Nevertheless, when I again inquired after her well-being by telephone in the late afternoon, Mrs. Stern, in view of the bad times, repeatedly insisted that I stop sending such expensive flowers. I understood that there was no more hope for me of having Miss Stern. I also

³⁰⁶ Major Schneider informed the military authorities of his death on the same day, cf. BHSa, S.G., I. A.K., 1621/7693. On July 17, 1918, the Assistant Rabbi (*Rabbinatssubstitut*), Dr. Israel Finkelscherer took Werner's place at the *Postüberwachungsstelle*, Schneider to Commander, ibidem, 1621/8543.

³⁰⁷ Leo Baerwald (1883-1970), pupil of the *Wilhelmsgymnasium* at Munich (1898-1902), he studied in Breslau and Erlangen; *Rabbinatssubstitut* in Munich (1911-1914); *Feldrabbiner* with the Sixth Bavarian Army at the western front (1914-1917); Rabbi in Munich (1918-1940) and New York (1940-1955), see Lamm, *Vergangene Tage*, 503.

promised Mrs. Stern to do as she wished.

After the rebuff I had experienced from Miss Wilmersdorffer and although today's rejection was not the second negative reaction I had received in Munich, it meant the end of my second affair and cancelled my hope of marrying.

Miss Stern has been the third passion of my life. The first was Miss Goethe [?], the present Mrs. Zahn [?]. The second was Mrs. Alice Ley of Fürth.³⁰⁸ Fifteen years later, I again fell in love. I think that this rejection did not stem from Mrs. Stern but from Miss Stern herself.

On the evening of the next day, September 1, Süssheim received a letter from Susi

in which she thanked me for the flowers but made it clear that I should refrain from giving her such presents. I became very sad. After thinking of Miss Stern day and night for nine months, this letter, which was the last possibility of preventing a rupture in our relation, was hard on me and deprived me of three hours' sleep during the following night.

Although Süssheim recorded one month and a half later, when he came across Susi's mother at the entrance of Tietz Department Store, that she "had already disappeared or had begun disappearing from my heart",³⁰⁹ the news of her engagement to Felix Wassermann a year later came as a shock.³¹⁰ He confessed in his Diary that he had not really been able to repress her memory during the past year although their relation had been completely broken off. That night, Süssheim was not able to sleep for more than two hours and it was then that he seriously considered leaving for Turkey. Finally, at the end of the war, he heard that she had married.³¹¹

Süssheim's continued attempts during the war to find a suitable wife all ended in disappointment. Miss Wilmersdorffer became engaged to Mr. Goldschmidt on September 27, 1915. On July 21, 1917, Karl awkwardly bumped against her on the steps of the Royal Library and forgot to greet her in his confusion. Plans involving three eligible young ladies had to be cancelled: Helen Kohn,³¹² Miss Frank, entitled to a dowry of 150,000 M (Süssheim met her in Wiesbaden on December 24 and 25, 1915), and Erna May of Mannheim whom he met during the same period in Wiesbaden:³¹³ it all came to nothing. Miss Centa Bach was

308 Possibly the sister of Süssheim's old schoolfriend, Daniel Ley (entry for August 5, 1914).

309 Entry for October 12, 1914.

310 Entry for September 4, 1915.

311 Entry for March 20, 1918.

312 Entry for December 25, 1914.

313 Entry for December 29, 1915. He was to marry Sidonie Frank (see the final part of Chapter Four), presumably no relation.

not yet marriageable.³¹⁴ His mother kept urging him to marry Miss Mohr, whom he had turned down before the war, but he flatly refused any steps that could lead to an engagement.³¹⁵ Uncle Heinrich let him know that Mr. Nauburger was willing to reconsider his former refusal to have him as his son-in-law,³¹⁶ but nothing actually happened. The next year, Süssheim became interested in a certain Marie Abelmann.³¹⁷ On April 2, he treated her mother to hot chocolate and (bad) pastry. She asked him if he would like to marry. He cautiously answered that he was not against it, but "she did not insist" and although he saw her again on June 2, no marriage was arranged.

Dr. Ludwig Weil, a distant relative of Süssheim's, suggested the banker's daughter Miss Gunzenhäuser of Frankfurt on March 6, 1917, but her father found Süssheim too old.³¹⁸ Mrs. Weil suggested the daughter of Professor Becker whom Süssheim knew from before the war.³¹⁹

Sometimes he had short affairs without the intention of marrying. During a short stay on the Tegernsee in August 1917,³²⁰ he rowed and exchanged kisses with the pretty Emma, a maid of the Weils'.³²¹

He had a more serious, in fact, quite tormenting love affair with Suse Goeritz of Berlin, with whom he got on close terms during August 1916. He corresponded with her and saw her when she and her parents were staying in Munich from September 23 to 25, 1917. On October 3, he accompanied her to the German Museum,

but she was not interested in machines³²² and did not enjoy herself. When we left, she sent an illustrated postcard to a lover of hers called Arthur. Although she wants to marry him, the Goeritzes do not approve and she made me promise not to disclose to her parents that she had sent Arthur a postcard. I did not like this behaviour. When we returned to her hotel, I could not stay for lunch because I had to teach at two o'clock. We separated at one o'clock. Miss would send me word before she would leave for Berlin!! In this way we took leave of each other.

314 Entry for September 18, 1917.

315 Entry for February 11, 1916.

316 Entries for February 13 and 25, 1916.

317 Entries for February 11 and 18, 1917.

318 Entry for April 1, 1917.

319 Entry for July 13, 1917.

320 Süssheim obtained leave for the period from August 1 to 22 from Major Schneider, Schneider to Commander, July 28, 1917, BHSA, S.G., I. A.K., 1621/6036.

321 Entry for August 16, 1917.

322 The text has *sanayi*.

Suse Goeritz was a friend of Centa Bach, both of whom Süsheim saw again in Garmisch on December 29. He visited the Goeritzes in their hotel between a quarter past eight and ten o'clock in the evening and was treated to coffee and light *schnaps*. Back in his Station Hotel, he slept badly and suffered from headaches, worsened by his alcohol consumption, but he recorded that he had, to his satisfaction, discovered that Suse had been born in 1893.

The next day, December 30, Miss Goeritz rested her body against Süsheim's during a sleigh ride and he recorded that they had not been so intimate since August 1916. He noticed that she again sent a postcard to Arthur in Berlin but somehow he did not abandon all hope. He soon realized, however, that she completely ignored him and he finally decided to break with her and her friend Centa. She then became engaged to Centa's brother Erich. Süsheim gave her a present on the occasion and had sent her, as he did to Tal'at Pasha at Brest Litovsk (where he participated in negotiations resulting in the Russo-German Treaty), his article on Turkish music³²³ as well as a picture postcard. She did not react. For fourteen days he slept badly. He had been taken in by Suse's exciting but deceptive flirting; he concluded in his Diary that he was and probably would always be spellbound and made unhappy by beautiful girls. He was also further ignored by Centa, to whose wedding party he was not invited.³²⁴

Another serious marriage candidate was Nelly Pauson of Munich, a relation of Max and Hedwig's. Max was offended when his brother objected to her meagre dowry of a supposed eighty thousand marks - it was in reality twice as high³²⁵ - and scolded him, sternly pointing out the fact that he had no income of his own worth mentioning, was already quite old and had no personality at all! Süsheim saw Miss Pauson on October 18:

After my [Turkish] class, which lasted until seven o'clock, I had dinner with Max, Hedwig and [Hedwig's mother,] Mrs. Strauss [...] When I was alone with Hedwig, she encouraged me to think that Mr. Pauson possessed a fortune of one million Marks. Afterwards, we went to the firm of Pauson.³²⁶ After we had called and knocked on the door, Miss Nelly Pauson, as had previously been arranged, came down from the third floor, where they live, to meet us. I went to the nearby Kreuz [?] Tavern which is particularly frequented by better society [...] Although Max, Hedwig, Miss Pauson and Mrs. Strauss, who joined us after theatre, drank light wine, I was content with mineral water. Miss Pauson is a well-proportioned girl, prettier than I had expected, and of my, average, height. She is about twenty-two to twenty-three years old. She is interested in politics. She knows nothing of the 'female question' and she is an opponent of the Feminist Movement. When my brother defended the participation of women in elections, Miss

323 Entry for January 12, 1918.

324 Entry for February 21, 1918.

325 Entry for September 7, 1917.

326 Mr. Pauson had a shop which sold kitchen utensils in the Kaufingerstrasse, cf. Cahnmann, 'Die Juden in München', 51.

Pauson protested. Conversation mostly dealt with this topic. At school, she is the best pupil of her class. What she most desired in the past was to marry a tall man. At present, she often works in her father's business. She is fond of antiques and also loves painting. She is whimsical and coquettish in a way I like. We left after eleven o'clock. I came home towards midnight.

Süssheim heard on March 27, 1918, that because of his hesitation she had been engaged, against her parents' wish, but soon it appeared that this rumour was unfounded. Süssheim again saw her on a number of occasions, as when he took a walk and had tea and cakes with her in the *Englischer Garten* on September 17, but he had the impression that she tried to avoid him.³²⁷

Another candidate was Susanne Weil, with a supposed dowry of 250,000 M, the daughter of a cattle merchant of Strasbourg. Süssheim had met the father in St. Moritz four years previously³²⁸ and he unexpectedly wrote to him on October 8, 1917. After Süssheim had received a positive report from his detective - he had also ordered one on the Pausons - he hurriedly wrote back on the 24th. Protracted negotiations with *Weil-père* followed on November 27 and 28 but a letter of December 10 informed him that Susanne did not want to become his spouse.

9. Relatives and Domestic Life

As in former years, Karl continued to visit his family relations in Nuremberg and Fürth, often because there were troubles and his mother desired her son's presence. He also made some small trips with her or accompanied her to his father's grave, as on September 2, 1915, when she fell on the tombstone and hurt herself seriously. Süssheim generally returned with the usual gift of 100 M or more. On April 5, 1915, he went with his mother to Bamberg.

Although Paula had invited Mother and me to dinner today, we did not accept because Paula kept harping on the problem of my celibacy [...] This shocked Eugen and Paula. I went with Mother to Bamberg. We left at eight-ten a.m. At our arrival in Bamberg, we went to the Jewish cemetery and visited the tombs of Mother's ancestors and relations. When we arrived from there at the synagogue, we watched people coming out after worship. From there we went to Bamberg Cathedral, entered and had a look inside. From there, then, we went to Restaurant Messerschmidt and had dinner. Afterwards, we walked through the so-called Hain Gardens and after having crossed the River Regnitz, we drank coffee with milk in a river-side café in Buch. This pleasure spot stirred many memories in Mother because fifty years ago she had gone there with her grandmother, Louise Adlerstein. When she had once travelled from Fürth to Bamberg, the rich and pleasure-loving had gathered in the restaurants and cafés of the Hain. My mother had convinced her grandmother that she had not come with the intention of meeting young men. She had even gone so far as to be completely silent, even during her grandmother's absence. In this way she had gained all her grandmother's love and confidence. Whereas my mother had been cheerful and likable, and found it easy to begin a conversation with young men, her sister Lina

327 Entry for August 27, 1918.

328 Entry for August 12, 1913.

Morgenstern had been reticent and boring, and had had less luck with young men...

Later in the afternoon, mother and son paid a visit to the Kellermanns, old friends of Max.

Mother talked about her new house and the necessity of my marrying [...] The number of wounded was so low in Bamberg that the only hospital in the city had not erected a special ward. Untrained reservists of the Bamberg artillery up to the age of 39 had been called to arms - in Munich and Nuremberg the ages were 36 and 32 [...] We left Bamberg by normal train at 6.57 p.m. and arrived in Nuremberg at 9.35. Because there were many soldiers in the train on leave from the east, it was extraordinarily long and full. Therefore, we, civilians, together with the soldiers, travelled in a first-class carriage...

On December 24, Süssheim went to visit his mother in her newly acquired house on Marientorgraben in Nuremberg. He was quite impressed, particularly by the two rooms turned into a gallery and hung with paintings including, most prominently, Murillo, Defregger and Lenbach. Süssheim learned that relations with Hedwig had not improved. On the contrary; a terrible scene had taken place at the beginning of the same month between her and his mother. A row had developed during the removal to Marientorgraben when Mother accused Hedwig of undue interference with her affairs after she and her husband had acted as intermediaries in a conflict about the storage of old furniture with the owner of her previous house. Things became more complicated still when Eugen arranged the letting of the second floor without Max and Hedwig's knowledge while they were away on a holiday in the Alps during the turn of the year. When Paula called Hedwig to tell her this, Hedwig became furious, and broke off the conversation by putting down the receiver with a bang.

During the summer holiday, spent with Mother in Oberstdorf in August 1915, they were joined by Paula and her daughter Erna.³²⁹ Max arrived on the thirteenth, apparently with the purpose of arranging a reconciliation with his sister and brother-in-law. He was soon on friendly terms with his sister, but the problems clearly lay with Eugen and Hedwig. Relations between Mother and Hedwig became tolerable after Hedwig, who had been avoiding her mother-in-law for months, apologized for her impulsive behaviour on July 21. But things were more difficult with Eugen. The latter, who had been inspecting his factory in Warnsdorf (Bohemia) which had been damaged by fire, arrived in Oberstdorf on the 15th. Süssheim observed that

because the relations between Max and Eugen had been spoilt to the extent that they were no longer on speaking terms, Max was decidedly unhappy about his arrival. I went with Paula and Erna to fetch Eugen from the station. Because Paula was afraid that Eugen would encounter Max, we went to the hotel in a roundabout way after being warned not to linger. I had lunch with Max and Mother while Paula and Eugen came down later. Although Eugen talked to Max as if there hadn't been any grounds for quarrelling, Max looked offended, said little, and went to Kempten

³²⁹ Entry for August 6, 1915.

at one-twenty p.m. as if by previous arrangement. He was to see a friend who had been living there for fifteen years and to reach Nuremberg past midnight.

Relations between the Süssheims and Eugen do not seem to have improved later. Karl's mother was offended when he tried to dissuade her from donating five hundred marks to Kronach war victims.³³⁰ She contemplating disinheriting Eugen and tried to obtain Karl's support for the necessary changes in her will - she owned about one million marks - but her son, who was summoned several times to Nuremberg for this matter, did not want to get involved; he thought it unjust to deprive Paula of her rightful inheritance. Several new drafts of the testament, designed to amend the one drawn up by his father in 1899, were submitted to her lawyer³³¹ and, with Max's support, to her notary, Dr. Lösch, who did his best to dissuade Mrs. Süssheim.³³² Eugen and Paula, in turn, tried to rally Karl's support against these plans and visited him in Munich for this purpose. Paula in particular was upset by her mother's scheming.³³³ The matter was a further strain on the marriage, which was already bad. On April 1, 1918, Süssheim recorded that Paula had completely stopped sleeping with or even speaking to her husband.

The conversion contemplated by Eugen for himself and his children did not contribute to a better understanding between him and his mother-in-law. Her first idea was to buy it off by offering him a sum of hundred thousand marks (later to be deducted from his inheritance). Karl was appalled. Then she returned to her former plan of changing her will.³³⁴ Her lawyer, nevertheless, assured Süssheim (on May 5) that she, in fact, could not legally alter much in the will drawn up by his father and could, at most, deduct Paula's share in the house, worth 88,000 M.

On one alarming occasion Süssheim was called to Nuremberg when his mother had caught pneumonia - her physician, Dr. Frankenburger, thought it ridiculous that she used to disrupt her son's life on the flimsiest pretext³³⁵ - and had the unpleasant experience of being an unwilling witness to a violent quarrel between Max and Hedwig at her sickbed. The pneumonia had apparently developed from a neglected cold, undoubtedly caused by her unhealthy way of life, inspired by a nasty tightfistedness and incautious conduct while taking the waters in Bad Kissingen. She hardly ever heated her rooms during winter and ate

330 Entry for December 31, 1915.

331 Entries for October 16 and December 25, 1915.

332 Entries for March 17, 19 and 30, 1916.

333 Entries for March 28, 30 and 31, 1916.

334 Entries for April 2 to 9, 1918.

335 Entries for May 17 and 18, 1916.

almost nothing or at most some half-rotten food during the day and only drank lots of tea and coffee. Surprisingly, she quickly recovered and Süssheim could leave his funeral attire, that he had brought with him, in his bag.³³⁶ Clara was to live on Marientorgraben 9 till her death in 1933.

Süssheim continued to live in rooms at the Heidners in Hiltensperger Strasse. His peaceful life there was disturbed when Corporal Arthur Sanders and his wife moved to rooms exactly above his own during Christmas 1915. The couple annoyed him by making a lot of noise in the evening while he was in the habit of going to bed early.

In the evening of January 15, 1916, the noise seriously distracted him from his work for the *Postüberwachung* and he decided to do something about it:

On the morning of January 17, I applied to the woman who serves as a doorkeeper and asked her if the woman [Mrs. Sanders] was his [Mr. Sanders'] wife. She answered that she was. In the evening, after Mr. Sanders had come home, I went upstairs to the first floor and asked them, not in an exacting manner but by way of a kindly request, to behave more quietly. He said: "In my room I can do what I want. I have nothing to do with you. If you want something, you have to apply to the house owner", and shut the door of his room in my face.

After this abrupt and rude treatment, Süssheim did as he was told and applied to the house owner, Mr. Graus, asking him to exert his influence on Sanders. It appeared that he had already had troubles with the pension keeper on the same, first, floor and had started legal proceedings against him. Graus spoke with Mrs. Heidner and Süssheim about the case on the 21st - Süssheim pleaded that Sanders be encouraged to move to another room. In the evening,

at a quarter past seven, Mr. Sanders came downstairs and asked for me. I told Miss Anna, the maidservant, to show him into my study. After he had entered, I came in from the other room. The door to the hall stood ajar. Without a word of greeting, he immediately addressed me with an arrogant look in his eyes and said: "What is this all about? Are you spreading lies about me and my wife?" To my question "What do you mean by lies?" he answered: "You asserted to the doorkeeper that the lady isn't my wife." I said: "Not at all. I didn't say that but asked the doorkeeper whether the lady is your wife." "You pretended she wasn't my wife. There are witnesses." I, in turn, repeated what I had said before. Although I remained calm and cool-headed, Mr. Sanders betrayed symptoms of excitement by shouting in a loud voice: "We will see each other in court!"

Although I stood near him, I would never have thought it possible that he would hit me but all of a sudden he raised his right arm and slapped me on the left cheek. The poor fellow was weak and it did not hurt. Immediately, I took him by the arms and dragged him to the door. At that moment he fell with his sword-belt on the floor of my room. Because of his shouting and the clattering of his sword, Mrs. Heidner was aroused and made her appearance. When Mr. Sanders was already outside, he bent to the floor and managed to drag his sword from my room. Thereupon, instead of holding his tongue, he shouted twice very loudly: "Probably you haven't

³³⁶ Entry for May 22, 1916.

yet had to do with a real gentleman!" and added rather superfluously: "We will see each other in court!" Mrs. Heidner, frightened, left the apartment on some pretext or other in order to call the police or maybe she supposed that the affair was over by then. After he had been dragged from my room, some light scratches remained: two on my right arm, two on my right hand and two on my left arm. It appeared in the end that the police had not been called after all. In the evening, I reported the incident to the house owner, Mr. Graus. But he had already heard the news in the Heidners' shop.

Because of the incident, I was not able to sleep for more than three hours that night. My 49th year did not start very well.

The next day, January 22, Süssheim himself went to the police and consulted his *Insel* friend, Julius Siegel³³⁷ who worked for a military court, and two days later he went to Major Schneider. In the meantime, the noise made by the Sanderses continued to bother him and he again, on January 27, applied by letter to Graus. The next day, things seemed to be better. They had complied with Heidner's request to wear soft slippers at home. On February 4, Süssheim testified before the military court at the Max Barracks and Sanders was confined to his barracks. But the case was abrogated by the disciplinary court and had no further consequences for Sanders.³³⁸

337 Julius Siegel (d. 1950), lawyer; emigrated to Haifa, cf. Alfred Werner, 'Jüdische Juristen in München' (1958), in Lamm, *Vergangene Tage*, 323-327, 327.

338 Entry for March 8, 1916.

CHAPTER FOUR: COUNCIL RULE, REACTION AND INFLATION, 1918-1924¹

Themes which fill the Diary of the preceding years continue in the entries covering the post bellum. Daily life now was even more affected by disrupting events than during the war itself and consequently a larger part of the diary was dedicated to public events. Revolution and the establishment of a Socialist regime induced Süssheim to make plans for saving the family capital from the threats of increasing tax-pressure in a tottering state; the diarist describes his financial adventures during these years in full detail. While Süssheim was at last promoted to an (extraordinary) professorship, his quest for a suitable wife continued [he was briefly married]. He was deeply shaken by the death of his nephew. A new theme of this period are his activities as a stamp-collector from June 20, 1920, onwards; a money-consuming hobby disadvantageous to his scholarly research during more than two years.

¹ The period is represented in copybooks 10, 11, 12, 13.

1. Times of Trouble

Süssheim perceived the November Revolution of 1918 as one of the most shocking phases of the history of Munich. On November 7,² he recorded in his Diary that the Left-wing Socialist and journalist Kurt Eisner³ had presented his candidacy for the coming *Reichstag* by-election, and continued.⁴

Today at three o'clock, he was to give a speech to the people on the large so-called Theresienwiese. When I reached the Post Office in the Bayerstrasse, endless waves of people, for the most part consisting of men, but also including a great deal of women, were marching in long lines. The spectacle, although peaceful, was frightening. The meeting lasted for only a short time. The aim was to rally the people and use them to maximum effect for political demonstrations. After the meeting they filled the city centre. Employees of the big stores had been given time off for the afternoon, and the shops were closed. There were also soldiers in the audience. My brother Max was also present at the meeting and phoned me at 5.30. He briefly and abruptly explained to me that this would be the end [...] Those [soldiers] who did not go to the meeting, rioted in their barracks, wrecked their quarters, and took brand-new boots and uniforms from the depots...⁵

2 The troubled period of the Bavarian post bellum has been described in Alan Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria 1918-1919. The Eisner Regime and the Soviet Republic*, Princeton 1965; Albert Schwartz, 'Die Zeit von 1918 bis 1933, I: Der Sturz der Monarchie. Revolution und Rätezeit. Die Einrichtung des Freistaates (1918-1920)' and 'Die Zeit von 1918 bis 1933, II: Der vom Bürgertum geführte Freistaat in der Weimarer Republik (1920-1933)' in Spindler, *Handbuch IV/1*, respectively 387-453 and 454-517; see also Heinrich August Winkler, *Weimar 1918-1933. Die Geschichte der ersten deutschen Demokratie*, Munich, 1993. Süssheim was one of many diarists in Munich to record the disturbing events; the most well-known without doubt was the writer Thomas Mann - his diary covers the years 1918 to 1921, see *Diaries 1918-1939*, a selection translated by Richard and Clara Winston, New York 1982, 2-123.

3 Kurt Eisner (1867-1919), publicist and Bavarian socialist, leader of the Independent Socialist Party (USPD), proclaimed the Republic in Bavaria. He became its prime minister on November 8, 1918. He was assassinated on February 21, 1919. For a detailed biography, see Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria*, 34-74.

4 Cf. the Thomas Mann Diaries, 17: "At three o'clock there was a large demonstration on the Theresienwiese. No newspaper because of it, and no mail. All stores closed. A mass parade developed. Red flags. One soldier, carried about on the people's shoulders, delivering "speeches" at various spots. Cries: 'Down with the dynasty!' 'Republic!' Absurd rabble..."

5 Eisner had been active in Munich from November 2, planning to bring about a revolution before the coming by-election. The mass demonstrations of November 7 were organized by both the Independent Socialist USPD and the moderate 'Majority Socialists' (*Mehrheitssozialisten*), MSDP, led by Erhard Auer, but the latter was not able, as he had hoped, to counterbalance the revolutionary fervour of the radicals. After the meeting on the Theresienwiese, Eisner and his followers moved toward the part of town north of the park where most barracks were situated. Most troops indeed went over to his side. A provisory Workers' and Soldiers' Council (*Arbeiter- und Soldaten-Rat*) was set up which proclaimed the *Freie Volksstaat Bayern* in the Diet building at 11 p.m.

In the evening, the first shots were heard in the streets of the city, shops were looted and officers were arrested. Firing continued during the night, but Süssheim "did not pay any attention to it, and slept well." The next day, the Munich Army Corps Headquarters surrendered, and the 'Free State' was proclaimed.⁶ The King apparently had fled a day earlier.⁷ On the evening of the 7th, Eisner had been designated First Chairman of the Council of Workers in a meeting of his supporters in the Mathäserbräu Beerhouse; on the 8th he was proclaimed Prime Minister and Foreign Minister in the National Assembly. Süssheim recorded that in the afternoon (of November 8) a large truck with young soldiers stopped in front of a neighbouring apartment building. The men began to search for food in the cellars. The population as a whole, afraid of shortages and high prices, had begun buying as much food as they could. In the evening, when Süssheim returned from dinner, he saw in the Bayreutherstrasse [?] that

a nineteen-year-old private was showing his sweet-heart how to fire a rifle. An unarmed corporal who was standing sentinel in front of the Police Station at the crossroads wanted to stop the private, who was just shooting for fun, and asked the help of by-standers. I immediately reacted, and [we both] rushed towards him. While I took hold of the private, the corporal loudly shouted whatever terms of abuse [came to his mind] and took the rifle and buckshot from his hands.

The next day, on November 9, it appeared that in many German towns Workers' and Soldiers' Councils had been formed and strikes proclaimed in armament factories. Shooting continued to be heard and the city seemed on the brink of anarchy. Süssheim recorded that

in the afternoon at 4.30, even in my room I heard automatic gunfire from the direction of the Central Station. All kinds of rumours spread through Munich. Thus it was reported that three train-loads of counter-revolutionary soldiers had arrived in Munich from outside the city and that they had immediately joined in the fighting [...] According to the *Neueste Nachrichten*,⁸ the shooting was caused by the supposition that the Austrian soldiers of an incoming train had been sent to Munich in order to bring about a reaction. It is possible that the shooting led to the dismissal of the City Commander, a person called Arnold.

A Socialist coalition government under Eisner and Auer⁹ was formed, a

⁶ The proclamation of the *Freie Volksstaat* (see previous note) was published in the Munich papers on this day, November 8. The police force surrendered to it and the General Staff in Hotel Bayerischer Hof was disarmed.

⁷ The King, on the advice of Prime Minister von Dandl and the Minister of the Interior, von Brettreich, fled to Schloss Wildewart (?) on the evening of November 7, and from there to the hunting-lodge Anit.

⁸ The text has *Ahbar-i ahire*.

⁹ Erhard Auer (SPD), Minister of the Interior.

reordering of society initiated and Workers' and Soldiers' Councils (*Räte*) were set up. On November 12, a day after the Armistice, a general staff meeting was held in the university for the first time in twenty years to discuss the political situation and its consequences for the academic community. Süssheim recorded:

The meeting started at 4.20 [...] There were 150 persons present, which means that professors who did not show up on previous occasions had come now [...] The Vice-Chancellor of the University, Prof. [von Bissing], held a speech as if he were addressing final words to a corpse on a cemetery, glorifying its exploits. This, indeed, was most suitable for the present situation. There were two topics on the agenda. Firstly: the civil servants connected with the Bavarian Ministries of Foreign Affairs, the Interior, Education, Religious Affairs and Finance apparently had signed a paper in which they [promised] to be loyal to the government of the Bavarian People's Republic (on the condition that their private ideas and convictions were a matter of their own discretion) and would continue to do their duty. The Vice-Chancellor invited us to do the same. He also told us that a request along these lines had come two days previously from the Ministry of Education. He went on to say that although we would never be able to forget what we owed to the House of Wittelsbach, Bavaria, Germany, King Ludwig III and especially to the latter's late father, Prince Luitpold, he added that this could never be more than a [vain] yearning for the Kingdom and a toppled government.

A discussion followed. One of the professors suggested the drawing up of an appendix to the mentioned document, in which the opinion of the entire staff would be expressed. Another among those present proposed to publish a statement in the papers. Still others refused to sign any declaration of loyalty at all and questioned the legitimacy of the new government. Would not the present state of affairs in Bavaria lead to an intervention from the side of the Entente Powers, someone wondered. Finally, at a quarter to four, the proposal of the Vice-Chancellor was accepted and all agreed to sign. "Passing on to the second topic, the Vice-Chancellor asked us if we were ready to accept proposals from the new government as regards new appointments [...] This point was quickly and unanimously [skipped] as being of no importance." Someone observed that the government had established an association on Soviet lines, encompassing all officials and employees working for institutions of science and art, but thought that such an organisation would be useless for the university. It was decided that this speaker would attend its coming meetings and report on developments. After discussing some minor organizational matters such as the setting up of extra courses for war veterans, the meeting came to an end at a quarter to six. Academic opinion proved to be unfavourable to the new regime; Süssheim remarked that only one staff member had shown himself to be an outspoken supporter of the left-wing rulers.

The Revolution of 1918, which was detested by Bavarian conservatives and monarchists like Karl Süssheim, was welcomed by liberal Jews and socialists. His brother Max, a Majority Socialist, took part in demonstrations in favour of the Revolution and was appointed as *Beauftragter* of the Workers and Soldiers' Councils. He co-ordinated activities from the Ministry of War. Süssheim spoke with him in Munich Central Station when he was on his way back to Nuremberg on November 14. He noted:

Two or three days before, after he [Max] had taken the oath of loyalty before the Nuremberg soldiery, he had come here [...] Because he had been extraordinarily busy we had not been able to see each other [...] When I informed him of the delay of my promotion to the professorship, he told me he would see to it that the matter be arranged. He said that no measures had been taken regarding bank accounts that could be grounds for concern. But I do not trust assurances of this kind. He also told me that in the near future Soldiers', Workers' and Farmers' Councils would be set up and that courts martial would be formed everywhere in order to prevent soldiers returning from the war from committing thefts, murder and other misdemeanors. I gathered from his words that the Socialists intend to assemble a sham parliament of their own liking and to set up courts martial with the purpose of intimidating their principal opponents. This is a very dangerous initiative which most probably will be stopped by the Entente states. Again he assured me he would arrange a professorship at the Ministry of Education and professed himself, moreover, to be a supporter of a complete change of the university regulations.

Two days later, on November 16, Süssheim recorded that feelings of resentment against Jews¹⁰ were increasing among the population. He wrote:

The Munich Jews are clearly afraid of pogroms. Because Eisner is a Jew by birth, part of the Munich populace is both angry at him and at the Jews [in general]. Some days ago, a delegation of the Jewish Women's Association [*Jüdische Frauenbund*]¹¹ went to the Minister of Social Aid [...] They were admitted to his room, the walls of which are decorated with valuable tapestries, and were requested to sit down by someone who appeared to them to be a servant. Thereupon, the women had said they wished to see the Minister himself. Because Minister Unterleitner¹² is a rather boorish person, one would not guess his position from his clothes. He asked what they wanted. They said they had come to request relief for destitute women. He promised he would do what he could [...] But when he understood that they represented an association [the membership of which] was restricted to Jewish women, the Minister changed his attitude. He now pretended that due to Mr. Eisner a pogrom against Jews was in the air in Munich. The women of the delegation were alarmed and their fear infected the [whole] Jewish community of Munich to such a degree that they celebrated the Sabbath service in a small prayer-room instead of the main synagogue lest this should be regarded by Christians as a demonstration.

Not only Eisner's Jewish descent (although born in Berlin, he was often called a 'Galician') but also his libertarian ideas had roused a fierce hatred against him among the opponents of the Socialist Government. Süssheim observed that even the Liberal Deputy Müller-Meiningen had, some days before, publicly raised the question whether Bavaria should let herself be governed by such a 'Galician'. Criticism of Eisner was, in Süssheim's opinion, enhanced by his contempt for the rules of matrimony; rumour had it (erroneously) that he kept two wives and

¹⁰ For the growing post-war anti-Semitism in Munich and Jewish reactions see Baruch Z. Ophir and Falk Wiesemann, 'Geschichte und Zerstörung der jüdischen Gemeinde in München 1918-1945', in Lamm, *Vergangene Tage*, 462-489, 462-465.

¹¹ The text has *Münih yahudi nisvan cemiyeti*; cf. Werner J. Cahnmann, 'Die Juden in München', in Lamm, *Vergangene Tage*, 35-36.

¹² Hans Unterleitner, *Minister für soziale Fürsorge*, November 8, 1918 - April 7, 1919.

propagated free love, one of the principles of Socialism in the public mind.¹³

The town, meanwhile, remained in anxious suspense and it was not clear how the army would react. On November 17, a military parade through the streets of the town was cancelled because the military staff did not want to become involved in politics. On November 18, Süsseim recorded that the revolution had only succeeded because "official circles had been at a loss what measures to take although both the Bavarian Government and the Munich Police had been warned what to expect". The army equally had hesitated to interfere, although, in Süsseim's opinion, one regiment would have sufficed to hold the town under control. On November 20, rumours circulated that the ex-King Ludwig III¹⁴ had tried to rally some army officers, most probably in order to plan a counter-coup, but had been forced to flee.

Süsseim attended a second general meeting at the university on the evening of the same day: the members of the academic community had to come to terms with the impending reforms since the government had demanded that a representative council for 'brain-workers'¹⁵ should be formed. A chaotic discussion developed and disorder was enhanced when shots were heard, which caused a number of those present to leave the auditorium in a hurry. Eventually the professors saw no other solution than to appoint a special commission to study the matter. It was clear, though, that a majority were determined to defend the university against any attack on its spiritual and material autonomy.¹⁶

Meanwhile the war had come to an end (the diary does not refer to the ceasing of hostilities) and Süsseim observed an unusual number of men in the streets of the city (on December 15). Later that month (on December 24) he went to Nuremberg. He found Eugen depressed; the latter feared that he would lose all the money he had earned during the war and foresaw industrial stagnation and unemployment. Süsseim noted that he was especially offended by the fact that his "brother Max had become involved in the activities of the Socialists even to the point of having become one of the principal instigators of their quarrels". A fortnight before, Socialists had broken into the Nuremberg town-hall at gunpoint and had confiscated secret documents but had been forced to give them back within an hour after the Military Commander had interfered. Süsseim also heard that Eisner had worked for a Nuremberg paper during the years 1907-1911 and had nursed far less extremist opinions than Max at that time although he had left the Jewish Community by then. Nevertheless his children had apparently

13 Eisner had left his wife and children in Berlin in 1907; from 1910 he lived with another woman in Munich; cf. Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria*, 54, 57.

14 Ludwig III (1845-1921), son of the Prince Regent Luitpold, King as Ludwig III from 1913 until 7/8 November 1918 (proclamation of the Republic).

15 The text has *zihn işçiler şurası*.

16 Entry for December 2, 1918.

remained dependent on the Community's gifts because their father was spending money all the time.¹⁷

Nine days later, on January 12, 1919, Süssheim for the first time took part in elections for the Bavarian Diet. He recorded that he had been unwilling to vote during the period of the Second Reich because all parties had been more or less anti-Semitic and had not had much influence anyway. Usually, he voted for the conservative nationalist *Deutsch-nationale Volkspartei* (DNVP).¹⁸ A week later, on January 19, he voted for the liberal *Deutsche Volkspartei* (DVP)¹⁹ in the elections for the *Nationalversammlung*. But democracy was not established so easily. It was uncertain what Eisner would do: his USPD had only obtained three seats in the *Landtag*, whereas the Centre-Catholic *Bayerische Volkspartei* (BVP) and Socialist SPD had obtained 66 and 61, and the rights of parliament were not clearly defined under the Provisional Constitution of January 4. Eisner could also fall back on the councils dominated by his supporters if need be. On February 16, Süssheim recorded that Eisner's Independent Socialists organized a large demonstration in the city and some days later, on February 19, he saw units of sailors in the streets²⁰ and recorded:

The sailors who, according to a communication of the Bavarian Ministry of War, had come yesterday and the day before to Munich after having been demobilized in Wilhelmshaven, are wearing most expensive, beautiful and elegant uniforms.

They were lodged in the *Türkenkaserne*²¹ and did not appear to be a brutish lot but seemed, on the contrary, to sympathize with the population. Arrived in their barracks, however, they were given weapons and in the late afternoon they occupied the Police Directorate, the Municipal Headquarters and the Telephone Exchange.

17 Entry for January 3, 1919. In Nuremberg, Eisner had been a political columnist and editor of the *Fränkische Tagespost*; he went to Munich in 1910, where he worked for the *Münchener Post* but got into trouble with the censor and the paper's editor because of his unconventional ideas and sharp pen; his dismissal in 1915 contributed to the radicalisation of his socialist convictions, cf. Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria*, 56-57, 61, 63.

18 The text has *Alman milli firkası*.

19 The text has *a'vamm firkası*.

20 They were involved in the so-called 'Sailors' Putsch' directed against the *Landtag* building where a Congress of Councils and an SPD conference were taking place at the same time. The action, led by a certain Lotter, was, in contrast to what seems to have been generally believed - see also the quotation below - undertaken in order to protect the *Landtag* against the councils, and was broken off after consultation of the SDP ministers in the Cabinet, cf. Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria*, 267.

21 The text has *Türk kıışlası*.

From half past five until ten a.m., the tapping sound of fire-arms was heard. I heard it myself until one o'clock in the morning. It became clear that the sailors who generally are supporters of the extreme radicals, have come to strengthen the shaken position of Prime Minister Eisner [...] but the populace understood only the next day what really had happened.

On February 21, the *Landtag* was opened after lengthy deliberations in the Cabinet on the previous day which resulted in the decision that the authority of the Diet should not be in any way undermined, and the provisional government prepared to resign. "Eisner came from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs," Süssheim noted,

and turned into the Promenade-Strasse, but after fifteen to twenty steps, and before having reached the door [of the *Landtag* building], he was killed by a pistol shot in the back. The murderer was Count Arco-Valley,²² student of Political Science at Munich University and reserve officer during the war. The Count was seriously wounded by rifle bullets from a soldier who had arrived on the spot.

Immediately the *Landtag* was informed and Max's proposal to delay deliberations for an hour accepted.

The murder of Eisner took place at five past ten a.m. Thereupon, commotion reached such a pitch that the Munich Central Pay-office was closed at 10.10. Banks and most shops closed down as well. The Workers' and Soldiers' Council took matters into their hands and summoned a protest meeting on the Theresienwiese. Martial Law was proclaimed for Munich and trams were brought to a standstill at noon. Of the morning and evening papers, only the Socialist *Münchener Post* appeared. A general strike was officially proclaimed [...] Everyone had to be home by 7 p.m. I heard of the murder of Eisner at half past 10 a.m. in the Bavarian Military Library. A policeman broke the news. It had an instantaneous effect on military personnel and visitors alike, and caused general delight. The words "Eisner doesn't deserve the bullet, he should have been hanged" were spoken in a loud voice. I left at half past eleven and heard more details of what had happened in front of the Ministry of War. Here and there people were praising Eisner in an excited way; by-standers did not react. In the morning [...] sentries had been posted in front of the Regina Palast Hotel [the headquarters of the *Zentralrat* of the Bavarian Republic set up immediately after the murder of Eisner]. They were shot at from a bus passing by at 7 p.m. It was probably manned by reactionary officers. They managed to repulse the assailants from behind the columns of the porch where they had taken cover.

A new wave of attackers were driven off as well, five of them were killed and sixteen wounded. Süssheim heard these details from the sentries themselves. He recorded that the evening was very quiet. He went to the *Insel* Club where he heard from the convinced royalist Paul Drey that his apartment had already been searched three times for weapons and that twelve policemen, instructed to protect the property of the rich, had been killed by plunderers. Back home, Süssheim remarked that his landlady had been so intimidated by the events "that she was

22 Graf Anton von Arco-Valley (1897-1945); in 1920, he was condemned to death, but the sentence was changed to life imprisonment; after four years he was released. He died in a car accident.

now ready to cook potatoes for me every day".

The next day, February 22, he visited the place where Eisner had been shot and observed that "a rather large portrait of the deceased had been put up behind some pots of flowers. At the side of the pavement, sand had been spread, through which Eisner's blood was still visible." On the same day the member of parliament Paul von Jahreiss,²³ who had been aide-de-camp to Hindenburg during the war and had been severely wounded during the *Landtag* shooting after the attempt on Eisner, died. Süssheim recorded on the 25th that "he had been my classmate in primary school and had been my first school comrade [in 1884]. I had never seen him since that time." The *Zentralrat* tried to suppress the reactionary forces by, among other things, closing the university (on February 24) and taking fifty hostages from among the leading townsmen, among them the Archbishop, *Landrat* von Kress, Professor von Bissing (he was set free on March 1) and a number of student leaders. Süssheim noted that "although they had intended to take Prince Luitpold into custody as well, the palace personnel had succeeded in distracting the attention of the soldiers [...] and made it possible for the Prince to escape".²⁴ Tension increased perceptibly and Süssheim recorded on the next day, February 25, that since the violent death of Eisner the activist part of the Munich workers was "gathering forces against the regular troops in barracks who are not supporters of the Independent Socialists." Indeed, the *Zentralrat* had decided on the 22nd to distribute weapons among the proletariat and Süssheim noted that "they had taken up arms [against the regular soldiers] on the 21st, yesterday and also today".

On February 26, Eisner was buried. Süssheim noted that "so many wreaths have not been seen here before. A huge crowd had gathered. All churches in the country had received orders to toll their bells between ten and half past ten. At the same time guns were fired [...] It was as if an enormous bombardment was taking place, the like of which the population of Munich nor I myself had never heard before. It didn't bother me at all, but my landlady thought that the counter-revolution had begun."

But in fact the death of Eisner, whose political role had already approached its end, had stirred the forces of the extreme Left and set off the 'Second Bavarian Revolution'. Within the Socialist Party the extremists seemed to take over and Süssheim recorded on February 27 that although his brother Max had been appointed spokesman for the *Mehrheitssozialisten* in the coming Congress of the combined Bavarian Councils (on February 28) where the draft of a constitution was to be discussed, he had refused and had returned to Nuremberg "because he had observed that the number of supporters for the total abolishment of the *Landtag* had increased in an alarming way." His fears were indeed

²³ Major I.G. von Jahreiss, deputy for the BVP, was shot by the thirty-two-year-old butcher Alois Lindner, a member of the *Revolutionäre Arbeiterrat* - Lindner also shot Minister of the Interior Auer, who was severely injured.

²⁴ Entry for March 2, 1919.

justified; the Congress voted against the reopening of parliament on the next day. But Max did not leave it at that. As Süssheim recorded on March 6, his brother tried to unite the *Mehrheitssozialisten*, *Unabhängigsozialisten* and the *Bauernbund*²⁵ on an agreement to reinstate the Bavarian Diet, which brought him the hostility of the radicals, whereas the bourgeois element in the party was most grateful to him.

On the same day that the Councils' Congress took place in Munich, a serious clash between the government and the Spartakists (who were represented in the *Zentralrat*) occurred. Süssheim recorded that "the government, having heard that the Spartakists had moved to the Theresienwiese in order to take up arms, sent a few mobilized squads of infantry men there. Although most soldiers had only shot in the air, some of them had aimed at the assembled Spartakists and, reportedly, three of them had been killed. In the evening, the Spartakists arrived before the barracks of the Engineering Corps with the intention of moving in, but when they were met with prolonged machine-gun fire, they were forced to retreat without having achieved anything." On March 1, a new (Socialist) government was formed by Martin Segitz, succeeded on the 17th by a cabinet headed by Hoffmann²⁶ of the same political colour; the USP was represented by only three ministers. Both lacked a sound support in the Diet and a serious crisis seemed inevitable. When Süssheim saw Max at the end of the month (March 29), he found him in a very pessimistic mood. His high-strung expectations for the future of the country had been thoroughly disappointed and he had lost all hope. When Süssheim returned to Munich some days later, he saw soldiers "with red Socialist bands" around their arms in the streets of Ingolstadt.

On April 5, it was announced in the papers that the Bavarian government would turn itself into a Soviet regime - thus the *Zentralrat* and the *Revolutionäre Arbeiterrat* which had the support of the USP were forcing their hand at last - and a run on the banks ensued. The next day, a Sunday, Süssheim attended a meeting of the Faculty of Philosophy. It appeared that armed guards had occupied the premises of the university to keep order in the name of the *Zentralrat*. The Faculty members were resolved to defend the liberties of the academic community but during the meeting the Dean of the Faculty, Baron von Bissing (who had not yet disposed of his aristocratic title, although these had officially been abolished, Süssheim remarked), received a rather threatening proposal from the Socialist University Party (supported by eighty members) that all teaching personnel of the university should be suspended from their functions until the university would have been reformed and their "usefulness" proved. The news made a profound impression on those present because most probably the proposition had the full support of the new rulers. On the same evening (April

25 The text has *köylü fırkası*.

26 Johannes Hoffmann (1867-1930), Majority Socialist and Bavarian Prime Minister from March 18, 1919, to March 14, 1920.

6), Süssheim heard that the Diet had definitely been abolished. The establishment of the *Räterepublik* was officially announced in the morning papers of April 7. "Although this had been expected, everyone was astonished. This day was proclaimed to be [the official] holiday", Süssheim recorded.²⁷ The news was answered by a protest meeting of a pronounced anti-Semitic nature on the Odeonsplatz in which students and "members of the upper classes" participated. On the 8th, public (and free) lectures were given at the university in which the impending reforms of academic institutions were officially discussed. This again provoked anti-Semitic protests in the lecture rooms. Two days later, on April 10, Süssheim spoke with a guard posted in front of the Munich Military Headquarters. He told him that his unit had prevented some two hundred tons of pork from being handed over to the commission for food provisioning after it had appeared that they had not wished the food to be distributed among the poor. The soldier also told Süssheim that Dr. Leviné,²⁸ one of the leading personalities in the *Räte*-movement, had refused to become Prime Minister. Leaders of the 'Soviet Republic' were, respectively, Ernst Niekisch, Ernst Toller (from April 8) and the same Leviné (from April 15).

On April 12, Süssheim attended a meeting of the Association of Teachers of Non-regular Professorial Rank. He heard that the university again would be closed from the next day onwards because the official representative commission of six (Socialists) had been ignored by the academic staff who uncompromisingly had insisted on the maintainance of freedom of teaching and research. Permission was to be asked for every meeting (on which the same commission had to decide), the seal had been taken into custody and salaries were blocked.

In the night of April 12 to 13, a force of 3500 militants revolted against the *Zentralrat* and the *Räteregierung*, and the Communists seized power; the leading *Unabhängigen* joined the legitimate government in Bamberg. Süssheim noted in his diary:

At one a.m. the *Zentralrat* was toppled. Mühsam²⁹ was the first to be captured. None of those arrested has been killed. Some of them were sent out of Munich. Supposedly 3500 persons took

27 Thomas Mann noted: "Up early. The front page of the *Nachrichten* covered with the proclamation of the Soviet Republic. Today a general strike and "national holiday." Rapprochement with Hungary and Russia, break with Berlin. Red Guard. Nationalisation of the Press. Plans for expropriation...", *Diaries*, 44.

28 Dr. Eugen Leviné (1883-1919), Communist agitator, possibly a Soviet spy, came to Munich on March 5; he was of Russian-Jewish origin - see for biographical data, entry for May 3, 1919, and below.

29 Erich Mühsam (1878-1934), anarchist, writer and political publicist. He was imprisoned in the Oranienburg concentration camp on 28 February 1933, tortured, and eventually murdered there. Chris Hirte (ed.), *Erich Mühsam. Tagebücher (1910-1924)*, Munich 1995 (1994); see also Watt (ed.), *An Annotated Edition of Victor Klemperer's LTI. Notizbuch eines Philologen*, 49 and 56.

part in the uprising. As for the motives behind the rebellion, they were several. Probably the most important one was to replace the prevailing chaos of the last five months by a severe order that would punish even the slightest trespasses by the death penalty. Most resentful were the Republican Guards. The force had been created by the former government and were suspected of uninterrupted faithlessness toward the *Räteregierung*. The soldiers who had taken part in the rebellion returned to their barracks and dormitories in the morning. The state of war was placarded at ten o'clock. But at that time, those who had been saved from persecution by the rebels, had left their shelters and had taken refuge with their partisans; at one o'clock no trace of the placards was left. The revolution was supposed to have been prepared by the Commander of the Republican Guard, Mr. Segitz and the lawyer Mr. Max Levien³⁰ who had been purged from the Congress of Councils.

It seemed that the former Commander of Munich Central Station, who had been dismissed ten days before, also had had a hand in the revolution.

The regiments that had participated in it had thought that the *Räteregierung* had been retreating into a defensive position and had thus, unwittingly, brought about the coup d'état. As was understood in the afternoon, the troops had become enraged. The workers and Red Guards, sobering up, had united and attacked the Central Station towards four o'clock. The police station there was normally manned by 300 men, but it is doubtful if so many were present then [...] The station was cut off from the outside and it surrendered at a quarter to nine because no reinforcements could reach it. Before the surrender, a number of grenades exploded and the soul-rending noise could be heard as far as my house. From the station post only two, and according to another story, four persons were killed. Losses on the side of the assailants were much more numerous [...] The station building was considerably notched. There was no little damage caused to the houses in the direct surroundings [...] After the station building had been taken by the Red Guards, it was only a few hours before the soldiers in the Luitpold School [were defeated]. At eleven o'clock, the Red Guards arrived and surrounded the building [...] Three times men were sent inside with the demand of surrender, upon which they finally consented to do so.

Street-fighting continued during the next day and led to clear victory for the Communists. On April 15, Süssheim wrote:

In the afternoon I heard that Dr. Leviné had become Commander-in-Chief of Munich and General Dictator. The uprising during the night of the 12th to the 13th had indeed been prearranged with the purpose of divesting him of his rivals. Twenty persons had done the whole job. After they at first had occupied the Police Directorate and after that the office of the Municipal Commander, they took the leadership [as well].

In the evening, when no more shooting was heard, the Red Guards were called to arms by tolling church bells. The next day Süssheim noted: "It is being said that many Red Guards defected to the government army known as the White Guards. The soldiers lodged in the Munich barracks have a clear aversion against

³⁰ Max Levien - his family had only some generations before emigrated from Mecklenburg to Russia - studied in Moscow, participated in the Russian Revolution of 1905, and was wounded on active duty during the war, see Immanuel Birnbaum, 'Juden in der Münchener Räterepublik', in Lamm, *Vergangene Tage*, 369-71, 369.

the Communists." But this fact did not prevent the new leaders from announcing revolutionary measures: Süssheim recorded on the same day that closed safes in the banks were to be opened and placed at the disposition of the government if the financial situation should make this necessary. On the next day, April 17, it was announced that the system of coal-rationing would be amended for the benefit of the working classes, on the 18th, that the only paper still allowed to appear was the 'News from the *Vollzugsrat*'³¹ and that the post, telegraph and telephone had become subjected to censorship. The Red Army was reported to have occupied Dachau, Schleissheim and Rosenheim.

On April 19, though, planes of the legitimate Hoffmann Government flew over the city and threw out leaflets in which it was stated that relief-forces were on their way. On the 20th, rumour spread that an army of 30,000 men was approaching the city from Württemberg and that the Red Army, consisting of only 2000 men, had lost 56 soldiers during the night. Württemberg troops actually occupied Augsburg that day and Munich was factually sealed off from the outside world.

The authorities were also running into financial difficulties by now: their cash-flow had dried up and loyal troops were ordered to lay siege to one of the fashionable cafés of the city and to confiscate the money of its customers, as Süssheim noted. Two days later, on the 22th, he wrote:

In order to make the strike, which has been going on for a while, a brilliant success, today an all-out strike was ordered by the government for all trades. At three o'clock, eleven large Communist meetings were held, five of them on the Theresienwiese, the [traditional] meeting ground of the Communists. They were crowned by a demonstrative procession that passed through the Lindwurm-, Sendlinger- and Ludwig-Strasse up to the Siegestor³² and turned from there to the Wittelsbacher Palace. At the Palace a speech was given on the meaning and significance of the great French as well as the Russian, Hungarian and Bavarian Revolutions. I watched the procession in the Sendlingerstrasse and on the Sendlinger-Tor-Platz. The procession took an hour.

The acute financial crisis made itself ever more strongly felt: owners of small shops and enterprises, Süssheim noted, were no longer able to pay their personnel. The next day, April 23, the authorities began to pay soldiers and civil servants in new promissory notes but "because", Süssheim wrote,

the Red Army today did not receive any pay at all at their quarters in the Central Station, they barricaded the Schönfeldstrasse where the Ministry of War is situated and besieged the office. They were promised that their demands would be granted. But the soldiery, suspecting that the cashier of the Ministry had fled to the courtyard behind the *Staatsbibliothek* adjacent to the Ministry, sent a number of their men to the Library at two o'clock and blocked the entrance for twenty minutes.

31 The text has *icra komitasının haberleri*.

32 The text has *zafer kapısı*.

Because the city was surrounded by White troops, food could not come in and the regime was forced to begin distributing clarified butter from the municipal stores, as Süssheim observed. Shooting was heard during the whole night of April 23-24 and rumour spread that the Municipal Headquarters in the Hofgarten³³ had been besieged. The White Army came closer to the city every day and the regime tried to start negotiations for a cease-fire, Süssheim wrote, but without success. The conciliatory and martial wings of the ruling *Vollzugsrat* now clashed, the latter, consisting of "extreme Left-wing Communists", winning the day; on April 26 it was announced that Commander Egelhofer³⁴ and the Police Director had been dismissed. At the same time it was proclaimed that rents of big restaurants, commercial buildings and shops for the month of May were to be paid directly to the authorities. On April 27, as a result of the political victory of Dr. Leviné, huge red placards appeared in the streets by which fresh recruits were summoned to join the Red units. The regime obviously "wished to continue the war in Bavaria and perhaps even in Germany for a long time", Süssheim observed, "but this intention did not please the population at all, nor the Red Army. For the past fifteen days, the head of the first *Räteregierung*, Toller,³⁵ had been the main rival of Leviné." He took his chance, and assembled the Soldiers' Councils in a protest meeting against the *Vollzugsrat* of Ten (represented by the "evil genius" behind Leviné, the "Russian Jew" Levien) in the Hofbräukeller. The next day, April 28, rumour spread that Leviné had fled by plane, taking 240,000 marks with him. A new *Vollzugsrat* was elected.

On April 30, White troops occupied Schleissheim and were approaching the town from the east. The panicking *Vollzugsrat* made a confusing series of announcements by way of public placards, obviously with the intention of intimidating the population: examples of cruelties committed by the White forces were described in detail, anyone carrying weapons was threatened with the death penalty. Süssheim recorded: "In the evening, when I was returning home, I came across a number of Red Guards who were fleeing. They were quite desperate."

The next day, May 1, the shocking rumour spread that eleven out of one hundred hostages (among them, reportedly, Hoffman's wife and children) had been killed in a beastly fashion by Russian prisoners of war and German marines at the extremist headquarters in the Luitpold Gymnasium in the Müllerstrasse, followed by another ten hostages in the afternoon. (In reality there had been eight hostages - and no relatives of Hoffmann among them - all of whom had, indeed,

33 The text has *saray bahçesi*.

34 Rudolf Egelhofer (1896-1919), a twenty-six-year-old sailor, had come to Munich after taking part in the mutiny at Kiel; after April 13 he was made Commandant of Munich and then military chief of the Soviet Republic; murdered by Freikorps soldiers, cf. Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria*, 321; Winkler, *Weimar*, 81.

35 Ernst Toller (1893-1939), playwright and revolutionary.

been cruelly executed.³⁶) While in the evening Süssheim witnessed heated political discussions between adherents of the left and sympathizers of a more moderate conviction in the nearby Hiltenspergerstrasse, "at 8.05 a soldier appeared who told us that the street would be taken under fire and ordered the street to be evacuated. We scattered in confusion. During the night, extremely violent shooting was heard from far-off places like the Stachus, the Corneliusbrücke [?] and the Railway Station." The end clearly was approaching and Süssheim recorded on May 2:

During the morning, there was as yet no shooting in our quarter, but at half past one in the afternoon, after two volleys had been fired, all men occupying the Engineering Corps barracks surrendered and came out without carrying any weapons and holding their hands on their heads. Meanwhile, a placard was seen in the Hohenzollernstrasse [? with the order that] the streets be abandoned from two o'clock onward because the quarter would be taken under fire. When I arrived in the Ansbacherstrasse [?], I greeted some Prussian soldiers from Berlin [...]. They were all fine, strong, tall young men and perfect privates. According to what these soldiers said, the army moving in on Munich consisted of 100,000 men. The shooting started at two o'clock. The fire was violently answered at 2.15 from the Hiltenspergerstrasse where I live. Since the White Guards have been approaching Munich three-and-a-half weeks ago, defense detachments were posted at several places in town. Thus, two privates occupied the building constructed at the Ring³⁷ at the end of the Hohenzollernstrasse. Every evening between five and six, a bright red, shining car has been driving up the street for inspection and parked in front of the building. When planes of Hoffmann supporters were throwing out leaflets, they used to be taken under fire from the red nest in the Hohenzollernstrasse. Since they started shooting at the regular army [...], the post in the Hohenzollernstrasse has not been forgotten. Shooting went on till 5.25 [...]. Thereupon, two infantry regiments surrendered. In the evening the Air Force barracks were attacked. Both yesterday and today, the Central Station [...] has changed hands several times. Tonight, at about half past five, it was definitely occupied by the White Army. [They] were also taken under fire from the fourth floor of 105, Goethestrasse [?], the house of the anarchist Mühsam [?] and his family. It was said that it had been occupied by Red Guards. When [the house] was taken over by the White Army in the evening, only two men emerged. Like the others, they were conducted to the Marienplatz to be executed. Although it had been decided that the Prussian Army which had been approaching from the east, should enter Munich only on May 3, they had already done so on May 1 because of the atrocities committed against the hostages and the fact that the population had been given arms and had occupied the Palace. [Bavarian troops were to follow the next day, approaching the city from the west.] Yesterday afternoon it was said that the bandit leaders Klingelhöfer, Leviné and Toller had fled by car during the night and that [Dr.] Wadler had been shot during the hostilities. Whereas Commander-in-Chief Egelhofer supposedly was hit in battle and nearly died of his wounds, Leviné is apparently still hiding in the Ministry of Justice [...].³⁸

In the evening, I heard that Wadler had been arrested while he was driving about in his car. According to others, there is still no trace of the leaders. [There were also rumours circulating to the effect that the Communists had destroyed all archives, including the collection of fingerprints at the Police Directorate, before they had fled.]

³⁶ Cf. Winkler, *Weimar*, 81.

³⁷ The text has *kemer*.

³⁸ Gustav Klingelhöfer (1888-1961) and Toller were sentenced to long prison terms, Leviné was sentenced to death (cf. below), Egelhofer was murdered, and Max Leviné escaped.

The next day, May 3, Süssheim three times heard shooting in his street and the situation in town remained confused. Contradictory rumours about the whereabouts, life and death of the hard-pressed leaders of the Bavarian revolution kept circulating, and he took the opportunity to insert a biographical note on Dr. Leviné in his diary. He recorded that he was a Jew of Russian nationality and had been imprisoned in the fortress of St Petersburg because of his political activities but "had managed to escape and came to Germany. The Prussian Government, however, returned him to the Czarist police. Exiled to Siberia, he escaped on foot by way of Turkestan and the Caucasus. In Italy, he became a Catholic in order to mix in the highest circles and he even acquired the Italian nationality. After that, he returned to Germany and in 1903 or 1904 he taught philosophy at the University of Heidelberg."³⁹ Under a false name he had declared himself a professional revolutionary.

In the afternoon, Süssheim heard that the house of Erich Mühsam again was being besieged and that "a rather large crowd had gathered in the streets around it". At 7.30 p.m. he had a telephone call from a security agent who inquired in the name of Prime Minister Hoffmann if he was all right. Süssheim informed him that he was "and thanked him for his concern". Although the White forces were by now in control of the city, resistance had not been completely stamped out. On May 4, the first public announcements of the command of the 'Army of Liberation', directed against anti-Prussian and nationalistic propaganda, appeared in the streets. Süssheim noted that "it was rather cold and overcast, and on the whole unpleasant weather". Nevertheless, the population seemed to feel elated as never before since the beginning of the War, but "all of a sudden, at a quarter past five, [...] Communists began to shoot from several places near the Central Station. A plane appeared there which dropped some flashing bombs. I could not tell which was seen first: the gunfire or the bombs..." Fire spread from the Station towards the town centre. A soldier told Süssheim that a lady had been seen firing from the Ministry of Justice. The Army had cleared the Bahnhofsplatz⁴⁰ and the adjacent street. "The crowd scattered like a covey of partridges." Eventually, on May 5, the last shots resounded and Süssheim noted that short but ferocious firing burst out at a quarter past ten in the evening in the street where he lived.

The next day, he had news from his family in Nuremberg. On May 7, Max brought sausages from his mother and told his brother that the Hoffmann Government was now completely in control in Bavaria. A week later, on May 15, Süssheim was again able to take the train to Nuremberg but only after endless queuing at the police station on the day before in order to obtain a travel permit (the measure was abolished on July 27) and at the station for a ticket. He saw his

³⁹ These data are probably not altogether reliable, cf. *Biographisches Wörterbuch zur deutschen Geschichte* II, Munich 1974, 1641-43; Leviné studied law in Mannheim during 1903-1905.

⁴⁰ The text has *istasyon meydant*.

brother the next day and found him, again, in a very pessimistic mood. Nuremberg had been placed under the authority of a military commander and he deplored the fact that the people, as in 1848, had again been deprived of the fruits of the revolution.

In the aftermath of the aborted revolution and short-lived Bavarian Republic, hundreds of the (surviving) collaborators and leaders of the *Räterepublik* had to account for their deeds in the courtroom. The trials led to one death sentence: that of Dr. Leviné. The sentence caused wild shooting in the street where Süssheim lived on June 4. Leviné was executed on June 5, as Süssheim heard the following day from Dr. Baerwald, the Rabbi who had succeeded Professor Werner in July 1918. Dr. Baerwald had been asked to visit Leviné before his execution in Stadelheim Prison but he had declined because Leviné was a Roman Catholic. Nevertheless, the Rabbi attended the secret burial the next day and gave a short speech.

During the next month the population of Munich recovered from the worst consequences of the revolutionary period. Regular democratic procedures were restored in the administration of the country; elections were held on June 15 for the Town Council. Süssheim voted this time for the liberal German Democratic Party (DDP).⁴¹ He was to do so again on June 1920 in the elections for the *Reichstag*. In August, finally, Bavaria became an integral part of the constitutional and democratic Weimar Republic. After peace had been signed with the Entente Powers (on June 28), the Bavarian prisoners of war returned home. Süssheim saw a first group of them on September 12 in a train between Stuttgart and Munich. They told him that they had been subjected to forced labour near Calais but had been treated well, although they had not been given any meat during their imprisonment.⁴²

On January 16, 1920, the murderer of Eisner, Graf Arco-Valley was condemned to death (although never executed). The verdict provoked student demonstrations. In the evening at half past ten, coming from a tea-party at Mrs. Baerwald's, Süssheim recorded that

there was some fear for demonstrations in the air. After eleven o'clock, an enormous crowd gathered opposite the *Deutsches Theater*⁴³ near the Karlsplatz or somewhere [in the neighbourhood] and began to spread from there. But there was no danger; the police prevented their numbers swelling too much. When I returned home, everybody stood discussing the death sentence and its implications. I was home at half past eleven.

41 The text has *Alman demokrat firkaşı*.

42 See also entry for November 22, 1919.

43 The text has *Alman tiyatrosu*.

Three months later, on March 13, Germany was alarmed by the news of the Kapp⁴⁴ Putsch in Berlin; the Reich Government reportedly had fled before a reactionary freecorps unit of 8000 men. The news that a new government had been formed was announced on placards on the Marienplatz and elsewhere. Süssheim recorded that "an instantaneous turmoil [was witnessed] in the streets, such as had not been seen since last May. Many seemed to believe that the reactionaries had succeeded", but a leading functionary of the *Einwohnerwehr*,⁴⁵ set up in May, thought that the reactionaries had moved too early. He told Süssheim that they had no chance and that his hope that the Bavarian monarchy would be restored had gone. The next day, May 14, Süssheim heard that a group of officers had put the Bavarian Commander, General von Möhl,⁴⁶ under pressure to demand the resignation of Hoffmann and rumour spread that the latter had fled to Leipzig. Süssheim noted the presence of groups of soldiers in the streets who "looked exactly like the old soldiers, behaving as if they are in favour of a military government". On March 15, no trams circulated in the city and Süssheim wrote:

Between the Central Station and the Karlsplatz, and in particular near the Stachus, quite a large crowd had gathered. Small notices, placarded from four o'clock onwards, made it clear that the Munich Christian Workers' Associations were against a Kapp Government. There were no disturbances as yet.

The next day, March 16, the politician von Kahr,⁴⁷ former *Regierungspräsident* of Upper Bavaria, became Bavarian Prime Minister after the Kapp Putsch. This meant the end of one year and a half of Socialist rule. A general strike was called to forestall a possible military intervention in Munich. On March 17, Süssheim recorded that pamphlets, signed by the strike leaders, were sold on the Marienplatz in which the fall of the Kapp-Lüttwitz Junta⁴⁸ was announced. He

44 Wolfgang Kapp (1858-1922), right-wing politician and founder of the Fatherland Party (in 1917). Kapp and General von Lüttwitz tried, on 13 March 1920, to overthrow the *Reich* government; the Putsch failed on account of the general strike of the unions.

45 The text has *ehali müdafaasi*.

46 Arnold Ritter von Möhl (1867-1944), *Landeskommandant* of Bavaria from October 11, 1919, to 1922.

47 Gustav Ritter von Kahr (1862-1934), right-wing politician and Bavarian Prime Minister (March 16, 1919 - September 11, 1921). In 1923 he became *Generalstaatskommissar*; turned, with von Lossow, against the *Reich* government; suppressed the Hitler Putsch in 1923; from 1924 President of the Bavarian *Verwaltungsgerichtshof*; was shot by the National Socialists in connection with the Röhm affair.

48 Walther Freiherr von Lüttwitz (1859-1947), general and Prussian monarchist, who had refused dismissal from the *Reichswehr* before the Putsch, was appointed Commander General under Kapp.

heard a group of workers curse the Berlin Government and demand the separation of Bavaria from Prussia. He also saw a poster of the DNVP (the party he had once given his vote!) demanding that leading Jews stop interfering with German affairs. At three p.m. he passed the Central Station and saw that

while a number of young men were being conducted to the police office in the Central Station by policemen, another group of youths ran forward to liberate them. The policemen draw rubber clubs and beat one of the assailants with such force that all the others hurriedly retreated some twenty metres like a covey of partridges, expressing the filthy thoughts they had in their perverted minds while shouting: "We will get you, thieves!" Thereupon, a young policeman came out of the office, holding a pistol in his hand [...] He stood there silently, inspiring terror in the crowd of by-standers on the square.

On the 18th - the Kapp Putsch had failed and Kapp himself had fled to Sweden while Bavaria had seen the appearance of the first bourgeois government firmly backed by parliament - life seemed finally to have returned to normal. The next day, Süsseim took the train to Nuremberg, where the Putsch had clearly left its scars: a curfew had been imposed after the city had witnessed some terrible days. He heard that bloody fights had broken out on the 17th between demonstrating extremist Socialists (who had attempted to capture arms from army barracks) and the army; twenty demonstrators had been gunned down. A man who had vented his contempt of the military was seriously beaten up by members of a student corporation from Erlangen. The next day the Socialists had decided to vote for a general strike but Max had succeeded in reversing the decision while accepting the creation of a Socialist militia. The *Minderheitssozialisten* had been furious and had demonstrated in front of Max's house, upbraiding him for being a traitor.

Back in Munich, Süsseim was again confronted with signs of a growing anti-Semitism, encouraged by the insinuations of the extreme Right-wing paper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*. Its ideas found particular sympathy in the circles of officers and students, Süsseim observed (on March 21). He also heard that civil servants of Upper Bavaria had sent a petition to Berlin in which they demanded that Jews be excluded from civil service jobs. He himself found he was barred from joining the Bavarian Association of Philatelists on July 15, when he read in the Swastika-ornamented regulations that Jews could not become members. But apparently this rule was not strictly applied and he did become a member on March 17, 1921.

On February 22 of that year, Süsseim went to a lecture given by the Rabbi of Dortmund, Dr. Jacob, for the academic section of the *Zentralverein Deutscher Staatsbürger Jüdischen Glaubens*⁴⁹ in the Spatenbräu Beerhouse.

⁴⁹ The text has *Musevi dinine mensub Alman tabiyesi*; for the *Zentralverein*, Central Union of German Citizens of Jewish Faith, established in 1893 as the central agency of assimilationist Jews to combat anti-Semitism, see Watt (ed.), *An Annotated Edition of Victor Klemperer's LTI. Notizbuch eines Philologen*, 56; also Friedman, *Germany, Turkey and Zionism*, p. 11 ff.

It was scheduled to begin at half past seven. Although there was a large audience, I easily found a seat at the professors' table. Dr. Jacob was an eloquent speaker who especially was able to get his opponents excited by a painstaking, literal criticism and refutation of their insinuations. He endeavored to explain the position of the Jews by telling the story of the torments they had been exposed to and the history of their persecutions. It appeared that a number of men who had obviously not received any academic education had gained admission. They more or less form the hard core of the Students' Association which sympathizes with the nationalist and anti-Semitic movement. They tried several times to silence Dr. Jacob. Eventually, he used the expression "*Schuft*"[?] for his opponents upon which the Nationalists immediately began to leave the room [...] When he somehow excused himself by saying that the offensive expression had only been meant for the person [...] who had interrupted him, he convinced them to stay [...] Although he spoke for almost one and three quarters of an hour, he did not touch on the subject of the official anti-Semitism of the Reich, nor did he speak in any way about its leaders [...] He only spoke about the sexual problems of his enemies [...] This caused even more clamour.

When a professor of economics who was present pointed out that the whole problem could be explained by a lack of civilisation, alluding thereby to the disruptive element in the audience, the students raised hell. "The discussion was closed at eleven o'clock. I immediately went home." Some months later, on June 25, Süssheim recorded: "When I was in Nuremberg [from June 24 to 27], I heard from my mother that both she and my brother Max had received menacing letters containing a red cross bearing my brother's name. When my mother showed the letter [...] to Max, he blushed. Afterwards, Max handed the menacing letters to the Criminal Police..." Although ordered society seemed to have been restored, its civilisation certainly was still on a deplorably brutish level. Süssheim saw Max and his wife Hedwig again on August 26 (1921). He recorded:

We saw each other at five p.m. in Café Neue Börse.⁵⁰ Present were also Mrs. Posiles of Vienna and her seventeen-year-old daughter Alice. [Max and Hedwig had made their acquaintance on their last holiday.] The mother is tall, attractive, brilliant and endowed with an excessive intelligence. Although the daughter is not pretty, she is sweet, bright and artless. Mr. Posiles is director of [a number of] artificial food and albumin factories. After we had accompanied the ladies to the theatre [...], I saw Max and Hedwig in Restaurant Bergmannshof [?] for supper. We were eating when at a quarter past eight all of a sudden by-passers began to enter the beerhouse through the front door. Signs of fear and horror were evident on their faces. Because of the shortages and high prices, the Munich Socialist parties had roused the masses against the government which nurses anti-labour sympathies [...] and had announced a large meeting in the Bürgerbräu Keller [?].

(A more direct cause may have been the assassination of the former Reich Minister of Finance Erzberger,⁵¹ accused by the Right of being "a knave of the victors" because of his conciliatory policy towards the Entente Powers, on the

⁵⁰ The text has *yeni borsa*.

⁵¹ Matthias Erzberger (1875-1921), Finance Minister (1919-1920) - he was unpopular in Bavaria because of his inclination towards German centralism.

same day. It is not mentioned by Süssheim in his Diary.) "The meeting", Süssheim continued,

began at seven o'clock and ended early at eight. While street demonstrations were forbidden in a public proclamation by the Munich Director of Police, the participants had nevertheless descended towards the Ludwigsbrücke on the Isar [...] and passed to this side of the capital. At the same time, a detachment of the mounted police, the army and a number of armoured cars were thrown in by the Police Director. They proceeded in dazzling speed from the Rathausplatz⁵² to the Ludwigsbrücke, passers-by fleeing before them. The visitors of the beerhouse where we were sitting panicked and tried to get away. Due to the confusion some clients doubtlessly left without paying. Although Max was somewhat frightened at first, he finally agreed to leave and to return in my company to the Hotel Deutscher Kaiser⁵³ where he was staying [...] If the Bavarian Government had not confiscated the weapons from the workers two years before, they would have been toppled this very night. The government's situation indeed was precarious. The conscientiousness of the police rescued them.

Severe economic problems were by now undermining the public order and had been the primary motive behind the murder of Erzberger and the Socialist demonstrations. Süssheim noticed that the quality of food had perceptibly improved since the war, for instance that of bread and sausages,⁵⁴ but that prices had risen continually⁵⁵ and that supplies remained scarce and subject to rationing: meat until August 3, 1920, and bread until after November 6, 1922. Uncle Max Morgenstern even sent food-parcels from New York to his relatives in Germany.⁵⁶ Anti-Semitism and the threat of political upheavals were to remain important themes of Süssheim's Diary during the following years.

On December 10, 1922, he attended a meeting of the Jewish Society Licaria (he had also resumed his habit of frequenting their balls) to commemorate the twenty-two members who had died in the war for their fatherland. A bronze tablet on which their names were inscribed was solemnly unveiled and speeches were held by, among others, Rabbi Baerwald. He stressed the necessity of resistance to the growing anti-Semitism.

By this time, Adolf Hitler⁵⁷ was beginning to become a notorious public personality. On January 23, 1923, Süssheim recorded that the state of emergency was proclaimed for Bavaria.

52 The text has *Belediye meydanı*.

53 The text has *Alman imperatori*.

54 Entries for October 16-18, 1919.

55 Entries for December 19, 1919, April 6, May 21 and June 19, 1920.

56 Entry for March 20, 1920.

57 Adolf Hitler (1889-1945), leader of the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (official abbreviation NSDAP; unofficially abbreviated to *Nazi* in negative connotations); in 1933 Chancellor and self-styled *Führer* of Germany (1933-1945).

Fearing for the actions of Adolf Hitler, the government had taken recourse to this measure. There was apparently no other purpose behind it. But Royalists, such as my landlord, were hoping for the restoration of the crown to Prince Rupprecht. I for my part thought that measures were being prepared for the reinstatement of general conscription in response to the hostility shown by the French on the Rhine.

(Süssheim was to visit the region - the Rhineland was occupied by French and Belgian troops - one week and a half later and saw Belgian soldiers at Aachen station.)

On April 12, he attended a meeting of the *Centralverein* on the premises of the Concordia Club. Chairman was the alcohol manufacturer Ludwig Wassermann.⁵⁸ Speeches were given in which the growing anti-Semitism and the necessity for solidarity were again discussed. One of the speakers pointed out the fact that in rural areas such as Franconia pogrom-like actions against Jews had taken place. In one case an eighty-five-year old man had been thrown out of his house which subsequently had been burnt down. Money was collected from those present for actions against Hitler (Süssheim contributed 2000 M). The publication of a public note of protest, however, was disapproved of by Baerwald who thought it necessary to avoid being associated with the Socialists who had posed questions in parliament about Hitler's activities. Until the very end, many Jews thought it wise to act discreetly and not to irritate any party.

Political tension increased through the, now often open, provocative and violent activities of the more or less militarized organizations of the extreme Right and Left. On August 11 of the same year, Süssheim witnessed a large scale demonstration of Socialists in Nuremberg on the occasion of Constitution Day (*Verfassungstag*).⁵⁹ He wrote:

Delegations of Socialist workers passed through the city in a long procession. On reaching the Leopoldhain,⁶⁰ they were looking forward to listen to the chairman of the German Chamber of Deputies, the Socialist Mr. Levi.⁶¹ But the most important part of the manifestation [...] was the rallying in Nuremberg of the Socialist Youth from all over Germany [...] Fifteen days previously, they had gathered in Erlangen. After a week [...] they had come to Nuremberg. Every delegation was carrying red Socialist banners and a great number of the new German flags which have the colours black, yellow and red. I had never seen so many new German and Socialist flags. The youth procession lasted one and a half to two hours. The rear was formed by the Nuremberg Socialists whose procession took 37 minutes [...] They were all big-bodied men, tall, healthy and blooming, and you could not tell they were only poor workers.

⁵⁸ *Kommerzienrat* Dr. Ludwig Wassermann, director of the firm of Max Wassermann, 'Spiritusaffinerie und Essigfabrik', cf. Lamm, *Vergangene Tage*, 429.

⁵⁹ The text has *kanun-i esasi günü*.

⁶⁰ The text has *Leopold ormanlığı*.

⁶¹ Paul Levi (1883-1930), lawyer, Communist, later USPD and SDP politician; *Reichstag* member from 1921.

From the autumn of the preceding year (1922) meanwhile, inflation in Germany had been assuming alarming proportions. We are able to follow the process in Süssheim's diary: postal tariffs doubled on January 14 (1923) after having increased steadily for a long time, and trebled on June 30. Bread cost 400 M per pound on February 3 and 650 M on June 2 (when the Dollar was equivalent to 250 M). On June 20, a tram ticket cost 500 M. Süssheim had to pay 800,000 M rent for August and would have to pay three-and-a-half million M for September! His salary had risen to over a million marks per month and would be paid twice a week from October 18. On May 9, he read in the papers that the opportunity had been created to exchange aluminum 200 M coins for 25,000 M on the Marienplatz in the afternoon. A large crowd gathered there but the announcements soon turned out to have been a wry practical joke.

During these months of excessive inflation, social unrest increased and violent confrontations between left and right took place. On September 26, the state of emergency was proclaimed in Bavaria and von Kahr appointed *Generalstaatskommissar*⁶² by the (Centre-Right) Knilling⁶³ Cabinet. Süssheim noted that the intention of these measures had been to forestall a threatening military intervention by the Reich Government: the Bavarian authorities had done nothing to suppress Right wing, in particular, Nazi activism, not even after the *Münchener Post* had declared that Hitler clearly was planning a coup in imitation of Primo de Rivera⁶⁴ in Spain, by mobilising his followers in the fourteen largest beerhouses in the city. Württemberg and other troops loyal to the Reich had already been contracted at the borders. This development did not discourage the Right, on the contrary, the one-sided measures against the political Left and the Nationalist policy by von Kahr incited Hitler to move ahead. (It was also a public secret that the Commissar stood in close contact with both Hitler and Ludendorff,⁶⁵ the leading personality behind the *Deutscher Kampfbund*.)

November 9, 1923, was the day of the Hitler Putsch. According to Süssheim's version of events, he "came across Mrs. Bischof's sister", who, as he continued in his Diary,

told me that the head of the German state, Ebert,⁶⁶ had been forced to resign, that Hitler had

62 The text has *komisar-i umumi*.

63 Eugen Ritter von Knilling (1865-1927) was Bavarian Prime Minister from November 8, 1922, to May 5, 1924.

64 Miguel Primo de Rivera y Orbaneja (1870-1930), general and politician, prime minister of Spain from 1923 to 1930.

65 Erich Ludendorff (1865-1937), Prussian general, later also Nazi activist; participated in both the Kapp and Hitler Putsches.

66 Friedrich Ebert (1871-1925), Social-Democrat politician, first President of the Weimar Republic (1919-1925).

been made Dictator and General Ludendorff Commander-in-Chief, while Stresemann⁶⁷ had consented [to these changes...] When I reached the Marienplatz, I saw the first two public announcements of the new government. These were handed out to the population and were also attached to the windows near the shop-entrances of the ready-made clothing retailers of Bach⁶⁸ and Neumeyer [?]. This gave me the impression that both well-known shops were doomed to be confiscated. After I had arranged some business with the Transport Office outside town, at a quarter past eleven I saw a big car manned with municipal policemen who were wearing blue uniforms and carrying carbines, turning into the Neuhauser-Strasse from the side-street where the police office is located. They fastened a proclamation, signed by Matt⁶⁹ in the name of the Bavarian Cabinet, to the building of the Academy. This was the first sign of life from the old government since yesterday evening. Matt expressed his confidence that the coup d'état brought about by Hitler and the Prussian Ludendorff had been stopped short by now and that all military forces and police units again were loyal to the Government. At that moment it was clear that the police stood on the side of the Government, although the populace were perhaps still thinking that Hitler was in control. I went to the Public Kitchen where I had not been for a long time, and after I had eaten two bowls of soup, I went to the Marienplatz at noon. A quarter of an hour before, the Mayor and some council members had been arrested by a number of Hitler's men and had been sent by lorry to an unknown destination. On an elevated spot next to the railing around the *Mariensäule*⁷⁰ stood an old man who vented Hitler's ideas in the latter's name with a weak voice that was hardly understandable. I could not grasp what he was saying and moved on. Quite a crowd had gathered on the square. They talked about Hitler. By saying that the military establishment was on the side of the old government, I alarmed the Hitler partisans.

After I had been home for some time, I again went out at one o'clock. At a quarter to one, a Hitler gang opened fire with an automatic gun opposite the Royal Palace and killed a number of people, but the military activity of Hitler was cut short. The ensuing confrontation ended [in a victory] for Kahr and Lossow [the Military Commander]. When I left the house, pro-Hitler reinforcements, some twenty to twenty-five persons, wearing blood-red armbands with the Swastika, came from the Hildegardstrasse and passed by our house. When they sensed danger, they went around the school in the Knöbelstrasse [?] and turned back to the Isar behind the Kanalstrasse.⁷¹ In the Kanalstrasse, I saw lorries manned by armed soldiers, driving at full speed from the Marienplatz towards the Isar [the soldiers came from Augsburg]. They had apparently been on their way to the headquarters of Hitler's party [...] There were soldiers on the Marienplatz but not very many. I went on to the Residenzplatz⁷² by way of the Dienerstrasse. On my way there, I saw fleeing Hitler troopers turn one by one into side streets. On the Residenzplatz, these Hitler partisans formed a huge numerical majority and were molesting their opponents.

In order to have two ribs of my umbrella repaired which were broken [in the turmoil on the

67 Gustav Stresemann (1878-1929), National-Liberal politician, Reich Chancellor in 1923 and Foreign Minister (1923-1929).

68 Isidor Bach, *Herren- und Knabenbekleidung*, Sendlingerstrasse 4-6.

69 Franz Matt, Bavarian Minister for Church and School Affairs from March 16, 1920, to November 9, 1926.

70 The text has *Mariye sütümü*.

71 The text has *Vadi caddesi*.

72 The text has *Saray meydanı*.

Residenzplatz], I went as far as the Ost Bahnhof,⁷³ and from there to the university [...] where I stayed until eight o'clock.

Although my landlady and her husband are Hitler partisans, they criticized him violently. The thing that mostly grieved the populace and increased their wrath, was that Ludendorff was reported to have been severely wounded in the stomach by a bullet. But it was not Ludendorff who had been severely wounded, but the much younger Counsellor at the Bavarian Court of Appeal of the same height, a fierce Hitler supporter...

Süsheim added: "At four p.m. it was announced that Ludendorff had been arrested."

Before seven a.m. on the next day, November 10, 1923, Süsheim went to the university and noted:

The Vice-Chancellor, Goetz, is Viennese and attached to the parties of the right. Although meetings of every sort had been prohibited, he did not think it necessary to forbid students connected with these to hold a meeting. I went only to the last part of this meeting [...] that had begun at four o'clock in the afternoon.

One of the speakers advised the students to go and reinforce the ranks of what had been left of Hitler's gangs in Ramersdorf, another urged them to unite in front of the university building and march in protest towards the town centre.

Immediately, all reacted positively and poured en masse toward the city. As soon as they had closed their ranks, the Vice-Chancellor called the Director of the Munich Police and erroneously informed him that "they were only patriotic but inoffensive youths who would not think of doing any harm". In the centre, the students split into two to three groups, and demonstrated until ten o'clock. They halted in front of the Hotel Regina and gave vent to their anti-Semitic feelings by shouting: "Jews out!". One of the participants stepped in front of the Wittelsbacher Brunnen⁷⁴ and spoke against Goetz and for Hitler. The university was closed at 7 p.m. instead of at 8 p.m.

At 10 a.m. on Monday November 12, the students again held a meeting "and made an extraordinary amount of noise", Süsheim observed. A naval officer who was present made a speech in which he shouted that, if need be, he was ready to take Hitler's place and fight the Republic. Professor Du Moulin-Eckart⁷⁵ of the *Technische Hochschule* drew the attention of the students when he declared that "every one of them was more to his liking than the whole Government together". Early that afternoon, the Senate of the university grudgingly deplored the irregularities. The university was closed (to open again on November 16). Later that afternoon, Süsheim heard that Hitler had been

73 The text has *Şark istasyonu*.

74 The text has *Wittelsbah çeşmesi*.

75 Richard Graf von Moulin-Eckart auf Bertolzheim (b. 1864).

arrested.⁷⁶ This meant the end of the Putsch.

On November 13, Süssheim reflected on the present political situation and the emergency measures taken by von Kahr, such as the suppression of the Socialist newspapers and the Communist Party. They also included - and this was most disturbing - plans to force Jews to leave the country. On 30 October he heard at the *Insel* Club that already on October 15 30 per cent of the Jews of East-European origin, consisting of two hundred to three hundred families, had been forced to leave the city. One of the families had been resident in Munich for forty years.⁷⁷ On the other hand, von Kahr's Bavarian Nationalism made his loyalty to the Weimar Republic ('the Red Reich') seem dubious. On November 24, Süssheim heard from Professor Mann that the Commissar had schemes to set up a Danubian state of which Prince Rupprecht was to become co-ruler for the Bavarian part.

By then the staggering inflation had been suppressed by a strict financial policy. Süssheim wrote on November 24 that the salaries of *Privatdozenten* would be reduced from 20,000 to 4000 and later to 2000 (Gold-)marks per annum. Although these measures were drastic, they were considered to be the only way out of the economic collapse. On December 9, Süssheim recorded that could now afford again, after a long time, dine at the *Insel* Club (at an expense of 4 to 5 RM). He thought that he had not eaten so well for years: "I had noodle soup, fish, salad, goose with cabbage, roasted chestnuts and cold pudding", he noted.

Later that month he heard more details about the French occupation of the Rhine area and the Palatinate (and the German resistance against it) when he met the mayors of Ludwigshafen and Nuremberg, Dr. Christian Hess and Dr. Otto, at his brother's on December 30. Hoffmann and the French Governor of the Palatinate, Mr. de Metz, apparently had conceived the plan to separate the province from Bavaria proper after the appointment of Dr. von Kahr on August 26. Hoffmann had announced the separation on November 3, but had been forced to renounce the idea by his own (Socialist) party.

The Mayor of Nuremberg gave an account of how the Berlin Government had reacted to the developments in Bavaria and the Hitler Putsch.

Towards the end of last October, the *Grüne Polizei*⁷⁸ had begun to prevent Nationalist military units [...] from entering at the Nuremberg border. It was understood from hints by Ludendorff that von Lossow had vague plans to move against Berlin [...] Thereupon, Mr. von Kahr had sent an order, signed by himself, to the treasury in Bamberg to pay the expenses of the Nationalist Party, but the office had not recognized von Kahr's signature, and was only ready to accept that

⁷⁶ Hitler was arrested in the villa of his crony Ernst ("Putzi") Hanfstaengl (1887-1975) near Munich on November 11.

⁷⁷ Cf. Max Kalter, 'Hundert Jahre Ostjuden in München 1880-1980', in Lamm, *Vergangene Tage*, 392-99, 394-95.

⁷⁸ The text has *Yeşil polis*.

of the Bavarian Minister of Finance. The Minister of Finance, however, was not satisfied with Kahr's explanation [...] His lack of money and the fact that the secrets of the conspirators [...] had come into the open, made Hitler attack. On November 6, Kahr and Lossow, though, denied that any actions against Berlin for the near future had been detected. In the afternoon of November 8, colonels of the Bavarian Army had been with Lossow in Munich and they had heard detailed measures for counteractions in the case of a coup by Hitler from him. Thus, he was forced to contradict his own information on the same evening.

On that same evening of the 8th, Dr. Otto had told [everyone] that he could not be phoned [...] Although, past midnight, the Berlin Minister of War, Dr. Gessler,⁷⁹ had tried for about half an hour to call him, nobody in Dr. Otto's house had paid any attention to the continuous ringing [...] Eventually, Dr. Otto's daughter had gone to the telephone, had understood the important position of the person who wished to speak to [Dr. Otto] and had called her father. In this way, Dr. Otto had been informed of the Munich coup by Dr. Gessler. [He heard that measures had already been taken against Bavaria and that rail and postal connections had been severed.] When Dr. Otto had asked if, as had been the case with Thuringia, the state of emergency had been proclaimed in Bavaria, Dr. Gessler had replied in the negative and said that he would discuss the matter forthwith with General von Lossow. Although the time had come to restore order in Bavaria [...], he did not want to occupy himself with this [...] Thereupon, Dr. Otto had spoken on the telephone with Colonel Beck of the Nuremberg Military Command and had asked him: "What will the Nuremberg Army do?" The latter had answered that he had been in Munich the day before and had been given definite instructions to suppress National-Socialist riots. [So, Colonel Beck would be on the alert.] Thereupon, at half past one in the night, Dr. Otto had also phoned the Commissar of the Bavarian Government for Nuremberg who had said he would take the necessary measures against the Nazis and the Left-wing parties.

According to what Dr. Otto thought, or rather, suspected, it had not been Lossow but the Minister of Education, Dr. Matt, who had called the Augsburg Army to Munich through the Governor of that town. Dr. Matt had arrived in Regensburg at one o'clock in that night. From there [...], Dr. Matt had made contact with the other parts of Bavaria. In this way, the news announced by Dr. Otto, that the state of emergency had spread over the border from Thuringia into Bavaria, had reached the ears of such pillars of state as Matt, Kahr and Lossow; Dr. Otto pretended that he actually had caused the volte-face of Kahr and the announcement of countermeasures against Hitler. Although the official time of this announcement, made by telegram, had been half past one a.m., in reality [the telegram] had been sent at 3.53 a.m.. After the Hitler Putsch had been suppressed, the Berlin Government had lifted the rail and postal blockade against Bavaria at 5 p.m. Dr. Otto was also of the opinion that the *Deutscher Tag*,⁸⁰ held in the beginning of October in Nuremberg, had reinforced the Nationalist movement, particularly in Bamberg [...] The town's Mayor, Dr. Wächter, had been besieged for three days during the coup and had fallen victim to heart disease. His nerves had been shattered and he was now recovering in Bad Reichenhall. Although he had repeatedly been proposed as a candidate Prime Minister, this had become an impossibility after he had called General von Lossow a traitor "who should have been put against the wall". According to Dr. Otto, Kahr intended to have Hitler declared insane after he had heard of the coup, and Ludendorff exonerated for the latter's promise to keep silence. Although Hitler is now in prison and his cronies have been silenced, Ludendorff continues his opposition against Kahr and Lossow.

The suppression of the coup, however, restored order only temporarily. On December 2, Süssheim noted that a military parade in Munich was disturbed by

⁷⁹ Otto Gessler (1875-1955), politician and *Wehr Minister* under W. Cuno from 1922 to 1923.

⁸⁰ The text has *Alman günü*.

demonstrating Nazi students. Coming from the Brienner-Strasse, they were dispersed at gunpoint on the Odeonsplatz; people wearing badges of forbidden organisations were arrested by the *Grüne Polizei*. On January 15, on the occasion of the Vice-Chancellor's jubilee, students who were members of the SS⁸¹ formations wanted to demonstrate against the Minister of Education, Matt, and invite Ludendorff in uniform to attend the festivities. (These were cancelled altogether when this became known).⁸²

Although order had been restored - von Kahr and von Lossow were dismissed on February 17-18 under pressure from the Reich Government - and Hitler had been taken into custody, his person remained a reality to the public mind. When Süssheim made it clear to his landlord, Mr. Bischof, that he was not able to pay more rent than the legally sanctioned 34 RM, the latter pathetically reacted: "This is a declaration of war [...], I will go to Hitler!" (February 10, 1924).

2. Saving the Family Capital

The threatening collapse of the ordered, if authoritarian, Bavarian society had induced Süssheim, as said above, to transfer shares to the value of 224,000 M and consisting mainly of Bavarian state bonds⁸³ to a safe of the Royal, then: State Bank in Munich on October 1918. More drastic measures, amply described in the Diary, were to follow. On February 28, 1919, during the troubled period of the *Räterepublik*, Süssheim recovered the shares and his money from the bank (instead of which he put a copy of Aqşarayi's History and two volumes of his Diary into the safe) and took the valuables home.

A month later, he conceived the idea of bringing the capital into safety by transferring it to Switzerland after new fiscal measures had been announced by the authorities. On March 16 he consulted, among others, Dr. Ludwig Weil who had advised Süssheim before on financial matters.⁸⁴ Weil thought the transaction would cost him five per cent of the capital's value. Süssheim also discussed the matter with Dr. Weil's brother, the engineer Weil (on March 19) and with his brother-in-law Eugen Kirschbaum. The latter told him (on March 20) that he would already be glad if he were able to secure half of his possessions but thought such a thing impossible. On March 22, consultations with Weil and the latter's business-partner Jacob Grünwald were continued in the vaults of the Bavarian Bank. Süssheim had met the latter in the summer of 1917; both Grünwald and Weil had at the time been involved in the trade of contraband and

81 Abbreviation of *Schutzstaffel*; in the text *Silâh halkası*.

82 Entry for December 14, 1923.

83 Entry for March 19, 1919.

84 Entries for May 25, August 1 and October 16, 1918.

in smuggling to Switzerland, making a lot of money.⁸⁵ Grünewald confirmed that Süssheim would indeed have to pay a commission of between four and five per cent needed to bribe officials; he was convinced, though, that Dr. Weil and his partner would also profit from the transaction.

Nevertheless, by April 1919, when political developments seemed most inauspicious for capital owners, Süssheim decided to take drastic steps. On April 12, he handed his effects, worth 177,563 M, to Dr. Weil, who in turn gave them to Grünewald on July 7.⁸⁶ Süssheim saw the latter on July 10 (Grünewald regularly came to Munich in order to visit his relatives) and he was told the effects had been deposited in the *Banca Svizzera-Italiana* at Locarno where he, Grünewald, kept his own fortune. He had bought a villa in the neighbourhood so as not to raise any suspicions with the authorities - normally he lived in Zurich - and told Süssheim, moreover, that he saw himself obliged to charge six, maybe even six-and-a-half per cent commission. Süssheim grudgingly agreed to six per cent on July 12.

Everything seemed to have been arranged satisfactorily, but when Süssheim visited Dr. Weil on November 29, it appeared to his surprise that a conflict had arisen between the latter and Grünewald, and Weil advised him to transfer his capital to New York where a relative of his wife possessed a safe. Süssheim was alarmed but decided to leave things as they were for the time being.

Meanwhile, from March of the same year (1919), Süssheim had been assisting his mother at her request in sorting out her rather complicated financial affairs now that the Bavarian government was showing an ever more grim face. He accompanied her several times to the State Bank in Nuremberg where she kept her securities and money in order to consult her agent about how to avoid paying too much capital tax. In pre-war years, as was the case in 1913 and 1914, she had already thought it expedient to declare only about a fifth of her capital (to the value of some 1,000,000 M) to the fisc.⁸⁷ Her husband usually had declared an income of 8000 M per annum (whereas it amounted to 30,000 M).⁸⁸ But this procedure might not suffice now for the remainder of her capital; it was decided that a further 160,000 marks-worth of her securities should also be transferred to Switzerland.⁸⁹ Süssheim delivered the capital to Dr. Weil on December 25. The latter was to receive six per cent commission, and Grünewald had agreed to bring the valuables into safety (on December 21). In some way or another, though, the press had smelt a rat. Max, a figure of public interest, was, together

85 Entry for January 27, 1923.

86 Entry for July 10, 1919.

87 Entries for December 29, 1919, and January 31, 1920.

88 Entry for February 10, 1913.

89 Entries for March 24 and 31, 1919.

with his mother-in-law Mrs. Strauss, accused of having illegally transferred his capital abroad and of having deposited 800,000 M in Switzerland. He took legal action against the journalists in question and won his case (on November 3). Süssheim was relieved and well realized that he, instead of his brother, should have been taken to court.

On January 23, 1920, Süssheim again had an interview with Dr. Weil who urged him again to withdraw his capital from Switzerland (and from the clutches of the dubious Grünewald) and invest his money, for instance, in his own chemical factory at an interest of five per cent. This did not appeal much to Süssheim, who now suspected that something was wrong: Grünewald did not react to his letters (signed Q. Graf for security reasons) in which he was asked to exchange shares of, among others, *Badische Anilin*, for new issues.⁹⁰ Süssheim tried to put pressure on him by requesting the restoration of the effects.⁹¹ Eventually Grünewald complied (on February 4). Dr. Weil also offered to act as go-between and intervene with Grünewald in Zurich. But when Süssheim met the latter on March 6, it appeared that he had not seen Weil and he received the 19,970 M resulting from the requested transaction.⁹²

Meanwhile, Süssheim had gone to Nuremberg several times⁹³ to discuss financial matters with his mother. Mother and son decided not to react to the general fiscal amnesty offered by the Government which made it possible to legalize 'black' capital if declared before January 1, 1920, but which implied in any case a fine of about 15,000 M. Only the amount of 110,097 M was left in the open bank account in Nuremberg⁹⁴ and 780,326 M were transferred to the dresser in his mother's bedroom. Süssheim had been given the key of the cupboard on December 14 (1919). Probably the greater part of this last capital was subsequently transferred to Switzerland as well, although the Diary is not clear on this point;⁹⁵ Süssheim regularly handed over dividends and other profits procured from Grünewald to his mother for her living expenses.⁹⁶

During the first months of 1920 things went smoothly. Süssheim kept in regular contact with Grünewald who paid him his dividends and profits obtained

⁹⁰ Entries for January 24, 26 and 29, 1920.

⁹¹ Entries for January 30 and 31, 1920.

⁹² Entry for March 10, 1920.

⁹³ On November 31, December 13 and 29, 1919 and January 27, 1920.

⁹⁴ Entry for February 2, 1920.

⁹⁵ Cf. entries for June 17 and August 21, 1922.

⁹⁶ Entries for March 11 and April 23, 1920.

from several lucrative transactions,⁹⁷ but on June 4 Süssheim was again warned by Dr. Weil that Grünewald was certainly not to be trusted; that he ought to go to Zurich himself and withdraw his effects; that he himself had been defrauded by Grünewald and lost 10,000 M. When they met on June 7 and 8, however, Grünewald again assured him that he could dispose of his possessions at any time he wished. Nevertheless, Süssheim requested him (on July 5) to transfer his and his mother's effects to an open account. Thereupon, Grünewald agreed to deposit the capital in the *Banca Svizzera-Italiana* under his own name but would give Süssheim permission to make use of the account.⁹⁸ Their financial relations remained as they were before.⁹⁹

Süssheim was alarmed when he read in a Berlin paper on September 12 that the mail of, among others, the Weils and Grünewald had been confiscated by the police who suspected them, despite their pleas of innocence, of illegally transferring capital abroad. It had been Grünewald's idea to transfer Süssheim's effects to the Zurich bank for which he worked, but Süssheim now wished to have more direct access to his capital. For this purpose he travelled to Switzerland on September 25, noting in his diary:

I arrived in Lindau towards a quarter to 6 [p.m.]. I took lodgings in a most vulgar inn, called Königsbräu¹⁰⁰ and paid 8 M for one night and a very dirty room.

The next day, he went to Friedrichshafen by boat, saw the town and walked the 23,3 kilometres back after dinner. For the 27th, he recorded:

In the afternoon I went to the harbour in order to go to Switzerland. I showed my things; I carried the list of my papers [kept] in Switzerland in the socks I was wearing. I handed the gold, worth 10 M, which I had in my wallet, to the customs officer for safe-keeping. At 1.20 [p.m.], the boat left. It was called the 'München'. Because of the restrictive policy of the Swiss government, there were only 525 [?] passengers. The ticket Lindau-Romanshorn, second class, cost 2,30 M, in Swiss currency: 2,30 francs. Consequently, paying in Swiss currency, one loses 20 M. After two hours and a half [we] arrived at Romanshorn. At the station of Romanshorn, I was pleased to see numerous newspapers in French and many [other] languages. The train was clean and it was not crowded. It struck me that the railway employees at the station and officials were dressed in the French style [...] The ticket Romanshorn-Zurich, third class, [cost] 6,25 M. I arrived in Zurich at 5.25 [p.m...] I asked for a cheap hotel [...] and obtained a room for 4,75 M. In the evening, I went to the so-called Bankencafé¹⁰¹ but there was no decent society. Nevertheless, I regarded myself lucky to be able to read again after a long time the new issues of the *Journal de Genève* and *The Times*.

97 Entries for March 10 to May 8, 1920.

98 Entries for August 9 and 10, 1920.

99 Entries for July 5, 15 and August 10, 1920.

100 The text has *melik bira fabrikası*.

101 The text has *bankalar kahvesi*.

Süssheim met Grünewald three days later. The latter had his effects with him and Süssheim was relieved, after he had inspected them, that everything was in order. The next day, though, it appeared that the Commercial and Industrial Bank¹⁰² refused to deposit the effects under Grünewald's name, and it was decided that they should be returned to the *Banca Svizzera-Italiana* in Lugano. (This occurred on October 2.¹⁰³) Süssheim returned to Munich and affairs continued much as they had done before, although he sometimes suffered losses because letters were delayed by the censor.¹⁰⁴

On March 22, 1922, however, Süssheim heard that the bank in Zurich for which Grünewald was working was no longer able to pay its debts and financial worries apparently caused his agent heart complaints.¹⁰⁵ When they met again on April 15, Grünewald assured him that his capital was safe, but when Süssheim insisted on the restitution of the effects, it turned out that part of them were kept in the ruined Zurich bank after all. On June 8 and 17, Süssheim recovered *Diskontobank* and *Münchener Rückversicherung* effects worth 450,000 M. Urged by Weil, Süssheim summoned Grünewald to restore also the remaining valuables¹⁰⁶ which were to be deposited in the *Landauer Bank* in Munich.

On June 30, he received a letter in which Grünewald demanded the payment of 61,000 M before he would restore the remaining effects. Indignant, Süssheim saw that the bill included the rent of a safe in the Zurich bank for 1922, of which he had only made use during a part of the year. On August 2, Grünewald wrote again and threatened to sell part of the effects if Süssheim did not pay before the fifteenth of the same month. The latter consulted a friend, the lawyer Alfred Bauer, on August 1 and 4 (Bauer advised him to pay and did not want to become involved in a lawsuit concerning the flight of capital), and went to Grünewald's bank to try and prevent the sale of his valuables, but was referred to their client (on August 14). On the recommendation of his friend Paul Heim, Süssheim thereupon wrote to Grünewald (on August 16 and 17) and offered to pay 23,000 M. Grünewald answered on August 18 but did not relent, demanding payment before the 23rd of at least 54,000 M. On the 19th, Süssheim again consulted Paul Heim, the lawyer Hugo Jacobi (a friend of Max's), and, on the 20th, Max himself who pointed to the risk of an intervention by the fiscal authorities should a lawsuit take place. On August 25, the case was negotiated between Grünewald, the latter's banker and Jacobi. They decided that Süssheim should pay 53,000 M. He could do nothing but sign the agreement at Jacobi's office on the same day.

102 The text has *Ticaret ve sanayi bankası*.

103 Entry for October 6, 1920.

104 Entry for January 21, 1921.

105 Entry for February 17, 1922.

106 Entries for June 9, 21 and 25.

He received the effects on September 9 in the same office and paid the lawyer 52,422 M, having deducted the value of the missing coupures of September and October. A month later, on October 10, Süssheim received, to his surprise, a bill from Jacobi to the amount of 12,000 M for the latter's services as an intermediary. On Max's recommendation, he paid the requested sum on October 18. This was the end of the tiresome and costly adventure. Süssheim did not see Grünewald again. (On January 27, 1923, he read in the papers that the latter had died of heart-failure in Locarno at the age of fifty-six.)

The restored effects were, most probably, deposited under an assumed name in the *Landauer Bank* in Munich (as Süssheim had requested Grünewald to do for him on June 25). After this, he did not pay much attention to his and his mother's financial affairs until January 18, 1924, when he visited the bank. There he learned that the (Jewish-owned) institution had run into trouble because of the Hitler Putsch of November 9, the year before; in the aftermath most clients had recovered their deposits. The management were under pressure to dismiss their employees, but were trying to avoid this by threatening to disclose the real names of their clients. Süssheim was again urged to declare the capital to the tax-collector. We do not know if he followed this advice; no more facts are revealed on this matter in the remaining seven folios of the Diary dealing with this period.

3. Relatives and the Death of a Nephew

Apart from his and his mother's financial affairs, Süssheim was, as usual, involved in other matters concerning his family. On May 19, 1919, a commission of the Nuremberg housing department visited his mother's house on Marienorgaben, and she was forced to take another three lodgers.¹⁰⁷ Three rooms were appropriated by the municipal authorities on July 14. Max was also in trouble. Süssheim heard from him on April 27, 1920, when he visited him in the *Landtag*, that he would have to give up his seat in the Diet because his lawyer's office had been running into debt. The amount had increased to 32,000 M during the war.

The next year, his mother again raised the subject of changing her testament which, in fact, was inseparable from the will of her deceased husband. Süssheim spent some time making a rough draft (in April 1921) but Max made it clear that nothing could be changed with respect to the division of her capital among the legal inheritors after her death.¹⁰⁸

From December 16, 1921, Süssheim went to some trouble to help a relative of his from St. Louis, USA, a certain Albert Lippmann, who came to study at Munich University. Süssheim spoke with the Vice-Chancellor on December 17

¹⁰⁷ Entry for May 22, 1919.

¹⁰⁸ Entry for April 25, 1921.

and declared that Albert's father had publicly raised his voice against the participation of the United States in the war against Germany. Upon this, Albert was accepted as a student (on January 17, 1922). We learn that he attended Süssheim's Persian classes.¹⁰⁹ To Süssheim's surprise, however, he soon wished to leave Munich for Paris because of the high enrolment fee he had to pay (1007 M, against normally 500 M) and because of the hostility that the Germans showed towards Americans.¹¹⁰ Süssheim hardly saw him again until the end of February. Albert had established friendly connections with the thirty-five-year-old Hermann Matern, a student of medicine from Königsberg, to whom he had lent money and with whom he had made plans to leave for Eastern Prussia.¹¹¹ Süssheim feared for his future, and thought the province's "proximity to the borders of three new countries" especially risky. At Süssheim's request, Matern came to see him, and he noted that the man

was tall, cheerful and well-behaved. He had been born in Eastern Prussia in 1896 and served as cavalryman and later as footsoldier in the World War. At the end of the war he was lieutenant. After the war, he served in the Baltic Army of Bermond-Avaloff.¹¹² Afterwards, he joined the army of Horthy,¹¹³ the Hungarian reactionary Prime Minister, but during the last autumn, when the latter tried to force the abdication of King Charles,¹¹⁴ he went over to the King's side and was captured by the Austrians.

Matern had come to Munich in January, had worked in a factory but had been dismissed after it had been found out that he suffered from a venereal disease for which he had consulted Dr. Hirsch. Thereupon, he had registered as a student of medicine and had met Albert. Immediately, friendship had sprung up between them and from that day Albert had not again been seen at the university. "He only followed Hermann. Whatever Hermann said, was done." They travelled around and "only returned to Munich on February 24. [Albert] came to my house on February 25 to take leave, having the intention to go to Königsberg with his friend on the 26th." Süssheim told Matern that Albert was not to leave without his parents' permission. "Hermann agreed and bowed his head deeply in

109 Entry for March 2, 1922.

110 Entry for January 18, 1922.

111 Entry for February 25, 1922.

112 Bermond, from 1880 Prince Avalov-Bermond, Russian general who commanded a private army which fought on the side of German and Czarist units against the Bolsheviks in the Baltic during 1918.

113 Horthy, Miklós (Nagybányai, 1868-1957), admiral and regent, fascist dictator of Hungary (1920-1944).

114 Charles I (1887-1922), grand-nephew of Emperor Francis Joseph I; Emperor of Austria and (as Charles IV) King of Hungary (1916-1918).

expression of his obedience."

But on the evening of the next day, February 26, Süssheim was phoned by Dr. Hirsch. "He told me he would come to me together with Albert Lippmann who was desperate. They stayed with me from half past 8 until 10 [p.m.]. He told me in full detail that Hermann Matern, who had been consulting him for venereal disease since December 19, 1921, had dominated Albert [completely] and had been living at the latter's expense." Matern had not left for Königsberg but had gone to Tegernsee to the wife of a lawyer from Cologne

whom he had seduced with Albert's money [...] He had, with Albert's permission, taken the latter's fur coat and big handbag. On the evening of his departure, he had threatened to kill Albert if he disclosed their circumstances. Albert [...] had during the last two nights slept on a small and narrow sofa in Hermann's room but had not been able to sleep. Dr. Hirsch guessed that Hermann had taken at least 4000 M from Albert. (He told me afterwards that it had been more than 20,000 M.) According to Dr. Hirsch, Albert ought to be separated completely from Hermann. I agreed.

Süssheim intended to inform the police in order to recover at least the coat and bag but Albert was still afraid of Hermann and opposed the idea. "Albert slept at Dr. Hirsch' place."

The next day, February 27, Süssheim began to look for a room for him and decided (on March 1) to give him a monthly allowance of 50 M; Max and Eugen agreed to contribute another 100 M (March 13 and 19). Later that month, Albert decided to leave for good. Süssheim bade him goodbye on the 24th. He saw him for the last time on August 16 in the company of his parents Alice and Gustav Lippmann when they were visiting Munich.

During this period when Süssheim was busy rescuing Albert from the hands of a ruthless blackmailer, he was twice summoned to Nuremberg because of a serious illness of his nephew Rudi Kirschbaum, son of Eugen and Paula (on January 11 and 18, 1922). It developed from a badly executed tonsillectomy on December 19 (1921). Süssheim's mother, who was in very bad shape herself, had hurried back from Wiesbaden where she was taking the waters as a remedy against the consequences of Spanish influenza. (Her son indignantly noted at the same time that she still refused to heat her house properly.)¹¹⁵ It soon appeared that the boy was beyond help and he died on January 19. In the morning of the 20th, Süssheim arrived in Nuremberg and recorded:

Because there was nobody at the station, I went to my aunt Lina Vandewart and heard that Rudi had died. Together with my aunt, I went to my mother who was terribly upset.

Because Mother wished to see Rudi for [the last] time, she had, together with her maid, gone by tram to the Western Cemetery near Fürth to where the body was to have been taken. But [there] she heard that [Rudi], having only recently died, was still in the Martha Hospital, and [the body] would only be conveyed to the cemetery in the afternoon. Mother rested for a while in the porter's lodge and came to Eugen's house. It was there that we met. Together with Mother, I walked to the Martha Hospital and saw Rudi's body there: his eyes looked grayish blue [...], his

115 Entries for November 21, 1919, and December 25, 1922.

face, turned to the right, was beautiful and he seemed almost to smile. His hips were fleshy and his neck seemed long. He had beautiful hands and the skin of his face and brow was soft [...] Mother put a flower into his right hand and started to cry. I repeatedly beckoned a nurse and we led her away, saying that it was useless [...] We returned home by tram.

On January 14, it had been certain that Rudi was going to die. At a quarter to five p.m., he had died. During his illness, he had suffered terrible pains but had never complained [...] During the last days, he had been fed through a pipe stuck in his throat. It had broken and food had fallen into the open wound [...] During the last weeks, Eugen had not left Rudi's side day or night. My sister Paula had left her house at seven in the morning and remained in the hospital until evening. On the day of [Rudi's] death, Eugen had looked bad but the next day when I saw him, he looked quite smooth and young. Paula, however, was completely worn out. From the moment she had returned from the hospital on the 19th, she had remained in bed and on January 20, she passed from one collapse to the other [...] In the night of January 20 upon January 21, Mother could not sleep at all. Towards the morning, at six o'clock, she left her bed on her own and came to my room, moaning. She said that she could not sleep because Rudi's ashes [...] would be scattered to the wind like those of her uncle Leopold Kirschbaum. She kept asking me if he could not be buried beside her [...] I promised her that his ashes would be placed upon Father's tomb. Thereupon, Mother returned to her bed [...] But she rose early in the morning [...], entered the parlour and congratulated me at once on my birthday. I had not thought about it at all.

The funeral took place on the same day. Max made a short speech. Süssheim noted that he had heard better ones from him and that "the subject of the doctor's ignominious behaviour was not touched upon". One of Rudi's schoolmates, clad in the school's uniform, gave the last short speech. After it, harmonium music sounded and

without a sound Rudi's coffin sunk down to be turned into ashes. During the whole ceremony, Eugen could not restrain himself and moved about in his chair, weeping [...] Afterwards, I walked home with Friedrich Morgenstern. Eugen told Paula of Rudi's burial after [the event...] Eugen said that he would be able to get used to Rudi's absence but said that Paula would never accept Rudi's loss; wherever she went, she would be confronted with Rudi's things and would be desperate.

She also felt remorse at her harsh behaviour towards her son before his death, and at not having acted more cautiously about the operation and his first recovery. On the 23rd, Süssheim returned to Munich.

On June 4, Süssheim again went to Nuremberg and noted that he found his mother "somewhat weak". The next day was Eugen's birthday. "Mother had been invited", he wrote.

Because there hadn't been plans that I should come to Nuremberg, I was not invited. Although I had not said I would come to the afternoon coffee on June 4 for which I had been invited by their small daughter Annie by telephone, both Eugen and Paula had the idea that I had accepted and they had been waiting for us. Annie had not invited me for dinner on June 5, but Paula and Eugen thought [the contrary...] Thus, there was a double misunderstanding about the phone call. On June 5, I had dinner on my own at home. When Mother, on June 5, went to Eugen alone, he protested to Mother, saying: "Where is Karl?". Thereupon, a severe argument flared up between mother and daughter. Mother scolded Paula for two things: that she did not take notice of her elder brothers: that Max was not entrusted with the lawsuits of the *Benda* factory, that she

did not pay any attention to my marriage and that she intended to bring the whole family fortune into one hand. Mother pointed to the fact that Max had remained without children and had denied himself money for the benefit of Paula's trousseau. Upon this, Paula objected that she once had offered me [the chance of] a good marriage. Finally, bringing up the subject of Rudi's death, [Mother] rudely said that she felt Rudi's loss far more sharply [than she herself did...] "First you lost your son, now you lost your mother", Eugen had complained at last. Paula, bewildered, had said she would go mad. Mother left the house before dinner but returned and demanded that Paula apologize. After that, Mother left again and came home, excited and weak. She immediately undressed and went to bed. When she mentioned the argument that had taken place, I made it clear to her that she herself was to blame for it on every point.

At about 3 p.m. I left her, and although at first I had not intended to do so, I went to Eugen in order to congratulate him. Paula being in bed, there was no one to receive me. Eugen expressed his fear that Paula would go insane. He told me that he would not allow Mother into the house any longer [...] I condemned Mother's behaviour and words. Thereupon, I returned home.

The next day, June 6,

Eugen returned the present which Mother had given him yesterday. After supper, I visited Eugen and Paula who did not want to receive me alone. According to Eugen, Mother had come yesterday with the purpose of quarrelling. I denied this and said that the whole thing was just an [ordinary] argument between women. Upon this, Eugen said: "Anyhow, this woman has obviously nursed these thoughts and feelings for a long time. She will not enter this house again. Once, your father came to my father and spoke his mind: "If I had not had children, I would divorce [her], right now, today, Eugen; I have done with the woman completely!", and he repeated that she would not enter the house again. Paula, though, tried to mitigate his vehemence and his violent outbursts.

The quarrel and the ensuing rupture depressed Süssheim's mother and on June 8 she confessed to her son that she wished she were dead. Her health suffered. On August 20, she seemed to be very thin and weak and on October 4 she was not even able to climb the stairs without help (but nevertheless she roamed the countryside around Nuremberg searching for potatoes, as Süssheim remarked on September 28). She hated her loneliness and was ready to die, that is, after Süssheim had become engaged at last.¹¹⁶ It turned out later, however, that much of her poor disposition and especially her feelings of weariness had been caused by her flat feet, as Süssheim noted on March 23, 1923... From the middle of October (1922) he had the impression that her health and temper were improving.¹¹⁷

Life remained difficult for her, though. At the end of the year (1922) a conflict arose between her and one of her lodgers - a Nazi, as appeared later - who wanted to extend his rooms by removing a dividing wall¹¹⁸ and claimed

116 Entry for October 5, 1922.

117 Entry for October 19, 1922.

118 Entries for December 24, 1922, to January 2, 1923.

a third room.¹¹⁹ He did not have his way and lost the lawsuit he had initiated. But he did not leave it at that, and invited the housing department to inspect the house, as Süssheim's mother heard from Max on March 23. Süssheim, summoned to Nuremberg, received the inspectors on the same day and tried to convince them that his mother needed the requested room to exhibit her paintings.

On December 23, Süssheim again went to Nuremberg and recorded:

At six-ten in the morning, I took the usual train from Munich and reached Nuremberg at ten-fifty. In Munich I had left my house too late and because I found my suitcases rather heavy, at the Karlstor¹²⁰ I [was obliged to] accept the help of a [fellow] traveller, something which had never happened before; until now I had always carried my suitcases myself. Because only three ticket windows were open, and the selling of tickets took a long time, the train left Munich fifteen to twenty minutes late. At Nuremberg station, Mother was waiting for me. She looked well and was in good health. The most important news concerning the family she told me was that my nephew Karl Kirschbaum [driving his father's car] had inadvertently and seriously collided with a lamppost in front of the house on December 20. The lamppost had broken off and the car was wrecked. When the lamppost had broken, a lot of gas had escaped and the material and financial damage would doubtless be considerable. Something important, moreover, had happened to Mother as regards the housing department and her position as house-owner [...] When Mother reluctantly had asked for Eugen's assistance, he had advised her to wait. Around November 15, an official notice from the housing department had reached Mother. In it, it was stated that if she did not vacate the exhibition room, a court bailiff would come to see to it that it was cleared at Mother's expense. Mother had become frightened and had gone to Eugen's office and asked him to stop the clearance. One of Eugen's employees was a man called Fritsch, an attorney who had friends among members of the Town [Council]. Eugen had sent Mr. Fritsch in the factory car to the Town Council and in particular to the Communist Hirschhof. The latter had arranged for the clearance order to be cancelled.

Thus, at last, she had been saved a great and costly nuisance (the rebuilding would cost fifteen billion (inflation) marks), "but", Süssheim continued,

in the first half of December new conflicts arose between Mother and Eugen about Mother's accounts. She had borrowed money from my sister Paula and Eugen a couple of times but had given it back. In order to cover losses [incurred] at the stock-exchange, Eugen had, according to one explanation, received 400 billion marks from her, but according to himself, only two-and-a-half goldmarks. A conflict had arisen about the amount between Mother and Eugen.

Mother had even consulted her banker and involved Max and her brother Heinrich Morgenstern in the affair. "Eugen's conduct was generally condemned. Max rebuked [her] for the fact that she had taken Eugen as a partner and Heinrich Morgenstern advised [him] to give the money back to Mother. On December 5, Eugen came to Mother and gave the money back" but had given her, she pretended, six notes of 500,000 M, but according to himself two-and-a-

¹¹⁹ Entries for March 14 and 15, 1923.

¹²⁰ The text has *Karl kapisi*.

half to three goldmarks. When Süssheim saw Eugen on the 26th, the latter bitterly complained of his mother-in-law's untrustworthiness and asked him to interfere on his behalf. He claimed that she still owed him an amount of eight to ten goldmarks.

We do not know if the affair was ever settled. The Diary breaks off here. When we are able to pick up the thread again in the thirties, both his mother and brother-in-law are dead.

4. A Professorship at last

Süssheim came out of the war without having secured for himself a full professorship, and although promises had been made, nothing had happened. When he saw Max on November 14, 1918, busy contributing to the reconstruction of society on Socialist lines, the latter assured his brother that he, now in the centre of power, would arrange his promotion at the Ministry of Education.

On November 22, Süssheim visited the Ministry in person after he had read in the press that the title of professor would be abolished altogether. But the Director of Higher Education assured him that such a thing was unlikely to happen and that he, Süssheim, had figured on the promotion list from August last. Süssheim, showing the letter of thanks he had received from Major Schneider the day before, threatened that if he were not promoted he would hand in a bill for fifty months' work for the *Postüberwachung*. He also indignantly pointed to the fact that even a poor figure like Hüseyin Vahtaki had already been appointed teacher to the Cadet School and the Higher School of Economics two-and-a-half years before, whereas he had been passed over for a function in the Balkan Institute.

A week later, he went again to the Ministry and submitted a list of 58 publications. He again stressed the fact that his appointment had unjustly been delayed for one year and a half and that his colleagues had begun to look down on him. The responsible official repeated that the appointment certainly would come through early next year and that the delay could not be blamed on the Ministry.

Meanwhile, the Association of University Teachers of Non-regular Professorial Status had proposed to give all academic teachers the title of professor; this gave Süssheim some hope. On January 23, 1919, finally, his new title of professor was announced in the papers. He presumed that the reason he had been passed over before was the small number of his publications known to the authorities. The nomination was confirmed in an official letter which he received on January 29.¹²¹ On this and the following day, he received some

121 The letter read: "Durch Entschliessung des Bayerischen Staatsministeriums für Unterricht und Kultus vom 13. Januar lf. Jahres Nr. 36730 wurde Ihnen für die Dauer Ihrer Wirksamkeit als Privatdozent im bayrischen Hochschuldienst der Titel und Rang eines ausserordentlichen

thirty congratulatory letters, although, to his disappointment, only one among them was from a colleague, the historian von Müller.

The change in title made no intrinsic difference in Süssheim's academic position. Süssheim's teaching activities continued much in the same way: his classes were attended by the same small number of students, amounting to an average of one to five persons for every course. An exception were his new series of lectures on Islamic history with which he started on February 10, 1920, and which were attended by some ten to fifteen students. They dealt with the history of Turkey, the 'History of Islamic Culture' (from October 26 onward) and the 'History of the Eastern Question' (from November 3, 1921). The sequence was given at the suggestion of the Section of History. Süssheim was invited to their meetings.¹²² He remarked that although students, for the first time since the November Revolution, were supposed to participate in the decisions on curriculum matters, they were actually ignored by the staff.

The subjects Süssheim taught during these years were Turkish Grammar, Turkish texts, including the *Seyahatnâme* by Evliya Çelebi,¹²³ Arabic Grammar and texts, including the Koran, the 'Thousand and One Nights', the *al-Futuhat al-Makkiya* by Ibn al Arabi, Arabic Conversation, Persian Texts by classical authors such as the poets Hafiz and Sadi and the geographer al-Qazwini (d. 1283), and the historian Mirkh^{and} (d. 1498) and Calligraphy. He especially liked to teach Arabic and much preferred it to teaching Persian.¹²⁴

In 1921 Süssheim's pupils included Fritz Rudolf Kraus, Gerhard Scholem, Anton Spitaler, Bertold Spuler, Hans Striedl¹²⁵ and Franz Babinger. G. Scholem finished his dissertation early in 1923,¹²⁶ and in March 1922 [read

Professors verliehen." (Rector Bäumker to Süssheim, January 23, 1919) His salary, from 1920, amounted to M 4800,- "ohne Versorgungsansprüche". (Rector A. Marchionini to United Restitution Organisation, Munich, July 14, 1955.). The wording "for the duration of your work as *Privatdozent*" makes it clear that Süssheim was not appointed to the University's permanent faculty. See Chapter One, note 60.

122 Entries for November 5 and 11, 1919.

123 Evliya Çelebi (1614-1682), Ottoman traveller and author of the "Book of Travels" mentioned above.

124 Entry for March 2, 1922.

125 Hans Striedl (1907-), orientalist, Generaldirektor der Bayerischen Staatlichen Bibliotheken.

126 Gerhard Scholem had written his dissertation with Fritz Hommel on the Kabbalistic *Sefer ha-Bahir*. G. Scholem, *Das Buch Bahir. Ein Schriftedenkmal aus der Frühzeit der Kabbala auf Grund der kritischen Neuausgabe*, Leipzig 1923, printed in Berlin by Arthur Scholem in few copies, one of which Scholem dedicated to *Geheimrat Hommel*. Later printed by Drugulin. Friedrich Niewöhner in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 23 August 2000. Cf. David Biale, *Gershom Scholem. Kabbalah and Counter-History*, Cambridge, Mass. and London 1979, 72.

1923] he passed his PhD examination in Semitics;¹²⁷ afterwards his teachers Hommel and the philosopher Bäumker encouraged him to seek a *Dozentship* in Jewish studies (*Judaistik*), promising to support his candidacy, but Scholem had already decided to go to Palestine. More than fifty years later Gershom Scholem still had vivid memories of Süssheim: "In Munich there was an Extraordinarius Karl Süssheim who, alone in the Section, could speak Arabic with the right accent, and we did our best, *nicht gerade mit Erfolg*, to imitate him when in a course he read mystical texts of Ibn Arabi with us".¹²⁸ "As an academic teacher he was very good, but outside the lecture he was practically non-existent. He always ran away quickly and rather made the impression of a man very much preoccupied by other matters. I never had a chance to talk to him personally". "I knew that he was a brother of the *Landtagsabgeordnete* Süssheim, against whom the Antisemites agitated most stridently. ... He spoke with a rather pronounced Franconian accent. I think I remember once asking the vice president of the Jewish Community in Munich, the lawyer Emil Strauss, whether Süssheim belonged to the Community, and that he answered in the affirmative... He wore a moustache and had a distinctly Jewish physiognomy, and, as far as I remember, dark crinkly hair."¹²⁹

Student numbers dramatically declined from 1922-1923 onwards.¹³⁰ Süssheim's classes were now attended by no more than an average of one or two students and he was forced to cancel some of his courses owing to a lack of participants. On November 20, 1923, he despondently recorded that "there was an extremely small number of students in the classes with which I have been able to start since more than eleven days [...] That means that oriental scholarship has lost its importance for Germany..."

During the revolutionary period life the university went through difficult times; radical reforms against the will of a majority of the conservative if not downright reactionary (and, later, Nazi-oriented) staff and students. (Ironically, Süssheim himself had profited from a change in academic policy.) Political disorder and strikes time and again disrupted academic routine: the university was temporarily closed on February 21, April 12, July 22, 1919, and November 9, 1923. Both the revolutionary regimes and the legitimate Bavarian Government tried to ensure themselves of the loyalty of the staff members; oaths were

127 Hommel said 'Hebrew and Aramaic you know better than I - why should I examine you in those?' He made Scholem read a small Sabaic inscription - Hommel loved South Arabic epigraphy - and a few verses by Imrulqais (Gershom Scholem, *Von Berlin nach Jerusalem*, Frankfurt 1977, 176).

128 *Von Berlin nach Jerusalem*, 208.

129 Letter of Professor Gershom Scholem dated Jerusalem, 22 January 1978, to B. Flemming. Professor Scholem thought that Süssheim had for some years been Dragoman of the German Embassy at Constantinople.

130 Entry for November 6, 1923.

required on November 12, 1918, and July 15, 1920, and political liabilities were examined. On July 1, 1920, Süssheim recorded that a Slavist scholar with Socialist sympathies was refused an appointment to the academic staff.

The inflation of 1923-1924 created new problems; salaries were affected by a rapid, if nominal, increase. Süssheim's salary rose from 2000 M a month in March 1922, to about 6500 M in September and November 1922,¹³¹ 42,000 M in January 1923,¹³² about 440,000 M in February,¹³³ and more than a million marks in July.¹³⁴ It often was later supplemented by additional sums in order to keep up with the galloping rise of the price level. In November 1923, the Government finally began to implement a strict anti-inflationary policy; salaries, paid in new goldmarks (RM), were cut, professors were obliged to retire when they had reached the age of sixty-five, and those who taught subjects "of partial importance" were to receive only sixty per cent of their former salary.¹³⁵ Eleven out of the thirty-six charwomen employed by the university, moreover, were dismissed, and those who were still serving were forced to work for fifty-four instead of the regular forty-eight hours per week.¹³⁶ Academic institutions such as the Munich Oriental Society ran into difficulties as well. The *Verein* lost many of its members after the war¹³⁷ and had to merge with the Association for Humanistic Sciences, forming its Oriental Section after its working capital had almost dwindled to naught. The future did not seem too bright.

Süssheim continued to be much interested in the adventures of colleagues and students, some of whom had seen service in the Near East during the war, and recorded their stories in his Diary.

On November 25, 1918, he noted that his course of Turkish texts was attended by a certain Mr. Binz [?].

This Mr. Binz used to come to this course two years ago. Since that time, he had continued [his studies] at the Military Translators' School in Berlin in order to be thoroughly prepared for his

131 Entry for November 8, 1922.

132 Entry for December 23, 1922.

133 Entry for February 20, 1923.

134 Entry for June 25, 1923.

135 Entry for January 12, 1924.

136 Entry for February 15, 1924.

137 Entry for June 16, 1919.

task as interpreter of Turkish. Around October 10, a German mission had left Berlin for Tabriz and Tehran by way of Romania and the Caucasus with the purpose of [undertaking] military and political activities in Iran. At the head of the mission stood the former dragoman of the German embassy in Tehran, Mr. [Wipert von] Blücher.¹³⁸ The mission had comprised more than one hundred military men. Mr. Binz was to join the guards of the German Consulate General in Tabriz with the rank of adjutant. Although they had proceeded as far as Braila, they had been ordered to return to Germany because in Istanbul a peace cabinet had come into office [...] They had not been able to return straight home, however, because Romania had opened hostilities and they had only arrived in Berlin around November 10...

During the summer of the next year, 1919, Süssheim's classes of Turkish for beginners were attended by a major whose name is omitted in the Diary. On June 17, he recorded that the major, during the war, had worked for two years for the intelligence office of the Ottoman Headquarters in Istanbul.

He agreed with me that it had been wrong for General Friedrich von Kress to be removed from the Palestinian front and to be replaced by General von Falkenhayn. Falkenhayn had come with a big staff to Palestine and had treated the Turks very brutally. His successor Liman von Sanders had thrust the whole weight of his weak army into the line of battle and because he did not dispose of any reserves, the attacking Englishmen had been able to capture his military camp on the first day they had taken the field.¹³⁹ The Turks were hostile towards all races of whatever nationality. The Arab soldiers in Syria who were on the side of the Turks had been untrustworthy. When the English had attacked the army of Liman, the Turks had exceeded them in numbers. At the end of the war, Major *** had worked for the Munich Police and the aforementioned Arabic documents,¹⁴⁰ which had been considered in Berlin to be in Turkish, and contained the Entente espionage organisation in Switzerland, had passed through his hands in Munich at the beginning of September.

In his second class of Turkish that day, Süssheim met a certain Major Loewy "who for three-and-a-half years had been in the East and spoke Turkish although his knowledge of grammar and literature is weak. He wants to become a dramatist and wishes to obtain his doctorate in Turkish literature from me." Before the war he studied at the University of Rome.

On July 17, Süssheim again spoke with the aforementioned, unnamed, Major and recorded that while he

had been employed at the German Embassy in Bucharest in 1894, he had stayed for 6 weeks in Istanbul on leave. Afterwards, continuing his studies of Russian and Polish at the War Academy

138 He had in fact been *Legationssekretär*, see Gehrke, *Persien*, 288 and Chapter Three, above.

139 Erich von Falkenhayn (1861-1922); after his removal in August 1916 as Chief of the General Staff, he commanded the *Yıldırım* ("Thunderbolt") army group sent by the Porte to the south-eastern front, in early 1917. After the appointment of General Allenby as Commander of the British forces in Palestine in 1918, the Ottomans, under the command of Liman von Sanders, were steadily driven back into Anatolia; see Holger Afflerbach, *Falkenhayn. Politisches Denken und Handeln im Kaiserreich*, Munich 1994.

140 Cf. above, Chapter Three.

in Berlin, he had made a long voyage to Russia. For two-and-a-half years, during 1906-1908, he had worked for the German Embassy in Japan and in 1908, before the Ottoman Revolution, he had returned home over land from China by railroad through Siberia and Russia in the company of a German military unit. In Japan he had learned Japanese and the first principles of Chinese. From 1916 onwards, he had been posted in Istanbul for two-and-a-half years and had been attaché to the Turkish chairman of the Counter-espionage Commission which had been set up at the Ottoman Ministry of War. Thus, he had been informed of some of the affairs that had turned up in Munich. He said that from February/March 1918 onwards, the case of the Ottoman student Bekir Sidki from Izmir whose papers I had translated at home [...] had been followed in Istanbul with the utmost concern. In the beginning of September, he had been back in Munich on leave [...] and had seen my reports on the Arabic communications sent to Munich from Berlin where they had been considered to be incomprehensible Turkish documents. Afterwards, he had returned to Istanbul and on October 30, 1918, he left again and returned to Germany. Discharged from military service, he had begun studying Slavic and modern languages at Munich University. Complaints were heard that the German embassy in Istanbul required too much knowledge of its dragomans...

Some months later, on October 16, Süssheim made the acquaintance of Captain Oskar von Niedermayer,¹⁴¹ who was to follow his classes of Hafiz.¹⁴²

Before the war he had been sent by the Bavarian Academy on a scientific mission to Iran. During the World War, he had been in Iran and Afghanistan. In Afghanistan he had taken many photographs of ancient buildings but he had been forced to leave his collection behind. After his return to Germany, he had been sent to Istanbul and from there to the Iranian border in the company of General von der Goltz [?]; the British army in Iraq was to be attacked from Iran. But in September 1917 [...], despite his victories, he was ordered to cancel the Iranian campaign and was summoned to Aleppo.

The mission was disbanded and he had joined von Falkenhayn.

In January 1918, he returned to the German General Headquarters. He seems to be an untrustworthy, conceited man. He pokes fun at the German diplomats as if he himself were a real diplomat. His diaries at present are in Afghanistan and he pretends that the errors and defects of the German diplomats are marvellously recorded in these notebooks. Because von Niedermayer's job before the war had been, according to himself, most profitable, they had kept it secret from me in a way and had not allowed Mr. von Niedermayer to approach me. He pretended to know Persian well, but according to [the Persian student] Asadullah Khan¹⁴³ he doesn't know Persian at all.

141 Although the name is noted in shorthand in the Diary and illegible to me (J.S.), the context makes it almost certain that this must have been Oskar von Niedermayer, leader of the German Afghanistan expedition during 1914-1917 - his memoirs on the exploit contain data similar to those he told to Süssheim, see his *Unter der Glutsonne Irans. Kriegserlebnisse der deutschen Expedition nach Persien und Afganistan*, Dachau 1925; cf. Gehrke, *Persien*, 25-26, 54-56, 69-72, 123, 142-149, 288-293.

142 Entry for October 21, 1919.

143 His full name was Fazlullah b. Asadullah Khan, cf. entry for September 28, 1919.

On November 6, the Captain gave a lecture on his travels in Iran during the years 1912-1914 for the Geographic Society and he invited Süssheim. He told that upon his arrival in Tehran, he had not been encouraged by the German Embassy, but he had, unabashed, travelled around and even visited Mashhad disguised as a Muslim and *hajji*. He had befriended both the Russian and British Consuls and had got along particularly well

with the English Consul Colonel Sykes¹⁴⁴ who was promoted to the rank of General during the World War. After Sykes had quarrelled with the Russian Consul General of Mashhad, Sykes, at the request of the English Ambassador to Petersburg Buchanan, had gone to his Russian friend and had been obliged to apologize.

Finally, he had travelled to Bushir by way of Isfahan and Shiraz.

Süssheim also kept in contact with Franz Babinger. His former student visited him on January 7, 1919, and told him

that after he had been wounded in Syria for the third time, he had been taken prisoner, but had escaped and got out of Turkey in October.

Süssheim found him "extraordinarily nervous" even to the point of not being able to express himself clearly; he had to repeat "most of his words and expressions."

He was also rather weak from dysentery. He has written a new opusculum on the history of the Ottoman press by means of the first volume of the Journal of the Society for Ottoman History (TOEM) I had sent to him. On 7 November, when the revolution had broken out, he had abandoned his military career. He is going to Reichenhall for medical treatment. During September last, he served as dragoman with the F Division in the Middle East. Dr. Babinger asserts that it was thanks to his initiative that I was asked to come to Istanbul, and that I was meant to take his place. But it was not the Seventh Division about which I was approached at that time.

Süssheim met him again on December 16, when both of them happened to be in the same train from Nuremberg to Munich. Babinger was in the company of his mother and two friends. "I took the empty seat next to them", Süssheim noted in his Diary, and continued:

I was intending to study my Armenian grammar but had no chance to open my book because I spoke for four hours with Dr. Babinger. Dr. Babinger is occupied by quite a lot of research. He is writing an article about Bedrüddin.¹⁴⁵ He greatly exaggerates the historical importance of Bedrüddin who emerged in Anatolia in the fifteenth century A.C. by pretending that he had been

144 Sir Percy Molesworth Sykes (1867-1945), soldier, administrator and Persia specialist; Consul-General in Khorasan (1906-1913), organiser and commander of the South Persia Rifles (1916-1918); cf. Niedermayer, *Unter der Glutsonne*, 264.

145 Bedrüddin Mahmud (1368-1420), religious leader who served revolted against the Ottoman dynasty; the article was his 'Schejch Bedr ed-Din, der Sohn des Richters von Simâw', in *Der Islam* xi (1921), 1-106.

a henchman of the Safavid dynasty. He had also written a rather long article about the development and history of oriental studies,¹⁴⁶ the proofs of which he was busy reading in the train. His most ambitious project is to write a history of Ottoman literature comparable to Brockelmann's History of Arabic Literature.¹⁴⁷ He will shortly commence his academic career in Marburg. I did not ask who will vote for his work [...] Dr. Babinger gave some information about his relations with Prof. Hommel; he told me that he had advised Prof Hommel to retire...

On June 11, 1920, Süssheim heard from Emil Gratzl that Babinger had been rejected by the Faculty of Philosophy of Marburg University, because of

the inadequacy he had shown in his translation of the *Menâkib-i hünerverân* by the famous Ottoman historian Ali.¹⁴⁸ The work is a small history of calligraphers and illustrators.

Süssheim continued.

A year ago he said he wished to enter upon a career as professor and asked me whether he should choose to do so by translating a History of Edirne, which is preserved in Vienna, or the *Menâkib-i hünerverân*. I said that the History of Edirne perhaps would be easier but that the *Menâkib-i hünerverân* would bring him more honour. He immediately answered that if that were the case he would translate the *Menâkib-i hünerverân*. When I said that such a translation would cost him a year, he answered: "I will do it in two months." He had already finished it in the summer of 1919.

The examiner, the great semitist Professor Carl Brockelmann¹⁴⁹ of Halle University, had considered his work insufficient. "The translation requires a profound knowledge of the literature on the subject of the Islamic history of art of which Babinger possesses none." "Babinger had studied for three years but had not seriously paid attention to the oriental languages. He had occupied himself with subjects like biography and the fine arts and in 1914, at the end of his study, he knew nearly nothing about the oriental languages." From that time, despite his military service, he had given most of his time to scientific work and publications, but these had not always been received with acclaim. His article (in Turkish) on the orientalist, published in 1920, had caused widespread irritation and, Süssheim added, "he had pictured me as insignificant as possible." He concluded that "his object had been to take my place in Munich and possibly the chair of Islamic Sciences to be created yet." Süssheim felt especially hurt by the

146 The article was published in 1920 (see below).

147 Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols., Weimar 1897-1902, reprinted in 3 vols., Leiden 1937-1942.

148 "The Artists' Exploits" by Mustafa Ali of Gallipoli (1541-1600), a biographical treatise on Muslim calligraphers and painters - the work was edited by the Turkish scholar İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal (İnal) in 1926. Babinger's translation has not been published.

149 Carl Brockelmann (1868-1956), orientalist, professor in the universities of Königsberg, Halle, Berlin and Breslau.

way Babinger, knowing of his troubled relation with Hommel, had taken pride in telling him of his advice to the older scholar to retire.

Only three years later, on December 12, 1923, Süssheim met him again. Babinger told his former teacher that he had been occupied with research at the Barberina Library in Rome and the Venetian Archives. He had, apart from two teaching jobs, obtained a position as official in Berlin, earning 200 M per month, and was busy writing a history of Ottoman literature up to 1826.¹⁵⁰ Despite the fact that he expected to become a professor in the University of Berlin, he also "kept his eye on Munich". Patronisingly, he "said he was willing to see to it that the publications I had at hand or had finished would be printed." This was the last Süssheim saw of his student Babinger as far as can be concluded from the Diary.

Süssheim's academic life during these years remained haunted by the awesome figure of Fritz Hommel. At the end of 1920, one of Süssheim's students, Miss Böhm, had expressed her wish to present herself for the doctorate examination in German Literature and had chosen Ottoman Turkish as a minor subject. In her official request, however, she had, by mistake, omitted to add the qualification 'Ottoman' and to Süssheim's dismay, Hommel, whose specialisations included Old Turkish, was appointed her examiner on the subject (on December 21, 1920).

Süssheim went to see Hommel on February 2 (1921), but the latter informed him that the decision could not be reversed. On February 7, he went to the Dean of the Faculty, Professor Sandberger.¹⁵¹ The latter explained

that the examination does not only [concern] the Turkish language but also Turkish literature and history so that the examination will be done by Prof. Hommel. When I said that *Herr Geheimrat*¹⁵² Hommel did not know any Ottoman, [he said:] "How can you, *Herr Kollege*,¹⁵³ say so? *Herr Geheimrat* says he knows Ottoman and he is an experienced man: he knows what he is talking about. *Herr Geheimrat* indeed has lately most successfully worked in the field of Ottoman studies.

Süssheim did not leave it at that. On March 15, he defended his case during a faculty meeting. Hommel pointed out that Süssheim was only a professor extraordinary so that he had no right to examine and Sandberger reprimanded him for unjustly doubting Hommel's capacities in the field of Ottoman studies. Süssheim denied this accusation but was cut short by the Vice-Chancellor. This

¹⁵⁰ Babinger's renowned and still unsurpassed *Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927.

¹⁵¹ Adolf Sandberger (1864-1943), musicologist; professor at Munich University from 1900 to 1930.

¹⁵² The text has *müşavir-i hass*.

¹⁵³ The text has *refik*.

gave rise to a long period of worrying; Süssheim began to think that his academic career was not only obstructed by the personality of Hommel (who, in fact, had been involuntarily appointed examiner¹⁵⁴) and wondered if it were not better to give up his philatelic activities, to which he was devoting all his spare time by now, and teach an extra course of historical Turkish.

Nevertheless, it was common practice for professors who were not *ordinarii* to be excluded from examinations and this was resented by them. Proposals to bring about a change were more than once discussed in the meetings of their association, but apparently nothing could be done about it.¹⁵⁵

Although Süssheim perhaps had the right on his side, he remained worried about the public rebuke of the Vice-Chancellor. He went to visit the Dean on July 21, but was referred to his successor Otto¹⁵⁶ and Vice-Chancellor von Drygalski.¹⁵⁷ He had an interview with the latter on October 26 and requested that the official reprimand be withdrawn. Von Drygalski, in turn, referred him to Otto who advised him to deliver an official request on the matter to the assembled faculty. On November 6, unexpectedly, Süssheim heard from Otto that the harsh words spoken by the Vice-Chancellor on March 15 had not been meant as an official rebuke after all but had only been a warning not to obstruct the faculty meeting any further! Süssheim could hardly believe his ears and suspected that the existence of an official reprimand was denied in order to avoid the bother of repealing it. It even appeared that Hommel had spoken words of praise about him during the meeting in which the affair had been discussed.

Part of Süssheim's apprehension regarding the personality of Hommel was rooted in the latter's apparently unpredictable and awkward behaviour towards him, and not in the last place also in Hommel's loud voice. On February 17, 1919, he recorded:

Because I had not lent him the third volume of the *Divan lughat at-Turk* for fifteen days - he was intending to make a dictionary of the words occurring in the *Divan* - Prof. Hommel severely scolded me at the top of his voice in the presence of employees of the State Library. "I have always been so good to you and now you treat me like this. I will never forget this and I will never again appeal to you in this matter. I will give up the dictionary or finish it and have it printed without using the third volume, or even ask the Ministry of Education for permission to travel to Berlin for fifteen days. How could they lend out such a costly work in these hopeless times?" Prof. Hommel, though, had never told me that he was making a dictionary. He only did so today. He is afraid that I am making a dictionary as well. I said to him that my research on the *Divan* was linguistic, but did not give any further information.

154 Entry for April 6, 1921.

155 Entry for July 15, 1921.

156 Walter Otto (1878-1947), classicist; professor at Munich University from 1918; during the 1930s he was active in several Nazi organisations.

157 Erich von Drygalski (1865-1949), geographer and geophysicist; professor in Berlin and Munich from 1906 to 1935.

The same evening, Fritz Hommel gave a lecture for the Ethnographic Association on the map and the proverbs contained in the *Divan*. He had invited Süssheim to attend it but the latter now refused to go "after his [Hommel's] rude treatment" of him.

Süssheim's worries and doubts about his status might also be ascribed to his somewhat suspicious nature which was enhanced by his isolation. He had few friends in the academic world. Apart from regular academic meetings, Süssheim hardly participated in the more sociable aspects of academic life. Sometimes he went to the annual event of the *Professorium*; on February 11, 1922, he noted that he danced with a number of his colleagues' daughters at the ball organized on the occasion. On June 24 of the same year, he attended the festivities on the occasion of the 450th anniversary of Munich University with his friend Ilse Gutmann and recorded that the Princes Rupprecht, Alfons and Luis Ferdinand as well as General Ludendorff and Prime Minister Lerchenfeld¹⁵⁸ honoured the meeting with their presence.

Even the dreaded figure of Hommel, Süssheim himself had to admit, was not in fact always unkindly predisposed toward him. During the heated discussion which followed the one-sided and badly received lecture of another old and not quite sympathetic acquaintance, Professor Hell of Erlangen, on 'The Wine Poetry in Islamic Literature' for the Oriental Section of the Ethnographic Society (on January 11, 1924),

Hommel asked me to explain to them the importance of wine poetry in Turkish literature. I rose to my feet and explained that although the Arabs had relatively little wine poetry [...], it nevertheless had entered their literature in Asia through the Persians and in Andalusia through the Christians [...]. As regards Turkish literature, wine poetry had never found much favour with the Turks because of the severe strictures of religious and secular law with them and it had been restricted to the great poets who were acquainted with the Persian poets and writers...

He added that he had not thanked Hell for his "statements and explanations, because a year ago during my lecture on the recent scientific works [published by] Turks, he had been so disrespectful as to talk continually." Afterwards, the whole company went to a nearby café where "we stayed until midnight."

5. Research and Lectures

During these years, Süssheim again regularly attended meetings of the Association of University Teachers of Non-regular Professorial Status and the Faculty of Philosophy. He also took part in the preparations for the *Deutsche Orientalistentag* of 1924, together with, among others, Schermann, Hommel and

¹⁵⁸ Hugo Graf von und zu Lerchenfeld auf Köfering und Schönburg, Bavarian Prime Minister, September 21, 1921 to November 2, 1922.

Vice-Chancellor Karl Dyroff.¹⁵⁹ He again frequented lectures, particularly those of the Oriental Society, later the 'Oriental Section', and heard for example his old friend and protector Georg Jacob speak on October 28, 1921. But he was also interested in subjects outside his specialisation: on December 18, 1921, for example, he went to a lecture on chemistry and learned that the existence of ninety-two chemical elements had been established by then, twenty-eight more than he had learnt at school. Süssheim himself gave fewer lectures than during the preceding period; in fact his research activities in general perceptibly slackened after his appointment in January 1919.

Directly after the war, he did some research for a lecture on the relations between Bavaria and Turkey, which he was to give on January 31, 1919, for the Oriental Society. He tried to interview the brother of General Friedrich Kress, *Landrat* Baron von Kress,¹⁶⁰ on November 21 (1918). He went to room 230 at the Ministry of War where he had to wait for half an hour. He noted that the room contained "a writing table, another table, a sofa, three chairs covered with velvet, two big cupboards and only one picture, a small portrait of Hindenburg..." After Kress had arrived, Süssheim was received and

he supplied some information about his brother who had been in the service of Turkey. But he was so busy that he was only able to give an approximate answer when I asked him when a certain event had taken place. He told me that Tal'at Pasha had arrived in Munich some days before.

Süssheim supposed that he had travelled with the Military Attaché von Lossow from Istanbul. He also worked in the Military Archives (January 8-9, and afterwards, on July 22, 1919).

The lecture was attended by Prince Leopold. "He had not come to a lecture of mine on Turkey for the past four years and two months", Süssheim recorded.

The Prince who at that time had looked like a skeleton having been occupied with the war for years on end while continually moving about in the open air [...], seemed considerably restored to life. When he arrived in the company of the chairman, Mr. Kemmerich, the Prince praised the affected dignity of the Turks and said that one of the two Ottoman Princes with whom he had become acquainted at the eastern front had a somewhat Israelite appearance. My lecture began at 8.10 and took 1.25 hour [...]. When the Prince left the room, he criticized me and said that the fight waged by the Central Powers in eastern Galicia on July 19, 1917, had not been the trifling affair I had declared it to have been, but, on the contrary, a most heavy battle.

The next day Kemmerich phoned Süssheim and asked him not to publish the lecture because doubtless ex-King Ludwig III would be offended and would initiate legal proceedings, but Süssheim, after rereading it, "knew he could not

159 Entries for June 5, 1923, and February 22, 1924.

160 Gustav Kress von Kressenstein.

change or reduce its contents." He wrote two articles¹⁶¹ based on it for which he did some additional research. He spoke with Major Joseph Mayer at the Munich Military Headquarters about the latter's and Kress's activities in the Near East during the war (August 5 and 7) and paid a visit to the widow of the former Director of the Rumelian Railway and General Manager of the Anatolian Railway, Otto Ritter von Kühlmann¹⁶² who had died in Munich on September 18, 1915 (on October 9). "I had been presented to him around 1906. His nephew, Hans Kühlmann, had been my schoolmate [...] I asked for information about the biography of Mr. Otto von Kühlmann who had been appointed to Istanbul at the end of 1872." According to his wife, "he had been a simple man. When he asked to be admitted to the Teutonia Society, two black balls had been cast against his admission. These two black balls probably had come from discontented railway employees. Mr. von Kühlmann had never forgotten these two black balls and had never set foot inside the Teutonia Society afterwards." Her husband had been opposed to the investments of the *Reichsbank* in the Baghdad Railway but the Kaiser had insisted. She had no hope for Germany's future. "Although she wished to go to Switzerland, she said she could not for financial reasons." She denounced the revolutionaries in Bavaria as a "bunch of Russian Jews", and Süssheim noted that "he bowed his head in approval".

During his short journey to Switzerland, in September, Süssheim recorded that he paid a visit to the Central Library in Zurich and studied some Italian works on the activities of the Fossati brothers¹⁶³ in Istanbul.

On October 20, Süssheim gave a lecture on the question of the emancipation of women in the Near East for the Oriental Society. He noted that "at the beginning there were about thirty people present, but in the end [their number] had risen to some forty-five persons" among whom

a number of Ottoman men and women who were not pleased by what I said. My lecture consisted of two parts, the first was historical and the second sociological. In the historical part [I explained that] things had changed at present but that formerly the Turks had been sensuous men. In the sociological part, speaking of the reforms as regards the position of [Oriental] women, I showed

161 'Die Beziehungen zwischen Bayern und der Türkei im Wandel der Jahrhunderte,' in *Altbayerische Monatschrift* XV/2 (1919-20) and in *Das Bayerland. Illustrierte Halbmonatschrift für Bayerns Land und Volk* 25 (September 1919), 411-419.

162 Otto Ritter von Kühlmann (1834-1915), railway manager; Director of the *Orientalische Eisenbahnen*, General Director of the *Société du Chemin de Fer Ottoman d'Anatolie (Anatolische Eisenbahngesellschaft)* (1889-1897) and the *Société de Fer Ottoman Salonique-Monastir* (1891-1897).

163 The Fossati brothers worked as official architects for the Czar of Russia, and were sent to Istanbul to build his new embassy (built in 1837); they remained in the Ottoman capital, where they also restored the Hagia Sophia and were involved in the building of the University as official architects to the Sultan, cf. Hillary Sumner-Boyd and John Freely, *Strolling through Istanbul*, Istanbul 1973, 448; one of the brothers was Gaspare Fossati (1809-1883), whose name is mentioned in Italian encyclopedias.

the Muslims in a more favourable light. But it was a great mistake that I told them of the turbid adventures of Mahmud Muhtar Pasha and Asadullah Khan - to be sure, without mentioning their names. Chairman Kemmerich was very angry [...] and publicly offered his apologies after my lecture.

This must have come as an unpleasant surprise; how different had been the reactions at the *Insel* Club during his try-out (on April 15) when he had exhilarated the audience by his discussion of Muslim polygamy!

Perhaps discouraged by this experience, Süssheim did not speak for the Oriental Section until one year and a half later; nor did he seem to do any research during this period. On March 31, 1922, he gave a lecture for the Section on the scientific progress of the Turks during the First World War. In the beginning everything went well but

later, due to fatigue, my firmness gave way and the end was not good at all. I was not pleased with myself. It was too detailed for the Germans and I was not thanked at the end. There were about 45 persons present. I praised the Turks. I also lavished praise on the Independence Movement. In the end we went to the *Wittelsbacher Brunnen* in the Theresienstrasse; we parted only at a quarter to midnight.

On September 8 of the same year, after two years of bustling philatelic activity, Süssheim decided again to spend time on research and began to study the *Kutadgu bilig* and the *Divan lughat at-Turk*, which works must have intrigued him since he had heard of their existence ten years before in Istanbul, with the purpose of writing a grammar of 'old Turkish'. (He never finished the work however.) He continued to attend Russian classes, which were now given by the Russian German Baron,¹⁶⁴ and taught himself Mongolian and Armenian.¹⁶⁵

His last lecture of this period Süssheim gave on February 5, 1923, at the Technical University of Aachen on the subject of Persian Literature. He noted that he was paid 10,000 (inflation) marks for it.

On November 27, Süssheim sent an article on the Bahai religion to the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*; it was perhaps based on information obtained from a private pupil who began to take Persian lessons from him on May 18. She herself was a Bahai and lived with a Persian woman in Stuttgart.

Sometimes Süssheim rendered small services to the authorities or colleagues. On February 13, 1920, he translated a letter by a Russian prisoner, called Mustafa Guntebayov, for the Police (for which he received 30 M), and wrote a report on the status of the Turkish Consul Goldberg¹⁶⁶ for the Munich Court

¹⁶⁴ Entry for September 15, 1921.

¹⁶⁵ Entries for January 5, 1920, and December 16, 1919.

¹⁶⁶ Heinrich Goldberg (b. 1882), Turkish Vice-Consul from 1914, Honorary Consul from 1916 to 1917.

(for which he received 2980 M).¹⁶⁷ He advised a colleague and Byzantinist on Seljuk history,¹⁶⁸ and translated a part of the famous Persian poem *Mathnawi* by Jalaluddin Rumi for Professor Schick,¹⁶⁹ who published it in the *Corpus Hamleticum*.¹⁷⁰ To Süssheim's indignation, Schick did not wish his name to be mentioned in the article.¹⁷¹ On April 17, 1923, he translated an article on Germany, published by Antonia Azpeitua in the Madrid paper *ABC*, for the *Münchner Post*.

6. Contacts with Young Turks

A striking fact of this period is the almost complete rupture of Süssheim's connections with Istanbul. These were not resumed, not even after the Allies had signed a peace treaty with the Ottomans¹⁷² and communications with Istanbul had been reestablished. (On September 1, 1920, Süssheim received his first copies of the *Tanin* and the *Hilal* dating from October 1918.) Many of his high-ranking friends of former days had lost their positions after the fall of the Unionist triumvirate in 1918, and it was perhaps for that reason that they lost their interest in him. His correspondence with Dr. Abdullah Cevdet, not recorded in the Diary, petered out.¹⁷³ A similar inertia makes itself felt in Süssheim's research activities. He stopped ordering books and other publications from Istanbul and could not even bring himself to pay a bill of 11 lira to the *Zaman* publishing

167 Entries for February 13, March 7, 13, and 15, 1923.

168 Entries for February 21, and May 3, 1923.

169 Josef Schick (1859-1944), Anglicist, professor in Heidelberg and Munich (from 1896).

170 Published in 5 vols., 1912-1938, and dedicated to the study of the Hamlet myth.

171 Entries for March 2 and 8, 1923.

172 The Treaty of Sèvres, signed on August 10, 1920.

173 The *Nachlass* contains eight letters dating from this period, covering March 7, 1921, to October 9, 1922, from Dr. Cevdet to Süssheim - the correspondence was apparently not resumed before 1928 (a letter apparently written in this year is undated). The letters mainly deal with the subject of stamps - Süssheim had asked his friend to procure stamps for him in Istanbul - Dr. Cevdet in turn asked Süssheim to buy a good camera and copies of the work of Umar Khayyam for him in Germany. Dr. Cevdet also complained about Turkish intolerance and the attacks against his liberal ideas in the daily press - he had been condemned to two years' imprisonment on the accusation of blasphemy based on a publication on Bahaism in the *İctihad*. See letters Nos. 4, 47, 48, 79, 81, 87, and the undated Nos. 5, 10; cf. Schmidt, 'Süssheim Papers', 111.

publishing house,¹⁷⁴ as he reproached himself gloomily on January 21, 1924. A large part of his money was now invested in stamps instead of books.

Süssheim nevertheless sometimes received news about his Istanbul acquaintances, such as Tal'at Pasha, of whom he heard on November 21, 1918, that he had fled to Germany, but he did not take the trouble to visit him or to continue their correspondence. On March 16, 1921, he noted:

I read in the paper that Tal'at Pasha, under the assumed name of Ali Salih, has been killed in Berlin by pistol shots in the back [fired] by an Armenian called Teyliryan [= Keliryan]. Although I saw Tal'at Pasha last year in Munich [...] I did not at once recognize him and he did not greet me. One should not be surprised that he was sent to the hereafter by an Armenian student whose family was annihilated while he committed endless, incalculable atrocities against the Armenians. Although I have lost a friend, justice has been done.

Süssheim kept seeing Ottoman subjects who lived or stayed in Germany for a short time. From January 1919, he got on friendly terms with the still numerous Ottoman students in Munich. On January 6, he corrected a public letter directed by their association to a Munich paper in which they demanded that communications with their fatherland should again be made possible. On January 21, he noted:

At five o'clock Mehmed Atif Bey, son of the retired Colonel Süreyya Bey and student at the Munich Technical University, together with Midhat Recai Bey, came to me in order to have the German translation of a public letter corrected, which Süreyya Bey wants to send to President Wilson¹⁷⁵ in order to stop the dismemberment of Turkey. Süreyya Bey's father is the former Commander-in-Chief, Field Marshal Mehmed Rıza Pasha¹⁷⁶ who since the war has been in Switzerland. Although the latter is already 75 years old, he is still in good health.

As a result of Süssheim's services to them, he was made honourable member of their association on February 2. On March 3, the Ottoman Consulate reacted in a public letter, stating that the Allies for the time being forbade the return of Ottomans to their home-country. Thereupon, the students in turn reacted with a letter, translated for them by Süssheim, in which they repeated their demand that Turks, Ottomans and Muslims in general be allowed to return home if they wished to do so. Süssheim attended several of their social gatherings, during which lectures were given and sometimes singing and dancing took place.¹⁷⁷

174 These 11 lira may have been the 912.5 kuruş Süssheim had tried to pay on October 25, 1918, but which had been returned on November 9 of the same year.

175 Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924), 28th president of the United States (1913-1921).

176 Mehmed Rıza Pasha (1844-1920), Minister of War (*serasker*), Field Marshal (from 1891), dismissed in 1908; he spent his last years in Europe.

177 Entries for April 9, June 23, 1919, January 22 and July 16, 1920.

Most students, if not all, seem to have returned to their fatherland after peace had been signed - Süssheim anyway does not record any of their meetings after July, 1920, when there were only fifteen Ottoman students left in Munich. On June 14, 1923, he heard that Mehmed Tahir, son of Brusalı Tahir Bey, as one of the last had left for Izmir; Süssheim had made his acquaintance on one of the association's evenings.

Another 'Oriental' acquaintance of this time was the Persian student of engineering, the already mentioned Asadullah Khan from Tehran, whom Süssheim met on November 2, 1918, at the Language Society. Süssheim accompanied him to a ball given by the Society on January 26, 1919. Asadullah requested him to translate his marriage contract on September 28 - he was intending to marry a German sculptress and take her to Iran (and abuse her, Süssheim was sure). Süssheim refused, apparently on the ground that Asadullah was already living with her, and he doubted if Asadullah was really sincere in his desire to marry her officially.¹⁷⁸ Süssheim did not see him again.

On August 8, 1919, he made the acquaintance of the widow of Ömer Lutfi Bey, Huriye Hanım, in Bad Reichenhall where she was taking the waters with her fourteen-year-old son Kemal and sister Vechiye. Süssheim took her and her son to a café where

we took a substantial piece of pastry for one mark. On our return, I obtained all kinds of information from Mrs. Lutfi. Ömer Lutfi Bey's father-in-law was Hasan Bey who had been born around 1866. Hasan Bey was a Young Turk and in a certain manner Lutfi Bey's elder friend. Lutfi Bey approached him and asked for her hand although she - this was about 1897 - was only nine years old. Afterwards, when she returned from Europe in order to visit her mother, she went first to Vidin to see Hasan Bey. When he had finished his studies in 1903, he, as was the rule, prepared for six months his three months of examinations in Sofia in order to enter the Bulgarian civil service; in the fourth month the wedding with Huriye Hanım was concluded. One year later, he came to Istanbul and, as is well known, entered the Ottoman service. When Huriye Hanım's husband was appointed to Baghdad, she did not go there with her husband but remained in Istanbul. During the time that Lutfi Bey was director of police, his first rupture manifested itself in his left leg when he mounted a horse. At that time, the surgeon Orhan Bey operated on him successfully. But in Baghdad another rupture occurred in his right leg after he had mounted his horse; he was to be operated on in Berlin in 1918. At that time, he did not tell Huriye the truth, but consoled her by saying: "I am suffering from a terrible pain; one night I may enter a hospital; don't worry if I do not come home that night." The next day, the employees of the consulate, avoiding a direct answer to Mrs. Lutfi's questions, told her that it was nothing and that Lutfi Bey would be back in a couple of days. Although Mrs. Lutfi ran to the hospital, she was unable to obtain the right explanations. Lutfi Bey's pains had increased, and on the 16th day after the surgery an affected blood-vessel had burst; this happened for the second time on the 18th day. At that time, it seemed that they had despaired of his life. On the 22nd day he died. The last time she saw her husband, it was as if his lips were bloodless. Because Mrs. Lutfi had spent her life at Lutfi Bey's side both in thought and mind, she had not yet found her equilibrium [...] Mrs. Lutfi's father had died in 1905 at the age of thirty-nine. Her mother was forty-five [?]. She lives in Istanbul [...] It is strange that Mrs. Lutfi does not know that her husband both before and after his marriage had lived a disgraceful life and continuously betrayed his wife [...] Huriye Hanım

¹⁷⁸ Entry for September 29, 1919.

sometimes sees Tal'at Pasha...

On May 10, 1920, Süsheim read in the *Golos Rossij* ("The Voice of Russia"), a Russian paper published in Berlin, that his old friend Korkmazov had been appointed Communist President of the Daghestan Republic in April.¹⁷⁹

Having joined the Russian Socialist Party, he was elected member of the Duma. After he had been exiled to Siberia, he fled to Paris where he quarreled with the Young Turks, particularly with Baha'üddin Şakir, Sabahuddin and others. In 1908, he came to Istanbul as soon as the Young-Turkish revolution broke out. Upon my arrival there, I made his acquaintance in Hotel Europa in Sirkeci. At that time, he gave articles to Baha'üddin Şakir Bey who was engaged in projects of educational reform for publication in the paper *Tanin* specialized in education and teaching. These articles were written in French and then were translated into Turkish. In 1911/12, when I was again in Istanbul, he shared a rather big room with a woman, close to the café of Arif Bey where I had a room. In the [Korkmaz's] room there were a bed, saucepans, plates, and on the bed books bound in leather [...] He used to eat Russian soup called *shchi* from a pan in a very coarse and disgusting manner. As regards the woman, she had at first lived in Paris or its surroundings and apparently was a Russian Jew. When she saw me, she seemed to feel ashamed. Korkmaz at that time was the Istanbul correspondent for a paper of wide circulation. Korkmaz probably returned to his fatherland at the outbreak of the revolution or later, and got involved there in the world of politics. He was inclined to exaggeration and was a lover of freedom to the extreme, always cheerful, as if he laughed at the ingenuousness of men and Turks. Later Korkmazov had fallen as a prisoner into the hands of the hostile party in Daghestan, another four Daghestan Communist leaders had been killed in the war.

On September 19, Süsheim was presented to Dr. Ahmed Fuad Bey from Egypt by Abdülhamid Sabit, a student in Munich for whom he had translated some documents necessary for his admission to the Technical University (on September 18).

One Fuad Bey had, during the World War, been Director of the Arab, Zionist and Pan-Islamic, later of the Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence Desk of the Istanbul *Emniyet-i umumiye* [Bureau of Public Security]. Now I found myself before this Fuad Bey. During the War, Dr. Ahmed Fuad Bey had attained a high position. He had a finger in all affairs of the Interior Ministry; he necessarily found himself in perpetual contact with Tal'at Pasha. Being related to an Egyptian family, he also was in contact with all the notables in Egypt. Refik Bey was one of them. Ahmed Fuad Bey had studied Medicine in Egypt. Later, around 1913, he came to Istanbul, apparently for political reasons and because he had been offended by the English. During the War, he obtained Egyptian papers from Switzerland; in this way his name had become known to me. The report I wrote in, approximately, 1916, on the difficult situation in Egypt, which earned the praise of an officer of the Intelligence Department of the German General Headquarters, was based on a number of papers sent to Ahmed Fuad Bey. After Turkey [had signed] the Armistice, he fled and came to Munich. Although the Turks here are on the side of the Arabs, he does not associate with them, but keeps himself far from, and [even] hides himself from the Turks. He sees some Egyptian Arabs: Ni'met Bey, who has for four years been in Munich, and others. Ahmed Fuad Bey is rather thin and not at all impressive. Doubtless, he has done much mischief, but says by way of apology that this was on the order of the Interior Ministry, that is, of Tal'at Pasha. I obtained information about a lot of my acquaintances and friends: Zeki Bey Mugamiz; the owner

¹⁷⁹ See also Chapter One.

of the *İkdam*, Ahmed Cevdet; Abdullah Cevdet; Hafız İsmail; Emiri Bey; Brusalı Mehmed Tahir; Kurd Ali; and others. At present he is writing a work on the Arabian Peninsula, based on Arabic, Turkish, German, French and English books. Of the Arabian Peninsula he has until now seen only Syria. He has ample knowledge of the strife between the Saudi dynasty and Ibn Rashid.

Süssheim saw him again on the occasion of the sixtieth birthday of the Egyptologist Karl Dyroff (on February 25, 1922), when Fuad Bey, at Süssheim's behest, said some words in Arabic.

On December 9, 1921, Süssheim was visited by the Dutch orientalist Kramers¹⁸⁰ who was returning in the company of his wife from his post at the Dutch legation in Istanbul to Leiden, where he had been appointed lecturer in Turkish and Persian. Süssheim noted that he was a nice man, but so tall that he bumped his head against the ceiling lamp. He told Süssheim that Istanbul would be lost for the Muslims and that life for Germans there had become impossible.

The next year (1922), Süssheim recorded that Baha'üddin Şakir Bey and Celal Bey were murdered in Berlin (on April 19, 1922). He met another foreign scholar, and representative at the League of Nations, the Bulgarian Simeon Radeff, in the State Library where the latter was doing research on the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878.¹⁸¹ On November 8, Süssheim was visited by two Ottoman students, who asked him for information about the German educational system. The next day, he received a certain Wahhab [Efendi], an electrician from Tabriz. He was a Bahai and was looking for work in Munich. He had been given Süssheim's address in Istanbul by Abdullah Cevdet.¹⁸² Süssheim went into some trouble for him during the following days.¹⁸³

On June 14, 1923, Süssheim visited the house of the wife of his old acquaintance Bedri [Murad] Bey, former Director of the Istanbul Police and at that time in Afghanistan, in the Adalbertstrasse, and saw some costly manuscripts of the Koran and the works of the Persian poets Nizami and Jami, but he did not buy any of them. Later that month, on June 29, he received Celadet Bey, grandchild of Bedirhan:¹⁸⁴

He gave me information about the Kurdish revolt of 1921 in Malatya undertaken by his family

180 J. H. Kramers (1891-1951), Dutch orientalist, the last old-style Dragoman at the Dutch Legation at Istanbul (1915-1921), lecturer in Turkish and Persian, later professor of Arabic and Islam in the University of Leiden (1921-1951).

181 Entry for October 28, 1922.

182 See also Abdullah Cevdet's letter to Süssheim of October 18, 1922 (No. 87).

183 Entries for November 10 and 11, 1922.

184 The Bedirhans were a Kurdish family, brought to Istanbul in 1845 on orders of the Sultan - Bedirhan Pasha was at that time Ottoman Military Commander in eastern Anatolia.

and himself, their recent passing of the Ottoman border by way of Mosul in 1922,¹⁸⁵ their initiative in mounting a rebellion in that area, and the Yazidis. Because he had been sentenced to death by the Sivas Court, he is avoided by the Turks and Ottomans here. He has learnt [to speak] German rather well.

During the summer of the same year, on August 2, Süssheim interviewed the famous Turkish authoress Halide Edib¹⁸⁶ who was staying in Pension Abbazia in Munich to visit her two sons. "These two sons, the eldest of whom studies engineering and the youngest agriculture, had not seen their mother in three years," Süssheim recorded.

A little after ten, when I arrived, the student of agriculture received me and told me that his mother was only able to receive me at eleven. This son of hers resembles a Greek in his features, haircut and behaviour. Although Halide Edib must be at least thirty-five years old, it does not show and she looks younger. Because in the coming winter I will give a lecture on the Muslim Theatre, I asked information about the developments in Ottoman theatre during the last years. She informed me about plays and players. She had come to Germany to see her sons and would proceed in their company to Vienna, and from there to Hamburg. From Hamburg, her sons would go to America and she herself would return to Istanbul. Halide Edib had participated in the Battle on the Sakarya which had taken place in August 1921.¹⁸⁷ It is possible that she produced her filmscript [called] "A shirt of Fire" [*Ateşten gömlek*] during the campaign [...] The English translation will be printed in America.¹⁸⁸ She is seriously considering to [also] have a German translation printed. After having returned to Istanbul, she will send me a copy. She proudly announced that her two sons will return to Istanbul after their education because the lady is a most fervent nationalist. My friend Zekeriya Mazlum's sister [...], Sabiha, was a pupil of Halide Edib. She said of Zekeriya Mazlum [that he was] shameless because he had been a secret agent in the service of the English during the period of Ferid Pasha's cabinet¹⁸⁹ [...] By telling me this, Halide Edib gave me an important piece of information, for I had always wondered why Mazlum Bey had been staying for years in London and had not returned to Istanbul.

On October 28, Süssheim was again visited by a Muslim who was looking for a job. This was a certain Fuad Sa'd from Beirut who had served the British in

185 The text has "1322", obviously a mistake.

186 Halide Edib (Adıvar) (1884-1964), leading advocate of women's rights, journalist, author; exiled from Turkey (1926-1939), professor of English literature at Istanbul University (1939-1964).

187 The decisive battle of the war lasted for over a fortnight and ended with a Turkish victory when the Greek forces started to withdraw from 13 September onwards; see Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 162, 166. Halide Edib served in the war as a sergeant.

188 The work was published as a novel in Istanbul in 1922; the German translation, "Das Flammenhemd", appeared in 1923. The film, based on the novel, was produced in 1923 under the direction of Muhsin Ertuğrul, cf. Giovanni Scognamillo, *Türk Sinema Tarihi I*, 2nd impr. Istanbul 1990, 38.

189 Damad Ferid Pasha (1853-1923), Grand Vizier 1919-1920.

Sudan and later married a German girl from Düsseldorf. He wished to teach Arabic at Munich University and had been referred to Süsseim by Hommel. He knew the son, Asil, of the famous Libanese writer Jurji Zaydan.¹⁹⁰ Perhaps through him, Süsseim came into contact with a group of Arabs, most of them students, whom he sometimes saw in Munich cafés. On January 27, he noted:

In the afternoon until half past seven I was together with the Arabs in Café Helbing. Apart from a number of students, there were Khaliji Shamli Hasan, and the trader in exported and imported goods Aziz Shawkat from Baghdad; both of them married attractive German women. Aziz Shawkat is the son of an Ottoman officer and knows Ottoman [Turkish]. After he had studied engineering, he passed on to trade.¹⁹¹

During these years too, Süsseim's classes were sometimes attended by Ottoman students.¹⁹² During 1923, we encounter a certain Safiye Sami; she frequented his courses on Ibn al-Arabi and the History of Islamic Culture. On July 18, Süsseim saw her at a solidarity meeting prepared by Hungarian, Bulgarian and Turkish students' organisations for their Bavarian counterpart and held in the Prinzregenten-Theater.¹⁹³ There was much dancing - Süsseim noticed that Safiye Sami was a good dancer - bands played and speeches were given - one of them by a Hungarian student who called for war against common foes. When it was announced that Ludendorff was present, he was cheered with applause. The evening cost Süsseim, at the height of the inflation, 124,000 M.

7. Still on the Look-Out for a Wife and Marriage

During this period, Süsseim kept busy looking for a suitable wife. Only rarely did he now make use of the services of marriage brokers.¹⁹⁴ More often relatives, especially his mother and Aunt Bertha Morgenstern, or acquaintances such as Mrs. Baerwald, wife of Rabbi Baerwald,¹⁹⁵ acted as intermediaries. On one occasion even his landlady, Mrs. Bischof, tried to make an arrangement for him,¹⁹⁶ but most girls whom Süsseim thought suitable for a possible marriage, he met at balls of the Jewish Students' Associations like *Licaria*, *Concordia* (later

¹⁹⁰ Jurji Zaydan (1861-1914), Lebanese-Egyptian writer (mainly of historical novels dealing with the Arab past), critic and journal editor.

¹⁹¹ See also entry for February 17, 1924.

¹⁹² Entry for November 8, 1922.

¹⁹³ The text has *veli-i naib tiyatrosi*.

¹⁹⁴ But cf. the entries for January 3 and 10, 1919.

¹⁹⁵ Entry for January 25, 1920.

¹⁹⁶ Entry for June 10, 1923.

"New *Concordia*"), or at parties at the *Insel* Club which sometimes lasted well into the early hours of the next morning.

Süssheim remained in contact with Nelly Pauson whom he had met through Max and Hedwig. But on March 8, 1919, he heard that she was to be engaged to another man. He saw her in the *Alte Pinakothek* on April 9, and had a walk with her and her lover (who was a member of the *Insel* Club) on May 11. On August 22, he sent her some fruit (worth 10,50 M) at the occasion of her engagement. Later that year, Süssheim was by chance (or maybe by malicious intent) placed at her side at a sumptuous dinner organized by the *Insel* Club in Hotel Bayrischer Hof.¹⁹⁷ He was pleased and spoke French with her.

During the (only) long holiday of this period, spent in Freiburg from August 23 to September 12, 1919, Süssheim was invited to several parties during the first week - the second one was, as usual, occupied by long walking tours through the Black Forest. He met a number of interesting girls, and was brought into contact by Mrs. Weil with a certain Miss Schmidt who could count on a dowry of 150,000 M but was rather plain.¹⁹⁸ Süssheim invited her to the *Insel* Club dinner of November 29, where he had another luxurious post-war meal consisting of *pâté de foie gras*, pilchards, mock-turtle soup, roast duck, salad, warm pastry filled with ice-cream and hot bread with cheese.

After dinner, a photo play came on.¹⁹⁹ The play was designed to make fun of the club members [...] I was pictured as completely naked - only my genital organ was covered by a fig leaf - on a boat in the middle of a lake, shooting arrows with a huge bow at beautiful girls who seemed to be in the sky, that is, as a man endowed with a beautiful body chasing women, in other words, as an Adonis²⁰⁰ [...] After this show, there was dancing in the dinner hall which was empty [...] The dancing was concluded at ten o'clock, and we had to retire from the public rooms and went to our club rooms upstairs. After some conversation, it was announced that the pictures shown downstairs would be sold at auction. All of us sat down at the table in the central room [...] Mr. Max Bachmann made a formidable speech. He said that the pictures should be obtained by the gentlemen themselves who were hinted at [in them] so that these did not fall into the hands of the anti-Semitic Munich *Beobachter* [...] Süssheim's picture was sold for 30 M.] My expenses at the party had been 110 M. I had myself been much amused during the party and I laughed a lot...

197 The text has *Bavyera saray oteli*.

198 Entry for September 11, 1919.

199 The text has *bir kino oyunu geldi*.

200 Similar mocking innuendos were repeated on other occasions where Süssheim's problems with girls were made fun of (entries for February 14, 1920, and February 18, 1922). On the last occasion, two club members imitated a well-known marriage broker and made fun of the unmarried members; "of me they said: 'Professor Süssheim, what kind of girl does he want? The girl must be beautiful and must have a million. If that is the case we will skip him'," Süssheim recorded.

But Miss Schmidt, too, was engaged soon afterwards and married.²⁰¹ In December 1920 - we shall not mention all the short affairs mentioned in the Diary - Süssheim met a certain Fanny. On December 29, having become quite friendly, she announced that she wanted to marry him. Süssheim visited her parents on January 1, 1921, accompanied her to the cinema and had dinner with her in the evening.

Miss Fanny protested that I attached more importance to beauty than to inner qualities and although she knew that these conflicting concepts normally are an obstacle to intimacy, I convinced her by saying that I generally found [such] inner qualities in myself and that I wished to have at my side the beauty I had lost myself. She approved of the thought that marriage was a warm love. Thus, a unity of thoughts and feelings was realized between us. Seated in the restaurant, it did not take long before she declared her love by saying that she knew she was happy. She desired only one other thing: that I should speak to her father, and, as she said later, to both her parents. She wanted this to be soon. Reluctantly, I more or less promised her this. At the cinema I paid 8, at the restaurant 39 marks.

Two days later (on January 3), Süssheim again paid his respects to Fanny's parents in order to speak about his promise to marry their daughter.

In the afternoon, when I was alone with Miss [Fanny], we made love to each other and hugged each other, and Miss [Fanny] found pleasure in it. Later, we went strolling along the River Isar. After I had addressed her since two days as *du* [thou],²⁰² Miss [Fanny] began to address me [too] with *du* [thou]²⁰³ during our walk.

Süssheim also saw Fanny on the following days, and on January 7 he went to her father's shop in order to discuss a possible marriage. He explained that he had a salary of 7500 M and an additional income of 12 to 13,000 M from his capital. He learned to his disappointment that the girl would only get a dowry of 80,000 M, which came to only 5000 M per year. After the father had suggested that Süssheim invest a part of his money in his shop,

he stretched his right arm and right hand over the table and said: "Let me give my paternal blessing to your wish..." I, for my part, did not take the proffered hand and hesitated, saying that I wanted more time to think. He did not see anything unusual in this, and withdrew his hand.

The father accompanied Süssheim and his daughter to his house.

Fanny immediately took my arm and, thinking that the affair was concluded, was very pleased. Questioning me, she saw that I was changed and had become cautious. When we arrived in the house, [Fanny's mother] came to us. When I, apart from greeting her, did not say anything, she smiled and asked if everything was all right. I answered that I needed some more time. At home,

²⁰¹ Entries for January 17, and June 23, 1920.

²⁰² The text has *sen*.

²⁰³ *Idem*.

Miss Fanny and I sat down beside each other on the sofa. She said time and again that I had become a different person. "What happened?", she asked [me]. "Everything is all right", I answered, "but there are still some things I have to think over".

After dinner, the father, worried about the Christmas sales and, probably, the marriage problem, went straight to bed.

Miss Fanny and I, meanwhile, were embracing and hugging each other almost without interruption. Miss Fanny did her utmost to find out the origin and reason of my change. As she confessed, she had since yesterday begun to properly love me. But in order to safeguard her honour, it was perhaps more suitable to conclude our adventure in time. Looking away [from me], she tried to suppress her deep emotions. It was a moving sight, a saddening situation. By embracing and hugging her, I had given her new life and fresh hope. I resolutely rejected the idea that I had begun this adventure with the desire of spending my spare time in a pleasant way. Although we had since some time done things like kissing, only during these minutes when the affair had reached its natural consummation, we kissed on the mouth, and we kissed very much.

Two days later, on January 9, Süssheim saw her and her parents again at the *Licaria* ball in Hotel Bayrischer Hof. He felt obliged to go and sit at their table, but he tried to remain aloof and only danced twice with the girl. On January 15, he wrote at last to the father that he could not marry Fanny "in the present difficult situation".

In the two other serious affairs of these years, Süssheim, in his turn, was rejected. The first of these concerned Alice ('Sisi') Posiles from Vienna. Süssheim met her for the first time during the rudely disturbed evening in Café *Neue Börse* with Max and Hedwig on August 26, 1921 (cf. above). He saw her and her mother again on September 3 and 5 in Nuremberg, and was obviously impressed. The next month she sent him a small collection of stamps. On December 22, Süssheim wrote to tell her that he wanted to become engaged to her. Four days later, he travelled to Austria and spoke with her father in Vienna (on December 27). It appeared that she was spending her holiday in a village near Ischl with her mother; Süssheim went there on the next day. He was received rather coolly, but saw mother and daughter during the following days, and even went with them to visit the excavations in Hallstadt. On January 2, Sisi caught a cold and had to keep to her bed. Süssheim tried to ease her tedium by presenting her with a copy of his article on Bavarian-Turkish relations and an expensive box of sweet biscuits (costing thirty-five marks), but she hardly reacted. Disappointed, Süssheim returned to Munich on the 3rd.

My journey did not go as I had wished. Because I had not expected to go to the mountains, I had not taken clothes suitable for mountain-climbing. Although Mr. Posiles, whom I met in Vienna, was agreeable to me, Miss Posiles I found incessantly unkind. Although I had at first seen opposition in Mrs. [Posiles], at present I saw aloofness in Miss [Posiles...]. The weather being rainy and rather warm, walking caused difficulties. Because the room where I slept was in a side building, the maid did not wait well [on me] during the rain.

Süssheim saw the family only once again, on August 17, in Munich.

On June 8, Süssheim was a guest at the Gutmanns'. Among those present was also his old friend Luise Drey. Dinner consisted of fish, a salad of calf's tongue with lettuce, and pastry.

There was much beer and wine. After dinner, the music teacher [Mrs. Brückner] played the piano and Mrs. Gutmann sang. Meanwhile, Prof. Frank [a mathematician], seated on a chair, fell asleep and became everyone's laughing-stock. During dinner, Miss Ilse Gutmann appeared and took part of her share of the pastry. She sat down beside me and we teased each other [...] Prof. Frank and Mr. Müller got close to inebriation from [too many] drinks; Prof. Frank dropped a coffee cup on the floor, which broke to pieces.

Süssheim became interested in the seventeen-year-old Ilse - her father was a member of the *Insel* Club and he had first seen Ilse in 1913²⁰⁴ - and tried to get closer to her. He invited her to lectures (where she without fail appeared too late²⁰⁵), and visited her and her parents in the Tyrol (August 6-10). Süssheim gave her two boxes of *Suchard* chocolates (worth 100 M) and it seemed that Mrs. Gutmann was not unwilling to consent to his marrying her daughter, but Süssheim already had doubts whether Ilse would let herself be guided by her parents' wishes. On September 21, he discussed the matter with Mrs. Gutmann - meanwhile his own mother had agreed to send furniture to Munich which would come in very handy in case the marriage would be realized! - but she told him that he in any case had to wait until Ilse had grown a bit older. This seemed to terminate the affair. Nevertheless, Süssheim kept seeing her; he was invited to dine with the family or he invited her to lectures.²⁰⁶ On February 26, 1923, he finally decided to give up inviting her - she had stopped responding to his invitations in any case - but he did not adhere strictly to this self-imposed renunciation; he saw her again on November 20, went with her to a lecture on January 30, 1924, and to a *Lieder* recital at the University on February 26.

Süssheim thus did not find a wife, and this quest was to become increasingly difficult in the years to come. His mother even felt compelled to lie about his age²⁰⁷ and he was sometimes confronted with his bachelorhood in an embarrassing way. Visiting the parents of a girl-friend of Erna Kirschbaum in Nuremberg on January 3 (1924),

the company turned to me right from the beginning of our presence there, asking me why I discouraged the [female] guests from entering matrimonial relations with me, why I discouraged the girls from marrying me, "Do you know how to get by on your salary?" "Very well," I said, upon which they once more gave expression to their conviction that I could not marry because my salary was under all circumstances [insufficient] for a matrimony.

204 Entry for December 21, 1913.

205 Entries for June 21, and November 25, 1922.

206 Entries for October 22, November 7 and 25, December 10 and 18, 1922.

207 Entry for February 15, 1924.

Apart from his failure to find a suitable wife, Süssheim also was rather unlucky with the rooms he rented; time and again he came into conflict with his landlords and had to have recourse to the municipal housing department as well as lawyers in order to defend his rights.²⁰⁸ Difficulties often arose about money, especially the amount of rent and the electricity bill. Ominously, twice close neighbours of his committed suicide. On September 29, 1919, a Mrs. Jordan took poison when she discovered that her husband, Professor Jordan,²⁰⁹ had affairs with several mistresses (although the couple had already decided to divorce), and on September 18, 1921, a Mrs. Staudinger, wife of the military historian General Staudinger,²¹⁰ jumped from the toilet window. She had become insane after it had appeared that her daughter was unmarriageable. Two days before her suicide, she had asked Süssheim if he would not ring Prince Alfons or Ludwig Ferdinand and ask them to take her daughter as a bride.

Süssheim was summoned to court twice. Once by his tailor whom he had refused to pay an extra 55 M not previously agreed upon.²¹¹ Another time, he was sued by a certain Mr. Seidler, a stamp-collector from Pomerania, with whom he had exchanged some stamps.²¹² The first case was adjourned, the second one won by Süssheim.

When we take leave of Süssheim in early 1924, his prospects are gloomy. His marriage plans had failed. His academic profession was respectable but brought no financial success. On his birthday, January 21, he recorded:

My situation does not improve. In five years and a half, I have still not paid my bill of 11 lira to my bookseller in Istanbul. There is only one note of 5 marks left in my pocket. But I am still indebted to one stamp dealer. My food consists of a little piece of sausage and some plain, dry bread, lately very much improved. From eleven o'clock, only the dry bread was left. It was a sad party, but I have for a long time been used to this.

Archive files show that Karl Süssheim did finally marry on May 28, 1924. On June 3, 1924, Karl Süssheim, who had been registered in Nuremberg from his

208 Entries for June, 28 and 29, October 29-31, 1919, October 30 to November 1, 1920.

209 Leo Hermann Jordan (b. 1874), professor of French at the *Handelshochschule* from 1910; dismissed in 1933 because of his Jewish background.

210 Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Ernst Staudinger (1848-1925), Bavarian general; seriously wounded in France in 1870, he was posted at the Military Archives from 1899.

211 Entries for February 3, 14, and 23, 1921.

212 Entries for May 23, June, 13, 28, and 30, September 16 and 19, October 17, November 4 and 7, 1921.

birth, took up an official residence in Munich (München 2), Horemannstrasse 26/III m. (registration took place on 13 October, 1924), with Sidonie Frank, who was his first wife. Born on May 8, 1901, in Neumarkt (Upper Palatinate), Sidonie was the daughter of Lazarus Frank, the manager of a wholesale food business, and Franziska (Fanny) Frank, *née* Hauser, all of the Israelite confession. On 1 October, 1926, Süssheim moved to München 2, NW 19, Rühlingstr. 6/IIIr. His father-in-law's firm in Neumarkt, apparently the *Lebensmittel-grosshandlung* Siel, went bankrupt in 1927-28.

The continuation of this journal, covering the beginning and dissolution of his first marriage, the beginnings of Süssheim's second marriage (from 1927), the years of the Weimar Republic and the first years of the Third Reich, has not survived.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE NAZI YEARS, 1936-1940

After 1933 Süssheim resorted to the Arabic language to give expression to his opinion on family and political matters. The last two surviving journals¹ show Süssheim in altered circumstances. He had married Karolina Plank, and their two daughters had been born in 1929 and 1934. His brother Max and his mother had died. Hitler had been in power for three years. Süssheim had returned to private teaching; he had been dismissed from service to the Bavarian State under article 3 of the infamous *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums* on the ground of his being a Jew. The journal describing his dismissal is lost. Süssheim had to live on what was left of the family capital and the rent from his late mother's house in Marienortgraben 9 in Nuremberg. He could claim no pension and his bank assets were in danger. Karl did research during these years - several fine essays were written in the nineteen-thirties - but still spent a lot of time (and money) on philatelic activities. The main theme of this period is the growing pressure of the régime on the Jews, painfully felt by himself and his remaining relatives in Nuremberg and Fürth. During 'Crystal Night' (*Kristallnacht*) of 9 and 10 November 1938 when synagogues, shops and houses owned by Jews were ravaged, Max Süssheim's widow felt acutely threatened, whereupon her nerves broke and she committed suicide. Fortunately Karl Süssheim, who after detention in the Dachau concentration camp anxiously contemplated emigration, had some powerful protection in Turkey, for in 1940 a decree issued by the office of the Prime Minister settled his coming to Turkey with his family and to work there.

¹ Copybooks 20 and 21.

1. Raising a Family

Süssheim saw less of his own relatives in the nineteen-thirties. He rarely visited Nuremberg after 1933. On the occasion of his nephew's, Karl Kirschbaum's, marriage he noted that he had not seen his relatives in four years. On May 23, 1937, he saw his Uncle Heinrich and Aunt Bertha, probably for the last time. When he did go to Nuremberg it was mostly in order to be of help to his sister Paula.

Much space of the Arabic journal for this period is given to Süssheim's married life and his daughters. Karl Süssheim lived in Munich, Horemannstrasse 26, with his second wife Ina. Karolina (Ina) Plank, a Roman Catholic, was born on August 12, 1904, in Thalöd, a village near Dietersburg, and possibly, as family rumours had it, a former housekeeper. Her father, according to archival sources, was a leather merchant. Süssheim was inclined to take him for an unsuccessful farmer, and recorded that her mother had run a textile shop where Ina had briefly worked as an apprentice seamstress.² He also noted that they had come into contact by way of an advertisement.³ The civil marriage took place on January 28, 1927 in Munich (Standesamt München II). On April 21, 1929, their first daughter Karoline Margot was born, followed five years later, on March 8, 1934, by their second daughter Gioconda. Both daughters were of the Israelite confession. In April 1934, the family moved to a more spacious flat in Preysingstrasse 12, where they were to live for seven years.

Whereas the surviving correspondence generally implies that Ina was a good mother, a loyal wife and a successful manager, the emphasis in Süssheim's journal is almost naturally upon opposition and marital unhappiness; he recorded complaints⁴ and mutual recriminations.⁵ Their backgrounds were different; and there was the considerable age difference. There were Ina's parents; a distant impression is conveyed of a couple living in rural surroundings, in Milbertshofen.⁶ Süssheim avoided contact with Ina's relatives except with her brother Joseph whom he seems to have liked. When he reluctantly went to see his father-in-law, Mr. Plank, in the Schwabing hospital where he lay dying of prostate cancer, he apparently did so for the first time in his life. Süssheim, who was more or less a teetotaler, disapproved of his drinking.⁷ His mother-in-law

² Entry for April 18, 1938.

³ Entry for June 11, 1940.

⁴ Entries for March 2, 1938, and May 26, 1939; on May 3, 1940, Ina consulted a doctor.

⁵ Entry for June 11, 1937.

⁶ We are not sure whether this is Milbertshofen, now part of Munich (bordering on Schwabing), or Milbertshofen to the north of Pfaffenhofen (Ilm).

⁷ Entry for January 20, 1937.

seldom visited the flat in the Preysingstrasse, and when Süssheim saw her there on September 28, 1937, he did not recognize her, having not seen her for four years. Süssheim suspected that she encouraged Ina in her resistance to his plans to give Margot and Gioconda a Jewish education.⁸

For the Catholic wife of a Jew, life under the Nazis involved considerable personal hardship. Anti-Semitic abuse and unsettling events such as her husband's detention in Dachau upset Ina more than they did Karl himself. Already in 1933 she, and not Karl, had wanted to emigrate and prepared herself by taking English and French lessons.⁹ During the spring of 1937 she had a nervous breakdown and had to take the waters at Bad Reichenhall during March. Marital relations were increasingly troubled, primarily by their disagreement about the religious education of the children. By degrees Süssheim realized that Ina wanted to convert Margot and Gioconda to Christianity or at least, following Paula's example, to end their membership of the Jewish Community.¹⁰ Ina criticized the Jewish School for being unhealthy and slack on discipline¹¹ and took Gioconda with her to attend a Protestant baptism; Süssheim discovered Christian religious tracts and even a list of Catholic dogmas in Margot's handwriting in her bedroom - they were immediately removed.¹² There were moments when Süssheim suspected that his wife was after his money; on December 4, 1937, he refused to give her the key of the cupboard in which he kept his valuables. She seems to have proposed transferring his fortune to their daughters.¹³ She often threatened to leave him, to go to Paris alone with the children,¹⁴ and talked of seeking a divorce.¹⁵ For increasingly long intervals Ina slept in a separate room, and husband and wife stopped talking to each other after rows had broken out.

The most serious conflicts took place in October 1938 and from April to July 1940. On October 9, 1938, during a walk along the Isar, Süssheim recorded,

I said to Margot that the next day, the Feast of the Tabernacles, we would go to the synagogue, but she refused. Her mother Ina agreed with her, saying that Margot would not go more than

8 Entries for July 8, 1938; April 25, 1940.

9 Entries for February 1, 1939; April 25, 1940.

10 Entry for June 2, 1940.

11 Entries for January 11 and October 13, 1938.

12 Entry for June 25, 1940.

13 Entries for December 4, 1937, November 29, 1938, and June 7, 1940.

14 Entry for June 20, 1939.

15 Entry for June 11, 1940.

once a year to the synagogue.¹⁶ I and Ina had until that moment been walking arm in arm. Immediately I let Ina's arm go and fell back behind Ina and our daughters because of Ina's intervention in their religious education. Later I left them altogether and went to the flat alone. I reached the house at half past four. Ina and my daughters arrived half an hour later. I paid only little attention to Margot after their return, and far less to Ina. I understood from Ina's gaiety and her prodigal singing after her return that she had instilled in Margot a feeling of the ignominy of our faith and had denounced it as disgraceful; and that Margot had absolved her of her guilt by refusing to go to the synagogue. Later I understood that I had done wrong in showing my anger...

He reminded Ina that before their marriage they had agreed that he would decide on the religious education of the children. But Ina was not prepared to stop exerting her influence altogether and excused herself by saying that she had been very young at the time of their wedding and had not understood the implications of the condition. Next day, Süssheim went to the services at the Orthodox Synagogue in the Herzog-Rudolf-Strasse alone and was invited by Rabbi Ehrentreu to the tabernacle at his house. He told Süssheim that his family had not dared to use the shed in their back garden for this purpose for fear of a negative reaction by their neighbours. Süssheim recorded the support and solace which the Ehrentreus provided as against his wife's contempt for his religion. Ina had warned him that she might take the children with her to her mother's at Milbertshofen.

On April 25, 1940, Ina, disregarding the Pesach fasting, gave bread to Gioconda to eat at school. Long arguments and periods of obstinate silence followed. When their emigration to Istanbul had been decided upon, Ina told her husband that, in any case, there would be no room for a Jewish education for her daughters in Istanbul.¹⁷ For months they slept apart, but by July 1, Süssheim recorded that Ina again bade him good night.

The Diary of this period contains a regular record of the progress of his daughters, for instance of Gioconda's learning to speak or to clean herself,¹⁸ and their health; both had to be taken to hospital because of dysentery on September 17 and had to remain there until the 28th. During winter, Süssheim sometimes went skating with them. On November 26, 1937, he injured himself seriously when he fell and lacerated his hip on the runner of one of Margot's skates. He, in turn, had to be taken to hospital. The children often became involved in the tensions between their parents, and Ina sometimes slapped their cheeks when they were unruly. Karl recorded an incident involving Margot who scolded him and spoke disparagingly of him as of "a Jew", words for which he

16 On September 26, Margot had already accompanied her father to the synagogue on the occasion of the Jewish New Year.

17 Entry for June 10, 1940.

18 Entry for July 4, 1939.

blamed her mother.¹⁹ The journal records how in the afternoon of March 21, 1940, when Margot was making tea for herself in the kitchen, she inadvertently set fire to the curtains. When Ina returned from shopping and saw that the lace curtain and the black-out paper had caught fire, she flared up and, beside herself with anger, tore at Margot's hair, while Süssheim tried to calm her down and to defend his daughter.

On June 30, 1940, Süssheim recorded Margot's first love. He was Walter Kröpelin, nineteen years old and dismissed from active military service at the western front because his mother was Jewish. His parents intended to send him to the School for Translators²⁰ in Leipzig in order to protect him from forced labour. His father was an acquaintance of Ina's (and a friend of her teacher of English) and from October 12, 1939, regularly visited the Süssheims at their flat in Preysingstrasse. The elder

Mr. Kröpelin weighs 100 kg and he is pessimistic about the German situation and the European one and thinks that the Nazi Government in the end will be unable to sustain the industrial production. He is also grieved by the incapacity of the English Government to manage the war [properly]. He has been married for twenty-four years...

The elder Kröpelin had been a Socialist, had known Süssheim's brother Max, and had taken part in the January strikes of 1918 after which he had been imprisoned for five months. Although Süssheim was suspicious of Kröpelin's Socialist background, he found much interest in what he had to tell and recorded their conversation word for word. A recurring topic was the anti-Semitic policy of the government which also affected him; thus he complained of the expropriation of his wireless and of the curfew imposed on the Jews which made it impossible for him to go out with his wife in the evening.²¹ Sometimes both families took a little trip together. On May 1, 1940, they held a picnic in the countryside near Munich and on June 30 they went to Neu Freimann where they visited two restaurants. They walked home in the evening and Süssheim recorded that they arrived at five past nine, which was five minutes too late. This was the first time he had trespassed the curfew rules.

2. Life under the Nazis

In the Arabic journals, as in the Turkish ones, we find frequent references to contemporary events which had an even more shattering impact on the life of a Jewish inhabitant of Munich than those of the immediate post bellum. With all normal channels of information successfully under control, rumour, hearsay and

¹⁹ Entry for June 9, 1940.

²⁰ The text has مدرسة الترجمانين.

²¹ Entry for June 30, 1940.

funny stories took over. Süssheim sometimes recorded things that he read in the papers, but above all he continued to put on paper what he saw with his own eyes or heard with his own ears. The last extant Arabic journal opens with a joke which Süssheim heard from a certain Mr. Schmidt, whom he had met in hospital - Süssheim had to undergo a glaucoma operation on his left eye in October 1936, not very successful, it soon appeared.

Mr. Schmidt told me,²² when we were together in the hospital, that the *Führer*.²³ Hitler, was enamored of homosexuals, and his infatuation was known among the SA men. The place where they meet is a tavern called the *Traube*²⁴ at 20, Innere Wiener-Strasse²⁵ in Haidhausen. There they talked about a confusing conversation with the *Führer*; someone had asked him: "Why don't you marry?" The answer: "My bride is in Heaven." Second question: "*Ist das Ihr Ernst?*"²⁶ referring to Ernst Röhm²⁷ who was killed on June 20 [sic], 1934.

On May 24, 1937, Süssheim and his wife came to Nuremberg for the marriage of his nephew Karl Kirschbaum. The Süssheims and his sister Paula visited the - still incomplete - parade grounds of the Nazis (*Reichsparteitagsgelände*). Süssheim recalled the days when nature there was still undisturbed and noted that the model of the complex alone had cost 100,000 RM.

On July 12 of the same year, Süssheim, critical of the wasteful expense, recorded that Munich had been decorated with some 3000 flagpoles from which the new Swastika-adorned flags waved on the occasion of the opening of the *Haus der Deutschen Kunst*.²⁸ The event was to be commemorated in the following years with pompous parades on the "days of German Art".²⁹ On July

22 On November 25, 1936.

23 The text has الهادي.

24 The text has الكرم.

25 The text has شارع فينا الداخلي; the street was one block away from Süssheim's flat in Preysingstrasse.

26 The text has اهذا ارستكم with the double meaning in German: "Are you serious?" and "Is that your Ernst?"

27 Ernst Röhm (1887-1934), Nazi leader, commander of the SA from 1931; suspected of planning a coup, he was killed on orders of Hitler on June 30, 1934.

28 "Designed by Hitler's (then) favourite architect, Professor Troost, the House of German Art was a monotonous, outside pastiche in the classical manner with an unaccented pillared façade which quickly inspired popular epithets such as 'Munich Art Terminal' and 'Palazzo Kitschi', Richard Grunberger, *A Social History of the Third Reich*, reprint, London 1979, 536.

29 "On the opening day of the First Exhibition of German Art, Munich hung out its flags. In the streets perspiring Teuton warriors manhandled a giant sun and carried the tinfoil-covered cosmic ash-tree Yggdrasil (of German legend), in solemn procession. 'Normen' on stilts dextrously

16, 1939, the procession symbolized the development of German art through the ages (including that of the recently-annexed Bohemia, a province of Czechoslovakia, and the Memel territory).³⁰

But during the hour that the procession was to take place, it began to rain. The rain did not stop getting steadily worse until half past four; the weather was sometimes smooth and quiet but at other times rough and the spectators inevitably ran away in all directions except those who had umbrellas. The streets thus became empty. From 1933 until now the weather in Munich has always been excellent when National Socialist³¹ demonstrations were taking place, but in the afternoon of July 16, the weather was treacherous and spoiled their hopes, so much so that the Munich government forbade the newspapers to mention the weather [conditions in] Munich on July 16 and what happened yesterday³² with the procession and its spectators. This is reminiscent of the situation in Turkey during the period of despotism.³³ The procession lasted from three till almost five o'clock. In order to accelerate the pace of the horses, they had sprinkled sand on the asphalt. In the procession, there were many girls in light, long dresses in the ancient mode who wore sandals on their feet. When the rain started, the sand got between the sandals and their feet. Only those could walk on who removed their sandals and socks. They were forced to walk barefoot, although they, being city girls, were not used to it...

During a holiday at Oberstdorf, Süssheim witnessed the invasion of the small town by a unit of some thousand SA troopers accompanied by a complete brass band; he noted (on July 17, 1937) that the young men showed much interest in the local girls. "If they had stayed longer, this would have had disastrous results for the honour of the girls."

On the occasion of Mussolini's³⁴ visit to Munich (September 25-28),³⁵ the city was again bedecked with flags. Süssheim noted on September 25:

sidestepped overhead tram cables as they continued weaving the loom of fate, and columns of wimpled châtelaines and medieval burgesses evoked the age of Albrecht Dürer and Lucas Cranach," Grunberger, *Social History*, 537.

30 The Memel territory, made autonomous in 1924, was seized by Germany in 1939.

31 The text has *الحزب الاشتراكي الملى*.

32 This was written on the 17th.

33 The text has *استبداد*; term used in particular for the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (ruled 1876-1909).

34 Benito Mussolini (1883-1945), publicist, politician, prime minister (1922-1943) and Fascist Dictator of Italy.

35 See William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 12th impr., London & Sydney 1979, 372.

One of the most decorated places in Munich was the farthest part of the Prinzregenten-Strasse³⁶ between the Friedensengel³⁷ and the Prinzregenten-Platz, because there flagpoles coated with gold [had been erected...] One of the most decorated streets was the Ludwigstrasse [...]. In all ornamented streets, the gables of official buildings are provided with, alternately, the German eagle and the Roman batch of lictors in honour of the Italian Fascist Party..."

Later that year, in the early morning of December 22, Süssheim saw

under the Siegestor³⁸ the coffin of General Ludendorff who died the day before yesterday. The coffin was covered by black cloth surrounded by the Party insignia and decorations of the deceased. When I got to the Ludwigstrasse, I crossed groups of the SA, the colour of their faces bloodless; they were weak as if they were starved. One hears that the people at present are disgusted by the food situation and fume at the government.³⁹

In the meantime, German rearmament was in full sway and military expansion had begun. On March 10, 1938, Süssheim heard from his nephew Karl in Nuremberg that a general mobilisation was being prepared and "an intervention in Austrian affairs" anticipated (the papers were silent on the subject); petrol was no longer sold to civilians. Two days later, on March 13, German troops invaded Austria. On the 14th, Süssheim saw that large crowds had gathered along the Ludwigstrasse where the *Führer*, escorted by 28 cars, was to pass. On April 24, he spoke with police officers who had returned from Graz and Vienna - he observed that the *Sicherheitspolizei*⁴⁰ was glad of the "warm reception they had experienced in Austria".

During the summer holiday of 1938, spent at Trautenbach, Süssheim met a teacher called Rüdler who had known Hitler personally before 1933.

He told me that in the *Ordensburg*⁴¹ near the town of Sonthofen, there now were 500 to 600 students, among whom persons of thirty, forty or fifty years of age. In their service are many girls and 130 teachers. [The students] were not allowed to take notes of the lessons, nor were they allowed to do their homework in writing; all lessons indeed are oral. Nevertheless, the school has a big library. The purpose of the lessons is [mastery of] the art of speaking. A litre of wine costs

36 The text has شارع نائب الحكومة.

37 The text has استوانة الصلح.

38 The text has باب الظفر.

39 The discontent of the population at this time about food shortages and rising prices is also described in reports of the Bavarian Political Police, cf. H. Bretschneider, *Der Widerstand gegen den National-Sozialismus in München 1933 bis 1945*, Munich 1968, 42. See also, for the years 1935-36: Ian Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich: Bavaria 1933-1945*, Oxford 1983, 128-9.

40 The text has شرطة الامن.

41 The text has حصن الجمعية. See on these élite Party schools, lit. "castles of the order", Grunberger, *Social History*, 379-381.

two marks over there. Some time ago, the *Führer* turned up and found a number of pupils drunk. He then ordered their removal [from the school] and they were chased away. The teacher confirmed the rumour that the daughter of Minister Göring⁴² born recently was actually the daughter of the *Führer* and not that of Minister Göring. I answered him that, in my opinion, the rumour was false.

In the beginning of August, Süssheim and his family made a short trip to the Lake of Constance. In Friedrichshafen, on August 1, they visited the Zeppelin factory and near Bregenz they called on old friends, the Rhomberts, with whom the old Süssheims had spent a holiday in 1891. Climbing the Mountain Pfänder (on August 3), they had a splendid view of Bregenz - most outstanding was the building of the Technical School - and the lake. Süssheim found out that the Austrian flag on the wall of the school was hidden by a cloth. He noted that despite growing employment rates the working population had been disappointed by the annexation because the expected increase in wages had not materialized. Popular support for Hitler was estimated to have fallen to ten percent. The enforced 'Hitler salute' with the raised arm was unpopular.

His acquaintance Mr. Schmidt told Süssheim on September 8 that Germany was to invade Czechoslovakia soon, and he himself recorded an increasing military activity in the streets of Munich; on the 19th, he saw a column of trucks loaded with long-barrelled guns on the Wiener Platz near his house. On September 26, he noted that the streets of the Haidhausen quarter (where he lived) were deserted because of a speech by Hitler on the radio (in which he violently abused the Czechoslovakian President, Beneš⁴³) - the papers warned against the danger of fire caused by air-raids. Hitler, Mussolini, and the French and British Prime Ministers, Daladier⁴⁴ and Chamberlain,⁴⁵ were to meet in Munich. Because of this, Süssheim noted, the State Library was closed on the morning of September 29. On the same day,

when I left the kindergarten in the company of Gioconda, we saw an enormous crowd gathered

42 Hermann Wilhelm Göring (1893-1946), World War pilot and, as leader of the SA, wounded during the 1923 *putsch*; Prime Minister of Prussia, Air Minister (1933-1945); Commander in Chief of the *Luftwaffe*; in 1940 *Reichsmarschall*. He was married to the actress Emmy Sonnemann - other rumours, equally untrue, had it that her children had been procreated by an illicit lover abroad, cf. Grunberger, *Social History*, 422. For Göring see also Watt, *Annotated Edition of Victor Klemperer's LTI*, 134-35.

43 Eduard Beneš (1884-1948), statesman, President of Czechoslovakia (1935-1938 and 1946-1948).

44 Edouard Daladier (1884-1970), French Socialist politician; Prime Minister in 1933, 1934, 1938-1940.

45 Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940), British Conservative politician, Prime Minister (1937-1940).

in front of Hotel *Vier Jahreszeiten*.⁴⁶ Then a group of foreigners appeared, among them Daladier and Marshal Göring. The crowd cheered them loudly with *hoch, hoch*. I lifted Gioconda so that she could see them. Then, in the afternoon, Ina and our daughters came across a number of cars near the *Friedensengel*; Margot ran towards them and saw Deputy Chief Hess,⁴⁷ Göring, Hitler and Mussolini.

The Munich Conference resulted in the cession of the Sudetenland to Germany and virtually meant the end of Czechoslovakia. On March 12, 1939, Süssheim saw a column of military trucks moving in the direction of the *Ostbahnhof* and he thought that this had something to do with the "situation in Bohemia". (On the 15th, the German army invaded what was left of the independent Republic of Czechoslovakia.)

On May 3, 1939, Süssheim heard from his hairdresser that German military units, in particular SS guards, had been concentrated on the Polish border, waiting for orders to cross the border. On June 23, Süssheim noted that a number of Czech forced labourers had killed their German guard who had told them that "in Germany laziness is not allowed as is the custom in your countries" - some of the culprits had been caught and executed.

Apart from parading, bellicosity and brute force, another outstanding feature of Nazi militarism was singing. Walking past the garden of the *Bürgerbräukeller* on the evening of July 5 (which had been a hot day), Süssheim heard singing and took down the refrain: *Wir werden weiter marschieren/ Wenn alles in Scherben fällt...*

Another aspect was ideological adjustment. At the end of the same month (on July 31), Süssheim heard that the Theological Faculty of Munich University had been closed on orders from Berlin because the students had publicly disapproved of the recent appointment of a Nazi professor.⁴⁸

On August 23, Süssheim read in the papers that the Non-Aggression Pact between Germany and the Soviet Union was to be signed the next day. The population seemed relieved that the threat of the Russian military power had been neutralized. Three days later however, Süssheim noted that discontent had spread because of the call to arms of a steadily increasing part of the male population; Germany was in no need of a warmongering *Führer* in order to reach an agreement with the Soviets! On the same day, the kerbs were marked with white paint in order to avoid accidents caused by a possible black-out. On the next day, it was announced that food would again be subject to rationing as during the World War. War was in the air, and Süssheim could only reach Nuremberg with

46 The text has فندق السنة الاربعة.

47 Rudolf Hess (1894-1987), Nazi activist, Hitler's deputy as leader of the NSDAP from 1933.

48 Nazi control of theological education perceptibly tightened from 1938 - the aim was to as much as possible isolate and secularise the churches and their institutions; the Munich Theological Faculty moreover was not protected under the 1933 Reich Concordat, see J.S. Conway, *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches 1933-1945*, London 1968, 191-192.

much difficulty on August 28. The only train available for public transport that day was crammed with people hurrying home fearing that war could break out at any moment. In Nuremberg, Paula told her brother that *Oberführer* König had "committed suicide";⁴⁹ a sumptuous burial had been organised by his chief Streicher.⁵⁰ When he returned to Munich in the evening, he heard that Bavaria had mobilized on August 26-27. On August 31, he read that Poland had equally done so, and on September 2 that Germany had invaded that country on the previous day. On that day, Süssheim recorded, the radio had incessantly played military marches; "it seems likely that these military marches will often be repeated in the future." On September 3, the population heard the depressing news that war had been declared on Germany by Britain and France - the Second World War had begun.⁵¹

Two days later, Süssheim recorded that the front doors of the block of flats where he lived had to remain open during the night so that the civil air-defence people could enter at any time. Because of the continuing news of German victories the population did not adhere much to black-out measures. There apparently still was hope that the nightmare would not start all over again, and a rumour spread (on September 7) that von Papen,⁵² the German Ambassador at Ankara, had gone to Paris to ensure French neutrality for at least the duration of the Polish campaign. On the same day, Ina heard that placards had been seen on both sides of the German-French border with the text: "If you will not shoot, we won't either". Süssheim thought that the war was pointless because both the German and French borders were thoroughly fortified.

On September 9, news spread that Warsaw had surrendered to the Germans and the population seemed pleased. At one p.m. Göring announced in a broadcast that Poland would be taken within a week;⁵³ after that, things in the country would be set right by German officials. On October 23, Süssheim heard that

49 Guilty of corruption, König had been forced by his boss, Streicher, to kill himself before the arrival of a commission dispatched by Göring to Nuremberg to investigate 'aryanisations' undertaken in Franconia during and after the Crystal Night pogrom, cf. Grunberger, *Social History*, 131.

50 Julius Streicher (1885-1946), Nazi activist, founder of the anti-Semitic and pornographic weekly *Der Stürmer* (in 1923), *Gauleiter* of Franconia to 1940; after the Nuremberg Trial executed as a war criminal.

51 William Shirer noted in Berlin on the same day: "In 1914, I believe, the excitement in Berlin on the same day of the World War was tremendous. Today, no excitement, no hurrahs, no cheering, no throwing of flowers, no war fever, no war hysteria...", William L. Shirer, *Berlin Diary. The Journal of a Foreign Correspondent 1934-1941*, New York 1941, 201.

52 Franz von Papen (1879-1969), Chancellor from 1 June to 17 November 1932; his government paved the way for Hitler's accession to power. Ambassador to Turkey (1939-1944).

53 Most Polish units had indeed surrendered by September 17, cf. Shirer, *Rise and Fall*, 753.

German academicians had been sent to the country, among whom a Slavist from Munich, Professor Koschmieder.⁵⁴

The first air-raid alarm sounded on September 14.

For the first time a military siren sounded during the night warning the people to hurry into the shelters [under] the houses; the siren is a loudspeaker [producing] a high tone of a horrifying volume. This was just before two a.m. But I did not hear it before Ina woke me up. She took care that our daughters got dressed and we went downstairs to the hall behind the front door where the residents of the house had gathered, except for the sick and one child. After some time, we again went upstairs. Just after I had gone to bed, we again heard the siren and we again went downstairs. When we had again come upstairs, it was two-thirty. When we were downstairs, I heard that on the previous day French pilots had reached our city, Würzburg and Nuremberg and had dropped pamphlets over the [last] two cities, in which they urged the people to overthrow the German Government. On September 21, we heard from someone who had arrived from Würzburg that the reason for the alarm in Munich was that in the night of the 14th a plane had reached Würzburg which filled the town with pamphlets on which [was written:] "Do not shoot and we will not shoot; we only demand the overthrow of the German Government."⁵⁵

Effects of the war were also felt in the field of food distribution; Süssheim recorded (on October 5) that he and his wife walked the fifteen kilometres to Ismaning and back in order to buy potatoes. Because of the rain, Ina caught a cold and had to keep to her bed for three days.

On the evening of November 8, Süssheim heard the tremendous explosion which rocked the nearby *Bürgerbräukeller* in the Rosenheimer Strasse and had been intended to eliminate Hitler. He recorded that

in order to commemorate the Nazi Putsch which had miscarried in 1923, there was a big rally in the *Bürgerbräukeller*. When I passed it at about three o'clock p.m., the door to the vestibule in front of the assembly hall and the vestibule itself were adorned and completely covered with flags in the colours of the Nazi Party, mostly red. On the placards [it was announced that] the speaker of the gathering would be Minister Hess, but the *Führer* himself appeared and spoke to the *Alte Kämpfer*.⁵⁶ The *Führer* left the place of assembly because his presence was needed in Berlin. After his departure at half past nine, we heard - we were at home - an explosion. The violence of the explosion [made it seem to be] a part of many [similar ones]. Ina was in bed, sleeping; she awoke from the vehemence of the explosion, rose quickly and went to the hall of our apartment in bewilderment. Other bewildered people came from their apartments to the stairway and began to discuss matters. It had seemed as if the explosion had occurred behind our house or the houses opposite our house. The tenants were glad that the explosion had not taken

54 Erwin Koschmieder (1895-1977), professor of Polish at Wilna (Vilnius) (from 1930), professor of Slavonic and Baltic philology at Munich University (from 1939).

55 During the period of the so-called 'Phony War' (or *Sitzkrieg* in German), the RAF restricted itself to throwing out leaflets; under pressure of the French Government, which feared German reprisals, no centres of population or industry were attacked, cf. R.V. Jones, *Most Secret War. British Scientific Intelligence 1939-1945*, London 1978, 118.

56 The text has مظاهرة القدمة [= مظاهرةين?]. Designation for Party members who had joined before 30 January 1933.

place in our house. From people who went back to their houses, we heard that the crowd in the streets around the *Bürgerbräukeller* was enormous [...] Later that night I heard until after three o'clock in the morning strong blows as if a house was being demolished; they were demolishing parts of the auditorium in the *Bürgerbräukeller* which they could no longer use.⁵⁷

The Jewish population dreaded reprisals, and Süssheim who went to Nuremberg to visit his sister (on November 9) was recommended not to return to Munich for a while. He thought that this was nonsense. When he passed the site of the beer-hall on November 10, he saw that the ruins were guarded by policemen who had blocked the pavement on the side of the entrance. On December 22, Süssheim read that the man who had attempted Hitler's life, Georg Elser, had been arrested by the police, but all kinds of rumours, particularly those which maintained that the attempt had been the result of an international conspiracy, kept circulating.⁵⁸

Disturbing news also came from Poland. Fearful reprisals had apparently been taken against the Polish civil population by German soldiers - the inhabitants of houses suspected of giving shelter to *franc-tireurs* were ruthlessly executed, men, women, elderly people or children.⁵⁹ In the confusing situation even regular German soldiers and SS troopers sometimes clashed - police recruits were reluctant to leave for Poland, fearing the prospect of nightly attacks by resistance forces.⁶⁰ On the walls of the Munich slaughterhouse the text "Hitler is the butcher of the people" had been painted.⁶¹

Restrictions in the food supply meanwhile were increasing. In Berlin, vegetables were said to have become subject to rationing on December 14; the supply of beer to restaurants and hotels was to be cut by half. Eggs became very

⁵⁷ Hitler, who spoke earlier than expected and only briefly, left the *Keller* ten minutes before the explosion which went off at 21.20 p.m. Six 'Old Fighters' and a waitress were killed, and 63 persons were injured. The place where Hitler had stood was covered by a pile of debris some metres high. See *Dossier Elser. Onthullingen over de eerste aanslag op Hitler*, Haarlem 1979, 8-9.

⁵⁸ Entries for November 15, 1939, and March 4, 1940. On November 15, for instance, Süssheim heard that two men in SA uniforms had asked for the key of the electricity unit situated above the main hall of the *Bürgerbräukeller* on the day before the attempt. They had been present at the rally of November 9, and had shown restless behaviour, continually looking at their watches. The police file, however, showed that the attempt was indeed planned by Georg Elser alone, a labourer from Königsbronn in Swabia, who was discontent with the worsening living conditions in Nazi Germany and the increasing war threat. He passed thirty to thirty-five nights unobserved in the *Keller* where he built a bomb right above the rostrum. Half an hour before the explosion he was arrested at the Swiss border; he was executed in April 1945 in the Dachau concentration camp. See *Dossier*, 15-18; 63-64.

⁵⁹ Entry for November 12.

⁶⁰ Entry for January 27, 1940.

⁶¹ Entry for November 13, 1939.

scarce (and had to be hatched out for the production of chickens)⁶² and meatless weeks were to be introduced.⁶³ A joke circulated in which it was said that the war would be over if all shops without exception would unite behind the *Führer* in *closed* ranks.⁶⁴

Around four o'clock in the night of February 23, 1940, the first shooting and the explosion of bombs was heard.

The strange thing was, that the population was not called to the air-raid shelters; thus, we stayed in bed and our daughters did not hear anything. In the morning, it was said that the reason for the firing of the [anti-aircraft] guns was an exercise but others said that English pilots had reached Munich. They did not admit the coming of planes until the Munich papers of February 26 required that mechanical remains and other such things be handed over to the government.

The war entered a new phase; on May 10, Süssheim heard from his bookbinder that Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg had been invaded. Rumours about an attack in the west had been heard before; on November 11 (1939), Süssheim heard that General von Brauchitsch had been dismissed after his refusal to open a western front as early as November 12.⁶⁵ The army was clearly preparing an invasion of Belgium for February or March of the next year, as Süssheim heard from a soldier on leave on January 22, 1940.

Now that the phase of the 'Phony War' had ended, the Allied planes did not content themselves with dropping leaflets. In the night of June 4, the Süssheims together with 24 neighbours spent more than an hour in the cellar of their house while eight bombs fell on the city. The next night

we [again] were in the cellar. The air-raid warning lasted from 25 past one until a quarter to three a.m. We were with about 29 persons. During the alarm they told that in this night [...] houses had been hit by bombs in Schellingstrasse, Wilhelmstrasse and in Schwabing. One bomb came down in a cellar where it exploded. It is said that in Schellingstrasse a mother and child who had stayed home perished but nobody perished there in the cellar. They also told that pilots dropped leaflets on Schwabing with [the text] "Germans, do not worry, we will come back every night!"

On June 14, Süssheim heard that Paris had surrendered; at half past one the church-bells in the city were tolled. On the next day, the fortress of Verdun fell into German hands and the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were invaded by German troops. On June 17, news spread that France had requested Germany to start peace negotiations - the quick German victory was perhaps partly due to the

62 Entry for March 17, 1940.

63 Entry for March 26, 1940.

64 Entry for January 27, 1940.

65 Walther von Brauchitsch (1881-1948), General and Field Marshal; Army Commander in Chief (1938-1941); see on the conflict about the western invasion, Shirer, *Rise and Fall*, 777-778 (the General was not dismissed on this occasion).

successful use of sleeping gas.

3. Contacts with Turkey and the Middle East, Research and Publications

Süssheim's contacts with Turkey were more intensive than during the previous period. This is apparent from the correspondence with Feridun Nafiz Uzluk and Mes'ud Koman, his most important contacts, to be mentioned below. Süssheim also exchanged letters, mainly for scholarly purposes, with, in particular, the late Dr. Abdullah Cevdet's widow Fatma, his son Mehmed and his daughter Gül (26 items, November 1932 - November 1939) and with İbrahim Temo⁶⁶ (60 items, April 1933 - June 1940) - there is no reference to these in the Diary.⁶⁷

Travelling to the Middle East and elsewhere had become almost impossible. Süssheim sometimes received invitations to attend scholarly conferences, but had to decline. On September 12, 1937, he recorded that he received a telegram from the Ministry of Education in Ankara in which he was invited to attend the Second Congress of Turkish History, which began on September 19. The Turkish Government would pay his expenses. His name had been forwarded by İbrahim Temo. Süssheim had his wife write back in his name that he could not accept the offer since he would have to pay 20,000 RM as a security on leaving the country (the so-called *Fluchtsteuer*⁶⁸), and doubted whether the money would be paid back on his return.

On June 20, 1938, Süssheim was unexpectedly visited by his old friend Zekeriya Mazlum; he had not seen him for twenty-six years.

When he visited me in the morning at half past nine, I was alone in the apartment. The bell was rung downstairs and I went down, thinking that it was my wife Ina, but then I came across him on the stairs. I said my name and asked if he was looking for me. He said something which I did not understand. I then asked him in Arabic what he wanted; he answered me that he had descended from heaven. I had already suspected from the beginning that he was Zekeriya Mazlum. He embraced me in the Oriental fashion and I embraced him and kissed him on his cheeks.

He told Süssheim that he had been living in Germany since 1923, and practised as a lawyer. He was very much opposed to anti-Semitism.

At half past three in the afternoon he visited me again as we had agreed that morning. We went to the Café Luitpold where we listened to a duo of singers. He asked me if I could lend him money to the amount of 10 RM, but I convinced him that I depended for my living on financial support from my sister in Nuremberg [...] One of the strangest stories [he told me] was that the

⁶⁶ İbrahim Temo (1865-1945), physician, Young Turkish activist and oppositional politician, Rumanian Senator and Mayor of Medgidia (Rumania) in 1926.

⁶⁷ These correspondences are discussed in Jan Schmidt, 'The Importance of the Süssheim Papers', 110-115.

⁶⁸ The text has *ضريبة هروب*.

Turkish Government had proclaimed a general amnesty on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the Turkish Republic last week, and although he had been living outside Turkey since 1920, having neither been sentenced nor exiled, he thought about returning to Turkey in the near future. These were his thoughts in the morning, but when we were sitting in the Café Luitpold his aversion to the new Turkey and Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] got the better of him. In the morning he had told me that Mustafa Kemal had of old been suffering from blennorrhoea but had neglected it and germs of the inflammation had entered his blood so that during the Battle of the Sakarya he had been ill for three days [...] His private physician Müsellis Ömer Bey had told him that either he would die immediately or fifteen years hence. Zekeriya Mazlum said that he would die soon and that General Fevzi Pasha would succeed him as Chief of the General Staff⁶⁹ [...]

He said that Lefij Bey⁷⁰ was one of the greatest painters. He had unsavoury relations with men of the [Young Turkish] Unity and Progress Party. Zekeriya Mazlum employed him from 1912 to 1920; he made about 100 paintings for Mazlum Bey. Then, in 1924, Lefij Bey was received by Mustafa Kemal but Lefij Bey was addicted to drinking wine and died in 1927 when he was forty years old. Mazlum had some of his paintings with him when he travelled to London and Berlin...

Zekeriya Mazlum also boasted of his acquaintance with Arab royalty:

He said that he had known the Sharif Husayn,⁷¹ who became King of the Hijaz in 1915, well since the time they had worked in Istanbul for the Council of State [*Şura-yi devlet*]; he was then a member of the Reform Office [*Daire-i tanzimat*]. His sons Abdullah⁷² and Faysal⁷³ were, at the time, like Zekeriya Mazlum, officers. When King Faysal after the war went to Berlin in order to consult a physician, the physician arrived accompanied by five assistants. The King gave him £60 as a fee and also gave Mazlum Bey £60, telling him not to spend it on girls. He then invited him to the Directorate of Ceremony [*mudiriyat at-tashrifat*] in Baghdad. He did not accept and therefore missed the opportunity. The Emir Abdullah invited him to the Ministry of Education in Amman, but he did not accept. The Minister of Education there at that time was the philosopher Rıza Tevfik. These were all Mazlum Bey's stories and I do not know whether they are true or invented.

When Mazlum Bey was sitting in our living room with my wife Ina and our daughters, he kept sighing and the same happened when he was with me in his room. When we were alone, he said "*dunya* [world!]" all the time. He did not say, like the Muslims: "Allah!" When we were in the Café Luitpold he did not sigh because he was delighted with the place and the musicians. His body had been slim in the past but he had become fat and his shoulders had become strong and square. What astonished me was that he had no grey or white hairs, but this was because they

⁶⁹ Mustafa Fevzi Pasha (Çakmak) (1876-1950), general and politician, had become Chief of the Turkish General Staff in 1923 and retained his office until 1944. Atatürk died of cirrhosis of the liver on November 10, 1938.

⁷⁰ Hüseyin Avni Lefij (1889-1927), Turkish painter working under the influence of French symbolism; teacher at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul.

⁷¹ Sharif Husayn (1853-1931), Emir of Mecca, but residing in Istanbul, from 1908; King of the Hijaz (1915-1924).

⁷² Abdullah b. Husayn (1882-1951), Emir of Transjordan, 1920; King of Jordan, 1946.

⁷³ Faysal b. Husayn (1883-1933), King of Iraq from 1924.

had been dyed. He had a wide and complete bald patch on top of his head. He boasted he was able to marry a seventeen-year-old girl [...] He laughed and told my wife that I had procured for myself in Istanbul a harem full of beautiful girls. This was obviously a lie and Ina did not respond. When I was with him in his room, I lent him 7 RM without a bond; he scrutinized my wallet thoroughly like a thief, but I had already understood what he wanted and had left my money at home.

He also told Süsseim that he still was exchanging letters with members of the exiled House of Osman, among them the last Caliph, Abdülmecid,⁷⁴ very much an enemy of the Turkish Republic and Mustafa Kemal.

He explained to me that the Turkish Government would return to the Arab script; I replied that I thought otherwise. He was also convinced that the Turks and the Arabs would get involved in a war against each other. All this showed that upon his return to Turkey his conflicts with the Turkish Republican Government will start all over again. He had been exiled from his country and his native city Istanbul since 1908, except for two years from 1917 to 1920 when he was in Istanbul.⁷⁵ He is afraid of Turkish Government spies in case he will return to Istanbul. He is also afraid that, in case of his return to the east, he will not be able to get used to its customs, far away [as he will be] from the centres of civilization. He wants to marry a European, Jewish or Armenian girl, but he requires her to cheer him up by [playing] musical instruments, particularly at night before he goes to sleep, and to amuse him with plenty of conversation [...]

Mazlum was convinced that Muhammad had stolen the contents of the Koran from the Old and New Testaments, sometimes changing their meaning, for instance, the offering of Ishaq into the offering of Ismail, thereby promoting the Arabs as sons of Ismail. Mazlum actually preferred Christianity above Islam because the Muslims had always ruined the countries where they had come. Nevertheless he said he wished to be buried according to Muslim custom. He said that Jewish women in Berlin would have given him 10,000 RM if he had agreed to marry them for a period of three months for the purpose of acquiring a foreign nationality and protection against the iniquity of the German Government. But he had not agreed because he had not known their antecedents...

During these years, Süsseim became acquainted with one Shafiq Hassan, son of a merchant of Damascus, who owned a carpet shop in Munich. He was the nephew of an old friend of Süsseim's, the publicist, bibliophile and erstwhile Minister of Education, Mehmed Kurd Ali.⁷⁶ (Süsseim was later to sell him a Bukhara rug for 500 RM and two paintings when his emigration approached.) After the outbreak of the war, Shafiq Hassan himself intended to leave Germany for Istanbul and Damascus, because he feared internment - British, French and Egyptian nationals were said to be imprisoned in a camp near Nuremberg. He told Süsseim he was convinced that Turkey would inevitably become involved

⁷⁴ Abdülmecid II (1868-1944). He was elected Caliph by the Great National Assembly on November 18, 1922, and succeeded, in this quality only, his cousin Mehmed VI. When the Assembly abolished the Caliphate, all members of the Ottoman dynasty were ordered out of the country; Abdülmecid died in Paris on August 23, 1944.

⁷⁵ This must be a mistake, as Süsseim met him in 1911-12 in Istanbul, see Chapter One.

⁷⁶ Entry for May 19, 1938.

in the war, and Switzerland apparently did not admit foreigners because of rationing problems.⁷⁷

Although Süssheim had lost his post at the university, his contact with the Oriental Seminar⁷⁸ was not completely severed. He went to the institute on March 23, 1937, and then many months later, on April 11 and 12, 1938. He had lost his key when he had been confined to the house after an accident on September 1, 1937. He had collided with a motorcycle in the Residenzstrasse, an accident for which he was fined 7.50 RM on November 20. His housekeeper found the key when she made his bed. Süssheim also regularly visited the State Library⁷⁹ until he was denied further admission on November 11, 1938. On August 9, 1939, a member of the State Library staff, with whom he had sometimes lunched in the nineteen-twenties, offered to bring him books from the library. Süssheim gladly accepted; it is not certain if he made much use of this service.

At the Seminar and the Library, but also in other places, Süssheim sometimes met former colleagues such as his friend Lucian Schermann who, as a Jew, also had lost his academic position, and Professor Pretzl.⁸⁰ Pretzl asked Süssheim if he would help him translate a Hebrew text, but the latter excused himself on the grounds of ignorance of the language.

Süssheim did not lose all contact with his students, either. On January 17, 1938, he spoke with a Jewish student who told him that Pretzl's teaching was exclusively concentrated on the Koran for financial reasons although he was far less knowledgeable in the field of Islamic scholarship than Mehmed Vahtaki (now calling himself Vahid) who had been connected with Munich University since 1910. But, as we have seen above, Süssheim was not impressed by the latter's scholarly qualities either. On April 11, Süssheim met a Lebanese student, Karim Azkul, who had come to Munich in June 1937 in order to complete a thesis on the philosophy of al-Ghazali.⁸¹ On February 26, 1938, Süssheim was visited by a Turkish student, more than thirty years old, called Ahmed Cevad,⁸² who had written a dissertation on Turkish nationalism.

77 Entries for October 26, 1939, April 22 and May 9, 1940.

78 The text has مدرسة العلوم السامية و الاسلامية ("School of Semitic and Islamic Sciences") in the entry for January 17, 1938, and سمينار اللغة الاسلامية ("Seminar of Islamic Languages") in the entry for April 11, 1938.

79 Entries for June 13 and November 3, 1937.

80 Otto Pretzl (1893-1940), theologian; professor of Islam and Semitic languages at Munich University (1933-1940).

81 Abu Hamid b. Muhammad al-Ghazali (1058-1111).

82 Possibly Ahmed Cevad (Emre) (1887-1961), Turkish Linguist and Publicist; he had been active in the Young Turkish movement and spent some time as an exile in Paris.

Pretzl had returned it to him because its German idiom was not correct and evidence was lacking for the claims Ahmed Cevad made in his book. Pretzl at present suffers from heart trouble [and it seems] as if he is angry that Ahmed Cevad did not study with him and did not work under him on Islamic philosophy...

He asked Süssheim if he would correct the book, but he refused on the grounds that he had no time - it would take at least fifty hours to go through the eighty pages.

During these years Süssheim received obituary notices of two famous Turcologists whom he had known, one of whom had been a loyal supporter of his academic career in the past. On July 13, 1937, Theodor Menzel wrote that Professor Georg Jacob had died in Kiel at the age of seventy-five. Two years later, on March 15, 1939, Mrs. Menzel wrote that her husband, too, had died on the 10th.

He had been pensioned off in the first part of 1937 or earlier because of his marriage to a woman of Jewish origin. They had married around 1903. She was rich. He had made her acquaintance when he passed through Odessa in 1903 on his way to Istanbul. They lived in various cities at that time. I made her acquaintance in Munich. At the beginning of the World War in 1914, they were in Odessa. The Russians took him as a prisoner from Odessa to the Ural Mountains where he stayed until the end of the war. They confiscated his wife's property and his library; it took him two years to get his books back, but his wife's property was lost. Since 1924 he had been *Privatdozent* at the university of Kiel, assisting Professor Georg Jacob. At Jacob's retirement around 1928, they appointed him his successor. Consequently he prospered, but when in this happy state one of his two sons died. His erudition was confined to two languages: Turkish and Russian; his proficiency in Turkish was far less than that in Russian and he was not able to write Ottoman [Turkish]...

One of Süssheim's scholarly concerns in the nineteen-thirties was a study on the influence of Austrian medicine on Ottoman medicine in the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, particularly through Şanizade Ataullah's⁸³ translation of the medical handbook by Anton von Stoerck.⁸⁴ Süssheim's findings were published serially by Feridun Nafiz in the journal *Türk Tıp Tarihi Arkivi* from 1935⁸⁵ and later printed as a separate brochure (in 1939).⁸⁶ An even more

83 Şanizade Ataullah (d. 1826), Ottoman historian, polymath and translator from the French.

84 Anton Freiherr von Stoerck (1731-1803), Austrian court physician and director of the general hospital (*Allgemeines Krankenhaus*) in Vienna.

85 Many of Feridun Nafiz's letters to Süssheim are dedicated to the research on von Stoerck's work, in which the former actively participated, especially in looking for Turkish materials such as manuscripts, and a discussion of Süssheim's views; see for the publication of the articles in particular the letters from January 12, 1935, (12/49) onwards. Although Feridun Nafiz was impressed by Süssheim's proficiency in Turkish, he nevertheless found the style of some of his sentences too "European" ("*ancak orada bizim şivemize göre Evropalı görülen cümleler vardır*") and offered to correct these.

important work was his detailed biography of Abdullah Cevdet. It was published in the Supplement of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, in 1938. Süssheim neither mentions it in his Diary, nor does he refer to the concomitant research and correspondence, mainly with Abdullah Cevdet's family and İbrahim Temo (see above). Süssheim only once mentions his research on von Stoerck in his Diary, when he notes on April 24, 1937, that while correcting one of his articles he came across a hitherto unknown German edition of von Stoerck's medical handbook printed in 1776.⁸⁷ Other subjects were Seljuk historiography - Süssheim was, again, occupied by the *Akhbar ad-dawlat as-Saljuqiya* - and the letters of Jalaladdin Rumi.⁸⁸ On March 28, 1937, Süssheim noted that he had resumed his work on the *Akhbar* for the first time since September 1936 when he had been troubled by his left eye. After 'Crystal Night' in November 1938, Süssheim intended to take his notes on the *Akhbar* and the manuscript of his review of the *Maktubat* edition with him to Switzerland. Only on January 6, 1939, was he able to resume his work on the review. Both projects were still unfinished by January 17, 1940, when he filed his request to the Turkish Embassy to be allowed to publish his review and work on the *Akhbar* in French when employed by Istanbul University. Neither his work on the review, nor that on the *Akhbar* seem to have resulted in publications.

An astonishing story, illuminating some of the outermost reaches of Ottoman times, found its way into Süssheim's journals. During his stay in hospital in November 1937⁸⁹ he befriended a seventy-two-year-old Austrian farmer and hairdresser. This person - his name, scribbled in shorthand, could not be deciphered - pretended that his wife was a sister of Prince Abdülkadir,⁹⁰ and thus a daughter of the late Sultan Abülhamid and, as he claimed, the latter's

86 See letter of *Muharrem* 27, 1358 (March 18, 1939), 12/24.

87 Probably his *Praecepta medico in usum chirurgorum castrensiu[m] et ruraliu[m] ditionu[m] austriacarum*, 2 vols., Vienna 1776, translated into German as *Medicinishch-praktischer Unterricht für Feld- und Landwundärzte der österreichischen Staaten*, Vienna 1776. For his works see *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* 39 (1879), 118-120.

88 This refers to the edition of "Letters from Mawlana Jalal ad-Din [ar-Rumi]" by Ahmed Remzi Akyürek (*Mevlânânın mektubları. Maktubat-ı Mawlana Jalal ad-Din*, Istanbul 1937, printed in commission of Süssheim's friend Feridun Nafiz Uzluk) for which the latter had also written an introduction - Feridun Nafiz had requested Süssheim to write a review on the book for German orientalist periodicals (letter of May 17, 1937, to Süssheim, *Nachlass* 12/36) and Süssheim wrote later that he had been busy with an essay on the *Maktubar*; Feridun Nafiz wrote that he was most eager to see this "makale" published (letter of January 31, 1938, to Süssheim, 12/27).

89 See Diary Vol. 20, 2b.

90 Mehmed Abdülkadir Efendi was born in 1878 as the second son of Sultan Abdülhamid; he died as an impoverished violinist during an air-raid in Bulgaria in World War II. For a short biography, see Kadir Mısıroğlu, *Osmanoğulları'nın Dramı*, Istanbul 1974, 360-361; Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Sultan Abdülhamid (Hâtıralarım)*, 2nd impr., Ankara 1986, 262-262.

second wife Bidar Kadınefendi;⁹¹ her aunt (a sister of the hairdresser's mother-in-law), who lived in a village in Lower Bavaria had stated before the Mayor of the village that the name of her sister who had lived in the Palace had been Bidar.⁹² This fact, or rather, this allegation (the hairdresser's mother-in-law had at an earlier meeting been called by a different Muslim name and was only quoted by him as Bidar after Süsheim had informed him of Abdülkadir's mother's name), induced the hairdresser to participate in the international legal proceedings, widely publicized at that time, against the keepers of his wife's (supposed) father's inheritance.⁹³

The Austrian asked Süsheim's advice and kept him informed of his schemes and efforts to lay hands on part of the fortune - Abdülhamid had had seventeen children, thirteen of whom had been alive at the time of their father's death in 1918 - which included the profits from oil wells in the former *vilayets* of Mosul and Baghdad, and allegedly represented a total value of £500,000,000.⁹⁴ For his undertaking, the man tried, vainly as it soon appeared, to obtain the support of his (supposed) brothers-in-law Abdülkadir, who was then living in Sofia,⁹⁵ Mehmed Selim,⁹⁶ who was then living (but soon to die) in Beirut,⁹⁷ the

91 Bidar Kadınefendi (1858-1918), second wife of Abdülhamid, see Osmanoglu, *Babam*, 258-259; A.D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty*, Oxford 1956, Table L. Bidar Kadınefendi is known to have had only one daughter by Abdülhamid, Naime Sultan, who was born in 1876 and moved to Albania in 1924; she died in Tirana during World War II; she was married to Kemalüddin Pasha in 1898, and to İşkodralı Celalüddin Pasha in 1903, see Osmanoglu, *Babam*, 261.

92 Entry for March 24, 1937.

93 See for a general study on Abdülhamid's estate and the claims and legal proceedings by his inheritors, Vasfi Şensözen, *Osmanoğulları'nın varlıkları ve II. Abdülhamid'in emlaki*, Ankara 1982.

94 The estate consisted of at least 10,210 immovable properties inside Turkey as well as properties to the value of an estimated £20,000,000 outside it, see Şensözen, *Varlıklar*, 92, 97. A total amount of £300,000,000 had been mentioned in the London *Daily Mail* which in 1930 devoted a series of sensational articles to the legal proceedings undertaken by Abdülhamid's heirs; *ibidem*, 97.

95 Entries for November 21, 1936; March 24 and April 26, 1937; on this last date Abdülkadir referred the Austrian to his brothers Abdürrahim Efendi (1894-1952), living in Paris, and (Mehmed) Abid Efendi (1905-1973), living in Tirana, as well as the latter's brother-in-law, King Zog of Albania (1895-1961, ruled 1928-1939).

96 Mehmed Selim Efendi (1872-1937), first son of Abdülhamid and Bedrifelek Kadın, cf. Mısıroğlu, *Dram*, 182; Osmanoglu, *Babam*, 260-261 - Alderson gives the date of birth as 1286/1870, cf. *Structure*, Table L.

97 Entries for November 21, 1936; May 18, 1937.

Austrian Consulate in Munich,⁹⁸ Hitler's Deputy Hess,⁹⁹ the *Führer* himself,¹⁰⁰ the *Consolidated Eastern Corporation*¹⁰¹ of Montreal, the Turkish Consul at Beirut,¹⁰² the Cairo branch of *Shell Company*,¹⁰³ the Austrian Consul in Cairo,¹⁰⁴ and the Bavarian Foreign Ministry in Munich.¹⁰⁵ He also hired a lawyer called Léon Olivenbaum residing in Sofia to represent him in the Istanbul proceedings.¹⁰⁶

The Austrian's German lawyer tried to involve Süssheim as a witness on behalf of his client in a lawsuit with which the latter had been threatened by Sami Günzberg because he had accused Prince Abdülkadir of perjury; the Prince had sworn in a book by the banker and publicist Joseph Martin on the wives of Abdülhamid that his mother had died in 1923 or 1924 which was, according to Süssheim's Austrian acquaintance, untrue. Süssheim, who had been described to the lawyer as a frequent visitor at the Palace (in reality Süssheim had visited it only once), would have to confirm the fact that Bidar Kadınefendi had left Istanbul in 1881, pregnant with the girl who was to become the Austrian's wife, before she had moved to Bambignan, Switzerland, where she had married a postman; this marriage remained childless. Süssheim refused to become involved

98 Entry for March 24, 1937.

99 The Austrian was acquainted with an 'Old Fighter' who was supposed to be able to introduce him to the Nazi leadership (entries for March 24, July 9 and September 24, 1937).

100 Entry for March 24, 1937.

101 One of four companies that branched off from the original *Aegean Trust Corporation*, which had bought up the claims of Abdülhamid's heirs and tried to lay hands on the late sultan's estate outside the Republic of Turkey, particularly the oil fields of Iraq, by way of litigation, especially against the British Government, mandatory of Palestine and Iraq, see S.H. Longrigg, *Oil in the Middle East*, London, New York & Toronto 1968; Şensözen, *Varlıklar*, 98.

102 Entry for June 9, 1937.

103 Entry for August 7, 1937. The *Royal Dutch - Shell Company* had obtained a fourth of the shares of the Ottoman State Petrol Company before World War I, cf. L. Mosley, *Power Play. The Tumultuous World of Middle East Oil 1890-1973*, London 1973, 23.

104 Entry for September 24, 1937.

105 (Sic), entry for October 4, 1937.

106 These had been initiated by Abdülhamid's heirs, who were represented by one Sami Günzberg, a Polish dentist, in order to obtain at least a part of the immovable properties inside the Turkish Republic despite the fact that it had issued a law, whereby the estate belonging to all former ruling sultans was entrusted to the state, in March 1924, see Şensözen, *Varlıklar*, 74-75, 89.

in the shady affair.¹⁰⁷ A month later it appeared that Sami Günzberg had eliminated the Austrian from the Istanbul proceedings.¹⁰⁸

On August 16, 1938, the hairdresser decided to send his wife to Abdülkadir in Sofia in order to convince the Prince that she really was his sister. Although the man was to visit Süsseim again during the next year - he cut his hair on March 24, 1939 - the journals contain no entry about what happened in connection with his claims on the Hamidian inheritance. Any exertions in that direction were doomed to fail. Although Sami Günzberg was able to obtain some compensation for a number of properties which were part of the confiscated estate in Turkey, all hopes were finally dashed in 1949 by an officially published new interpretation of the 1924 law which unambiguously confirmed that the estate of Abdülhamid and all other former sultans was Turkish state property.¹⁰⁹ In none of the other successor states of the Ottoman Empire did legal proceedings have any success; one test case about a piece of landed property near Gaza, Palestine, dragged on for years until it finally foundered in 1945 before the Jerusalem Court.¹¹⁰ The only persons who profited from these activities obviously were the lawyers of several countries, who were for many years ensured of a steady if fluctuating income at the expense of the exiled and impoverished Ottoman princes and princesses.¹¹¹

4. Increased Repression against Jews

The political and administrative measures taken by the Nazis since 1933 against the Jews were primarily designed to remove them from the social and economic life of the country. The measures in this last field had the concomitant result that their wealth fell to the ('Aryan' part of the) nation, which often meant Nazi bigwigs. The next step was the removal of the Jews from the country, the final one their annihilation. This policy was, by 1936, already in full progress.¹¹²

107 Entry for May 13, 1938.

108 Entry for June 13, 1938.

109 Şensözen, *Varlıklar*, 89, 94.

110 Şensözen, *Varlıklar*, 96-100.

111 Cf. Longrig, *Oil*, 68. The same law of 1924 which regulated the future of the Ottoman sultans' property, determined that the members of the ruling dynasty lost their Turkish nationality and were to leave the country; this provision was repealed in 1973, cf. Şensözen, *Varlıklar*, 78-79; Mıroğlu, *Dram*, 155 ff.

112 From among the enormous amount of studies and learned essays on the predicament of the German Jews during this period, we mention K.A. Schleunes, *The Twisted Road to Auschwitz. Nazi Policy toward German Jews 1933-1939*, Urbana, Chicago & London, 1970, and Arnold Paucker ed., *Die Juden im Nationalsozialistischen Deutschland/ The Jews in Nazi Germany*

The Jews had by then already suffered, apart from recurrent, random brutality - in March 1933¹¹³ Rabbi Baerwald had been brought to the Oberwiesenfeld by SA troopers, where he had been forced to undress and was threatened with execution¹¹⁴ - from an officially pronounced boycott of their shops (April 1, 1933 - repeated later), their exclusion from state service (April 7, 1933) - this measure caused Süssheim's dismissal from his professorship (he was one out of 369 in Bavaria)¹¹⁵ - and exclusion from sexual and marital relations with non-Jews (September 15, 1935).¹¹⁶ Munich, pronounced 'Capital of the Movement', was ruled by particularly fanatic anti-Semites: Heinrich Himmler (Police Chief), Adolf Wagner (*Gauleiter* of Upper Bavaria and Minister of the Interior), and Ernst Röhm (SA Chief). The first Jews, among them 280 from Munich, were imprisoned in Dachau concentration camp on the orders of Himmler on March 30, 1933.¹¹⁷ Of the 9005 Jews who lived in Munich in 1933 (1,2 per cent of the total population), seven remained in 1945; by 1938, 3574 had emigrated, and from 1941, 2991 were transported to ghettos in Eastern Europe, of whom 796 survived.¹¹⁸

In the mid-nineteen-thirties, Süssheim's sister Paula suffered from the Nazi economic policy in Bavaria. She owned a large fortune; apart from her share in the house in the Marientorgraben which had belonged to her mother, she had inherited her husband's capital, consisting of U.S. industrial bonds,¹¹⁹ half of the shares of the Georg Benda Company,¹²⁰ worth 500,000 RM, and a factory

1933-1943, Tübingen 1986. For the economic aspect, see H. Genschel, *Die Verdrängung der Juden aus der Wirtschaft im Dritten Reich*, Göttingen 1966. For developments in Munich, see Peter Hanke, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in München zwischen 1933 und 1945*, Munich 1967; Werner Cahnmann, 'Die Juden in München 1918-1943' (1979), in Lamm, *Vergangene Tage*, 31-78, 55-71; Baruch Z. Ophir and Falk Wiesemann, 'Geschichte und Zerstörung der jüdischen Gemeinde in München 1918-1945' (1979), *ibidem*, 462-489, 471-489.

113 The Nazis came to power in Munich on March 9, 1933.

114 Hanke, *Geschichte*, 80.

115 Ophir und Wiesemann, 'Geschichte und Zerstörung', 473.

116 One of the notorious Nuremberg Race Laws, the *Gesetz zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre*, banned mixed marriages between Germans and Jews; for the intense pressure to which 'Aryan' Germans married to Jews were subjected to dissolve the relationship see Roderick H. Watt, (ed.), *An Annotated Edition of Victor Klemperer's LTI. Notizbuch eines Philologen*, Lewiston, Queenston & Lampeter 1997, 13.

117 Ophir & Wiesemann, 'Geschichte und Zerstörung', 472.

118 Ophir & Wiesemann, 'Geschichte und Zerstörung', 462, 478, 487.

119 Entry for January 25, 1937.

120 Entry for March 10, 1938.

Austria.¹²¹

In December 1936 she came to Munich to undergo medical treatment. When her brother visited her in hospital on December 25, she told him that she endured losses through the 'Aryanizing' of Jewish-owned factories. The *Reichsbank* urged her to transfer the U.S. bonds to Germany and she had to pay very high taxes,¹²² but if she left the country, she would lose one fourth of her capital to the so-called *Reichsfluchtsteuer*.¹²³ Her financial worries made her suffer from a series of severe nervous breakdowns. During one of Süssheim's visits she told him of her son Karl's difficulties: he could not find anywhere to live and had been rebuffed twenty times by prospective landlords after they had learned that he was 'non-Aryan'.¹²⁴ The Süssheims broke off their holiday in Miesbach after five days when they learned that one of the other guests staying in the boarding-house had asked the host why "those Jews" were tolerated in the house. This episode especially unsettled Ina.¹²⁵ On July 1, Süssheim heard that Professor Haushofer had been dismissed from his University chair after it had become known that his wife was 'non-Aryan'.

On January 25, 1938, Süssheim heard - he had not been at home himself - that he had been visited by agents of the *Zollfahndungsstelle* (Customs Intelligence) to inspect his possessions now that he was soon to leave the country. On the next day, he went to the office in the Arnulfstrasse and stated that he had no plans whatsoever to leave the country where his family had lived for countless generations. Although Süssheim was left alone for the time being, he was to hear more of this institution during the following years.

On March 10, Süssheim went to Nuremberg at the urgent request of his sister who was no longer able to cope with her anxieties alone.¹²⁶ She had eventually given in to pressure from the *Reichsbank* and transferred her U.S. bonds to Germany. Urged by Mrs. Naubauer (widow of Eugen's former business partner and owner of the other half of the Benda shares) who had run into serious financial difficulties, Paula had also consented to sell her part of the shares.

121 Entry for May 17, 1938.

122 Entry for January 25, 1937.

123 Entry for May 2, 1937; see also p. 262, above. This tax was introduced in 1931; capital export was made even more difficult after 1938 by the introduction of the *Sperrmarkkurs* and other measures, cf. Genschel, *Die Verdrängung*, 258; Hanke, *Geschichte*, 162-163.

124 Entry for January 21, 1937.

125 Entry for May 18, 1937. Cf. Grunberger, *Social History*, 579: "It is doubtful whether the majority of Germans shared the obsessional anti-Semitism of their leaders [...] In their recollections of the nightmare years the survivors described the general German attitude to themselves as neither overwhelmingly hostile nor notably sympathetic - merely indifferent."

126 Entry for March 8, 1938.

Pressure on the Jews to sell their businesses increased; Jewish shops in the city had been officially boycotted during Christmas,¹²⁷ and Jewish commercial agents were no longer permitted to travel around. Emigration, of which she and her son were thinking seriously, would lead to further impoverishment; for every mark one could not get more than nine-pfennig-worth foreign currency. Jews in the city were no longer allowed to enter 'Aryan' restaurants and cafés.¹²⁸ On March 11, Süssheim took leave of his sister in an emotional mood - he noted that he kissed her for the first time in thirty years. On March 28, Süssheim read in the papers that the Benda Company had indeed been 'aryanized'; Karl, who worked for the firm, was dismissed.¹²⁹ The Jews of Nuremberg were now also forbidden the entrance to the Public Library and the Town Hall.¹³⁰ On April 28, Süssheim read that Jews had to declare their possessions to the authorities.¹³¹ After the *Anschluss* (on March 11-12), Paula was also forced to sell her factory in Austria for a fifth of the market value to the Nazi government. The new owners had come to Munich to settle the transaction with her, and Süssheim had the occasion to speak with his sister and nephew.¹³²

The future seemed bleak and ominous rumours spread about the destiny of the

127 Anti-Semitic policy became sharper after the dismissal of Hjalmar Schacht as Minister of Economic affairs in September 1937 (he was succeeded by Göring who introduced Four-Year Plans); this firstly manifested itself in Nuremberg where Streicher organised a 'Christmas boycott' against Jewish enterprises, particularly their customers, suppliers and clients. It was cynically concluded with a call to 'Aryan' entrepreneurs, who must have profited from his action, to pay him 2 to 3% of their Christmas sales for his birthday (on February 12 - this was called the *Julius-Streicher-Spende-1938*) so that he could continue his "beneficial work", Genschel, *Die Verdrängung*, 144-145.

128 Entries for March 10 and 11, 1938.

129 Entry for April 13, 1938.

130 Entry for April 20, 1938.

131 In this month, the German authorities decided to take the expropriation of the Jews in their own hands (and from those of local Party activists); one of the first measures was the *Verordnung über die Anmeldung jüdischen Vermögens* promulgated by Göring and Wilhelm Frick (Reich Minister of the Interior) on April 26. Jews had to hand in a list of their possessions, except objects of daily use and furniture, in and outside Germany to the authorities before June 30 if the total value was more than 5000 RM, see Genschel, *Die Verdrängung*, 151.

132 Entry for May 17, 1938. Within six months after the annexation, the 'Aryanizing' of Jewish possessions in Austria, where 40 per cent of all German Jews are said to have lived, was brought to the level of the 'old' Reich; this action went together with brutal pillaging from which especially 'Alte Kämpfer' and the Party profited; see Genschel, *Die Verdrängung*, 160-165. Shirer, who was in Vienna at the time, noted on March 19, that entering the Rothschild palace, "we almost collided with some SS officers who were carting up silver and other loot from the basement. One had a gold-framed picture under his arm. One was the commandant. His arms were loaded with silver knives and forks...", *Berlin Diary*, 109.

Jews in the Reich. Mrs. Sönczy, a neighbour in Preysingstrasse from whom Süssheim bought Hungarian stamps, told him on June 7 that all Jews would be driven from the country before January 1, 1940. Lucian Schermann related that *Gauleiter* Wagner was said to have assured Hitler that it would be possible to remove the Jews from Munich, Bavaria and even Germany within three years; the exiles would no longer be allowed to take capital abroad with them unless they could prove they had owned it longer than five years.

The main synagogue in Nuremberg was to be demolished. On June 9, Süssheim noted:

When Ina came home at half past eleven a.m. and Margot returned from school two hours later, I heard that Hitler, passing the synagogue in the Herzog-Max-Strasse,¹³³ ordered the seizure of the synagogue because it did not befit Munich to have a synagogue right in its centre. The *Führer* ordered the demolition of the synagogue without losing any time. The committee of the Jewish Community in Munich¹³⁴ did not learn this before the afternoon of June 8.¹³⁵ In the evening, the last religious service was held in the synagogue and [believers] gathered on the same evening for worship and prayers,¹³⁶ as on June 9, bewailing the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in 70 AD. On June 9, wooden posts were erected around the synagogue for the demolition. On June 10, the papers said that a car-park was to be laid out on the spot of the synagogue. Many Christians gathered around the synagogue who did not laugh, on the contrary, they discussed [matters] in soft voices and with a serious and concerned expression on their faces.

It was small comfort that the Protestant Matthäuskirche in the Wilhelmstrasse had to undergo the same treatment in order to make place for another car-park (as Süssheim heard from an upstairs neighbour, married to an elder¹³⁷ of the Protestant Church on Preysingplatz, on June 12). On June 16, he heard from her

133 See on its history, Hans Lamm, 'Die Geschichte der Münchner Hauptsynagoge' (1969), in Lamm, *Vergangene Tage*, 441-443; the building dated from 1867 and had been designed by Albert Schmidt, *ibidem*, 441.

134 The text has *جماعة اليهود بمونخ*, in German *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde München*.

135 The synagogue was situated opposite the *Künstlerhaus* and the Jewish Community had on several occasions been warned that Hitler found this situation "unpleasant" - Hitler ordered its demolition before the *Tag der Deutschen Kunst* on July 9. Dr. Alfred Neumeyer (1867-1944; judge and chairman of the Jewish Community until 1940 when he emigrated to Argentina) was summoned to the Ministry of the Interior on June 8, where he was told that the synagogue had to be removed '*im Zuge einer vom Führer angeordneten städtebaulichen Massnahme*'. He was given three hours to consult the Community board. Neumeyer urged that the decision be reversed also because of the value of the building for the history of art, but to no avail; see Hanke, *Geschichte*, 204; Ophir & Wiesemann, 'Geschichte und Zerstörung', 478.

136 Cf. Lamm, 'Die Geschichte', 442-443.

137 The text has *ناشب الخورى*.

about the emotional confrontation between Bishop Meiser¹³⁸ and *Gauleiter* Wagner on the 11th. Wagner, it emerged, had told the Bishop that the

seizure of the church had been on orders of the *Führer*. The Bishop then said to the Minister that the mass of the people were saying that Bolshevism was overtaking the German Government. Upon that, the Minister roared like a lion for half an hour, but the Bishop said to him: "You don't have a defenseless Jew before you, but a German *Volksgenosse*"¹³⁹

Eventually, Wagner promised that the church would be indemnified for the loss. On Sunday the 12th,

when the people left the church at a quarter past eleven, they saw SA and SS units in the Herzog-Wilhelm-Strasse, held ready to drive the people from the church if necessary. When the believers had left their church, workmen moved forward with their ladders to the walls of the church in order to quickly do their demolition work...

Already a year earlier, the Nazis had provoked the Catholic community when a priest of the Michaelskirche who had dared to criticize the régime, had been arrested and the church-goers had been driven away by the police.¹⁴⁰

On August 23 (1938), Süssheim's bank account was closed and his savings officially registered by the *Zollfahndungsstelle*. He was allowed to take 400 RM (out of about 4500 RM) home with him. A week later, he again heard depressing news from Paula. Karl and his wife had been unable to obtain exit visas and Uncle Heinrich Morgenstern was having trouble selling his factory in Forchheim, the Province of Franconia claiming a third of the sale's value. She also told him that "they had torn the big synagogue in Nuremberg asunder with dynamite"¹⁴¹... (Süssheim had visited it only the previous year on the occasion of Karl's marriage.)

My sister Paula also heard in Munich that all Jews would have to abandon their shops before November 1 [...] The [Jewish] Community sold the big organ in the synagogue [in Nuremberg] to the Catholics; the Nuremberg newspapers wrote that such a thing could only be expected from the Catholic Church.

Karl finally succeeded in obtaining his visas. He visited his uncle to take leave

138 Hans Meiser (1881-1956), Bishop of the Bavarian Protestant Church (1933-1955); for the conflict between the "arch-conservative orthodox Lutheran" Meiser and the Nazi authorities see Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich*, 159-173.

139 The text has رفیق قوم المانی.

140 Entry for June 7, 1937.

141 The synagogue on the Hans-Sachs-Platz had been demolished on August 10; just before it, Streicher rhetorically put the question "whether this building with its oriental style befitted this German city" to a gathering of local Nazi leaders; a loud "no!" was the answer given by all present, see A. Müller, *Geschichte der Juden in Nürnberg 1446-1945*, Nuremberg 1968, 238.

of him on October 5. He was to go to the United States by way of the Netherlands (although he would have preferred to remain in Germany) and by doing so would lose half of his possessions. On October 19, Süssheim noted that he had handed his passport, which had been in his possession since 1899, to the police. (Jews were forced to do so before the 20th and could get back their passports after these had been stamped with a capital J.¹⁴²)

Every month the situation became more menacing. On September 5, Süssheim heard at the Jewish Community office that all 1200 Jews of Linz had been ordered to leave the city immediately. On October 28, he wrote:

Around five o'clock this morning, policemen of the Jewish police in Munich announced to the Jews in Munich of Polish nationality that they must have left Munich by the following night [...] Around eleven they went to the Jewish school¹⁴³ in order to take the Polish children from the school and accompany them to their parents' houses. Until now, there have been 37 boys and girls in Margot's class. Today, they took about ten away from them so that about 27 children were left. They also took Margulies, normally the teacher of the second class but also sometimes of the fourth class, and a policeman went with him to the house of his Polish uncle, a man without hands and legs. According to what our daughter Margot said, they have to leave Munich before one a.m. of October 29 [...] The speed with which these families are chased away is astonishing and their suffering caused by this barbarity evokes compassion.

On October 26, the Berlin Gestapo ordered that all Polish Jews in Munich - about a quarter of the total Jewish population - should leave Germany. (This was motivated by a measure by the Polish Government cancelling the validity of all Polish passports by October 31). The Munich Jews were allowed to take a three-days' ration of food, but had to leave their possessions behind. A special train left Munich on the 28th.¹⁴⁴ On the next day, Süssheim heard that seven hundred persons had left Munich Station at five past five in the morning. On the 31st, he learned that the Polish families (who had been allowed to take ten marks with them as well as minimal travelling expenses) had been allowed to return on the previous day. This had been due to an arrangement between the German and Polish authorities which allowed for a further, doubtless temporary stay of Polish Jews in Germany.¹⁴⁵

On November 1, Süssheim had another visit from Paula. She told him that

142 Hanke, *Geschichte*, 187.

143 For the Jewish *Volksschule* in Munich in the nineteen-thirties see Ophir & Wiesemann, 'Geschichte und Zerstörung', 476-477 - in March 1937 the school had 398 pupils in eight classes.

144 Hanke, *Geschichte*, 209-210; Ophir & Wiesemann, 'Geschichte und Zerstörung', 479. See also K.R. Grossmann, *Emigration, Geschichte der Hitler-Flüchtlinge 1933-1945*, Frankfurt 1969, 111-112 - 15,000 Polish Jews crossed the Polish border, but a further 5,000 to 6,000 were not allowed to enter the country and got stuck under awful circumstances between the two countries.

145 Hanke, *Geschichte*, 210.

Julius Streicher had given a speech in Nuremberg some days earlier on the crimes and the powerlessness of the authorities before 1933; in it he also mentioned our brother Max Süssheim, thereby reviling [his name...] She also said that until now she had not lost all hope for an improvement in the treatment of Jews in Germany, but after what we had seen during these days of the outrage against the Jews of Polish nationality she now is desperate and thinks she will not be able to stay in Germany; she also thinks that she will not see her son Karl again.

Süssheim, who had been robbed of the greater part of his income on August 23, again went to the *Zollfahndungsstelle* on November 5 where he was promised a monthly allowance of 650 RM from his capital kept in the Bavarian State Bank.¹⁴⁶ Süssheim protested and gave vent to his fears that the authorities would confiscate all his possessions in the future and burden the Jews with heavy supplementary taxes in case a war would break out. The officials tried to reassure him; the measure of the monthly allowance was confirmed by official letter on November 10.

That same day Süssheim went to the city centre.

I saw a shoe shop the window panes of which, and what was behind these, had been smashed. I heard that all Jewish shops had undergone the same treatment. I then went to the shop of Kalter's, a shop for ready-made clothing for men.¹⁴⁷ The shop window was barred by iron [shutters]. A woman opened the shop windows a little, and every time she raised the iron [shutters...] a bit, I saw the complete ravage.

Walking around, Süssheim saw more smashed window panes which were the result of 'Crystal Night'; a shop bearing a name which could have been Jewish, but was in fact 'Christian', had also been ravaged under the supervision of Nazi officials and the police. At his bank, Süssheim was bluntly told that all deposits owned by Jews had been blocked and that no money could be withdrawn in the future because "a member of the Embassy personnel in Paris, vom Rath,¹⁴⁸ has

¹⁴⁶ This amount was increased to 800 RM after the house in Nuremberg had been confiscated (entry for August 5, 1939); it was again reduced to 500 RM on March 5, 1940 - apart from this monthly allowance, Süssheim still had an extra income of 1200 RM per annum from his shares. (The average monthly industrial wage in 1936 was 150 RM; middle-grade civil servants earned an average 320 to 420 RM per month in the 1930s and 1940s; for the administrative grade this was 400 to 640 RM per month, Grunberger, *Social History*, 172.)

¹⁴⁷ This was the popular 'Goldene 19' in Tal 19, founded in 1895, cf. Lamm, *Vergangene Tage*, 512.

¹⁴⁸ Ernst-Eduard vom Rath, *Legationssekretär* at the German Embassy at Paris, had been shot dead on November 6 by a certain Herschel Grynszpan (Grünspan), the 17-year-old son of a Jewish family of Polish origin from Hanover, after he had learned that his sister and parents had got stuck between the borders of Germany and Poland. The decision to take drastic action against the Jews was taken in the *Rathaussaal* in Munich by Joseph Goebbels, Minister for Propaganda, and Hitler who were present there at the annual *Kameradschaftsabend* for the *Alte Garde* on the evening of the 9th, see Grossmann, *Emigration*, 112-114; Ophir & Wiesemann, 'Geschichte und Zerstörung', 479.

been killed." Apart from smashed window panes and closed bank deposits, 'Crystal Night' meant the burning of synagogues, the pillaging of Jewish-owned houses, shops and institutions, and the arrest and, sometimes, brutalising of, in particular, wealthy Jewish citizens. More than 7,500 shops were confiscated and about 30,000 Jews were imprisoned. 91 Jews were killed and 36 of them severely injured. In Munich alone, 46 shop windows were smashed, four shops burnt down, one Jewish-owned house underwent the same fate, other such houses were, on the explicit orders of *Gauleiter* Wagner, divested of their works of art, one Polish Jew was killed in his bed, 1000 Jews were arrested and transported to the Dachau concentration camp, among them Dr. Baerwald (a number of them were detained there until April 1939 and many perished there), the synagogue of the Orthodox Jewish community *Ohel Jakob* in the Herzog-Rudolf-Strasse (Rabbi Ehrentreu narrowly escaped being thrown into the flames) as well as their *Vereinshaus* were burnt down (its valuable library was thereby lost); the interior of the synagogue of the East European Jews in the Reichenbachstrasse also fell prey to the flames. (The office of the Jewish Community in the Lindwurmstrasse was pillaged on the following night.) 196 shops were closed and most Jewish institutions, such as the *Volksschule*, occupied, pillaged or demolished by the authorities. The resulting damages had to be paid by the Jewish Community or the shop owners. On the 12th Göring also announced that the German Jews had to pay a collective fine (*Sühneleistung*) of one billion RM.¹⁴⁹

On the next day, November 11, Süssheim went to the State Library. After an hour a staff member approached him and told him to leave the building immediately. Drily Süssheim noted: "It was a quarter to eleven. I returned the books on which I had worked and left the library where I had worked since 1912..." In the evening Süssheim was told by a neighbour living downstairs who was also a member of the SA that all Jews had to leave the country within twenty-four hours. The same news was communicated to the Selz family - Mr. Selz was eighty-eight years old - who were living on the second floor. Süssheim wrote:

Ina became frightened, but I was not afraid. The reason for my courage was that I had more than once faced all kinds of political deaths in my mind and all kinds of sufferings [connected with] death. I collected all my things necessary for travelling [which I put] in my travel suitcase and travel bag. I was busy with this until after eleven p.m. I also put my review of the printed version of the *Maktubat-i Mawlana*¹⁵⁰ and my work on the *Akhbar ad-dawlat as-Saljuqiya*¹⁵¹ in the suitcases. After I had gone to bed, I did not sleep for more than two hours that night. The same was true for Ina.

149 Cf. Genschel, *Die Verdrängung*, 178; Hanke, *Geschichte*, 214-220; Ophir & Wiesmann, 'Geschichte und Zerstörung', 480-481.

150 The text has رسالة في تدقيق طبع (مكتوبات مولانا); see also above.

151 See Chapter One and above.

He agreed with Ina that he would cross the Swiss border with the help of the Rhomberts near Bregenz.

5. Detention in Dachau Concentration Camp

On the next day, November 12,

I took my travel bag to the station for storage; from there I went to the police station. Ina had asked me to go there in order to ask whether the rumour about the obligation of our emigration was true or false. The doorman of the police [station] denied the truth of the rumour and sent me to the Gestapo¹⁵² for more precise information on the matter. When I arrived there, they accompanied me to an office on the first floor, had me sit down there on a chair and interrogated me. I was treated well according to circumstances. After that, they sent me to an office where there was the Jewish paper [*Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt*]. I stayed there about three quarters of an hour. Then they took me, alone, to the secretary's room and from there they went with me to a cell which they locked behind me; it was then exactly noon.

This was the first time I had been imprisoned. Shortly afterwards they brought food which I ate quickly. Time passed very slowly; at three o'clock a second prisoner of Polish nationality arrived, called ***,¹⁵³ and twenty-eight years old. He was the director of the Jewish Agricultural School in Wertingen, 26 kilometres north-west of Augsburg. He told me the adventures of the Polish Jews in Germany a fortnight ago. They had gathered the Poles in Augsburg and brought them to Munich. From Munich they departed on October 28 at 5.05 a.m. and went to Nuremberg. In Nuremberg they had gathered Poles from remote districts, and with them they went by car from Nuremberg...

Before they reached their destination, however, they had been brought back home at their own or the Jewish Community's expense. Of the thirty thousand Polish Jews in Germany, ten thousand reached Poland, only to be imprisoned in concentration camps there.

Süssheim was detained in that cell for two nights and received only a little bread. On November 14, he was taken to Stadelheim prison, from where he, together with twenty other victims, including an office employee, a lawyer-cum-physician, a designer, an unemployed workman, and a merchant, Mr. Kohn, was transported to the Dachau concentration camp to which Mr. Kohn had recently supplied blankets and sheets.¹⁵⁴

152 Abbreviation for *Geheime Staatspolizei*; the text has شرطة الدولة للاسرار السياسية.

153 The text has a blank.

154 The concentration camp had been founded in March 1933 in an old gunpowder factory at Dachau, about 13 miles from Munich; the number of inmates had increased explosively after the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia, and in particular after 'Crystal Night', among them were about 10,000 Jews from Austria and southern Germany; see Hanke, *Geschichte*, 214-217; M. Broszat et al., *Anatomie des SS-Staates*, Vol. II, Freiburg 1965, 56, 95; Jos Schneider & Gijs van de Westelahn, *De Bus uit Dachau*, Amsterdam 1987, 18-23; for diaries kept in concentration camps (four of them in Dachau) in a later phase, see Renata Laqueur Weiss, 'Writing in Defiance: Concentration Camp Diaries in Dutch, French and German, 1940-1945', Diss. New

I could not see anything of the surroundings because the car was closed on all sides except for the door. When we got out of the car, an SS trooper hit me in the neck, demanding that I take off my hat, and he threw it to the ground. They then led us inside, that is, on the right side of the entrance of the camp.¹⁵⁵ We remained standing there from half past ten a.m. until six p.m. In front of us stood [a group of] Austrians from Vienna [...] and surroundings. They had been arrested by SA and SS men in the morning of November 10 or during that day. Some of them had been tortured or injured. After that they had been imprisoned for two nights, until November 12, in the Riding School of the Vienna Police. They had been forced to remain on their feet for two days, day and night. While they had been under the torment of the SS men, they had not been allowed to sleep or to sit. Nor had they been given any food. On November 12, they had been put on the train that was to take them to Dachau. They had been on this train from November 12 to 14, had arrived at Dachau at half past six in the morning and had been transported to the camp [...] The prisoners from Vienna have given up all hope because of their heavy sufferings.

When we were standing there, two SS men approached us, one of whom had the rank of *Rottenführer* [?], and asked us, one after another: "What are you?" The first answer was: "a Jew," upon which the SS men said: "A swine of a Jew, you," and he ordered that it be repeated. When they came to me, I said: "a Jew"; I did not say that I was a swine of a Jew. Consequently, [one of them] slapped me full in the face and neck, and kicked me in my buttocks, some twenty times in all. That was about eleven o'clock.

Süssheim's refusal brought him some fame in the camp,¹⁵⁶ but he did not persist; under pressure of the other members of his group, who feared serious reprisals against them all, he answered in the required manner when the question was again posed to him by the SS men in the afternoon.

Shortly after noon, during the absence of the guards, one of the Austrians, a man of small stature, tried to escape. He headed for the entrance gate, but found it locked, and it was necessary to turn him away from the gate. One of the *Rottenführers* appeared and abused him, retaining him by force; but the Austrian beat the other on his breast and escaped from him towards the lower part surrounding the place and from there to the ditch. He began to run along the ditch where there is an elevated part on which SS guards were standing. They kept him from moving forward. The *Rottenführer* was called in while they shot at him, hitting him three times; the third shot killed him. The condition of two other Austrians weakened; one of them fainted and the other was no longer able to stand or walk. They brought the first one to the barracks for the sick.

They asked us about our professions. They laughed when I told them that I was a professor at Munich University. They also asked what my salary was at the university. Around six o'clock, they led us, the people from Munich and the Austrians, to the southern part of the parade ground [*Appellplatz*] where the deposits for safekeeping and the camp office are. There they recorded each prisoner's name, his date of birth, his address, all his possessions and his number. They gave me the number 26069. The man who registered me was from Schwabing [...] He said to me: "How is it possible to believe in God for someone who witnesses the desolation in Dachau? During the last few days, they have killed sixty men in Dachau; the number of prisoners in Dachau at present is 25,000." [...]

York 1971.

155 The text had مخيم.

156 Entry for December 1, 1938.

When they registered my name and circumstances, I gave all the things and money, 600 RM, I had in my pockets for safekeeping. Then they shaved us. The barbers [...] were Socialists.¹⁵⁷ One of them was from Nuremberg and the other was a German from Bohemia who had come to Dachau fifteen days before, after the German army had occupied Bohemia. The man from Nuremberg told me that the head of the Nazi Party in Munich had lately purged the Party, but that none of the Bavarian Nazi leaders were in Dachau [...] Then they put my head in focus and took photographs of my face, the first from the right side, the second from the left side, and one from in front. After that, the physician made up a written report on the state of my health. We then had a bath by way of a hot and then a cold flush of water. Then we put on prisoners' clothes, socks and robust army shoes. The number of my unit was 46, of which I was glad. The clothes consisted of a striped shirt with black stripes, trousers of strong, nice cotton in the colours of the Bavarian flag: white and blue, and a blue jacket [...] They then led us to our room in *Block 22*. Every *Block* had four rooms. We were in the second room. When we arrived there, they came with food. We had not eaten anything since the morning. After the meal, we lay down to sleep on mattresses filled with straw. It might then have been ten o'clock. In the morning of November 15, the head of our room awoke us - that was at five o'clock. He divided us into 20 gangs (*Rotten*). At present there were in our room 202 prisoners.

The head of our room was Mr. Klempfner, born in Vienna about 1898 from a Jewish family, but when he reached the age of two, they baptized him a Catholic. He had been in the World War and was promoted to the rank of head of the room,¹⁵⁸ no more. After that he had learned to drive cars and had become a chauffeur. Around 1928, he bought or rented a wine shop and had so much success that he annually sold 28,000 litres of wine. His wife, however, was barren. He was completely taken up by the hunting of wild animals. Since 1935, he had been in connection with a Dutchman who had been living for a long time in the Dutch Indies but in Vienna since 1935.

Mr. Klempfner was knowledgeable about the customs and way of living of wild animals and he talked about these at great length as he did about the details of his trade [...] After the unification of Austria and Germany of 1938, the Nazi Party marked every shop whether it was Jewish or Christian - this was at the beginning of April, 1938 - [with the words] "The owner of this shop is a Jew". This they also had done with the wine shop of Klempfner. Many people had not known his race...

Klempfner had then decided to emigrate to the United States, leaving his shop to his wife and brother. Klempfner had an assistant who also was from Vienna and sold bread and other primary necessities, such as razor blades, to his fellow-inmates. Among the members of Süssheim's unit were a shy classicist; a chain-smoking but tubercular Jew from Odessa named Fränkl, who was in the company of his brother who held on to a book on theoretical mathematics which he had to explain to the SS guards several times; and a butcher's apprentice named Oskar Müller, who assured Süssheim that he certainly would return to his native Vienna but only to jump into the Danube with a stone around his neck. Despite the grim circumstances, Süssheim recorded that the slightest inducement was enough to set off peals of laughter among the group. Süssheim also noted that every inmate either had a cupboard or had to share one with two or three fellow-inmates.

157 The text has اشتراكيون.

158 The text has رئيس الغرفة.

After we had got up in the morning of November 15, the head of our room asked for strong, healthy men to bring the coffee. After coffee and the return of the kettles to the kitchen,¹⁵⁹ the head of our room marched us to the parade ground at about a quarter past six. The review lasted until about half past seven or a little earlier. All prisoners, except for those who were ill, were gathered on the parade ground. The first group under review were the Christians who all wore the same clothes: trousers and a jacket of a blue, thick fabric with broad, gray stripes. They consist of three groups: the first are the political [prisoners], mostly Socialists and Communists - they are a poor lot; the second group are people who committed social crimes: drunks and those who did not give their income to their families. Men of this second group [wore] a black triangle with white sides on the left part of their breast. The third group of Christians are the 'oppressors';¹⁶⁰ their sign is a small, brown piece of cloth on the left of their breast. The political [prisoners] are the most respected ones from whom the leaders of the other prisoners are chosen.

During the inspection of the Christian prisoners, they were ordered to uncover their heads and take off their berets. Then the order to stand still was heard, [given] to every one of the *Blocks* [...] After our return to *Block 22*, our head gave us some military instruction and taught us some gymnastics [...]

Our room was divided into two inner parts. I stayed in the first part which housed 96 prisoners. A part of them, and they are the majority, slept on straw in two layers, one above the another; the minority [slept on] straw mattresses lying on the floor of the room.

During the first week, I could make use of the camp shop because when I entered the camp they had left about twenty RM in my pocket. Our meagre food consisted of a little bread they granted us: on the first day they gave everyone half a loaf of military bread but after that a quarter loaf per day while I needed at least three quarters of a loaf per day. If only the rest of the food had been better and had been well prepared, but it was little and seemed to consist of a kind of garbage. Every morning around half past five, they gave us hot, black and very sweet coffee without milk except on Sunday when the coffee was white and milky. There was more food at noon but it actually consisted mostly of water. There seemed to be morsels of meat in the water, but these were few. The evening meal consisted of tea. Sometimes they gave sago or rice, and once or twice weekly complemented it with a liver sausage or another kind of sausage. Because there was so little variation, I bought jam¹⁶¹ [?] in the shop. They sold butter in the shop for 40 pfennig per one eighth pound as in Munich, but in contrast to Munich, we were permitted to buy as much as we wanted. I completed my ration with bread and jam [?]. But after a week there was a notice in the shop that no butter was to be sold to Jews. Thereupon, the sale of butter decreased because non-Jews did not buy it. Despite the new notice, the vendor said: "We shall sell butter [to you] if you buy a tin of sardines of 45 pfennig or a sausage of 80 pfennig." But I let go of the butter because I had not enough money. During the second week, I tried to buy bread from the shop through a regular client.

Süssheim noted that the room heads fortunately were not SS men but political prisoners. He discovered that the obvious purpose for the imprisonment of Jews

159 When Süssheim's turn had come to help with the carrying, he fell in the kitchen, burnt his elbow seriously and injured his left leg where a festering wound formed: entry for November 24, 1938.

160 The word, *مسخرون*, can be read as either *musakhkhirun* (oppressors) or *musakhkharun* (oppressed ones). Perhaps the first is meant in the sense of 'profiteers' - an explanation in shorthand is given, but I (J.S.) am unable to read it.

161 The text has *معمول دقيق*.

in Dachau was to rob them of their possessions in a convenient way. At the entrance to the camp a notary and a municipal attorney held office; Süssheim was summoned to that office on November 19, together with Julius Bär from Harlaching and four members of the Bernheimer family. After one hour and a half of waiting, they were told that they would not be simply robbed of their houses but would receive an indemnity. Thereupon, they had to join the roll-call which lasted from a quarter past one until a quarter past seven. The exercise was repeated on the November 21 as a punishment after an error in the counting of the inmates had been detected.

Men who had the necessary visas to emigrate from Germany were allowed to leave the camp on the first or second day of their imprisonment. On November 25, another large group of inmates was released, among them officials of the Munich Jewish Community, considered to be indispensable. On the 29th, it was Süssheim's and 173 fellow-inmates' turn - he thought that his release was due to Ina's intervention with the Gestapo after she had received, on November 24, his postcard sent from the camp on the 17th. He was picked from the morning roll-call at seven o'clock and joined the group of 173 who had to stand up for another hour.

Thereupon, they led us to the bathhouse. We did not then take a bath but all Christians did so. They ordered us to take off our clothes and we remained there for nearly three hours, naked. The place was warm and I did not feel cold. They asked for our names and further particulars. To the dismay of the prisoners, there was the hyena of the camp, a *Rottenführer*, with a tall stature and a protruding head like that of a hyena; it was he who had been present at our arrival on November 14 and hit me on the head, ordering me to take off my hat. Before the detention was over on November 29, they demanded our signature twice. The first time I signed without asking questions and examining of the text and its meaning. This signature signified the promise to emigrate from Germany. But before signing a second time, I asked a man who looked like a prisoner. He said that the second signature [was put under] a statement that I was healthy, that I left the camp in good shape, and that I abandoned any [claim to] compensation. Thereupon, they brought us to a place where our civilian clothes lay ready. It was then about noon. After we had dressed, they led us outside the building and separated those who had entrusted money to the camp's depot and those who had not. Then there was also a group of new Christian prisoners, about thirty, standing there, their expression serious as if they were fanatic Socialists or Communists. Perhaps they were from Bohemia. It was strange that the stature of those prisoners was short. After a long wait, they admitted those who had deposited their money to the deposit's cashier [...] I reclaimed my money, that is 600 RM. Thereupon, they led us to the instruction barracks and counted us time and again because a new functionary had come with a different prisoners' register in which were also the names of those who had been previously released and those who were in the camp's hospital barracks. Among the prisoners present there were two lawyers [...] They were asked: "Are you twins?". This they confirmed shouting loudly. The roll-call lasted long. This was the first time I was in the instruction barracks. After the roll-call was over, they led us to the place where the prisoners arriving on November 14 had stood for six hours. There an officer addressed us and asked: "Do you want to emigrate?". They answered as if they were of one opinion: "Yes." The officer warned them not to return after emigrating from Germany, saying: "If you return to Germany, they will imprison you [again] in a concentration camp with your family for life." Thereupon, he warned us not to spread wild stories; anyone who spread wild stories would get life-long detention in a concentration camp.

During that day they repeatedly reminded us of our duty to assist our 'fellow-members of the

race'¹⁶² (*Rassegenossen*) if they were bankrupt. They asked who had 1000 RM or more. There was among us one person who had 2000 RM in his pocket. I belonged to the wealthiest of those present. The officer said that we were free to go on the condition that we assisted the distressed among us. Thereupon they lined us up for leaving the camp. We left [it] at a quarter past five.

Outside the camp, there were many white buildings. We were marched away by SS men. Until then, we had held our hats in our hands and had not been permitted to put them on. But when we had left the camp, they ordered us to put on hats; this confirms the rumour among the Dachau inmates that it seems as if we are [living] under the tyranny of barbarians. We walked for forty minutes until we reached Dachau station. After we had waited [for some time], a train arrived from the north. We boarded it, going in the direction of Munich.

During the ride, Süssheim lent 100 RM to some merchants.

We arrived there at about six o'clock. Functionaries of the Munich Jewish Community were waiting for us. They led us to a special hall in front of which a policeman was standing on guard. In the hall, the functionaries told us that the Community had been ordered to support and repatriate the returning prisoners. Those who lived in Munich were free to go. I made a phone call and asked if I could speak with my wife Ina. I told Mrs. Szokolny [a neighbour] that I had come back from Dachau. She did not know anything because Ina had kept it secret from her. There was nobody at home. I went on foot to the flat and arrived at about a quarter to seven. As there was nobody in the flat, I thought that Ina and our daughters had gone to her mother at Milbertshofen. There was little food in the flat and I could not find any bread. Mrs. Szokolny and her parents invited me and served an excellent meal. After a short time, Ina and Margot arrived; they had been in Nuremberg. Ina forgave me for disclosing the secret of Dachau. After dinner at the Szokolnys, I ate a second dinner in the kitchen at our flat. What I most longed for was bread; I found the present Munich bread excellent.

The most important news that Ina brought from Nuremberg was that Hedwig Süssheim's house in Nuremberg had been ravaged around November 10, 1938, and that Hedwig, when she had heard of the outrage, had committed suicide by opening the gas tap.

Paula told her brother more details later (on August 28, 1939).

During the destruction of the houses and shops owned by Jews in Nuremberg, the Jews fled and their wives gathered in Hedwig's house. An SS trooper came to Sammy Wilmersdorffer's flat; he politely asked if he had any documents [of value]. Sammy Wilmersdorffer denied this and opened all his cupboards. The man was satisfied with what he saw. He asked who was living opposite him. Sammy said: Frau Dr. Süssheim. When the other was prepared to proceed, Sammy tried to accompany him but the former sent him back and entered the apartment. Thereupon, he entered the living room. When Hedwig saw him, she fainted. The man left and turned to Sammy. He told him that he had done nothing and had not even spoken to Hedwig. The man requested Sammy's assistance in nursing Hedwig [back to consciousness]. Without doing or saying anything further, the SS trooper went away. After regaining consciousness, Hedwig went to the apartment of her mother who had died some months before. She asked for her sister-in-law, Mrs. Strauss, but she was not in her apartment on the first floor of the house. Thereupon, Hedwig went to her mother's apartment on the second floor of the house. There she opened the gas tap and committed suicide. People came and smelt gas. When they went inside, they found Hedwig dead.

162 The text has رفقاء فى الجنس.

After the SS trooper, who came to ask about Hedwig's health later that day, had learned that she had died, he offered to help the Wilmerdorffers to emigrate (he worked at the Exchange Office¹⁶³) - Sammy and his wife were able to go to Palestine soon afterwards. A son emigrated to Buenos Aires.

Hedwig was not the only victim of acute despair. On November 7, 1939, Süsheim heard about the terrible fate of the Frankenburgers of Nuremberg, *Justizrat* Leonhardt, his brother *Sanitätsrat* Dr. Frankenger and their sister Zora, who, for fear of being transported to Dachau, had cut their wrists - only Zora survived.¹⁶⁴

During the night of November 9-10, the first floor of Paula's house had been ransacked; furniture and a mirror had been hacked to pieces. Uncle Heinrich and his son Kurt had been transported to Dachau. Paula, in her despair, had come to Munich on November 11, and had stayed with Ina in the Preysingstrasse. On November 23, news had reached them that the house in the Marientorgraben had been confiscated by the Labour Front (*Arbeitsfront*)¹⁶⁵ which was only ready to pay an indemnification of a mere tenth of its real value. Süsheim slept badly that night and suffered from acute diarrhoea the next day, most probably as a result from over-eating; it was to last for ten days. He remarked however that most of his rheumatic pains, from which he had been suffering for years, had disappeared; his stay in the open air at least seemed to have done him some good.

6. Departure for Turkey

Süsheim was now forced to make preparations for his emigration and that of his wife and children. Ina had already written letters to this effect on November 29 before his return from Dachau to a certain Mr. Tarry of New Hampton (Iowa, USA), Mr. Tournan,¹⁶⁶ the French deputy whom Süsheim had met in Paris before the war, Dr. Feridun Nafiz (Uzlu), bacteriologist at the Turkish Health Ministry,¹⁶⁷ and Mes'ud Koman, Director of the Language, History and

163 The text has إدارة الكميبيو.

164 Cf. Müller, *Geschichte*, 243.

165 The text has جبهة العمل من الحزب الاشتراكي الملى; see on this organisation Grunberger, *Social History*, 249-257, passim.

166 Isidore François Tournan (1874 - September 30, 1939), French Radical and Socialist politician; Deputy for Gers (1910-1919), Senator in 1924.

167 Feridun Nafiz Uzlu (1902-1974), physician and man of letters. 75 of his letters to Süsheim, covering the period June 1933 to June 1940, are preserved in *Nachlass* 12. Feridun Nafiz, as the letters show, was a friend of Abdullah Cevdet's son Mehmed and finished his studies of medicine in Munich (1932 - April, 1934) and Hamburg (April 1934 - March 1936); arriving in Germany, Feridun Nafiz was introduced to Süsheim by a letter of introduction written

Literature Department of the Public Library at Konya.¹⁶⁸ Some days later, Süssheim himself wrote to London and Zurich, applying for a position at the universities there. He and his wife also began to sell their collection of silverware - shares had already been put into safety while gold bars to the value of 1335 RM had been hidden underground by Ina's brother Joseph in Mrs. Plank's garden at Milbertshofen. Süssheim also began to sort out his collection of stamps.

At the end of December, he heard from Tarpy, who wrote that he was a poor man and unfortunately was not able to be of much help, but that he had written a letter of recommendation to New York for his old friend. On the same day (the 27th), Süssheim wrote to the Ministry of Education at Ankara by way of Dr. Robert Dannemann, the Turkish Consul-General at Munich since November 1937 and son-in-law of his old friend Ahmed Cevdet.

On January 3, 1939, Süssheim received a letter¹⁶⁹ from Feridun Nafiz who informed him that he had discussed his case with an acquaintance at the Ministry of Education, the Director of Higher Education,¹⁷⁰ Cevad Bey. A letter by the Vice-Chancellor of Istanbul University informed Ina on the same day that there was no vacancy in her husband's specialisation. Süssheim now realized how difficult his situation had become. On the same day he was summoned to appear before the Gestapo,¹⁷¹ and he feared for the worst. He took leave of his wife and gave her his money as if he were going to the gallows. But at the office, he was only asked if he really needed a book the Leipzig firm of Harrassowitz had ordered on his behalf from the Soviet Union. (A month later, it appeared that the

by the former's teacher and the latter's friend İsmail Saib (Sencer), Director of the *Kütüphane-i Umumi* in Istanbul. Feridun Nafiz was appointed as bacteriologist in Turkish state service at Edirne in March 1936, but was transferred to Ankara in September 1936. The letters are mostly of a scholarly character and deal with the exchange of biographical and bibliographical data, photographs, books and periodicals - Feridun Nafiz also appears to have regularly borrowed money from Süssheim - and (from March 1936, cf. letter No. 47, March 22, 1936) Süssheim's possible, later urgent, emigration to Turkey. Cf. Feridun Nafiz Uzluk, 'Türk Tababet Tarihi ile Ugraşan Müsteşrikler: Prof. Dr. phil. Karl Süssheim', in *Istanbul Üniversitesi Tıp Tarihi Arkivi* 3 (Istanbul, 1937), 1-4, 2-3; Flemming, 'Süssheim', 6.

168 Mahmud Mes'ud Koman (b. 1897), historian and editor of the journal *Konya*. 38 of his letters to Süssheim, covering the period July 1933 to April 1940, are preserved in *Nachlass* 7/4 and 11. As in the case of Feridun Nafiz, Süssheim's correspondence with Mes'ud Koman was mainly of a scholarly character and reflect the latter's interest in Seljuk and Karamanid history, in particular epigraphy. Most space is, again, dedicated to the exchange of scholarly data, books, periodicals and photographs, and, finally (from June 1938, cf. letter 11/36, June 16, 1938) Süssheim's emigration to Turkey.

169 This letter has not survived.

170 The text has مدير التدريسات العلية, in Turkish *yüksek tefrisat müdiri*, cf. letter 12/14, June 20, 1939.

171 The text has الشرطة السرية.

book could not be imported because the German Government was not willing to make the necessary foreign currency available).¹⁷²

On January 13, Süssheim saw his sister Paula again; she confirmed that she and Karl would only obtain a tenth of the market-value for their house in the Marienstorgraben and her own confiscated villa in Nuremberg. The banking firm of their friend Richard Kohn, who had been imprisoned from April 1938 on the grounds of having an illegal relationship with an 'Aryan' woman,¹⁷³ had now also been 'aryanized'. Uncle Heinrich was to emigrate to the USA, but his son Kurt was still in Dachau. She herself also wanted to leave the country within a fortnight and go with her daughter Erna to New York.

Süssheim kept writing letters to ask for assistance. On January 20, he wrote to the *Notgemeinschaft deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland*¹⁷⁴ in London, and on the 24th to the *Society for the Protection of Science and Learning*¹⁷⁵ in the same city. On February 1, he wrote to the Jewish Children's Home¹⁷⁶ in Paris, requesting that at least his children find shelter there, but Ina regretted this step soon afterwards. A week later, on the ninth, Ina wrote again to Tarpy, Tournan and Woburn House in London (where Paula was intending to stay on her way to New York) to apply for a job as a maid. She was ready to leave the country even without her husband. Süssheim was given permission to enter France.¹⁷⁷

On March 24, Süssheim visited Lucian Schermann who told him that their former colleague Dr. Max Claar had died in Dachau. He had been suffering from diabetes and had been refused medicine. Schermann himself intended to go to the United States and leave his library to a monastery in Germany. On the 28th, Süssheim received a letter from Mes'ud Koman who told him that there was as yet no possibility for him to come to Konya:

I had already guessed that your situation would become worse and I requested you to have

172 Entry for February 9, 1939.

173 Entry for April 13, 1938.

174 The text has *تشارك علماء المانيين في البلاد الاجنبية*. The society had been established by *Geheimrat* Demuth and Phillip Schwartz in Switzerland 1933 after the dismissal of Jewish officials by the Nazi Government; it had branches in several European towns including Istanbul, cf. Grossmann, *Emigration*, 299.

175 This organisation, established by Lord Beveridge, Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science, was, like the *Notgemeinschaft*, meant to assist refugee scholars - it continued its activities up to 1966, cf. Grossmann, *Emigration*, 299.

176 The text has *دار اطفال موسوية*.

177 Entries for February 23, and March 4, 1939.

recourse to Atatürk¹⁷⁸ through me for your coming to Turkey. At that time you considered my proposal somewhat unpleasant. Writing this, God forbid, I do not want to criticize you but only to tell you that such chances do not occur all the time [...] But now this Father [Ata] of mine on whom I relied in this respect [...] has died.¹⁷⁹ I also made a proposal in this respect to Cemal Bardakçı, the Governor [*vali*] of Konya and President of the Provincial Administrative Committee of the Republican People's Party [CHP]. As I wrote you before, our aim was to get you to Konya. This application of mine was transmitted in writing from the *vali* of Konya to Ankara. Four days later, Cemal Bardakçı was pensioned off. Right after that, a negative answer arrived. This time I turned to Hasan Ali Yücel Bey,¹⁸⁰ who has come into the Ministry of Education and is a personal friend, with a detailed biography of yours. The unfortunate man has to this day not been able to give an answer, be it positive or negative, because the Government accepted Germany's proposal not to admit German Jews to Turkey [any longer]. For this, a cabinet decision is necessary, and to do it, one of the ministers must be [ready to take the initiative]. For this purpose, I wrote [to Yücel], but no definite answer has come until today [...] In any case, I agreed with quite a number of families here that either you or your wife could give them language lessons. But the entrance of Jews to Turkey has been forbidden. Only the Cabinet is able to abolish this [measure]. As regards your letter in which you announce that you will give your little girls to an orphanage so that you will be free, I would like to write you: send them to me if you can and let me take care of them as if they were my own daughters...¹⁸¹

Süsheim noted that he

felt embarrassed by Mes'ud Koman's generosity with regard to my, or rather: our case, and I fear that his insisting on my coming to Turkey might be harmful to him; they might even dismiss him from the direction of the library, so I wrote to him to abandon his exertions for our case [...] I think that the German Government promised Ankara to return Syria and that the non-admission of Jews is part of this agreement between Berlin and Ankara...¹⁸²

In fact, Süsheim's protectors in Turkey were successful; on March 7, 1940,

178 In a letter dated 1st July, 1938 (*Nachlass* 11/39), Mes'ud Koman offered to present Süsheim's work to Atatürk.

179 Atatürk died on November 10, 1938.

180 Hasan Ali (Âli) Yücel (1897-1960), Republican Turkish writer and historian of literature. A graduate of Istanbul University, he taught in secondary schools and served as an inspector and director-general for secondary education in the ministry of education (1927-1935); he was awarded the Goethe medal of the German Ministry of Culture in 1932; he achieved prominence as a promotor and tireless supporter of the project to translate classics of world literature into Turkish (*Tercüme Bürosu*); being elected a deputy for İzmir, in due course he became Minister of Education (December 1938 to August 6, 1946). After the 1950 elections, he settled in Istanbul as a writer and editor of the culture series of the İş Bankası.

181 *Nachlass* 11/1, 24 March 1939.

182 Whatever Ankara's ambitions with respect to Syria might have been at that time, Turkey's foreign policy was clearly one of neutrality *vis-à-vis* Germany (see Türkkaya Ataöv, *Turkish Foreign Policy*, Ankara 1965, 8-9) and Germany still wished to drive as many Jews out of the country as possible.

Minister of Education Yücel asked the Office of the Prime Minister for approval regarding a decree allowing Süssheim to come to Turkey with his family and to work there.¹⁸³ The cabinet decree was issued on 19 March, 1940.¹⁸⁴

The emigration of Jews from Munich was at its height; on April 26 Süssheim heard from the treasurer of the Jewish Community that Rabbi Ehrentreu and his family had moved to Britain. On May 10, Süssheim went to Nuremberg in order to obtain information about the house in Marientorgraben. He paid visits to the municipal cadastre, to the tax office, the Gestapo (where he heard that the confiscations of November and December had become subject to an official enquiry; he was referred for further information to Ansbach) and to the *Arisierungsstelle*.¹⁸⁵ There he was curtly told that he had consented to the confiscation by his signature and would receive the promised 7340 RM. Paula told her brother that Karl Holz, Streicher's deputy who had been involved in the confiscations, had been arrested;¹⁸⁶ she urged him to leave the matter alone and not to go to Ansbach; to this he consented. She also told him that Uncle Heinrich had arrived in England; he had bought a vicarage in the surroundings of London. His son Kurt had obtained a job for three years at a British firm; his second son Werner was to become an agent for the same firm in New York. Their aunt Frieda Lessing-Löwensohn¹⁸⁷ had also moved to London, and would later leave for Chicago.¹⁸⁸ A cousin, Emmy Lessing-Löwensohn, and her husband had been forced to sell their galvanic coal factory for a third of its real value and still lived in Nuremberg.¹⁸⁹ The only other member of the Nuremberg branch of the family

183 Letter No. 41028/57/732 dated 7 March 1940, from Maarif Vekili Yücel to the Office of the Prime Minister. Archive of the Turkish Republic.

184 Cabinet Decree No. 2/13100 dated 19 March, 1940. Archive of the Turkish Republic.

185 The text has *مقام تحويل مال اليهود الى آريين*.

186 In February, Göring had created a commission of enquiry into the alleged corruption surrounding the Cristal Night confiscations in Franconia when Jewish property owners, rounded up by SA troopers, had been forced to sign sale contracts, mostly granting 10% of the property's real value, in the Fürth Townhall and the Labour Front office in Nuremberg. As a consequence, Holz was imprisoned and the closed accounts (*Sperrkontos*) to which the money had been deposited, were opened to the holders. See Genschel, *Die Verdrängung*, 240-248.

187 Süssheim had been present at her wedding on June 7, 1909, in London; he had last seen her on March 10, 1938, in Fürth.

188 Entry for June 27, 1939.

189 Her husband, Dr. Walter Lessing, died soon afterwards; Emmy was to commit suicide when the SS came to fetch her for transportation to a camp of destruction, see Müller, *Geschichte*, 223.

still living in Germany was Süssheim's cousin Karl Vandewart.¹⁹⁰

Although Süssheim had promised his sister not to take further steps in the matter of their confiscated house, he did go to Ansbach on May 17. He had not been in the city, the capital of Franconia, since 1899, when he was a student in Erlangen. At the *Arisierungsstelle* situated in the *Residenz*, he was informed that nothing could be done and that he would have to wait for what Göring, as head of the commission of inquiry, would decide.¹⁹¹ Süssheim then left the office and visited the baroque palace and its gardens (the *Hofgarten*), ignoring the sign which warned Jews to keep out. On August 28, he went again to the Nuremberg tax office. When he was told that the confiscations were indeed to be considered legal, Süssheim finally decided to leave matters for what they were. In the following year, the expropriations were declared illegal after all, but the property in question had to be sold anyway.¹⁹² Süssheim received 2316 RM, his part of the rents for 1939.¹⁹³

Some days after his journey to Ansbach, on May 20, Süssheim received another letter from Mes'ud Koman:¹⁹⁴ "[...] I talked to my very old and intimate friend, the Minister of Education, Hasan Ali Yücel, about your respected person." Members of his staff had been present.

"Don't worry, I will find a special fund for your friend and bring him here," he said. "I will write this to him," I said. "Don't hurry," he said [...] "I think that he will introduce you in any case to the recently opened History and Geography Faculty in Ankara. According to my investigations, there are several vacant professorships there. In any case, the minister wants to get you here with a good salary [...] I would like to ask a favour of you. Could you send me one of the supplementary fascicules of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* which contains the article 'Konya'? Could you also send me the other fascicules on the condition that it does not cause you too much trouble [...]?"¹⁹⁵

In the meantime, on June 13, 1940, Minister of Education Yücel, referring to the cabinet decree of 19 March, had asked the cabinet for a further decree declaring

190 Entry for June 27, 1939. Karl Vandewart was the son of Eugen and Lina Vandewart-Morgenstern.

191 On April 20, 1940, Süssheim heard that a quarrel had developed between Göring and Streicher about the enquiry and particularly about who had more right to the seven million RM from the confiscations; Göring in his rage had pointed his gun at Streicher.

192 Entry for March 5, 1940.

193 771 RM in taxes were to be deducted from this amount (entry for June 17, 1940).

194 The Diary does not mention the letter of April 22, 1939 (*Nachlass* 11/2), in which, among other things, Mes'ud Koman wrote that the retirement of Cemal Bardakçı had nothing to do with Süssheim's case and announced that he would discuss the latter's possible immigration in Ankara; he also invited Süssheim to write for the journal *Konya*.

195 *Nachlass* 11/3, 11 May, 1939.

its approval regarding the coming of Prof. Karl Süsseim together with his wife and his two daughters. The Office of the Prime Minister replied by Decree (*Kararname*) dated 22 June, 1940, declaring its approval.¹⁹⁶

On June 24, 1940, Süsseim records that he has received a letter from Feridun Nafiz Uzluk who informed him that his immigration had been discussed in the Turkish cabinet.¹⁹⁷ Feridun Nafiz had sent publications by Süsseim and letters to Hasan Ali Yücel¹⁹⁸ and the under-secretary İhsan Bey; Minister Yücel had replied that he wished to get Süsseim to Turkey. Feridun Nafiz had been rung by Cevad Bey, the Director of Higher Education, who had told him: "We will decide to get Professor Süsseim here, give me his address and give us the necessary information." Feridun Nafiz had gone to the Ministry and had given Cevad Bey the address and Süsseim's biography (as published in the journal *Türk Tıp Tarihi Arkivi*, edited by himself and Süheyl Ünver). "I told him that you are good at library work and are an accomplished scholar in the field of history." The Cabinet still had to discuss matters.¹⁹⁹ Süsseim remained pessimistic and did not like the prospect of emigrating to Turkey; the preparations alone would exhaust him completely; he would have preferred to go to a near-by country such as France. Paula's emigration now seemed imminent. When Süsseim saw her on the 27th, she apparently had obtained official permission from the Exchequer to leave the country.

With the outbreak of the war, new measures were taken against the Jews. On September 1, Süsseim heard that a curfew was announced for Jews: they were no longer allowed to leave their houses after eight p.m. (nine p.m. in summer). On the 15th, he heard that a neighbouring girl had berated Mrs. Szokolny for her arrogance, "she had announced that she [Mrs. Szokolny] would have to leave this house and predicted that at the conclusion of the war the Jews would be awarded just punishment and their deeds would be revenged." On September 23, Süsseim

196 Letter No. 41028/57/4/1705 dated 13 June, 1940, from Maarif Vekili Yücel to the Office of the Prime Minister. *Kararname* No. 4/1705, approved on 22 June, 1940. Archive of the Turkish Republic.

197 Between January and June 1939, Süsseim received another seven letters from Feridun Nafiz as well as one from the latter's former professor at Istanbul University, the medical historian Süheyl Ünver. Feridun Nafiz also mobilized other relations and friends on behalf of Süsseim's emigration. He urged his friend Hüseyin Daniş Bey, who worked at the Persian embassy in Istanbul, to find a job for Süsseim in Iran, and wrote to Süheyl Bey to apply for a job for Süsseim at Istanbul University (*Nachlass* 12/23, 2nd February, 1939). Feridun Nafiz's uncle, Veled Çelebi, was requested to discuss matters with the under secretary, İhsan Bey, at the Ministry of Education (*Nachlass* 12/20, 22nd February, 1939). He himself also spoke with İhsan Bey, who appeared to know of Süsseim's *al-Urada* edition, and he also was in contact with Mes'ud Koman (*Nachlass* 12/9 and 12/10, 9 May 1939 and 12 May 1939).

198 His letter, or rather official petition, to Yücel of 12 April 1939 is preserved in the Istanbul University Archives, file Süsseim.

199 *Nachlass* 12/14, 20 June 1939.

noted:

At a quarter past nine, two men appeared at the door of our apartment. The biggest of them said that they were Gestapo personnel. He showed his official identification [card] with photo. I went with them to the sitting room. Again he showed me the card and asked if we had a radio. I said I did not have that kind of thing. Thereupon he asked if we had an antenna. I told him that we did not have one. I pointed at our housekeeper and requested her to [help] them. She told that she did not know anything about a wireless at our place. Her statement irritated them. Then the big one asked about our food supplies. I told him that we had only a little. The small one, then, looked into our bathroom. There was hardly anything in it. Thereupon, he turned back and both of them went to our kitchen. Margot opened the cupboard there for them. They went to the bedroom and tried to open the lady's cupboard where Ina and our daughters keep their clothes, but Margot could not find the key. They made some efforts to open it with the master-keys they had with them. I told them that my wife's clothes were in it and that she would only return in the late afternoon. Thereupon, they turned from the bedroom to the other shared by me and Ina and I opened my cupboard there for them. The small one opened the small cupboard belonging to our daughters. Thereupon, they went to my study. I opened the cupboard with my manuscripts for them. The small one opened the right part of the cupboard with my clothes and also partly opened my father's desk and thoroughly investigated the medicines on top of it. The big one then asked me if I were a merchant. I told him that I had been professor at Munich University. Then they went to the hall and the big one asked what was in the packing cases on the balcony. There are nine boxes filled with books, one box with book-lists and one empty box. When I had told him that, he no longer showed interest in the boxes. Thereupon, the small one opened the middle cupboard with table utensils and books. He approached the linen cupboard for which I fetched the key. He occupied himself with the soap he found there. The big one asked: "Is there much of it?". The small one denied this. The small one then asked what was in the stamp cupboard. Again I produced the key. I told him what was in it. Contented, he left it alone. He said: "There is a new bicycle."²⁰⁰ I said that my wife rode a bicycle. He said: "There is another one." I told him that it was not new and belonged to my daughter. Thereupon, the small one said: "There is a new typewriter," and I told him that my wife typed on one. This satisfied them. The big one then occupied himself with the things in the hall and the study. There were two sacks of flour, about 70 litres in all. He repeatedly asked about the number of persons in our family. Thereupon, he confiscated the flour in the two sacks, telling me to take some flour out of them, sufficient for today and tomorrow. I told him that we would only obtain new ration coupons on September 27. They said goodbye and left our apartment [...]. It is strange how the Gestapo harasses Jewish families with their searching for foodstuffs on their great feast, the Day of Atonement, which is today, September 23. In the afternoon, I heard that the radios found with Jewish families were confiscated because they feared that they [the Jews] would listen to foreign news bulletins on their radio, among them the news that the Polish army made 150,000 German soldiers prisoner.

Ina went to the Gestapo office on October 2, and was able to get some of the flour back in exchange for coupons. On December 1, Süssheim read that Goebbels had presented the population of the recently occupied Danzig with 10,000 wireless sets; so there went the Jewish property!

Pressure on the Jews to emigrate increased. On September 28, the Jews of Munich who had not yet left the city, were summoned to the offices of the Jewish Community. They, among them Süssheim, had to fill in four forms in

²⁰⁰ Urged by Ina, Süssheim had bought a new bicycle and a new typewriter on September 20 for, respectively, 75 and 260 RM for fear of a rapid currency devaluation as a result of the war.

which they had to, again, declare their possessions if exceeding the value of 5000 RM, to explain how they would finance their emigration, and were asked if they had family relations in the United States or Australia. A month later, on October 20, Süssheim heard that the Polish Jews had to leave Germany definitely before January 31, 1940. On October 23, it was announced that Jews had to pay an extra 5 per cent property tax above the 20 per cent imposed as a penalty after 'Crystal Night'.

On November 7, Süssheim heard that Paula had suffered a complete nervous breakdown eight weeks previously. She still had not succeeded in fulfilling all the required conditions for her emigration, and had been taken to the Jewish Hospital at Fürth. He went to visit her two days later. She believed she could leave the hospital in the near future and planned to emigrate by way of Sweden, where she would have to stay "until the icebergs in the Atlantic Ocean had melted." She now received only 300 RM per month from her bank account, whereas she had to pay a monthly rent of 400 RM for her house in Virgostrasse 22. Paula had news from Karl and Edith Kirschbaum, who complained about their difficult life in New York. Süssheim stayed the night in Paula's villa where he found Erna who had been suffering from depressions ever since she had divorced her husband Max Moschkowitz in 1925. She no longer cared about her two sons who had emigrated to Cardiff with her former husband.²⁰¹ She left the house during the night out of fear for public aggression as a result of the *Bürgerbräukeller* attempt the night before. What happened to Paula and Erna later is not recorded in the Diary.

On November 22, Süssheim recorded that he received another letter from Mes'ud Koman,²⁰² which read:

Today I received an official letter from the Istanbul University Rector's Office [*rektörlük*].²⁰³ It is an answer to the note I wrote to [the Ministry of] Education about your appointment. They take you at the university for two years. You will be contacted for the contract. The salary at present is little, but will be good in the future...²⁰⁴

The announcement of the small salary seemed to confirm Süssheim's forebodings that he would have to work on the translation into Turkish of the *Encyclopaedia*

201 Entry for August 28, 1939.

202 Two other letters, *Nachlass* 11/4 and 11/5, of 30 May 1939 and 14 August 1939 are not mentioned in the Diary.

203 The Dean of the Arts Faculty had advised the Rector's Office to engage Süssheim not so much for regular teaching as for "research and the seminars in the field of Turcology" (*Türkoloji sahasında yapacağı etüdlerinden ve seminerlerinden...*), Istanbul University Archives, file Süssheim, letter No. 1642, 7 August 1939.

204 *Nachlass* 11/6, 14 November 1939.

of *Islam* (he proved to be right on this point²⁰⁵). That night he could not sleep, worrying about the low salary, the impossibility of finding a house spacious enough to accommodate his library and the question of how he would pay for an adequate education for his daughters. And how would he be able to do the toilsome work with his weak eyes? On November 25, Süsseim received a letter from the Dean of the Faculty of Arts of Istanbul University in which he was asked to become students' councillor at the Seminar for Literature and that for History. Süsseim accepted on December 5. On the 15th, Süsseim received a draft contract by way of the 'Inspectorate of Students in Central Europe' (*Ortaavrupa Talebe Inspekterliđi*) at Berlin.²⁰⁶ It contained eleven paragraphs. Essential points were that Süsseim, as professor of Turcology, accepted the obligation to work at the seminars, undertook to do research (if necessary also in the provinces), to teach on request and to educate an appointed Turkish assistant; he was forbidden to work for other institutions outside Turkey; the salary was to be 196.80 Turkish lira, with a minimum of 150 lira after tax deductions; the contract was to last for two years (March 1, 1940, to February 2, 1942) with the option for repeated renewal after every two years; travelling expenses to, and possibly later from, Turkey were 200 lira. Although Süsseim had strong objections to the second paragraph which restricted his scholarly activities to Turkey, he had no alternative and accepted the contract. In this sense he wrote to the Dean of the Faculty of Arts on the 16th, and on January 17, 1940, he sent the necessary documents bearing his signature to Berlin, but added the request that he be allowed to publish in French. On April 3, he finally heard from Feridun Nafiz that he could travel to Turkey:

I just received a phone-call from the Ministry of Education in which they asked for our friend Arif's²⁰⁷ address; the decision taken by the Cabinet that he can come to our country was said to be signed; they would communicate this to him through official channels; I am very happy that I will greet my dear friend here soon...²⁰⁸

On April 13, Süsseim received a confirmation by the Turkish Consulate in Berlin that he had permission to travel to Turkey. Ina was relieved but Süsseim felt depressed and wrote that he would rather stay. When he realized that the permission was only valid for himself, he approached the Consulate and managed

²⁰⁵ Cf. Flemming, *Süsseim*, 7.

²⁰⁶ Copies in Turkish and German are preserved in the Istanbul University Archives, file Süsseim. The Turkish Embassy in Berlin was informed on December 7 and requested to communicate Süsseim's decision, *ibidem*, Cemil Bilsel (Vice-Chancellor) to Embassy, *tedris işleri* 1025/566.

²⁰⁷ Süsseim was addressed as Mehmed Arif on the last postcards he received from Feridun Nafiz.

²⁰⁸ *Nachlass* 12/7, 16 March 1940.

to obtain travel permits for Ina and his daughters (on May 21). Meanwhile, preparations for leaving the country had continued. Clothes and other objects which could not be taken abroad found their way to Milbertshofen.²⁰⁹ On December 1, Süssheim consulted the transport firm of Schenker and during the next week he had conversations with the officials of the Customs and Exchange Bureau; he was told that he was allowed to take 2000 kg of luggage out of the country; Ina was only allowed to take clothes with her which had been bought prior to 1933.²¹⁰ Süssheim discussed the transfer of his books, manuscripts and papers with Dr. Dannemann. The latter agreed on December 14 to send Süssheim's collection, weighing 2000 kg, to the Seminar for History in Istanbul at his expense but on the condition that he, Süssheim, would first officially donate it to the Consulate beforehand. Süssheim did not like the idea, but what could he do? Dannemann also advised him to leave Germany as quickly as possible, otherwise he would inevitably be transported to Poland. On January 3, 1940, he declared his capital (47,419.30 RM) and expected income for 1940 (1178.70 RM) to the Exchange Office. Because he could no longer dispose of his capital, he had to finance the transfer costs from other sources. On December 16, 1939, he wrote to the Dean of the Faculty of Arts in Istanbul for this purpose (on December 17) and sent petitions to the Jewish Community in Munich and the *Committee of Experts for Academic and Kindred Refugees from Germany*²¹¹ in Geneva for a loan of 700 RM. (Eventually, Süssheim was granted 325 lira for the transport of his books and papers by the Turkish Ministry of Education in February 1940.²¹²)

The elimination of Jews from German public life, meanwhile, continued its course. On December 15, 1939, Süssheim heard that Jews were forbidden to buy butter. On December 20, he was again summoned to the office of the Jewish Community and was told there that he and his daughters (whom he had raised as Jews) could no longer make use of the general rationing system but would be referred to a special Jewish system in the near future (a letter of September 22 had already informed him of this). At the office he also heard of new emigrations, among them of Dr. Baerwald and Jakob Krämer, head of the Jewish

202 Entries of September 25, 26 and 28, 1939.

210 Entries for December 7, 8 and 9, 1939.

211 The text has *لجنة معاونة العلماء الهاربين سياسياً*. This Committee was founded in 1934 by the High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany, the American James McDonald, and was headed by Walter Kotschnig; its specialty was assistance in providing travel documents, visas and the like, see Grossmann, *Emigration*, 300.

212 See petition Mes'ud Koman to Cemil Bilsel, 4th January, 1940 (Istanbul University Archives, file Süssheim, No. 488) and letters from Mes'ud Koman to Süssheim, *Nachlass* 11/7, 5 January 1940; 11/10, 2 February 1940; 11/12, 6 April 1940.

School in Munich.²¹³ On January 15, 1940, Süssheim received his first J-stamped coupons. He recorded that Jews were only entitled to three fifths of the normal meat ration and half the amount of the groceries distributed to 'Christians'. On January 8, he heard that all Jewish names were being removed from municipal address-books and that they would also be eliminated from the telephone-directories as well. All Jews would be exiled to Lublin in Poland. Bitterly Süssheim reflected that the German Jews were getting the same treatment as the Ottoman Armenians during the Great War; even the most loyal among them were subjected to hostile treatment and ostracism. When Süssheim went to the Jewish School in the Herzog-Rudolf-Strasse on February 4 in order to enroll Gioconda for the coming semester, he learned that there would not be more than ten new pupils. On April 4, Süssheim met a former inmate of Dachau, the engineer Wilhelm Strauss [?], in the office of the Jewish Community; the latter told him that many old comrades had left the country, among them Dr. Ernst Mayer who was living in a small house in Wales, practicing surgery for nothing and being fed by the local population. Strauss was in the possession of a visa for South-Africa, but it had become useless after the outbreak of the war. He was married to a 'Christian' wife and one of his sons served in the German army. On April 26, Süssheim heard from his insurance company that his health policy had to be cancelled at the end of the month on orders of the Berlin main office.

On Paula's request, Süssheim paid a visit to Mrs. Gutmann (on May 4) in order to advise her on the confiscation of her houses. (She was the mother of his old love Ilse Gutmann, whom he not seen for a very long time - Ilse now lived in San Francisco and was married to an Italian.) He heard from her the tragic story of her constant companion, the gymnastics teacher Dr. Ludwig Frank who had been suffering from heart disease. He was arrested in November 1939 and in one night his hair had turned white. He died in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp on April 7, 1940. Mrs. Gutmann had heard in the Jewish Community office that the remaining Jews were to be taken to Poland if they would not content themselves with less housing space. Another old friend, Luise Drey, now in her sixties, intended to emigrate to Shanghai. Mrs. Gutmann's son, Heinrich Gutmann, told Süssheim that emigrants from Munich had been forced to return home after they had found that the Italian border was closed to them.²¹⁴ Later they were able to enter Italy, but were not allowed to board United States ships in the harbour of Genoa.²¹⁵

On May 7, Süssheim packed the last of 21 boxes with his books, papers and stamps which were to be sent to Turkey. The next day he went to Consul Dannemann, but was told that because of the confused political situation it was

213 See Leo Baerwald, 'Juden und jüdische Gemeinden in München vom 12. bis 20. Jahrhundert' (1958), in Lamm, *Vergangene Tage*, 19-30, 28 - Krämer emigrated to New York.

214 Entry for May 8, 1940.

215 Entry for June 2, 1940.

not yet certain when the packing cases could be transported to Istanbul. Therefore Süssheim had to pay ahead storage costs for two years, despite the fact that he had already paid for their transport up to the Yugoslav border. Dannemann had spoken with the Turkish Ambassador, Hüsrev Gerede,²¹⁶ at the Berlin Foreign Office:

They showed complete confidence as if they were able to endure the onslaught of war for two years. Hüsrev Gerede confirmed that Turkey wished to avoid war while Dr. Dannemann said that Germany, together with Italy, would be able to defeat the army of Weygand²¹⁷ any way they wanted. I showed him the two ways of advance from Italy to the east by way of the two Roman campaigns under the command of Flaminius²¹⁸ in 197/8 and Aemilius Paullus²¹⁹ in 168. Dr. Dannemann is convinced of the victory of the Italians and the Germans, and also that the Bulgarian Government under English threat will ask assistance from Germany. Everything is ready in Germany for this campaign in a south-easterly direction. Negotiations with Hungary will allow Germany to use the Hungarian railways...

On May 22, Ina was publicly abused and called a *Juden-Schickse* by a tailor's wife who lived in the neighbourhood and thought she had intrigued against her. Ina was not too much upset. But the Jews still living in the city were depressed by the continuous news about French and British defeats which culminated in the victory of May 31,²²⁰ and rumours again spread that they would be driven from the city as had been announced a year before by Alfred Rosenberg²²¹ in a public address at Berlin. On June 2, Süssheim heard that all Jewish men under fifty-five and all Jewesses under fifty would be condemned to forced labour.²²²

216 Hüsrev Gerede (1886-1962), Officer, Politician and Diplomat; Turkish Ambassador in Berlin (5 September 1939 to 27 July 1942).

217 Maxime Weygand (1867-1965), French General, Commander of French Forces in the eastern Mediterranean, August 1939; Commander-in-Chief of the French Army, May 19, 1940.

218 Titus Flaminius, Roman Consul, defeated Philip V at the Battle of Cynoscephalae in Macedonia in 197 B.C.

219 Aemilius Paullus, Roman Consul, defeated Perseus of Macedonia in the Battle of Pydna in 168 B.C.

220 This day actually formed the culmination point of the Dunkirk evacuation when 68,000 Allied soldiers were able to escape to England, see Shirer, *Rise and Fall*, 883; France capitulated on June 21.

221 Alfred Rosenberg (1893-1946), one of the earliest members of the Nazi Party and one of its leading ideologues; in 1941 he was appointed Minister for the occupied territories in Eastern Europe; sentenced to death by the Nuremberg Tribunal and executed in 1946; see Watt, *Annotated Edition of Victor Klemperer's LTI*, 23.

222 Already from June 1939 onwards Jews who were dependent upon Jewish Community aid had been forced to work on the land (for a salary of 0.50 RM per day), cf. Ophir & Wiesemann, 'Geschichte und Zerstörung', 482.

Transference to Turkey became ever more difficult, particularly after the war had spread to the Balkans - Greece had been invaded by Italian troops; Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, being Axis Allies, were occupied by German troops (Bulgaria from February 28, 1941); Yugoslavia and Greece were invaded by German troops from April 6, 1941. On June 11, 1940, Süssheim was informed by Dr. Scheler of the Jewish Community that transit visas for Yugoslavia and Bulgaria were difficult to obtain, and he was advised to travel to Istanbul by way of the Danube. On June 27, he recorded that

For the past ten days, Ina has been busy packing her things in my long, flat suitcase which I bought in 1913. It is my best suitcase. Today she took my second suitcase, which is also good, safe and expensive, even more reliable, and higher and heavier than the first one, and began to pack it as well.

The last entry is dated July 3, 1940:

Heard that after the war the German government will transport the Jews of Germany to its colonies in order to exploit them as slaves.

It took more than another year before the Süssheims arrived in Istanbul.²²³ As late as April 26, 1941, Ina wrote to Mes'ud Koman that they still had not been able to obtain visas for Hungary and Rumania and asked if he had acquaintances or friends who could activate personnel at the Foreign Offices at Budapest and Bucharest to give them the necessary stamps, because "it is terribly difficult to live in this way between hope and despair."²²⁴ The situation for Munich's Jews had indeed become desperate. By early 1941 many were put to work at Milbertshofen where they had to construct barracks for a temporary "Jewish settlement" and in a monastery in Berg am Laim where they had to perform hard labour. Deportation to the east the Riga area and to Theresienstadt began in November 1941.²²⁵

223 On June 19, 1941, cf. Flemming, 'Süssheim', 7.

224 "*es [ist] furchtbar schwer, so zwischen Hangen und Bangen zu leben,*" letter in the Istanbul University Archives, file Süssheim.

225 Cahnmann, 'Die Juden in München', 71; Ophir & Wiesemann, 'Geschichte und Zerstörung', 483-484; Kershaw, *Popular Opinion*, 358-359.

EPILOGUE

Returning to Turkey after a twenty-nine years' sojourn in Germany, during which many things Turkish must have faded from his memory, while the Turkish Republic underwent an immense social and cultural transformation. Süssheim began the last phase of his academic career, this time in the nominally lowly function of "scientific assistant" (*ilmî yardımcı*) at Istanbul University. After the ordeal of travelling through the Balkans in June, 1941, Süssheim, seriously weakened by the shock of losing his home country and of nearly all his belongings,²²⁶ moved into a flat at 23 Palanka Yokuşu, Ortaköy, overlooking the Bosphorus. Neighbours often saw him walking arm in arm with one of his daughters.²²⁷ His work, which included translations into Turkish of *Encyclopaedia of Islam* articles, was tiring. He had many students, and his income was low. At the renewal of his contract in 1943, he requested that his salary be raised because he was not able to support himself and his family from it²²⁸ - we do not know if the request was granted. His last scholarly activity appears to have been the revision of his *Encyclopaedia* article on Albania²²⁹ which was published in the Turkish *İslam Ansiklopedisi*.²³⁰

Karl Süssheim died of cancer in the German Hospital at Istanbul, Siraselviler, on January 13, 1947, and was buried in the Jewish Cemetery at Ortaköy.²³¹ Among the mourners who attended his funeral were Hellmut Ritter and Robert Anhegger. His widow and daughters moved to New York, where Mrs. Süssheim remarried in 1951. After a lengthy correspondence with Munich University and the Bavarian Ministry of Education from 1946 onwards, Mrs. Caroline O'Brien was granted a monthly allowance of DM 100 from August 1958.²³²

226 Cf. letter of his widow Mrs. O'Brien to the Vice-Chancellor of Munich University, 1947, Munich University Archives, file Süssheim.

227 Communication by Professor Ömer Faruk Akün, Istanbul.

228 Cf. letter by the Dean of the Faculty of Arts to the Vice-Chancellor, 18.3.1943, No. 937, Istanbul University Archives, file Süssheim.

229 'Arnauten', EI^I I (1913), 466-477.

230 'Arnavutluk', İA I (1950), 573-592.

231 Flemming, 'Süssheim', 7-8.

232 Letters in the Munich University Archives, file Süssheim.

APPENDIX A: CHRONOLOGY

PRELUDE

1878

21 January Karl Süssheim born in Nuremberg

1884

Educated at primary school, Paul von Jahreiss is his classmate; another schoolmate is Wilhelm Schelling

1896

Educated at Melanchthon Gymnasium, Nuremberg

Abitur Nuremberg

Süssheim volunteers for the First Royal Infantry Regt. "The King"; after five and a half months' service discharged to the *Landsturm*. S. enters University of Erlangen. His formal university studies focus on history

1897

Autumn Begins study of Arabic and Turkish in Berlin at the Royal Oriental Seminary (Professors Foy, Fischer, and Lippert) and outside the university; teaches German to Turkish students

1898

Study of Arabic and Turkish in Berlin at the Royal Oriental Seminary

1899

Friendship with Ömer Lutfi and Bedri Murad Bey

1902

15 March S. receives his PhD at the University of Berlin for his dissertation *Preussische Annexionsbestrebungen*. Supervisor Max Lenz (1850-1932)

August/September S. leaves Germany for the Ottoman Empire, where he will

remain for about four years

S. starts to keep a diary

Copybooks 1 and 2 not preserved

1903

. S. in the Ottoman Empire

His teacher is Jak Efendi (Jak Samanon, 1871-1919?)

1904

. S. in the Ottoman Empire

11 April Marriage of Max Süssheim and Hedwig Strauss

. Excursion to Anatolia; S. visits Aksaray

September/October S. travels to libraries in Anatolia

1905

. S. in the Ottoman Empire

20 June Marriage of S.'s sister Paula and Eugen Kirschbaum

1906

. S. returns to Germany

March S publishes "Türkische Volksliteratur" in the Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung

1907

CHAPTER ONE

1908

May to August S. in Egypt.

In Cairo; friendship with Abdullah Cevdet

July Constitutional Revolution in the Ottoman Empire; S.'s voyage back to Istanbul; he lodges himself in Hotel d'Europe, Sirkeci

S. has access to the senior leadership of the Young Turks

Begin of copybook 3 of Diary

in Istanbul; Abdullah Cevdet, Ömer Lütfi, C. Korkmaz

8 November S. takes train back to Germany

Canvassing for academic career

November-December S. stays in Nuremberg with his mother; goes to balls of Jewish organisations

1909

. S. in Nuremberg

9 February S. leaves for London, takes lodgings at 27 Russell Street; consults MSS. in the British Museum

12 April armed insurrection in the name of *Şeriat* (31 Mart İsyanı)

From 15 April CUP campaign against the rebels (*Hareket Ordusu*); Young Turks stage their second coup in April 1909; Abdülhamid deposed, Mehmed Reşad Sultan as Mehmed V.

7 June S. is present at the wedding of Frieda Löwensohn and Kurt Lessing in London; critical of Kurt's intention to have his children baptized

July Ottoman parliamentary delegation in London

17 July S. invited to dinner with Ottoman parliamentary delegation

June G. Jacob suggests that S. be appointed by the Bavarian Academy of Sciences to investigate the Istanbul Palace Archives

June S.' letter to von Heigel: he accepts on condition that he gets a university job

June 21 S. applies for a job as Arabist at the British Museum, but is turned down

July S. hears that the Ottoman Archives will be investigated by a commission under the chairmanship of Abdurrahman Şeref Bey. Sept. 15 Von Heigel assures S. of his appointment by the Bavarian Academy

16 October S. visits the Ottoman Em-

bassy in London

1910

30 April Death of Sigmund Süssheim, S.'s father; S. leaves London

1 May S. returns to Nuremberg

10 May S. travels to Paris, Rue Trévisé 15;

Bibliothèque Nationale

5 June S. returns; takes lodgings at Dachau, Bruckerstrasse 2, till September

15 September S. travels to England via Brussels. Oxford, Bodleian

October In London, S. harangues Ernst Schlüchterer for the Christian education of his children

5 October S. attends the festivities on the occasion of the *id-i fitr* at the Holborn Imperial Hotel

20 October S. back in Munich

23 October S. registered in Munich, Privatgelehrter, for studies

October/2 November Conflict with Max, Paula and Mother because of S.'s intervention with regard to the education of Ernst Schlüchterer's children

18 Nov.-11 December Holidays in Italy with his mother

25 December S. lives at Adelheidstr. 34

1911

3 April S. moves to rooms in Hiltensperger Str. 10

16 March-12 April S. in Vienna; manuscript studies

2 August to 9 October S. with Mother at Bad Kissingen

October Habilitation. S.'s Prolegomena is published

November/December S. in Istanbul on a mission to gain admission to the Ottoman Archives, beginning with visits to the Society for Ottoman History (TOE)

CHAPTER TWO**1912**

. S. in Istanbul
 He visits Tal'at Bey, Minister of Postal Services and the Interior.
 Leave-takings.
 4 April S. packs his luggage
 5 April S. boards the train for Germany
 11 April S. moves to lodgings in Munich, Ansbacher Strasse 2, Rinsche family
 12 April S. *Privatdozent* at Munich University, formally begins his academic career by taking the oath.
 27 April S. meets Rabbi Dr. Werner; is regularly invited to the Rabbi's house, often on the occasion of Passover, New Year and Purim
 2 May S.' teaches first class
 16 July Süssheim is present at the celebration of Prof. von Heigel's seventieth birthday
 August Süssheim with Mother and Paula to St. Moritz; goes to balls given in Hotel du Lac (where he stays himself), the Grand Hotel, Victoria, Engadiner Hof and Stahlbad
 28 October S. "Die Bibliotheksschätze Konstantinopels" appears - where?
 19 December Burial of Prince Regent Luitpold

1913

23 January Armed coup d'état in Istanbul (Bab-ı Ali coup)
 12 March S. in Bad Kissingen (Miss Gertrud Nassauer)
 10 May S. "Konstantinopel und seine Schätze" appears in Frankfurter Zeitung
 10 May, S. at Strasbourg, Hotel National (Miss Elsa Stein)
 May S. in Berlin, meets Hakkı Tevfik
 1913 July S. at Veldes (Bled) (Miss Hilda Dub)
 7 to 23 August S. at St. Moritz, Hotel

Du Lac

S. proposes a German university in Anatolia
 12 November Coronation of King Ludwig III
 End of November Süssheim's most out-going period; meetings and parties of the *Insel Club*, to *Concordia*, *Phoenix* and *Thuringia*
 November S. in love with Miss Susi Stern

1914

21 January S.'s lonely birthday. Mrs. Rinsche congratulates
 May Conflict over the electricity bill
 3 July S. moves to rooms in Hiltensperger Str. 29; Heidner
 29 July 29 Hommel's sixtieth birthday
 4 August Declaration of war

CHAPTER THREE**1915**

14 February S.'s *venia legendi* is extended to "History of the Muhammadan peoples as well as Turkish, Persian and Modern Arabic"
 Between 1915 and 1919 S. registers in Nuremberg, his home town
 1915-1916 Relocation (*tehcir*) of the Armenian population of the war zone to the Syrian desert

1916

. S. serves as a voluntary, honorary member at the military postal censor's office of the First Bavarian Army Corps; still liable to military service, but indispensable.
 4 February S. lectures on Arabia, with photographs. He is awarded the King Ludwig Cross for civilian war service

1917

7 January Rabbi Dr. Werner is appointed professor.

17 March S.' article "Bagdad" in München-Augsburger Abendzeitung.

27 April Tal'at Pasha, Grand Vizier, arrives in Munich. The King and Queen invite him to dinner. S.'s article in München-Augsburger Abendzeitung

. S. reviews Franz Carl Endres, Die Türkei, Munich 1916, in Deutsches Offiziersblatt 20, Berlin 1916, Kriegsausgabe no. 87 (1917)

CHAPTER FOUR

1918

22 June Rabbi Prof. Werner dies suddenly

. S. "Die Malerei in der Türkei", Der Sammler, München, no. 72, 73

. S. announces "Survey of the history of the Muhammadan peoples and empires from 600 after Christ until today" Wednesday 12-11 st. priv.

30 October Signing of the Mudros Armistice between the Allies and the Ottoman Empire

2 November Enver, Tal'at and Cemal Pashas leave Turkey on board German submarine

11 November Armistice ending hostilities of World War I

13 November Allied occupation of Istanbul begins

1919

15 January - 15 April PDoz S. does not lecture owing to the war circumstances; lives at Hiltenspergerstr. 29

23 January S. is appointed professor extraordinary (but not appointed to the University's permanent Faculty of Philosophy)

1 April 350 M wartime cost-of-living allowance

19 July Treaty of Versailles signed before 1 November S. is given notice

to leave Hiltenspergerstr. 29/iv; house-hunting

S., in his article on Bavaria and Turkey, calls the Turkish Navy Minister Cemal Bey a despot as Commander in Syria (whom Falkenhayn had dismissed).

5 November S. moves to rooms at Zieblandstr. 14

1920

10 August Treaty of Sèvres signed by Damad Ferid, rejected by the Nationalist Parliament in Ankara

Winter term S., a.o. Prof., lives Zieblandstr. 14/2 I.

. S. receives a voluntary yearly emolument from the Bavarian State of 4800,- without pension rights. His income is 1692 M: a) professional 175, b) Kapitalrente -, c) sonstiges (einschl. Teuerungszulage 1919) 1417. September 1 the post delivers back numbers (since 6 Oct. 1918) of the papers Hilal und Tanin (during the war confiscated by the Allied Powers for 23 months).

1921

15 March Mehmet Tal'at Paşa assassinated in Berlin because of his involvement in the persecution of the Armenians

Summer and winter semesters S. lectures on Sa'dī, Ibn al-Arabi, Evliya Celebi

. S.'s pupils include Gerhard Scholem, Fritz Rudolf Kraus, Bertold Spuler, Hans Striedl, Franz Babinger, A. Spitaler

1922

19 January Death of Rudolf (Rudi) Kirschbaum

[G. Scholem finishes his dissertation and prepares for the examination

March, begin G. Scholem passes his PhD examination in Semitics; his tea-

chers Hommel and the philosopher Bäumker encourage him to seek a Dozentship, promising to support his candidacy and to set up Jewish studies, Judaistik, but Scholem goes to Palestine instead

April Scholem returns to Berlin for one year]

November 2 S. moves to rooms at Hildegardstr. 1.

1923

24 July Lausanne Peace Treaty signed [September Gerhard Scholem emigrates to Palestine. His brother is the youngest deputy in the Reichstag]

2 October Istanbul is officially evacuated by the Allies

19 December Hommel gives up teaching.

- outside the journals: -

1924

28 May Marriage of Karl S. and Sidonie Frank (born 8 May 1901 Neumarkt, Upper Palatinate, Israelite)

13 October S. moves to Horemansstr. 26

. Joh. Sieber-Borath, Komet-Mitgl. München, Landsbergerstr. 20/ii (philatelist)

1925

1926

. S. lives in München 2, N.W. 11, Horemannstr. 26/III m.

1 October S.' new address is München 2, NW 19, Rühlingsstr. 6/IIIr.

1927

28 January Marriage of Karl S. and Karolina (Ina) Plank at Registry Office Standesamt Munich II; Karolina Plank (b. 12 Aug. 1904 Thalöd, Kreis Pfarrkirchen, Roman Catholic).

June 18 S. excuses himself from

attending university elections

END CHAPTER FOUR

1928

June S. is a member of the Club Insel, Briennerstr. 5/I; Justizrat Dr. E. Landecker (29-6-1928) is a member of the board

November Adoption of the Latin alphabet for the Turkish language in the Turkish Republic

7 December Death of Eugen Kirschbaum.

1929

April 4 Birth of S.' eldest daughter Margot (Margot Karolina)

April 27 S. drafts an application to the Vorstandschaft der Münchener Universitätsgesellschaft

3 May the Dean of the Faculty advises against it at this moment.

6 May S. postpones his application for 200 M "as his work on the history of Egypt and Yemen will take more time anyway"

1930

1931

1932

Death of Dr. Abdullah Cevdet

30 March S. registers in Nuremberg, Marienortgraben 2 (sic).

. Dr. Feridun Nafiz (Uzluk), a friend of Abdullah Cevdet's son Mehmed, in Munich

General preoccupation with the worsening political situation in Germany

1933

30 January Hitler is appointed Chancellor of the German Reich; 'seizure of power' by the National Socialists

27 February Reichstag fire

30 May S., Munich 19, Rütlingstr. 6/III, fills in form under Decrees forbidding "non-Aryans" to hold positions as government employees.

June 16 S. receives an invitation to the Stiftungsfest of the University of Munich to be held on 24 June 1933.

1 March Max Süsseim dies of a stroke.

27 June Süsseim dismissed from service to the Bavarian State; returns to private teaching and research.

18 December Death of Clara Süsseim, S.'s mother.

1934

March 3 Birth of S.' second daughter Gioconda, Israelite Confession.

April 30 the S. move to Preysingstr. 12 (where they will live till 1941)

August 12 Dr. Hüseyinzade Ali writes abt. Abdullah Cevdet and himself

Feridun Nafiz Uzluk finishes his studies of medicine in Munich (April, 1934)

. Nafiz writes from Hamburg

1935

. S. re-registers in Munich

7 May Wensinck, Leiden, sends short letter in German

6 June Hugo Eisenschmidt, who knew Abdullah Cevdet in Vienna, writes to S.

September Promulgation of the Nuremberg Race Laws

- Diary in the surviving journals: -

CHAPTER FIVE

1936

October Süsseim undergoes a glaucoma operation on his left eye and Hamburg (April 1934 - March 1936); arriving in Germany, Feridun Nafiz was introduced to Süsseim by a letter of introduction written by the

former's teacher and the latter's friend İsmail Saib (Sencer), Director of the *Kütüphane-i Umumi* in Istanbul. Feridun Nafiz is appointed as bacteriologist in Turkish state service at Edirne in March 1936, but is transferred to Ankara in September 1936.

1937

23 March Süsseim goes to the institute.

24 May Karl Kirschbaum's wedding. S., Ina and Paula visit the Reichsparteitagsgelände in Nuremberg.

17 July Holiday at Oberstdorf

1 September S. collides with a motorcycle in the Residenzstrasse.

17-28 September Both daughters hospitalized because of dysentery Süsseim goes skating with them.

20 November S. is fined 7.50 RM for the traffic accident.

26 November S. has a skating accident; has to be taken to hospital.

1938

11 and 12 April, 1938 Süsseim visits the Oriental Institute.

20 June Visit of Zekeriya Mazlum Summer spent at Trautenbach

July Jews are required to carry special identity cards

August Lake of Constance

23 August S.' bank account is blocked

12 October Karl Eugen Kirschbaum emigrates to New York.

9 November atrocities of 'Crystal Night'

10 November Suicide of Hedwig S., S.'s sister-in-law.

10 November Death of Kemal Atatürk. İsmet İnönü succeeds Atatürk as president of the Turkish Republic

November 11, 1938 S. is denied admission to the Bavarian State Library.

to Stadelheim prison for interrogation
November S. is imprisoned in the Dachau concentration camp.

29 November S. is released.

Massive acceleration of Jewish emigration. S. makes preparations; confers with his sister Paula

Uncle Heinrich Morgenstern is in England

. Publication of Süssheim's article Abdullah Cevdet in the Encyclopaedia of Islam

1939

14 April Anna Cahn emigrates to England.

17 May S. in Ansbach.

August 9 Conversation with a librarian in the State Library

23 August German-Soviet Treaty of Non Aggression signed in Moscow

1 September Germany invades Poland.

3 September Britain and France declare war on Germany

Oct./Nov. Paula suffers nervous breakdown

8 November attempt on Hitler's life in the Munich Bürgerbräukeller

1940

S.' Turkish friends intervene in Ankara on his behalf

3 January S. declares his capital

19 March decree of the Turkish Cabinet in favour of S.'s coming to Turkey

9 April German invasion of Norway and Denmark

10 May Germany invades the Netherlands and Belgium

10 June Italy declares war on France and Britain

22 June Minister of Education Hasan Ali Yücel obtains cabinet decree regarding approval of S.'s coming to Turkey with his wife and two daughters

3 July, 1940 last entry in the Diary

August-September German air raids; Battle of Britain, daily air raids

1941

26 April the S.s have not yet obtained visas for Hungary and Roumania. Worries about status and remuneration in Turkey.

Bulgaria is siding with the Axis; the war has reached Turkey's borders.

Turkey keeps up a strictly neutral position.

19 June S. and his wife and two daughters "un-register" officially. Books and manuscripts are delivered for storage at Milbertshofen

. The Süssheims set out by train to Istanbul.

22 June German invasion of the Soviet Union; Turkey concludes a treaty of friendship with Germany.

From 19 September all Jews in Germany have to wear a yellow Star of David.

. S. lectures on history in the University of Istanbul. The family lives at Istanbul, Ortaköy, 23 Palanka Yokuşu.

1942

Turkey introduces the Wealth Tax (Varlık Vergisi).

22 November The German Sixth Army is surrounded by Soviet troops at Stalingrad

1943

February The remnants of the German Sixth Army surrender at Stalingrad

25 February Burial of Tal'at Pasha in Istanbul

1944

6 June D-Day invasion, Western Allies land on the coast of France in

Normandy

20 July Attempt at Hitler's life fails

1945

4-11 February Yalta Conference; Turkey officially declares war on Germany.

April Turkey among the founding members of the United Nations.

1946

January Foundation of the Democrat Party in Turkey

21 July Elections, landslide victory of Republican People's Party

1947

13 January Death of Karl Süsseim in the German Hospital, Siraselviler. Burial in the Jewish Cemetery at Ortaköy, Istanbul.

APPENDIX B: MANUSCRIPTS, SCHOLARLY WORKS AND JOURNALISM BY KARL SÜSSHEIM¹

I. Manuscripts²

1. Karl Süsseim's Diary

Of the twenty-one copybooks which constituted the Diary, twelve are preserved in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz under the call-number Hs. or. 1135, consisting of copybooks number Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 20 and 21. What became of the journals written between 1902 and June 1908 (copy-books number 1 and 2), between June and December 1916 (copybook number 7) and between February 1924 and October 1936 (copybooks number 14 to 19) is unknown.

2. *Nachlass*

This sub-collection, preserved in the same library, consists of Süsseim's the personal papers, mostly letters received by him. Of importance for this book are in particular those received from Abdullah Cevdet during the years 1909 to 1930 (in *Nachlass* 5); Feridun Nafiz Uzluk during 1933 to 1940 (*Nachlass* 12, 75), and Mes'ud Koman covering the same period (*Nachlass* 7/4, 11). (More details are found in: Jan Schmidt, 'The Importance of the Süsseim Papers for Modern Turkish History'. in *Proceedings of the 2nd International Meeting on Modern Ottoman Studies and the Turkish Republic*, Leiden 1989, 107-118.)

II. Scholarly Works and Journalism

1902

Preussische Annexionsbestrebungen in Franken 1791-1797, ein Beitrag zur Biographie Hardenbergs. Inaugural dissertation, Friedrichs-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin.

Preussens Politik in Ansbach-Bayreuth 1791-1806, 430 p. (*Historische Studien veröffentlicht von E. Ebering, Heft xxxiii*), Berlin 1902, reprint Vaduz 1965.

¹ A full evaluation of Karl Süsseim's impact on scholarship remains to be written. Some specific aspects of his research are treated in B. Flemming, *Der Islam*. Several items could not be checked *de visu*.

² The manuscripts collected by Süsseim and at present in the Berlin *Staatsbibliothek* are described by Barbara Flemming and Hanna Sohrweide in *VOHD* XIII, 1 (1968) and XIII, 3 (1974).

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INDEX

- Aachen 203, 233
 Abaloğlu, see Yunus Nadi
 Abbas Halim Pasha 125
 Abbas II Hilmi Pasha, Khedive 126, 147, 148
 ABC (periodical) 234
 Abdülaziz, Sultan 13, 14, 158
 Abdülhakk Hamid (Tarhan) 25
 Abdülhamid II, Sultan 6-8, 11, 14, 24, 25, 30, 58, 111, 139, 164, 167, 267, 269, 270
 Abdülhamid Sabit 237
 Abdülkadir, Cezzarlı 44
 Abdullah Cevdet, see Cevdet
 Abdullâh b. Husayn, Emir 163
 Abdullah Khan 46
 Abdullah Zühdi Bey 163, 164
 Abdulmajid Efendi 21, 24
 Abdülmecid II, Caliph 264
 Abdulmun'im, Prince Mehmed 132
 Abdurrahim İbrahim 158
 Abdurrahman Efendi (Istanbul bookseller) 43
 Abdurrahman Remzi Efendi, Hacı 130
 Abdurrahman Şeref 26, 38-42, 52, 59
 Abelmann, Marie 173
 Abulhasan Bey 37, 70, 71
Abwehr 106
 Acre 6n
 Action Society, see *Hareket Cemiyeti*
 Adalbertstrasse (Munich) 238
 Adana 155
 Adelheidstrasse (Munich) 31
 Aden 55
 Adil, Prince, 126
 Adil Bey 38, 41
 Adıvar, see Halide Edib
 Adlerstein, Dr. 87
 Adlerstein, Louise 175
 Adolf von Schaumburg-Lippe,
 Afghanistan 130, 225, 238
 Africa 157
 Afyon Karahisar 12
 Afzaluddin Bey 39, 40, 59, 156
 Ağaoğlu, Ahmed 163
 Agathon Bey 125
 Ahmad Tahir 133
 Ahmed Bey 48
 Ahmed Bey, Haydarzade 44
 Ahmed Cevad (Emre) 265, 266
 Ahmed Cevdet, see Cevdet
 Ahmed Emin (Yalman) 163, 164
 Ahmed Es'ad Efendi (*imam*) 22, 23
 Ahmed Fuad, Dr. 132, 237, 238
 Ahmed Hilmi, Hocazade 55
 Ahmed İhsan (Tökgöz) 35
 Ahmed İzzet Pasha 156
 Ahmed Midhat 39
 Ahmed Refik 59
 Ahmed Rifat 167
 Ahmed Rıza 48
 Ahmed Sayib 51, 72, 154
 Ahmed Tevhid 39, 51, 55, 156
 Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, see Yusuf Akçura
 Akgöl, see Eyüb Sabri
Akhbar ad-dawlat as-Saljuqiya 9, 12, 19, 26, 27, 30, 37, 267, 278
 Akil Muhtar Bey, Dr. 161
 Albania(n) 1, 6, 46, 56, 57, 73, 129, 130, 131, 134, 159, 299
 Alberts, Otto 39
 Aleppo 140, 225
 Alfons, Prince 230, 245
 Ala'uddin, Sultan, Mosque of (Konya) 12
 Ali (of Gallipoli), Mustafa 227
 Ali (Ottoman student) 120
 Ali b. Nasir al-Husayni 9n
 Ali Bey Efendi 119
 Ali Haydar Bey 56
 Ali Mail Bey 58
 Ali Nihad Efendi 125
 Ali Nuri Bey 124, 125
 Ali Rıza 154
 Ali Salih, see Tal'at Bey/ Pasha
 Alp Arslan (Seljuk) 34
Alpenverein 69, 76, 77, 151
 Alps 103
 Alsace 261
Alte Pinakothek (Munich) 241
 Amasya 48, 51
 America(n) (see also United States) 109, 239
 Amman 263
 Anafarta 127
 Anatolia(n) 7, 12, 13, 24, 55, 57, 139, 146, 151, 152, 156, 226
 Anatolian Railway 57, 232
 Andalusia 122, 230
 Anglo-Iranian Society 24
 Anhalter Bahnhof (Berlin) 82
 Anhegger, Robert 299
 Ankara 57, 258, 262, 286, 288, 290
 Ansbach 289, 290
 Ansbacherstrasse (Munich) 61, 89, 196
Anschluss (1938) 273
 Antalya 25
 Anti-Semitism (-tic) 5, 100, 101, 188, 192, 200-3, 206, 222, 241, 250, 252, 262, 271
 Anwari 35
 'Apollo' (club) 85
 Aqsarayı, Karimuddin 14, 39, 43, 45, 146, 209
 Arab(s) 1, 51, 113, 120, 122, 129, 131, 140, 166, 224, 230, 237, 240, 263, 264
 Arabgir (Arapkir) 7, 58, 74

- Arabia(n Peninsula) 151, 238
 Arabic 1, 2, 5, 6, 14, 23, 29, 30, 34, 51, 54, 63-5, 93, 105, 115, 131, 135, 136, 138, 139, 142, 146, 147, 151, 221, 222, 224, 225, 238, 240, 247, 249, 252, 253, 262
 Arafat 119
Arbeitsfront 285
 Archeological Museum (Istanbul), see *Müze-i hümayun*
 Archives, see Bavarian/ Ottoman/ Venetian Archives
 Arco-Valley, Graf Anton von 189, 198
 Arif, Mehmed 39-41, 52, 53, 56, 72, 156, 294
 Arif Bey's (coffee house, Istanbul) 38, 237
 Arif Cemil 118
Arisierungsstelle 289, 290
 Armenian(s) 1, 21, 49, 50, 68, 74, 131, 136, 137, 146, 235, 264, 296
 Armenian (language) 93, 226, 233
 Arnold (military commander) 184
 Arnulfstrasse (Munich) 272
 Arosa 118
 Asadullah Khan, Fazlullah b. 225, 233, 236
 Aşar Bey/ Efendi (İbrahim ibn) 65, 74, 165
 Aşık Pasha 163
 Aşık Pashazade 16
 Asım, Hocazade Mustafa 13, 14, 20, 25
 Asım (Yazıksız), Necib 14, 38
 Assistants' School, see *Mekteb-i nüvvab*
 Association for the Defense of the Nation, see *Müdafaa-i millet cemiyeti*
 Association of Muslim Tradesmen 116
 Association of Philatelists, Bavarian 200
 Association of University Teachers (Munich University) 66, 143, 192, 220, 230
 Ata Bey, see Mehmed Ata
 Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal 263, 264, 288
Ateşten gömlek (by Halide Edib) 239
 Atlantic Ocean,
 Auer, Erhard 184
 'Augustiner', Restaurant (Munich) 107
 Augsburg 77, 171, 194, 205, 279
 Australia 293
 Austria(n) 91, 130, 133, 215, 255, 266, 267, 269, 270, 272, 273, 280, 281
 Austrian Embassy (Istanbul) 42
 Avalov-Bermond, Prince,
 Avar 16
A Világ (periodical) 133
 Avnuddin, Monlazade 121
 Aya Sofya (Hagia Sophia) 161
 Aya Sofya (Hagia Sophia) Library 14, 17, 39, 43
 Aya Stefano (Yeşilköy) 118
 Aziz İzzet Pasha 125, 147
 Aziz Shawkat 240
 Azkul, Karim 265
 Azpeitua, Antonia 234
Bab-i âli Street (Istanbul) 46
 Babinger, Franz 65, 68, 110, 136-9, 221, 226-8
 Babylonian myths 34
 Bach, Centa 86, 172, 174
 Bach, Erich 174
 Bach, Isidor 205
 Bach, Siegfried 149, 150
 Bachmann, Hedwig 87
 Bachmann, Max 241
 Bachrach, Mr. 95
 Baerwald, Leo 171, 198, 202, 203, 240, 271, 278, 295
 Baerwald, Mrs. 198, 240
 Baghdad 26, 48, 52, 114, 146, 153, 236, 240, 263, 268
 Baghdad Railway 24, 114, 131, 140, 232
 Bahai (religion)/ Bahaism 24, 233, 234n, 238
 Bahçesaray 47
 Bahnhofplatz (Munich) 197
Bahriye tayyareci mektebi 118
 Balkan Express 114, 115
Balkan gazetesi (periodical) 121
 Balkan Institute (Munich) 141, 142, 220
 Balkans 124, 298, 299
 Baltic Army 215
 Bamberg 37, 175, 176, 192, 207
 Bambignan 269
Banca Svizzera-Italiana 210, 211, 213
 Bandermann (marriage broker) 80, 82
 Bär (family) 87
 Bär, Julius 283
 Barberina Library (Rome) 228
 Barbier de Maynard, Charles Adrien Casimir 45, 63
 Bardakçı, Cemal 288
 Barger, Mr. 42
 Baron, Mr. 233
 Barton, Edward 59
 Barudi, Dr. 131
 Basch, Mr. 96
 Basel 130
 Basra 22, 57
 Batum 48
 Bauer (family) 84
 Bauer, Alfred 148, 213
 Bauer, Augusta 170
 Bauer, Miss 170
Bauernbund (Bavarian) 191
 Baumker (philosopher) 221
 Bavaria(n) 4, 86, 95, 96, 100, 102, 117, 123, 134, 167, 185, 186, 195-200, 202, 204, 205, 207-9, 231, 232, 243, 247, 258, 268, 271, 274, 281
 Bavaria Statue (Munich) 143
 Bavarian Academy of Science 9, 25, 26, 29, 33, 38, 43, 67, 68, 144, 225

- Bavarian Army Corps, First 104, 106, 109, 133
 Bavarian government 88, 103, 159, 161, 187, 191, 208, 222
 Bavarian People's Republic 185, 189, 192, 198, 209
 Bavarian royal house.
 Bavarian State Archives 87, 231
 Bavarian State Bank (see also Royal Bavarian Bank) 209, 277
 Bavarian State Library (see also Royal Library) 194, 229, 256, 265, 278
 Bayer, Gottlieb Theophil Siegfried 65
Bayerische Volkspartei (BVP) 188
 Bayerischer Hof, Hotel (Munich) 36, 38, 85, 113, 125, 127, 147, 155, 158, 160, 164, 170, 241, 243
 Bayerstrasse (Munich) 104, 106, 108, 114, 115, 134, 183
 Bayezid Library (Istanbul) 20
 Bayezid Mosque (Istanbul) 55
 Bayreutherstrasse (Nuremberg) 37
 Bebek (Istanbul) 147
 Beck, Colonel 208
 Beck, Sebastian 168
 Becker, Dr.,
 Becker, Prof. 173
 Becker, Miss 86
 Bedirhan (family) 238
 Bedri Tahir 167
 Bedrüdün, Mahmud 226
 Beersheva, see Bi'r as-Sa'b
 Behcet Vehbi 132
 Behiye, Princess 125, 127
 Behne, Mr. 140, 141
 Beirut 48, 140, 155, 166, 239, 268, 269
 Bekir Aga, 'Çerkes' 12
 Bekir Sidki (Yoldaş) 130, 131, 225
 Belgium (-ian) 22, 46, 71, 108, 203, 261
 Benda, Georg (company/ factory) 88, 217, 272, 273
 Beneš, Eduard 256
 Berchem, Count 111-4
 Berg am Laim 298
 Bergmann, Prof. 67
 Bergstraesser, Gotthelf 110
 Berlin 5, 15, 27, 33, 35, 45, 65, 73-5, 77, 80, 82, 83, 97, 105, 106, 114-20, 123-6, 128, 130, 136, 138-40, 144, 147, 149, 153, 155, 158, 160-3, 167, 168, 173, 174, 196, 199, 200, 208, 223-5, 228, 229, 236, 237, 257, 263, 264, 276, 288, 294, 297
 Berlin, University of 5, 228
Berliner Tageblatt (periodical) 163
 Bern 131
 Bernett, Mr. 76
 Bernheimer (family) 283
 Bernstorff, Johann Heinrich Graf von 114
 Beşiktaş (Istanbul) 56, 125
 Besim 56
 Bethmann Hollweg, Theobald von (Chancellor) 98
 Beyoğlu (Istanbul) 42, 43, 49, 124, 136
 Bezold, Carl Christian Ernst 19
 Biarritz 170
 Bible 264
Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) 28, 31
 Bidar Kadınefendi 268, 269
 Bilecik 12
 Binns, Major 131
 Binz (?), Mr. 223, 224
 Bi'r as-Sa'b (Beersheva) 140, 151
 Bischof, Mr 209
 Bischof, Mrs. 204, 240
 Bismarck, Otto von 149
 Bissing, Friedrich-Wilhelm von 97, 114, 185, 190, 191
 Björkman, Walther 136
 Black Forest 241
 Black Sea Fleet 117
 Bled (Veldes) 82, 83, 89
 Blücher, Wipert von 139, 224
 Bodleian Library (Oxford) 30
 Bohemia 254, 257, 281, 283
 Böhm, Miss 228
 Bologna 79
 Bölükbaşı, see Rıza Tevfik
 Bonn, Moritz Julius 69
 Borscht, Wilhelm von 155
 Bosnia 11
 Bosphorus 299
 Braila 224
 Brauchitsch, Walther von 261
 Bregenz 256, 279
 Bremen 117
 Breslau 107, 115
 Brest Litovsk 174
 Brienner-Strasse (Munich) 209
 Brill (Leiden publishing firm) 12, 19, 145
 Britain, see Great Britain
British Museum (London) 19, 20, 24, 26, 31, 72
 British-Ottoman Treaty (of 1596) 59
 Brockelmann, Carl 227
 Brockmann (firm) 129
 Bronsart von Schellendorf, Friedrich 137
 Brückner, Mrs. 244
 Brughes 98
 Brüll, Miss 83
 Brunswick, Alfred 144
 Brussels 30, 71
 Buchanan, Ambassador 226
 Bucharest 224, 298
 Büchenbach 3, 37
 Buchner, Hans 163
 Budapest 131, 298

- Buenos Aires 285
 Bukhara 46
 Bulgaria(n) 38, 102, 115, 124, 128, 131, 236, 238, 240, 297, 298
 Burdur 155
 Burger, Mr. 95
Bürgerbräukeller (Munich) 201, 257, 259, 260, 293
 Burhanüddin el-Adli 52n, 54
 Bursa 12, 13, 46, 54, 130
 Bushir, Bandar 226
 Byzantine state 35
 Byzantium 35
- Cairo 7, 9, 11, 47, 120, 155, 269
 Çakmak, see Mustafa Fevzi
 Calais 198
 Cambridge 25
 Campbell, Mr. 21
 Çanakkale 11
 capitulations, abrogation of 144
 Cardiff 293
 Carinthia 79
 'Casino' (Jewish club, Fürth) 19
 Castell 101
 Çatalca 73
 Catholic (Centre) Party (Bavarian) 87, 142
 Caucasus 15, 96, 122, 134, 145, 159, 165, 167, 197, 224
 Cavell, Edith 109
 Cavid Bey 128
 Cavid, Mehmed 111
 Caxton Hall (London) 21
 Celadet Bey 238
 Celal (Ottoman student) 74
 Celal Bey 238
 Cemal Pasha, Ahmed 122, 140, 166
 Cemil Tusun Pasha, Prince 132
 Çengelköy 56
 Censor(ship), see *Postüberwachung*
 Central Coffee House, see *Merkez kiraathanesi*
 Central Council (Bavarian), see *Zentralrat*
 Central Powers 97, 110, 115, 133, 152, 231
Centralverein Deutscher Staatsbürger Jüdischen Glaubens 200, 203
Ceride-i havadis (periodical) 72, 152
 Cerrahpaşa Hospital 155
 Ceşnegir Mosque Library (Manisa) 12
 Cevad Bey 286, 291
 Cevad Pasha 139
 Cevdet, Abdullah 1, 7, 8, 15, 20, 45-8, 55, 56, 58, 154, 234, 238, 262, 267
 Cevdet, Ahmed (journalist) 14, 23, 48, 53, 164, 238, 286
 Cevdet, Fatma 262
 Cevdet, Gül (Karlıdağ-) 262
- Cevdet, Mehmed 262
 Cevdet, Osman 118
 Cevdet Pasha, Ahmed (historian) 72
 Chamberlain, Neville 256
 Charing Cross Station (London) 25, 26
 Charles IV, Emperor 215
 Charleville 123
 Charlottenburg (Berlin) 77
 Chester, Colby Mitchell 57
 Chiemsee 158, 159
 Chicago 289
 China (-nese) 109, 146, 225
Cihan (Istanbul publishing house) 12, 43, 72, 137, 152
 Cihangir (Istanbul) 40
 Cimcoz, Salahuddin 155, 156, 158, 159
 Circassian 15, 155, 159
 Claar (family) 84
 Claar, Maximilian 77, 97, 98, 287
 Claar, Mrs. 170
 Clemenceau, George Eugène Benjamin 28
 Cohen, Mr. 169
 Cohn (?) 83
 Cohn (?), Helen 83
 Cohn, Miss 156
 Cologne 216
Committee of Experts for Academic and Kindred Refugees from Germany 295
 Committee for Ottoman History, see *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni*
 Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), see *İttihad ve Terrakki Cemiyeti*
 Communism (-st(s)) 131, 192-7, 207, 219, 237, 282, 283
 'Concordia' (club) ('New') 77, 78, 84, 171, 203, 240, 241
 Congress of Bavarian Councils (1919) 193
Consolidated Eastern Corporation 269
 Constance, Lake of 256
 Constanza 16
 Corneliusbrücke (Munich) 196
Corpus Hamleticum (journal) 234
 Cossacks 139
 Council of State (Ottoman), see *Şura-yi devlet*
 Councils' Government (Bavarian, see also Workers' etc. Council(s)) 131, 192, 193, 195, 198
 Councils' Republic, see Bavarian People's Republic
 Cretan Crisis 6
 Crete (-tan) 9, 20, 21, 23, 28, 121, 165
 Crimea 47
 Crusaders 34
 Crusius, Otto 29, 30
 Crystal Night, see *Kristallnacht*
Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) 288
 Customs Intelligence Bureau, see

- Zollfahndungsstelle*
 Curtschmann (family) 84
 Curtschmann, Dr. 78
 Curzon, George Nathaniel 25
 Czechoslovakia(n) 254, 256, 257
- Dachau 30, 194
 Dachau Concentration Camp 2, 4, 247, 250, 271, 278-81, 283-5, 287, 296
 Daghestan 15, 16, 50, 237
Daire-i tanzimat 263
 Daladier, Edouard 256, 257
 Damascus 54, 57, 65, 74, 140, 264
 Danilof (railway official) 165
 Dannemann, Robert 286, 295-7
 Danube (-bian) 207, 281
 Danzig 292
 Dardanelles Campaign (see also Battle of Gallipoli) 131
Darü l-fünun, see Istanbul University
 Davos 118
 Dečín (Tetschen) 119
 Derenbourg, Hartwig 63
Deutsche Colonial Gesellschaft 116
Deutsche (Reichs)bank 18, 24, 35, 73, 232, 272
Deutsche Demokratische Partei (DDP) 198
Deutsche Volkspartei (DVP) 188
 Deutscher Kaiser, Hotel (Munich) 201
Deutscher Kampfbund 204
Deutsches Theater (Munich) 198
Deutsches Weissbuch 108
Deutsch-nationale Volkspartei (DNVP) 188, 200
Deutsch-Türkische Vereinigung 36n, 151
 Diamand, see Elmas
 Dienerstrasse (Munich) 205
 Diet, Bavarian, see *Landtag*
 Dietersburg 249
Divan (Council of State) 41
Divan lughat at-Turk 51, 54, 56, 229, 230, 233
 Divan Road (Istanbul) 38, 130
 Divanyolu, see Divan Road
 Diyarbakır 53, 54
Diyarbakır (coffee house, Istanbul) 51, 53, 130
 Doljevac 124
 Dolmabahçe Palace (Istanbul) 56
 Donle, Ludwig 157, 159, 160, 162, 163
 Dorn, Prof. 149, 150
 Dortmund 200
 Douai 99
 Dresden 115, 117, 123, 124, 130
 Drey, Alice 78, 84, 169, 170
 Drey, Franz 169
 Drey, Luise 170, 244, 296
 Drey, Maria 4, 88
 Drey, Paul 189
 Drey, Siegfried 169
 Drey, Therese 169, 170
 Drygalski, Erich von 229
 Dub, Hilda 82, 83
 Dub, Mrs. 82, 83
Duma 15, 237
 Duraç, see Durrës (Durazzo)
 Durrës 130
 Düsseldorf 240
Düyün-i umumiye 49
 Dyroff, Karl 68, 231, 238
- Ebert, Friedrich 204
 Ebüzziya Tevfik 13, 25
 Edeldorf-Zegern 87
 Edhem Bey 42
 Edhem Pasha, Grand Vizier 168
 Edhem Pasha, Field Marshal 12
 Edhem Ruhi Bey 121
 Edirne 25, 39, 56, 227
 Egelfing 90
 Egelhofer, Rudolf 195, 196
 Egern 99
 Egypt(ian) 8, 11, 16, 22, 24, 52, 96, 113, 115, 125, 127, 129, 131-3, 140, 147, 148, 157, 166, 237, 264
L'Egypte (periodical) 133
 Egyptian Campaign 112
 Ehrentreu, Jona Ernst 99, 100, 251, 278, 289
Einwohnerwehr 199
 Eisner, Kurt 183, 184, 186-90, 198
 Elâzığ (Mamuretü l-aziz) 48, 55
 Elizabeth I, Queen 59
 Elmas, Ali 149
 Elser, Georg 260
 Emine, Princess 125, 126
 Emiri Efendi, Ali 52-6, 137, 156, 238
Emniyet-i umumiye 237
 Emre, see Ahmed Cevad
 Emrullah Efendi 13, 47, 52
Encyclopaedia of Islam 1, 37, 61, 69, 145, 267, 290, 293, 299
 Endres, Franz 36, 67, 141
 Engelhardt, Georg 89
 England (see also Great Britain) 21, 30, 31, 42, 57, 85, 108, 126, 148, 149, 289
Englischer Garten (Munich) 175
 Entente (Powers) 102, 107-9, 111, 115, 131, 139, 140, 185, 186, 198, 201, 224
 Enver Hamdi Bey 162, 166
 Enver Pasha 122, 130, 137, 139, 156, 158, 159, 161
 Eppstein, Mr. 96
 Erdem, see Halil Edhem
 Erlangen 4, 29, 32, 38, 67, 200, 203, 290
 Erlangen, University of 5, 153, 230
 Erlanger, Theodor 170

- Erzberger, Matthias 201, 202
 Es'ad Efendi Library (Istanbul) 20
 Es'ad Fuad Bey, Fuad Pashazade 160
 Eskişehir 12
 Eşref, Şair 11, 49
 Evliya Çelebi 63, 221
 Eyüb Sabri (Akgöi) 57
- Falkenhayn, Erich von 98, 224, 225
 Farich (café, Munich) 91
 Faridi, Dr. 131, 132
 Fascist Party, Italian 255
 Fatih Library (Istanbul) 43
 Fatih Mosque (Istanbul) 22
 Fatimid dynasty 54
 Faysal b. Husayn, King 263
Fedakaran-i millet 13
 Feldmann, Dr. 163, 164
 Feldmayer, Dr. 67
 Felsenstein, Lieutenant 105
 Feminist Movement 174
 Ferdinand, King 124
 Ferid Pasha, Damad 127, 239
 Ferid Pasha, Mehmed 42
 Feridun Nafiz, see Uzluk
 Filibe, see Plovdiv
 First Royal Infantry Regiment (Bavarian) 5
 Fisch, Marie 49
 Fischer, Major 131, 132
 Flanders 95
 Fleischer, H.L. 68
 Florence 79
 Flügel, Gustav 146
 Flushing (Vlissingen) 19, 30
 Forchheim 4, 88, 275
 Fossati brothers 232
 Fraenkel, Erna 84, 86
 France 42, 107, 138, 258, 287, 291
 Franconia(n) 3, 5, 88, 141, 144, 203, 290
 Frank, Carl 144
 Frank, Lazarus 246
 Frank, Ludwig 296
 Frank, Miss 172
 Frank, Prof. 244
 Frank, Sidonie (Süssheim-) 245
 Frank-Hauser, Franziska ('Fanny') 246
 Frankenburger, Dr. 177, 285
 Frankenburger, Leonhardt 285
 Frankenburger, Zora 285
 Frankenthal, Karl 88
 Frankfurt 19, 115, 173
 Frankfurt National Assembly 3
Frankfurter Zeitung (periodical) 69, 75, 138, 145
Fränkische Kurier (periodical) 68, 150
 Fränkl, Mr. 281
 Franz Ferdinand, Archduke (Habsburg) 91
- Frauenfelder, Dr. 169
 Freedom and Accord Party, see *Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası*
 Freiburg 241
 Freiburg University 131
 French schools (in the Ottoman Empire).
 Freudenthal, Dr. 75, 101, 149, 171
 Freund, Kajetan 163
 Friedensengel (Munich) 255, 257
 Friedländer, Mr. (marriage broker) 77, 80
 Friedrich August III, King 124
 Friedrichshafen 212
 Fritsch, Mr. 219
 Fuad Ibrahim Bey 123
 Fuad Sa'd 239
 Fuad Selim Bey 131-3
 Fuchs, Mr. 90
Führer, see Hitler
 Fürth 3, 19, 74, 76, 88, 93, 172, 175, 216, 247
- Galicia(n) 134, 139, 231
 Gallipoli 124, 149
 Gallipoli, Battle of 117
 Gamble Pasha, D.A. 23
 Ganz Company 117
 Garmisch 147, 167, 174
 Gaza 270
 Gedik Pasha 46
Geheime Staatspolizei, see *Gestapo*
 Gehl, Otto 152
 General Staff (German) 98
 Geneva 8, 58, 73, 124, 126, 131-3, 147, 295
 Genoa 296
 Georgian 51
 Gerede, Hüsvrev 297
 German Democratic Party, see *Deutsche Demokratische Partei*
 German Embassy (Istanbul) 40, 41, 110, 132, 141, 147, 164
 German Hospital (Istanbul) 20, 49, 299
 German Museum (Munich) 160, 173
 German Post Office (Istanbul) 70
 German Reich, see Germany
 German School (Aleppo) 55
 German schools (in the Ottoman Empire) 36
 German-Ottoman Alliance 106
 German-Turkish Association 163
 Germany 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 12, 17, 19, 27, 30, 32, 36, 38, 42, 43, 56, 60, 66, 95, 96, 99, 100, 106, 108, 109, 114-6, 118, 121, 122, 124, 125, 133, 134, 136, 138, 148, 151, 152, 157, 162, 164, 165, 170, 185, 195, 197, 199, 202, 204, 215, 222, 224, 225, 232, 234, 235, 239, 256-8, 261, 262, 264, 272, 274, 276, 277, 279, 281, 283, 287, 288, 293, 295, 297, 299
 Gerst, Mrs. 87

- Gessler, Otto 208
Gestapo 279, 283, 286, 289, 292
 al-Ghazali, Abu Hamid b. Muhammad 265
 Ghent 71
 Gibraltar 149
 Giese, Friedrich Wilhelm Karl 46, 47, 141, 150
 Gilan 44
 Glaser, Eduard 31, 32, 55, 68
 Goebbels, Paul Joseph 292
 Goeritz, Suse 173, 174
 Goethestrasse (Munich) 196
 Goetz (Vice-Chancellor) 206
 Goldberg, Heinrich 233
 Goldschmidt, Ernst 86, 172
 Golgota di Lestar, Olga 79, 80
Golos Rossij (periodical) 237
 Goltz (Pasha), Colmar von der 40, 73, 225
 Gördes 130
 Göring, Hermann Wilhelm 256-8, 290
 Gospel 100
 Gostendorfer Hauptstrasse (Nuremberg) 3
 Grathwohl (firm) 128
 Gratzl, Emil 141, 227
 Grauwert, Hermann von 34
 Graz 255
 Greasley (?), Captain 131, 132
 Great Britain 95, 98, 132, 145, 258, 289
 Greece (-ek(s)) 12, 20, 21, 23, 34, 49, 112, 121, 122, 166, 298
 Greek (language) 93, 131
 Griffith, Mrs. 19
 Grothe, Hugo 18, 36
 Gruber, Maximilian Franz von 143
 Grünberg, Mr. 50
 Grünewald, Jacob 209-14
 Gülhane 7
 Guntebayov, Mustafa 233
 Günther, Prof. 141, 142
 Gunz (?), Dr. 150
 Günzberg, Sami 269, 270
 Günzburg 100
 Gunzenhäuser, Miss 173
 Gutmann (family) 244
 Gutmann, Ilse 230, 244, 296
 Gutmann, Martin 95n
 Gutmann, Mrs. 243, 244, 296
- Habibullah Isfahani 70
 Haci Eyüb Library (Manisa) 12
 Hadide 155
 Hafız 63, 221, 225
 Hafız İsmail 238
 Hagia Sophia, see Aya Sofya
 Hahn, Willy 90
 Haidhausen (Munich) 253, 256
 Hakkı Adil Bey 153
 Hakkı Pasha, Ibrahim 73, 120, 145, 153, 166
 Hakkı Tevfik, Galancızade 35-7, 73, 82
 Halid, Galancızade 73
 Halide Edib (Adivar) 239
 Halil Bey 126
 Halil Edhem (Erdem) 14, 38-40, 45, 137, 154
 Halil Halid 25
 Halil Rifat Pasha 167
 Halle 227
 Hailstadt 243
 Hama 57
 Hamburg 80, 117, 239
 Hamburger, Mr. 87
 Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph von 40, 163
 Hanauer, Dr. 148
Handelshochschule (Nuremberg) 148
 Haniye, see Khania
 Hanover 117
Harbiye (Military Academy, Istanbul) 46
Hareket Cemiyeti 57
Hareket Ordusu 23
 Harlaching 283
 Haraccioglu Library (Bursa) 12
 Harrassowitz (publishing house) 35, 71, 160, 286
 Hartmann, Martin 46, 69, 151
 Hasan Akifzade 128
 Hasan Balghrami, Sayyid 21
 Hasan Bedrüddin 116
 Hasan Behzad 71
 Hasan Bey 236
 Hasan Efendi 167
 Hasan Fehmi 19, 128
 Hasan Midhat 130
 Hasan Pasha 96
 Hasan Tusun, Prince 132
 Hasan Veli Şefik 128
 Haşim Bey, Seyyid 155-8
Haus der Deutschen Kunst (Munich) 253
 Haushofer, Karl Ernst 66, 272
 Havana 63
 Hawran 57
 Hayek Efendi 41, 42, 137
 Hayil Bey 161
 Hayri, Ahmed 119
 Hayri Bey, see Mustafa Hayri
 Hebrew (language) 88, 265
 Heidelberg 19, 197
 Heidner (family) 90, 178, 179
 Heigel, Karl August von 67
 Heigel, Karl Theodor von 5, 6, 18, 26, 28, 29, 32, 33, 38, 43, 67, 68, 144
 Heilbronner, Mr. 170
 Heilbronner, Yvotte 170
 Heim, Paul 213
 Heisenberg, August H. von 34, 35
 Heibing, Café (Munich) 240
 Hell, Joseph 17, 28, 29, 32, 68, 230

- Hellenistic Society (Paris) 28
 Hengstenberg, Graf 65
 Heraklion (Kandiye) 121
 Herrenchiemsee 158
 Hertling, Georg Friedrich von 87
 Herzogenaurach 88
 Herzog-Rudolf-Strasse (Munich) 251, 278, 296
 Herzog-Max-Strasse (Munich) 171, 274
 Hess, Dr. Christian 207
 Hess, Prof. 76, 149
 Hess, Rudolf 257, 259, 269
 Hesse, Hermann 85
 Hesselberger, Mr. 76
 Hijaz 263
Hilal (periodical) 141, 153, 234
 Hildegardstrasse (Munich) 205
 Hiltenspergerstrasse (Munich) 31, 61, 90, 178, 196
 Himmet, Dr. 129
 Himmeler, Heinrich 271
 Himyaritic 68
 Hindenburg, Paul von 101, 190, 231
 Hirsch, Dr. 215, 216
 Hirsch, Lina (marriage broker) 82, 169
 Hirschberg, Anton von 155
 Hirschberg (or Hirschfeld). Mr. 83
 Hirschhof, Mr. 219
 Hitler, Adolf 202-5, 208, 209, 253, 255-7, 259-61, 269, 274, 275
 Hitler Putsch (1923) 204, 207, 208, 259
al-Hizb al-Watani 131, 133
 Höchststadt 88
Hofbibliothek, see Imperial and Royal Library
Hofbräukeller (Munich) 195
 Hoffmann, Johannes 191, 194-7, 199, 207
 Hofgarten (Munich) 195
 Hohenkammern, Castle 167
 Hohenzollern, Eitel Friedrich von, Prince 123
 Hohenzollern, Viktoria von 147
 Hohenzollernstrasse (Munich) 196
 Holland, see Netherlands
 Holz, Karl 289
 Hommel, Fritz 18, 27-35, 38, 65, 67, 141-3, 145, 222, 226, 228-30, 240
 Horemannstrasse (Munich) 246, 249
 Horty, Miklós 215
 Hösl, Ignaz 95, 104-7, 129, 133, 134, 136, 138, 155
 Houtsma, Martinus Theodorus 70
 Hristiyan, Dr. 68, 135, 146
 Huart, Clément Imbault 63
 Hüdei 127
Hukuk mektebi (Law School, Istanbul) 51
Hukuk-i umumiye (periodical) 13, 14
 Hülusi Bey 46
 Hungary (-rian) 60, 118, 146, 194, 240, 297, 298
 Hungarian Academy of Science 43
 Hünkâr Mosque (Khania) 121, 122
 Huns 146
 Huriye Hanım (Mrs. Lutfi) 236
Hürriyet ve Itilaf Fırkası 48, 57, 155
 Husamuddin Efendi, see Hüseyin Husamuddin
 Husayn, Sharif (Emir) 263
 Husayn Kamil Pasha, Sultan 127
 Hüseyin Cahid (Yalçın) 35, 57, 155-60
 Hüseyin Çelebi *medrese* Library (Bursa) 12
 Hüseyin Daniş Han (Pedram) 20, 58, 59, 291n
 Hüseyin Efendi (of Arabgir) 55
 Hüseyin Efendi, Debrelî ('Arnavud') 6, 22, 23
 Hüseyin Husamuddin (Yaşar) 51, 56
 Hüsnî Bey 123
 Ibn al-Arabi, Muhyiddin 221, 222, 240
 Ibn Bibi 17, 43, 146
 Ibn Furat 31
 Ibn an-Nizam 6
 Ibn Rashid 238
 İbrahim Bey 121
 İbrahim Efendi, Hacı 44
 İbrahim Hakkı Pasha, see Hakkı Pasha
 İbrahim Hilmi Efendi (bookseller) 137, 152
 İbrahim, Sultan 121
 İbrahim Temo, see Temo
İctihad (periodical) 8, 47, 55n, 58n, 234n
 İhsan Bey (test-pilot) 118
 İhsan Bey (undersecretary, Ministry of Education, Ankara) 291
İkbal (Istanbul publishing house) 152
İkdam (periodical) 14, 24, 53, 163n, 164, 238
 İlhami Bey, Muzhır Pashazade 167
 İlyas Efendi (Istanbul bookseller) 11
 Imhoff Pasha, General 66, 73
 Imperial Hotel, Holborn (London) 31
 Imperial and Royal Library (Vienna) 16, 31, 33
 Independent Socialists, see *Unabhängig-Sozialistische Partei Deutschlands*
 India(n) 19, 21, 24, 34, 35, 109, 120, 126
 Indies, Dutch 281
 Industrial School, see *Mekteb-i sanayi*
 Ingolstadt 191
 Innere-Wiener-Strasse (Munich) 253
Insel Club 78, 84, 91, 95, 96, 98, 110, 156, 169, 179, 189, 207, 233, 241, 244
 Intelligence, Military (in Germany), see *Abwehr*
 İpekçi, Bedi 116, 117
 İpekçi, Osman 116
 Iran(ian), see Persia(n)
Iran-i now (periodical) 46
 Iraq 57, 124, 126, 140, 225
 Isar, River 201, 205, 242, 250
 Ischl 243
 Ischmann, Mr. 74, 87, 148

- Isfahan 226
 İshak Sükuti, see Sükuti
 İskender Pasha 73
 İskenderun (Alexandrette) 165
 Iskodra 155
 İslam 39
İslam Ansiklopedisi 299
 Islamic history 221, 227
 Islamic philosophy 266
 Islamic sciences 227
 Islamic studies 6
 İsmail Bey/ Pasha 16
 İsmail Bey Gasprinski 46, 47, 50
 İsmail Hakkı Bey (diplomat) 137, 168
 İsmail Hakkı Bey (painter) 128
 İsmail Hakkı Bey (politician) 58
 İsmail Hakkı Pasha (brigadier) 137
 İsmail Hakkı (Pasha), 'Haftız' 16, 20
 İsmail Hakkı Pasha, 'Mumcu' 48
 İsmail Kâmil 133
 İsmail Pasha (Khedive) 96
 İsmail Saib (Sencer) 52
 Israelite, see Jewish
 Israelite Youth Alliance 84
İsraëlitische Kultusgemeinde, see Jewish Community
 Istanbul 6-9, 11, 14-7, 19, 22, 23, 29-31, 35-8, 42, 43, 45, 46, 49, 50, 52, 55, 57, 59, 60, 61, 64, 65, 68, 70, 93, 104, 110-5, 117, 118, 123, 124, 127, 128, 131, 136-9, 147, 150, 152, 154, 155, 160-2, 164, 165, 167, 168, 224-6, 232-9, 245, 251, 264, 266, 269, 295, 297, 298
İstanbul havadisı (periodical) 51
 Istanbul University 47, 58, 110, 138, 141, 155, 164, 267, 286, 293, 294, 299
 Istern, Dr. 76
İstikbal (periodical) 121
 Italian-Turkish (/Ottoman) War 48, 50
 Italy (-lian) 31, 58, 79, 90, 93, 97, 115, 163, 197, 232, 296-8
İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti 6, 15, 48, 51, 56, 111, 113, 127, 153, 155, 234, 263
İttihad-i Osmani Cemiyeti 7
 'Iwad al-Bahrawi 133
 İzmir 11-3, 49, 130, 140, 155, 164, 225, 226
 Izmit 35, 39

 Jaekch, Ernst 36, 98
 Jahreiss, Major I.G. 190
 Jacob, Dr. 200, 201
 Jacob, Georg 18, 25, 27, 32, 33, 53, 231, 266
 Jacobi, Hugo 213, 214
 'Jacobis' (Jewish club) 19
 Jaffa 99, 166
 Jalaluddin Rumi 12, 234, 267

 Jak Efendi (Samanon?) 6, 58
 Jami (Jāmī) 238
 Japan 225
 Jaurès, Jean Léon 28
 Jena, University of 5
 Jerusalem 74, 140, 151, 166, 270
 Jew (-wish/-wry) 1-3, 5, 19, 31, 49-51, 74, 75, 78, 79, 86, 87, 99, 100, 138, 149, 166, 171, 175, 185, 186, 195, 197, 200, 201, 203, 207, 214, 232, 237, 240, 246, 247, 249-51, 260, 264, 265, 266, 270-5, 277, 278, 280-2, 284, 288, 289, 291-3, 295, 296-8
 Jewish Agricultural School (Wertingen) 279
 Jewish Cemetery (Ortaköy) 299
 Jewish Children's Home (Paris) 287
 Jewish Community 138, 187, 279
 Jewish Community (Fürth) 87
 Jewish Community (*İsraëlitische Kultusgemeinde*, Munich) 86, 171, 222, 274-6, 278, 283, 284, 289, 292, 295, 296, 298
 Jewish Community (Nuremberg) 27, 88
 Jewish Community, Liberal 4, 27
 Jewish Community, Orthodox (*Ohel Jakob*, Munich) 100, 278
 Jewish Hospital (Fürth) 293
 Jewish Lycée (Jaffa) 166
 Jewish School (*Volksschule*, Munich) 276, 278, 295
 Jewish studies 222
 Jewish Women's Association, see *Jüdische Frauenbund*
 Jordan, Leo Hermann 245
 Jordan, Mrs. 245
 Josephsohn, Mr. 169
Jüdische Frauenbund 186
Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt (periodical, Munich) 279

 Kahr, Gustav von 199, 204, 207-9
 Kâmil Pasha, Kıbrıslı Mehmed 60
 Kamphoener (Pasha), Louis 73
Kanaat (Istanbul publishing house) 12, 152
 Kandiyé, see Heraklion
 Kangırı 155
Kantar (periodical) 11
 Kapp, Wolfgang 199, 200
 Kapp Putsch (1920) 199, 200
 Kara Mustafa Station (Istanbul) 60
 Karabaçek, Joseph von 31
 Karácson, Imre 38, 41-3, 53
 Karaosman *medrese* (Manisa) 12
 Karbala 44
 Karlsplatz (Munch) 198, 199
 Karlsruhe 117, 124
 Karlstor (Munich) 219
 Kassel 117

- Kaşgari, Mahmud 51, 52, 54
 Kastamonu 28
 Kastel Mosque (Khania) 121
 Katzensteiner (student) 84
 Kaufmann, Miss 86
Kave (periodical) 167, 168
 Kâzım Emin Bey 156
 Kelekiyan Efendi 39
 Keliriyani 235
 Keller-Dessauer, Mr. 87
 Kellermann family 176
 Kemal Bey Vlora 130
 Kemal (Lutfi) 153, 236
 Kemmerich, Max Anton 36, 66, 151, 155-64,
 166, 231
 Kempten 176
 Khaliji Shamli Hasan 240
 Khania (Haniye) 121
 Kiel University 266
 Kiev pogroms 87
 Kirschbaum, Anna 5, 88, 217
 Kirschbaum, Edith 293
 Kirschbaum, Erna (Moschkowitz-) 5, 244, 287,
 293
 Kirschbaum, Eugen 4, 26, 27, 30, 37, 38, 75,
 78, 88, 89, 95, 101, 175, 176, 177, 209,
 216-20
 Kirschbaum, Karl Eugen 5, 219, 249, 253, 255,
 272, 273, 275, 277, 293
 Kirschbaum, Leopold 217
 Kirschbaum, Rudi 5, 216-8
 Kissingen, Bad 31, 80, 81, 153, 177
 Kitt, Theodor 143
 Klempfner, Mr. 281
 Klingelhöfer, Gustav 196
 'Klub 1912' 78
 Knilling, Eugen von 156, 204
 Knöbelstrasse (Munich) 205
 Kohn (?), Dr. 100
 Kohn, Helen 172
 Kohn, Mr. 279
 Kohn, Richard (banker, Nuremberg) 38, 287
 Koman, Mes'ud 262, 285, 287, 288, 290, 293,
 298
 Konya 12, 13, 286-8, 290
 König, *Oberführer* 258
 Königsberg 215, 216
 Köprülü Library (Istanbul) 44
 Koran 63, 119, 120, 121, 135, 146, 221, 238,
 264, 265
 Korkmaz(ov), Celalüddin 15, 16, 50, 51, 237
 Korolenko, Vladimir 15
 Koschmieder, Erwin 259
 Kosovo 134
 Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, Prof. von 154n
 Krämer, Jakob 295
 Kramers, J.H. 238
 Kraus, Rudolf 221
 Krazeisen, Karl Johann von 100
 Kress, Baron von 105, 190
 Kress von Kressenstein, Friedrich 140, 224, 231
 Kress von Kressenstein, Gustav 161, 162, 231,
 232
Kristallnacht (1938) 247, 267, 277, 278, 293
 Kronach 3, 4, 27, 87, 88, 177
 Kröpelin, Walter 252
 Krumbacher, Kari 18
 Küçük Said Pasha, see Mehmed Said
 Kühlmann, Hans 232
 Kühlmann, Otto von 232
 Kuhn, Ernst 18, 32-4, 65, 68, 138
 Kula 11
 Kulemann, von 155
 Kumük(s) 15, 51, 110
 Kumük (language) 16
Künstlerhaus (Munich) 67, 156, 163, 165
 Kurd Ali, Mehmed (Muhammad) 238, 264
 Kurd(ish) 1, 7, 74, 165
 Kurdish Revolt (of 1921) 238
 Kuruçeşme (Istanbul) 161
Kutadgu Bilig 39, 40, 233
 Kut al-Amara 112

 Labour Front, see *Arbeitsfront*
 Ladino (language) 93, 107, 115
 Lagnier, Gaston 132
 Landauer, Franz 78, 99
 Landauer, Isaac (marriage broker) 78, 80
Landauer Bank (Munich) 213, 214
 Landmann, Robert August von 100
Landtag, Bavarian 4, 88, 97, 105, 142, 188-92,
 214
 Lange, Miss 86
 Langley, Captain 131, 132
 Latvian 80
 Lausanne 125, 129, 131, 164
 Law School, see *Hukuk*
 Lazar Melaldi Bey 43, 44
 League of Nations 238
 Lebanese 265
 Lefji, Hüseyin Avni 263
 Lehmann, Miss 85
 Leiden 12, 238
 Leipzig 35, 68, 71, 86, 116, 117, 163, 199, 252
 Leipzig, von 137
 Leipziger, Colonel 137
 Leiser, Margot 83
 Leoni, Nelly 75
 Leopold, Prince 148, 231
 Lerchenfeld, Hugo von 230
 Lesser & Liemann (marriage brokers) 82, 84, 85
 Lessing, Kurt 88
 Lessing, Walter 289n

- Lessing-Löwensohn, Emmy 289
 Lessing-Löwensohn, Frieda 88n, 289
 Levi, Aaron (marriage broker) 80, 82, 86, 169
 Levi, Paul 203
 Levien, Max 193
 Leviné, Eugen 192, 193, 195-8
 Ley, Alice 172
 Libya(n) 58, 163
 'Licaria' (club) 77, 202, 240, 243
 Lichtenstätter, Siegfried 66, 75, 86
 Lichtenstätter family 35, 37
 Liman von Sanders, Otto 137, 139, 141, 224
 Lindau 212
 Lindl, Ernst 63, 68, 107, 142
 Lindwurmstrasse (Munich) 194, 278
 Linz 276
 Lippmann, Albert 214-6
 Lippmann, Alice 216
 Lippmann, Gustav 216
 Littmann, Enno 18
 Locarno 210, 214
 Loeb, Dr. 84
 Loebel, Theophil 50, 137
 Loewy, Mr. (Major) 96, 224
 Löffler, Karl 156
 'Loge' (*München-Loge*, Jewish association) 100
 'Lohengrin', Restaurant (Munich) 105, 166
 London 7, 9, 19, 21-3, 37, 56, 65, 72, 98, 239, 263, 286, 287, 289
 Lorraine 261
 Lösch, Dr. 177
 Lösch (?), Prof. 150
 Lossow, Otto von 161, 162, 205, 207-9, 231
 Louis XIV, King 158
 Löwenbräu Brewery (Munich) 160
Löwenbräukeller (Munich) 151
 Löwensohn, Sophie 4
 Loyalists of the Nation, see *Fedakaran-i millet*
 Lublin 296
 Ludendorff, Erich 204-9, 230, 240, 255
 Ludwig II, King of Bavaria 158, 159
 Ludwig III, King of Bavaria 66, 81, 91, 185, 187, 231
 Ludwig Ferdinand, Prince 245
 Ludwigsbrücke (Munich) 201
 Ludwigshafen 207
 Ludwigstrasse (Munich) 114, 194, 255
 Luis Ferdinand, Prince 230
 Luitpold, Café (Munich) 262, 263
 Luitpold, Imperial Brother-in-Law 123
 Luitpold, Prince Regent 91, 190
 Luitpold Gymnasium (Munich) 193, 195
 Luoz 124
 Lutfi Fikri, Ömer 5, 15, 48, 153, 167, 236
 Lutfi Paşa 53
 Lüttwitz, Walther von 199
 Luxemburg 261
 Luzac (publishers) 72
 Ma'arif Press 7
 Mahdi Khan, Mirza 23
 Mahmud Bey 45, 54
 Mahmud Celalüddin Pasha, Damad 13, 14n
 Mahmud Es'ad Efendi 58, 73
 Mahmud Khan, Mirza 59, 168
 Mahmud Sadik 163, 164
 Mahmud Şevket Pasha 22, 4
 Mahmud Shirani 21
 Mahmudiye 130
 Mail Censorship, Military (in Germany), see *Postüberwachung*
 Majority Socialists (*Mehrheitssozialisten*), see *Sozialistische Partei Deutschlands*
 Makriköy 47, 118, 128
 Malatya 238
 Mamuretü l-aziz, see Elâzig
 Manisa 12
 Mann, Oskar 27, 29, 72, 207
 Mannesmann Company 139
 Mansur, Shaykh 145
 Manz, Maria Berta 84, 144, 170
 Marburg 227
 Margoliouth, David Samuel 31
 Margulies (teacher) 276
 Maria Theresia (café, Munich) 97
 Marienplatz (Munich) 199, 205
Mariensäule (Munich) 205
 Marientorgraben (Nuremberg) 89, 176, 214, 247, 271, 285, 286, 289
 Markus, Dr. 50
 Marne 97
 Marschall von Bieberstein, Adolf Hermann 50
 Marseilles 168
 Martin, Joseph 269
 Martini, Karl von 109
 Maryan, Mr. 49, 50
 Marx, Prof. 143
 Mashhad 226
 Matern, Hermann 215, 216
 Mathäuserbräu Beerhouse (Munich) 184
 Matt, Franz 205, 208, 209
 Matthäuskirche (Munich) 274
 Matthews ('consul') 130
 May, Erna 172
 Mayer, Ernst 296
 Mayer, Joseph 232
 Mayr, Georg von 67, 68, 148, 157
 'Max Emmanuel' (restaurant, Munich) 74
 Mazlum, Sabiha 239
 Mazlum, Zekeriya 11, 19, 45, 154, 239, 262-4
 Mecca 14, 37
 Mecklenburg 117
 Medical College, Military (Istanbul) 7

- Mehmed V Reşad, Sultan 46, 56, 157
 Mehmed Abdülkadir Efendi (Prince) 267-70
 Mehmed Ali Alhan Pasha 126
 Mehmed Ata 40
 Mehmed Atif Bey 235
 Mehmed İbrahim Halim Pasha 125
 Mehmed İmadüddin 132
 Mehmed Murad, 'Mizancı' 16
 Mehmed Nuri Efendi 44
 Mehmed Sadık 57
 Mehmed Said Pasha, 'Küçük' 49, 72, 145
 Mehmed Selim Efendi (Prince) 268
 Mehmed Şevket Bey 48, 156
 Mehmed Sezai 118
 Mehmed Siracüddin Bey 55
 Mehmed Tahir, 'Brusali' 16, 54-6, 73, 108, 236, 238
 Mehmed Taki 48
 Mehmed Zeki 50
 Meiser, Hans 275
Mekteb-i sanayi 56
 Melanchthon Gymnasium (Nuremberg) 5
 Memduh Bey 130
 Mendelsohn (Bank of) 124
 Memel territory 254
 Menzel, Mrs. 266
 Menzel, Theodor 32, 33, 116, 266
Merkez kıraathanesi (Istanbul) 44, 49
 Mesopotamia 151
 Mesopotamian Campaign 99
 Messeret, Hotel (Istanbul) 46
 Metz 95
 Metz, Governor de 207
 Mézières 98
 Michaelskirche (Munich) 275
 Middle East, see Near East
 Midhat, Galancızade 73
 Midhat Efendi, see Ahmed Midhat
 Midhat Pasha, Ahmed Şefik 13, 14
 Midhat Recai Bey 235
 Miesbach 272
 Milbertshofen 249, 251, 286, 295, 298
 Military Mission, German (in the Ottoman Empire) 137, 139
 Milmer, Mr. 160
 Mina 119
 Mir Ali Eşref Bey 44, 70
 Mirkh*and, Muhammad 34, 63, 221
 Mirza Muhsin (copyist) 17
 Mirza Sayyid Ahmad (copyist) 17, 19, 28, 30, 37, 45, 60, 70, 71, 146
 Mittweida 116
 Möhl, Arnold von 199
 Mohr, Lina 75, 76, 173
 Mohr, Mr. 75, 76
 Mongolian (language) 93, 146, 233
 Mons 95
 Montreal 269
 Montreux 16
 Mordtmann, Johannes Heinrich 13, 137, 138, 140, 141
 Morgenstern family 37, 88
 Morgenstern, Clara, see Süssheim-Morgenstern, Clara
 Morgenstern, David 3
 Morgenstern, Friedrich 4, 27, 37, 74, 76, 78, 149, 150, 217
 Morgenstern, Heinrich 4, 27, 74, 76, 88, 95, 149, 173, 219, 249, 275, 285, 286, 289
 Morgenstern, Kurt 285, 287, 289
 Morgenstern, Lina 175
 Morgenstern, Max 202
 Morgenstern, Rebecca 37
 Morgenstern, Werner 289
 Morgenstern-Adlerstein, Regina 3, 26
 Morgenstern-Gutmann, Bertha 31, 74, 95, 240, 249
 Morgenstern-Stern, Franzeska 74, 77, 78, 110
 Morocco (-can) 21, 134
 Moschkowitz, Max 293
 Moscow 15
 Moser, Miss 86
Moslem Brotherhood of Progress 21
 Mosul 74, 239, 268
 Moulin-Eckart, Richard von 206
 Mübarek Vlora 131
Müdafaa-i millet (-liye) cemiyeti 128, 155
 Mudanya 12
 Muggenhof 75
 Mughals 35
 Muhammad (the Prophet) 135, 264
 Muhammad Ali Shah (Qajar) 23
 Muhammad Amin, Mirza 46
 Muhammad Farhang, Mirza 20
 Muhammad Salih İbrahim 133
Mühendis-i muavin Mektebi 58
 Mühlhausen 87
 Mühsam, Erich 104n, 192, 196, 197
 Muhtar Pasha, 'Gazi' Ahmed 23, 58, 111
 Muhtar Pasha, Halil 125
 Muhtar Pasha, Mahmud 111, 125, 127, 128, 148, 153, 233
 Mühürdar, Hasan Vecihi 17
 Muhyiddin 128
 Muhyiddin Bey 163
 Müller, David Heinrich 31
 Müller, Friedrich von 143
 Müller, Oskar 281
 Müller, Mr. 142, 244
 Müller, Prof. von (historian) 221
 Müller-Meiningen, Ernst 97, 150, 186
 Mullich, Dr. Fritz 49
München-Augsburg Abendzeitung (periodical) 146, 165

- München-Loge*, see 'Loge'
Münchener Neueste Nachrichten (periodical) 69,
 128, 141, 148, 156, 162, 164, 184
Münchener Post (periodical) 189, 204, 234
Münchener Zeitung (periodical) 163
 Muncker, Franz 65
 Munich 18, 27-9, 31, 32, 35, 57, 60, 61, 68, 73-
 8, 80, 83, 87-9, 93, 95-8, 101, 102, 104,
 105, 109, 110, 113, 115, 117, 123, 125, 128-
 30, 133, 134, 140, 141, 147, 155, 159, 160,
 162, 164, 165, 167, 169-72, 174, 177, 183,
 184, 186-9, 191, 194, 196, 198, 200, 208,
 210, 213, 215-7, 219, 224, 226, 231, 232,
 235-7, 239, 244, 246, 249, 252-6, 258, 260,
 264, 266, 268, 269, 274-6, 278, 281, 282,
 284-6, 289, 292, 296
 Munich, University of 5, 9, 32, 34, 35, 63, 65,
 66, 124, 138, 140, 142, 144, 163, 166, 170,
 171, 185, 187, 189, 190, 206, 214, 215, 225,
 227, 230, 240, 257, 259, 265, 271-2, 280,
 292
 Munich Chamber of Commerce and Industry 69
 Munich Conference (1938) 257
 Munich Oriental Society (Section) 66, 68, 145,
 148, 157, 158, 161, 166, 223, 230-3, 236
 Munich Technical University 157, 206, 235, 237
 Münif Bey 36
 Münir İbrahim Bey 123, 124
 Münir Pasha, Çorluzade Salih 39, 59
 Münster 111, 112
al-Muqattam (periodical) 129
 al-Muqtadi (Abbasid) 54
 Murad V, Sultan 13
 Murad, Bedri 6, 12, 238
 Muradiye Library (Manisa) 12
 Musa Kâzım Efendi 13, 20, 44, 154
 Müsellis Ömer Bey 263
 Muslim(s) 21, 28, 233, 238, 239, 263, 264, 268
 Muslim Brotherhood (see also *Müsliman Ahaviyet*
Cemiyeti and 'Moslem Brotherhood of
 Progress') 28, 122
 Muslim Brethren 21, 22, 24
 Mossbacher, Michael 87
Müsliman Ahaviyet Cemiyeti 15
 Mussolini, Benito 254, 256, 257
 Mustafa, Prince 56
 Mustafa Asım, see Asım
 Mustafa Efendi (*esvabci*) 13, 14
 Mustafa Efendi, 'Sarıklı' 48
 Mustafa Fevzi Pasha (Çakmak) 263
 Mustafa Hayri, Ürgüplü 47
 Mustafa Haşım Pasha 154
 Mustafa Kemal, see Atatürk
 Mustafa Nedim 155, 157
 Muzaffaruddin Shah (Qajar) 59
Müze-i hümayun (Istanbul) 14, 39, 40
 Nablus 31
 Naci Kasımzade (Istanbul bookseller) 11, 43, 70,
 71, 72, 152
 Nafiz (bookseller) 152
 Napoleon 67
 Nasch, Miss 82
 Nasrullah Tabrizi (Istanbul bookseller) 11, 43,
 53, 71, 72, 137, 152
 Nassauer, Gertrud 80-2
 Nassauer, Mr. 81, 82
 Nationalist Party (in Egypt), see *al-Hizb*
al-Watani
 National Socialist(s) (Nazi(s)) 2, 204, 208, 209,
 218, 221, 247, 250, 252-4, 257, 259, 270,
 271, 273, 275, 277, 281, 282
 Naubauer, Mrs. 272
 Nauburger, Mr. 173
 Nauburger, Lilly 75, 76
 Naval Aviation School, see *Bahriye tayyareci*
mektebi
 Nazi, see National Socialist
 Nazif Pasha 52
 Nazım Bey (Palace guard) 11
 Nazım Bey (CUP activist and minister) 28
 Near East 6, 18, 19, 72, 96, 110, 127, 140-2,
 149, 223, 226, 232, 262
 Necati Bey (student), 25
 Necib Asım, see Asım
Neckar (periodical) 36
 Neşet Pasha (Vlora) 129
 Neşri, Mehmed 33
 Netherlands 261, 276
 Neubauer, Julius 75, 88
Neue Zürcher Zeitung (periodical) 233
 Neuhauserstrasse (Munich) 107, 205
 Neu Freimann 252
 Neumarkt 246
 New Hampton (Iowa) 285
 New Humanistic Gymnasium (Nuremberg) 5
 New York 202, 210, 286, 287, 289, 299
New Yorker Staatszeitung (periodical) 96
 Niedermayer, Oskar von 225
 Niekisch, Ernst 192
 Nihad Sezai, Dr. 118
 Ni'met Bey 237
 Ni'met(Allah), Princess 125-7
 'Nirwana' (club) 78
 Niş 124
 Nişantaşı (Istanbul) 161
 Nizami 238
 Nöldeke, Theodor 18
 Non-Agression Pact (of 1939) 257
 Norderney 118
 Nort (?), Dr. 164
Now Ruz (New Year) 24, 59
Notgemeinschaft deutscher Wissenschaftler im
Ausland 287

- Nuremberg 3-5, 17, 26, 30, 37, 38, 74-6, 78, 79, 83, 87, 88, 93, 95, 117, 128, 148, 168, 175-7, 185-7, 190, 197, 198, 200, 201, 203, 207, 208, 210, 211, 214, 216-9, 226, 244, 245, 247, 249, 253, 255, 258, 259, 260, 262, 264, 272, 273, 275, 277, 279, 281, 284-6, 289
- Nuri Pasha 13
- Nymphenburg (Munich) 160, 162, 170
- Oberstdorf 103, 146, 176, 254
- Oberwiesenfeld (Munich) 271
- O'Brien, Caroline, see Süsheim-Plank
- Octobrist Party 16
- Ödemiş 22
- Odenheimer, Miss 91
- 'Odeon' (Munich) 128, 164, 165
- Odeonsplatz (Munich) 192, 209
- Odessa 32, 266, 281
- Oesterreicher, Herbert 148
- Ofhauser, Dr. 67
- Olivenbaum, Léon 269
- Ömer Abdulkadir Bey 160, 162
- Ömer Hilmi 132
- Ömer Lutfi, see Lutfi Fikri
- Ömer Pasha, Beşir 153
- Ömer Şevki 155
- Ordensburg* (Nazi Party school) 255
- Orenburg 45
- Orenstein, Emma 4
- Orhan Bey 236
- Orhaniye Library (Bursa) 12
- Oriental Colonisation Committee, see *Deutsche Colonial Gesellschaft*
- Oriental Seminar (Berlin) 46n, 53, 129
- Oriental Seminar (Munich) 265
- Oriental Society, see Munich Oriental Society
- Orientalistentag, Deutsche* (of 1924) 230
- Orkhon inscriptions 34, 35
- Ortaköy (Istanbul) 125, 299
- Osman, House of, see Ottoman dynasty
- Osman Fuad Efendi 125
- Osman Kazi, Kazanlı 119
- Osman Nuri (author) 30
- Osman Nuri (spy) 129
- Osmanischer Lloyd* (periodical) 50
- Ossetian 51
- Ostbahnhof* (Munich) 206, 257
- Otto, Dr. 207, 208
- Otto, Walter 229
- Ottoman(s) 93
- Ottoman (Palace/ State) Archives 2, 9, 26, 26, 38-42, 68, 145
- Ottoman Consulate (Munich) 130
- Ottoman dynasty 264
- Ottoman Embassy (Berlin) 137
- Ottoman Embassy (London) 22
- Ottoman Embassy (Paris) 40
- Ottoman Embassy (Vienna) 58
- Ottoman Empire 1, 2, 6, 12, 104, 110, 115, 116, 130, 132, 145, 270
- Ottoman government 22, 39, 40, 48, 119, 144
- Ottoman Historical Society, see *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni*
- Ottoman literature (see also Turkish literature) 227, 228
- Ottoman medicine 266
- Ottoman Palace Orchestra, see *Saray-i hümayun müzikası*
- Ottoman Parliament 7, 48, 57
- Ottoman parliamentary delegation 25, 35, 155
- Ottoman prose/ prosody 35, 46
- Ottoman Senate 44, 58, 121
- Ottoman state 47, 60, 162
- Ottoman student(s) (in Germany, see also Turkish students) 74, 115, 116, 136, 153, 155, 166, 167, 235, 236, 238
- Ottoman theatre 239
- Ottoman-Russian War (1877-8) 238
- Ow-Wachendorf, Baron 155, 161, 162
- Oxford 9, 30
- Oxford University 23
- Padel, Dr. 155, 157, 160
- Palanka Yokuşu (Ortaköy) 299
- Palatinate 39, 207, 246
- Palestine (-nean) 100, 140, 151, 166, 222, 224, 270, 285
- Pan-Germanic (-nism/ -nist) 96, 147, 158
- Pan-Islamism (-mic) 6, 237
- Papen, Franz von 258
- Paposalakis, Ibrahim 131
- Paris(ian) 7, 9, 15, 27, 28, 31, 45, 51, 63, 170, 215, 237, 250, 261, 277, 285, 287
- Pašić, Nikola 91
- Passauer Zeitung* (periodical) 142
- Payne Smith, Robert 30
- Pauson, Nelly 86, 174, 175, 241
- Pedram, see Hüseyin Daniş Han
- Pera Palace Hotel (Istanbul) 46
- Perde* (periodical) 49
- Perfall, Baron 161
- Persia(n) 24, 34, 59, 139, 167, 168, 225, 226, 230, 233, 236, 238
- Persian (language) 1, 5-7, 17, 24, 29, 33-5, 58, 63-5, 104, 105, 115, 135, 168, 215, 221, 225, 233, 238
- Persian chronicle 6
- Persian community (Istanbul) 71
- Persian Consulate (Istanbul) 70, 71
- Persian literature 35, 63, 64, 233
- Persian School (Istanbul) 70

- Pertev Galancızade 73
 Pertevniyal Sultan 14n
 Petershausen 167
 Pfänder (mountain) 256
 'Phoenix' (club) 19, 84
 'Phony War' 261
 Plank, Joseph 249, 286
 Plank, Mr. 249
 Plank, Mrs. 286
 Plauen 125
 Plovdiv (Filibe) 121
 Podewils-Dürnitz, Klemens von 157
 Podzós (marriage broker) 80, 82
 Pöhlmann, Robert von 18, 28, 32-5, 38
 Pöhner, G. 3
 Polack (marriage broker) 80, 82
 Poland (-lish), 39, 50, 257, 258, 260, 276-9,
 292, 293, 295, 296
 Polish (language) 224
 Pomerania 245
 Pope, Miss 21
 Porte, The Sublime 21-3, 28, 39, 41, 49, 54,
 118, 145
 Posiles, Alice ('Sisi') 201, 243
 Posiles, Mr. 201, 243
 Posiles, Mrs. 201, 243
 Possart, Ernst von 67
 Possenhofen 66
Postüberwachung (Militärische) 104, 105, 107,
 110, 111, 114, 115, 130, 131, 134, 135, 144,
 147, 164, 171, 178, 220
 Press Association, Turkish, see *Türkçe matbuatı
 müntesibini cemiyeti*
 Pretzl, Otto 265, 266
 Preysingplatz (Munich) 274
 Preysingstrasse (Munich) 249, 250, 252, 274,
 285
 Prien 158, 159
 Princes' Islands 47
 Prinzregenten-Platz (Munich) 255
 Prinzregenten-Strasse (Munich) 255
 Prinzregenten-Theater (Munich) 240
 'Proclamation of the Constitution', see
 Revolution of 1908
 'Proclamation of Liberty', see Revolution of
 1908
 Promenadestrasse (Munich) 189
 Prophet's Birthday, the (*mevlid-i şerif*) 119
 Prussia(n) 5, 114, 123, 161, 167, 196, 197, 200,
 215
 Pschorr (restaurant, Munich) 159
 Public Debt (Ottoman), see *Düyun-i umumiye*
 Public Security, see *Emniyet-i umumiye*

 al-Qantara 140
 al-Qazwini 221

 Radeff, Simeon 238
 Rákóczi, György 53
 Ramersdorf 206
 Ranke, Leopold von 36
 Ra's al-'Ayn 140
Räteregierung, see Councils' Government
Räterepublik, see Bavarian People's Republic
 Rath, Ernst-Eduard vom 277
 Rathausplatz (Nuremberg) 3
 Ratib al-Halidi (Ottoman student) 74
 Rauscher, Mr. 105, 107
 Red Crescent (Ottoman) 123, 148, 153, 155, 156
 Refet, Sarıçızade 116
 Refik Bey 237
 Reform Office, see *Daire-i tanzimat*
 Regensburg 208
 Regina Palast Hotel (Munich) 78, 91, 161, 170,
 189, 206 Reichenbachstrasse (Munich) 278
 Reichenhall. Bad 208, 226, 236, 250
 Reichenhausen 100
 Reicher, Herbert 99
Reichsbank, see *Deutsche Reichsbank*
Reichstag 108, 183, 198
 Reismüller, Georg 104, 107
 Reiss, Anna 4
 Reiss, Fritz 95
 Republican People's Party, see *Cumhuriyet Halk
 Partisi*
 Reşad Hikmet Bey 160
 Rescher, Otto 138
 Residenzplatz (Munich) 205, 206
 Residenzstrasse (Munich) 265
 Resmu, see Rethymion
 Rethymion (Resmu) 121
 Revolution, Second Bavarian (1919) 190
 Revolution of 1908 (Young Turk) 1, 7, 11, 15,
 22, 49, 50, 53-5, 57, 225
 Revolution of 1918 (in Bavaria) 4, 5, 102, 131,
 181, 183, 185, 187, 194, 197, 221
 Revolution, Persian Constitutional (1906-09) 21
 Rheinstrom, Dr. 96
 Rhine 203, 207
 Rhineland 203
 Rhomberg family 256, 279
 Rhodes 39, 48
 Riem 156
 Rieser, Sydney 96, 97
 Rifat Bey (Ottoman consul-general, London) 21
 Rifat Pasha, Mehmed (Ottoman first dragoman,
 Berlin) 120
 Rıfkı (poet) 49
 Rıfkı (journalist) 56, 119
 Riga 298
 Ring (Munich) 196
 Rinsche, Erich 89, 90
 Rinsche, Mr; Mrs. 61, 80, 89, 90

- Ritter, Hellmut 299
 Rıza Bey 35
 Rıza Efendi el-Cesini 44
 Rıza Hüsni 128
 Rıza Pasha, Hasan 155-7, 159
 Rıza Pasha, Mehmed 235
 Rıza Sulh Bey 48
 Rıza Tevfik (Bölükbaşı) 25, 56, 263
 Röhm, Ernst 253, 271
 Romanshorn 212
 Romberg, Ernst von 124
 Rome 224
 Rosenberg, Alfred 297
 Rosenberg, Frederic Hans von 97
 Rosenbusch-Adlerstein, Mrs. 87
 Rosenfelder, Dr. 4
 Rosenheim 194
 Rosenheimer Strasse (Munich) 259
 Rosenles, Prof. 67
 Roth, Hermann 162, 163
 Rothenberg (marriage broker) 86, 169
 Rothenburger Strasse (Nuremberg) 3, 37
 Rothschild (marriage broker) 169
 Rotpletz, August 151
 Royal Bavarian Bank (see also Bavarian State Bank) 64, 102, 209
 Royal Library (Munich, see also Bavarian State Library) 72, 91, 104, 138, 139, 141, 152, 154, 163, 172
 Royal Palace, Bavarian (Munich) 36, 123, 205
 Rüdler, Mr. 255
 Ruhi Neşet Bey 164, 165
 Rumania(n) 50, 128, 138, 224, 298
 Rumeli(a) 17
 Rumelian Railway 232
 Ruppert, Otto 134
 Russia(n) (see also Soviet Union) 16, 24, 47, 50, 51, 60, 82, 91, 95-7, 99, 119, 121, 139, 144, 145, 148, 149, 166, 194, 195, 197, 225, 226, 232, 233, 237, 257, 266
 Russian (language) 23, 34, 37, 50, 93, 110, 136, 146, 224, 237, 266
 Rütthlingstrasse (Munich) 246
- SA (corps/ trooper) 254, 255, 271, 275, 278, 280
Saadet (Istanbul publishing house) 12
Sabah (periodical) 72, 137, 163
 Sabahuddin, Prince 15, 237
 Sabbath (family) 84, 85
 Sabbath, Grethel 84, 85, 170
 Şabia 116
 Sabih Bey 122
 Sachau, Karl Eduard 53
 Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp 296
 Sadi (Sa'di) 221
 Sadık Bey, see Mehmed/Mahmud Sadık
 Sadruddin Qonawi, Library of (Konya) 12
 Safavid (dynasty) 44, 157, 227
 Safiye Sami 240
 Safvet Bey 39, 41, 59
 Said Halim Pasha, Mehmed 132
 'Sailors' Putsch' (Munich, 1919) 188
 Sakarya, Battle on the 239, 263
 Şakir, Baha'üddin 28, 237, 238
 Şakir, Ertuğrul 13
 Şakir Bey 19
 Saladin, see Salahuddin (Ayyubi)
 Salahuddin (Ayyubi) 54
 Salahuddin, Mehmed (Prince) 125, 137
salname (Ottoman yearbook) 61, 72, 154
 Şamil, Shaykh 51
 Salomonsky (detective agency) 77, 78, 80
 Salonica 6n, 11, 15, 28, 128, 129, 156, 162, 166
 San Francisco 296
 Sandberger, Adolf 228
 Sanders, Arthur 178
 Sanitary Commission, Turkish Military 118
 Şanizade Ataulah 266
 Saraghane (Istanbul) 60
 Sarajevo 91
Saray-i hümayun müzikası 128, 164
 Sarim Bey 56
 Sason Efendi, Ezechiel 26, 38
 Saudi dynasty 238
 Sayyid Ahmad, see Mirza Sayyid Ahmad
 Sayyid Hasan 17, 23n, 28, 30, 31, 37, 44, 45, 60, 70, 71, 152, 167
 Sayyid Husayn (pseudonym of Eduard Glaser) 55
 Saxonia 78, 123, 124
 Scandinavia 84
 Schaller, Fritz 144
 Schätz, August von 100
 Schaumburg-Lippe, Adolf von 147
 Scheler, Dr. 298
 Schelling, Wilhelm 95
 Schellingstrasse (Munich) 261
 Schenker (firm, Munich) 295
 Schermann, Lucian 29, 141, 230, 265, 274, 287
 Schick, Josef 234
 Schiff, Gertrud 82
 Schiltberger, Johann 72
 Schindler, Dr. 170
 Schindler, Mr. 98
 Schleissheim 118, 194, 195
 Schlüchterer, Ernst 31, 37
 Schlüchterer, Sigmund 26, 31
 Schlüchterer-Morgenstern, Bertha 4, 78
 Schmidt, Arthur 155, 164
 Schmidt, Miss 241, 242
 Schmidt, Mr. 253, 256
 Schmidt, Professor 137
 Schneider, Ivo 105-7, 113, 114, 117, 118, 127,

- 129, 134, 135, 169, 171, 179, 220
 Scholem, Gerhard (Gershom) 221, 222
 Schönberg, Dr. 137, 164
 Schönfeldstrasse (Munich) 194
 School for Assistant Engineers, see *Mühendis-i mu'avin Mektebi*
 Schwab, Mr. 84
 Schwabing (Munich) 249, 261, 280
 Schwarzband, Mrs. (marriage broker) 169
 Schweinfurt 151
 Şefik Pasha 133
 Segitz, Martin 191, 192
 Sehi Bey 53
 Şehzadebaşı Street (Istanbul) 57
 Seidler, Mr. 245
 Seiler (?), Mr. 149, 150
 Seitz (detective) 82
Selamet-i umumiyeh (periodical) 49
 Selim Hayat (Ottoman student) 74
 Selim Melhame Pasha 150
 Selimiye Mosque (Konya) 12
 Seljuk chronicle 12
 Seljuk coins 13
 Seljuk history (-riography) 1, 6, 9, 12, 234, 267
 Seljuks 34, 35, 146
 Selz family 278
 Semeka, Gregor 144
 Semitic languages 222
 Şemsüddin Tahir Bey 165
 Sencer, see İsmail Saib
 Sendlingerstrasse (Munich) 194
 Sendlinger-Tor-Platz (Munich) 194
 Seniha (wife of Fuad Ibrahim) 123
 Serbia(n) 91, 96, 115
 Şeref Bey, see Abdurrahman Şeref
 Şerif (Ottoman student) 74
 Şerif Pasha 73
Servet-i fünun (periodical) 72, 163n
 Şevki Pasha 126
 Seyyid Bey 155, 156, 158
 Sezai Pashazade 118
 Şafiq Hassan 264
 Shah (of Persia) 11, 34
 Shakespeare 8, 81
Shams (periodical) 24
 Shanghai 296
 Shawish, Abdulaziz 158
 Shell Company 269
 Shiraz 226
 Siberia(n) 15, 158, 197, 225, 237
 Sicherer, Franz Heinrich Casimir Otto von 143
Sicherheitspolizei 255
 Siegel, Julius 179
 Siegen 130
 Siegestor (Munich) 194, 255
 Sinai Desert 151
 Sirkeci (Istanbul) 11, 43, 237
 Şişli (Istanbul) 123
 Sivas 155, 239
 Sixt, Lieutenant-Colonel 104, 105
 Social Democratic Party (German), see *Sozialistische Partei Deutschlands*
 Socialism (-st(s)) 5, 74, 102, 106, 109, 142, 186, 187, 190, 192, 200, 201, 203, 207, 220, 223, 252, 281, 283
 Socialist Women's Choir 27
 Socialist University Party (Munich) 191
 Society for Ottoman Unity, see *İttihad-i Osmani Cemiyeti*
Society for the Protection of Science and Learning 287
 Sofia 165, 236, 268-70
 Somme, Battle of the 140
 Sommer, Mr. 38
 Sönczy, Mrs. 274
 Sonthofen 255
 South-Africa 296
 Soviet Union (see also Russia) 257, 286
Sozialistische Partei Deutschlands (SPD) 4, 188, 191
 Spain 63, 204
 Spanish aggression 21
 Spartakists 191
 Spatenbräu Beerhouse (Munich) 200
 Spitaler, Anton 221
 Spuler, Bertold 221
 SS (corps/ trooper) 209, 257, 260, 275, 280-2, 284, 285
 Stachus (Munich) 196, 199
 Stadelheim Prison (Munich) 279
 Stahl, Lilly 170
 Stam-Trotskaya, Miss 15n
 Stamm, Fanny 4
 Stamm, Isaak 27
 Starnberger See 66
 Staudinger, Karl Friedrich Wilhelm 245
 Stein, Elsa 78-80
 Stein, Mr. 79, 80
 Stein, Mrs. 79, 80
 Steinlein, Mr. 37
 Steinmayer, Josef 107
 Stengel, Emil von 148
 St. Louis 214
St. Louis Republican (periodical) 96
 St. Moritz 76, 77, 83, 124, 175
 St. Petersburg 65, 197, 226
 Stern, Bruno 95
 Stern, Otto 77
 Stern, Mrs. 172
 Stern, Susi 84, 85, 110, 171, 172
 Stoerck, Anton von 266, 267
 Strasbourg 18, 33, 78-81, 86, 144, 146, 175
 Strauss, Emil 222
 Strauss, Hedwig, see Süßheim-Strauss, Hedwig

- Strauss, Mrs. 174, 211, 284
 Strauss (?), Wilhelm 296
 Streicher, Julius 258, 277, 289
 Stresemann, Gustav 205
 Striedl, Hans 221
 Strömer, Baron von 148
 Stuttgart 27, 115, 138, 198, 233
 Subhi Bey 28
 Sudan 240
 Südetenland 257
 Suez Canal 96, 140, 151
 Şukri Bey 163
 Sükütî, İshak 7
 Süleyman, Sultan 56
 Süleyman Nu'man Pasha 118
 Süleyman Şukri 120
 Süleymaniye Mosque (Istanbul) 138
 Şura-yi devlet 16, 129, 263
 Süreyya Bey, Colonel 235
 Süreyya Bey Vlora 129, 130
 Şuriye (coffee house, Istanbul) 54
 Süss(e)l (family) 3, 86
 Süsheim (family) 86
 Süsheim, Gioconda 249-51, 256, 296
 Süsheim, Karl 1, *passim*
 Süsheim, Karoline Margot 249-52, 257, 274, 276, 284, 292
 Süsheim, Mathilde 3
 Süsheim, Max 1, 3-5, 26, 27, 30, 37, 71, 74, 76, 79, 80, 88, 89, 97, 99, 102-4, 108, 136, 150, 174, 176, 177, 183, 185-7, 189-91, 197, 200-2, 210, 213, 214, 216-20, 222, 241, 247, 252, 277
 Süsheim, Paula (Kirschbaum-) 3, 4, 30, 37, 76, 79, 88, 89, 153, 168, 175, 177, 216-9, 241, 249, 250, 253, 258, 271-3, 275, 284, 285, 287, 289, 291, 293
 Süsheim, Sigmund 3, 4, 27, 86
 Süsheim-Plank (later O'Brien), Karolina (Ina) 2, 247, 249-51, 259, 263, 264, 274, 278, 279, 284-6, 287, 294, 295, 297-9
 Süsheim-Morgenstern, Clara 3, 4, 88, 89, 175, 177, 178, 216-9, 247
 Süsheim-Strauss, Hedwig 4, 76, 78, 83, 89, 174, 176, 177, 201, 284, 285
 Sweden 97, 200, 293
 Switzerland (Swiss) 109, 113, 115, 118, 124-7, 129-31, 133, 135, 137, 209-12, 224, 232, 235, 237, 265, 267, 269, 279
 Sykes, Percy Molesworth 226
 Syria(n) 45, 57, 65, 112, 114, 122, 127, 133, 140, 151, 165, 166, 224, 226, 238, 288
 Syriac (language) 30
 Szokolny, Mrs. 284, 291
 Tabriz 24, 224, 238
Tafsir al-Jalalayn 120
 Tahir Bey (see also Şemsüddin Tahir) 147
 Tahsin Efendi, Hafız 119, 121
 Ta'if 14
Takvim-i vekayi (periodical) 14, 72
 Tal'at Bey/ Pasha, Mehmed ('Ali Salih') 6, 20, 25, 60, 112, 113, 116, 130, 141, 145, 148n, 149, 152, 160-2, 174, 231, 235, 237
 Talleyrand-Périgord, Count 149
Tanin (periodical) 30, 57, 119, 153, 163, 234, 237
 Tann-Rathsamshausen, Luitpold von der 106-8, 113
 Taqizade, Sayyid Hasan 167, 168
 Tarhan, see Abdülhakk Hamid
Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni (TOE) 1, 38-40, 43, 45, 51, 52, 59, 68, 137, 152
Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası (TOEM, journal) 40, 52, 72, 152, 226
 Tarpy, Mr. 285-7
 Taşkılla Barracks (Istanbul) 58
Tasvir-i efkâr (periodical) 117, 163, 164
 Tatar (language) 110, 120
 Tatar(s) 47, 120, 137
 Tegernsee 173, 216
 Tehran 46, 65, 97, 139, 224, 226, 236
 Temo, İbrahim 7, 262, 267
 Tengirsenk, see Yusuf Kemal
Tercüman (periodical) 47
Tercüman-i hakikat (periodical) 163
 Territet 125, 126
 Terzakian, Miss 146
 Terzakian, Vramian 147
 Tetschen, see Deçin
 Teutonia Society 50, 137, 232
 Tevfik Pasha, Ahmed 21, 124, 129, 149
 Tevhid Bey, see Ahmed Tevhid
 Tevhid, Princess 125, 127
 ath-Tha'alibi 146
 Thalöd 249
 Theresienstadt 298
 Theresienstrasse (Munich) 233
 Theresienwiese (Munich) 183, 189, 191, 194
 Thessaloniki, see Salonica
 Third Reich 246
 Thora 100
 Thuringia 208
 'Thuringia' (club) 84, 85
 Tietz (department store, Munich) 172
 Todtmoos 118
 Tokat 153
 Tokgöz, see Ahmed İhsan
 Toller, Ernst 192, 195, 196
 Topal İsmail Efendi (Istanbul bookseller) 43
 Topkapı Archives, see Ottoman Archives
 Topkapı Palace (Istanbul) 42, 43
 Tournan, Isidore François 28, 285, 287

- Trautenbach 255
 Trabzon 48
 Treutler, Mr. 161
 Tripoli (Libya) 163
 Triesdorf 117
 Troy 136
 Trübner (Strasbourg publishing house) 146
 Tunisian 158
 Turfan inscriptions 34
Türk Yurdu (periodical) 45, 46, 163n
Türkçe matbuatı müntesibini cemiyeti 163
Türkenkaserne (Munich) 188
 Türkenstrasse (Munich) 105, 166
 Turkestan 159, 197
 Turkey (see also Ottoman Empire) 1, 97, 111, 114, 116, 117, 133, 138, 141, 142, 145, 148, 151, 152, 159, 172, 221, 226, 231, 235, 237, 247, 254, 262-4, 285, 288, 289, 291, 294, 296-9
 Turkish History, Second Congress of (1937) 262
 Turkish (language) 1, 2, 5, 6, 29, 32-6, 45, 46, 50, 52, 65, 102, 104, 105, 115-7, 134-6, 138-42, 144, 146, 149, 150, 160, 163, 164, 221, 224, 228, 229, 233, 237, 238, 240, 266
 Turkish literature 2, 6, 63, 135, 136, 223, 228, 230
 Turkish painting 146
 Turkish poetry 52
 Turkish politics,
 Turkish Republic 263, 264, 299
 Turkish students (in Germany, see also Ottoman students) 5, 265
 Tyrol 244
- Ubeydüllah Efendi 130
 Ülfet (Fazıl), Princess 125
 Ulm 160
 Ulu Cami Library (Bursa) 12
 Umar Khayyam 154
Umumi Library (Istanbul) 25
Unabhängig-Sozialistische Partei Deutschlands (USPD) 183n, 188, 190, 191, 200
 United States 88, 95, 96, 99, 215, 271, 272, 276, 281, 287, 293, 296
 Unity and Progress Party, see *İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti*
 Unterleitner, Hans 186
 Ünver, Sühey! 291
al-'Urada fi l-hikâyat as-Saljuqiya 1, 6, 12, 13, 17, 19, 27, 30, 43, 60, 140, 152, 153
 Ural Mountains 266
 USA, see United States
 Üsküdar 56, 116
 Uygur script 52
 Uzluk, Feridun Nafiz 262, 266, 285, 286, 291, 294
- Uzunyolu (street in Istanbul) 50
- Vahtaki (Vahid), Hüseyin Mehmed 165, 220, 265
 Vámbéry, Armin 55
 Van 147
 Vandewart, Kari 290
 Vandewart (-Morgenstern), Lina 4, 149, 216, 290n
 Vandewart, Philipp 27, 149
 Varna 12
 Vecchiye (Hanım) 236
 Veldes, see Bled
 Veled Çelebi 291n
 Venetian Archives 228
 Venice 96
 Verdun 95, 156, 261
Verein türkischer Studierender (Munich) 167
 Versailles 158
 Vidin 236
Viedomosti (periodical) 50
 Vienna 5, 9, 16, 31, 67, 73, 83, 114, 115, 118, 129, 138, 139, 153, 162, 201, 227, 239, 243, 255, 280, 281
Vier Jahreszeiten, Hotel (Munich) 257
 Virgostrasse (Nuremberg) 293
Völkischer Beobachter (Nazi newspaper) 200, 241
Vollzugsrat (Bavarian) 194, 195
 Vries, Dr. de 71
 Vulliers, J.A. 34
- Wächter, Dr. 208
 Wadler, Dr. 196
 Wagner, Adolf 271, 274, 275, 278
 Wahhab Efendi 238
 Waitzner, Mrs. (marriage broker) 169
 Waldenburg 130
 Wales 296
 Walter, Franz Xaver 143
 Wangenheim, Hans von 124, 137, 138
 War Relief Fund, German 148
 Warnsdorf 176
 Warsaw 124, 139, 258
 Wassermann, David 86
 Wassermann, Felix 84, 85, 110, 172
 Wassermann, Ludwig 203
 Weber, Dr. 40, 41, 132, 137, 140, 147, 164
 Weil, Engineer 209
 Weil, Ludwig 173, 209-13
 Weil, Mr. 175
 Weil, Mrs. 241
 Weil, Susanne 175
 Weimar Republic 198, 246
 Wellisch, Dr. N. 50
 Werner, Cossmann 86, 87, 96, 100, 107, 148,

- 171, 198
 Werner, Mrs. 170
 Wertingen 279
 Weygand, Maxime 297
 White Book, see *Deutsches Weissbuch*
 Wiener, Mr. 51
 Wiener Platz (Munich) 256
 Wiesbaden 77, 79, 80, 101, 117, 118, 165, 172, 216
 Wilhelm II, Emperor (Kaiser) 41, 67, 68, 91, 97, 98, 102, 111, 122, 123, 125, 147, 149, 163, 232
 Wilhelm zu Wied, Prince 129, 130
 Wilhelmshaven 118, 188
 Wilhelmstrasse (Munich) 261, 274
 Wilmersdorf 49
 Wilmersdorffer (family) 84, 285
 Wilmersdorffer, Dr. 78, 170
 Wilmersdorffer, Miss 86, 172
 Wilmersdorffer, Sammy 284, 285
 Wilson, President 235
 Wirth, Albrecht 96, 148, 157-9
 Wittelsbach, House of 5, 185
 Wittelsbach, Arnulf von, Prince 66
 Wittelsbach, Heinrich von, Prince 66
 Wittelsbach, Rupprecht von (Crown Prince) 98, 203, 207, 230
 Wittelsbacher Brunnen (Munich) 206, 233
 Wittelsbacher Palace (Munich) 194
 Woburn House (London) 287
 Wolff, Bruno 77
 Wolff, Dr. 110
 Wolff, Tony 77
 Wolfskehl, Count 139
 Wolfsheimer (hop merchant) 3
 Workers' Council, Revolutionary 97, 184
 Workers' and Soldiers' (Soldiers', Workers' and Farmers') Council(s) 4, 134, 184-6, 189, 195
 Württemberg 123, 194, 204
 Würzburg 76, 139, 259
- Yağın, see Hüseyin Cahid
 Yalman, see Ahmed Emin
 Yani Cudi, Diyarbakırlı 130
 Yaşar, see Hüseyin Husamuddin
 Yazıksız, see Asım, Necib
 Yazidis 239
 Yeğen Pasha, Midhat 130
 Yemen 54, 57
 Yemenite inscriptions 31
 Yeni Cami Library (Istanbul) 43
 Yenişehir 12
 Yeşilköy, see Aya Stefano
- Yıldız Palace (Istanbul) 13, 44
 Yoldaş, see Bekir Sıdkı
- Young Egyptians 147
 'Young Munich' (Liberal association) 151
 Young Turk(s) 6, 11, 15, 16, 24, 28, 68, 111, 148, 167, 234, 236, 237, 263
 Yücel, Hasan Ali 288-91
 Yugoslav(ia) 297, 298
 Yuhanna Davud 24
 Yunus Nadi (Abahoğlu) 163, 164
 Yusuf Ağa Library (Konya) 12
 Yusuf Akçura 45, 158, 167
 Yusuf İzzuddin Efendi (Prince) 112, 138
 Yusuf Kemal (Tengirşenk) 28, 31
 Yusuf Pasha Mosque (Khania) 121
 Yusuf Ziya Bey 153
- Zaman* (booksellers) 152, 234
 Zaydan, Asil 240
 Zaydan, Jurji 240
 Zekeriya Mazlum Bey, see Mazlum
 Zeki Bey (conductor) 164, 165
 Zeki Bey Mugamiz 237
 Zeki Pasha 122
Zentralrat (Bavarian; see also *Centralrat*) 189-92
 Zeppelin, Ferdinand von 91
 Zeppelin factory 256
 Zionism 5, 100
 Zionist(s) 97, 156, 165, 166, 137
Zollfahndungsstelle (Munich) 272, 275, 277
 Zossen 119-21
 Zuban (cigarette factory) 156
 Zurich 130-2, 210, 211, 213, 232, 286

