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LINDNER, Rudi Paul. Wittek and Köprülü.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 26 i-ii (2016)
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interesting episodes in the development of
Turcology."

01 Mayıs 2018

DE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
AĞELENE DÖNÜŞÜM

20 EKİM 1993

- 1969 WANSBROUGH, J. Paul Wittek and Richard Hakluyt: a tale of two empires. *Osmanlı Araştırmaları. Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 7-8 (1988) pp.55-70 [British & Ottoman.]

Wittek Paul

3 EYLÜL 2006

- 26 HEYWOOD, Colin. Paul Wittek. *Al-'Usur al-Wusta: the Bulletin of Middle East Medievalists*, 17 ii (2005) pp.36-39. (Pioneers in medieval Middle Eastern studies.)

9 MART 1996

- 45 ΣΑΒΒΙΔΗΣ, Α.Γ.Κ. Μνήμη παλαιότερων ἁνατολιστῶν. In memory of past orientalist. II: Paul Wittek (1894-1978). *Journal of Oriental and African Studies*, 5 (1993) pp.121-123 [Brief summary in English.]

Wittek, Paul

- 3056 IMBER, C. Paul Wittek's "De la défaite d'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople". *Osmanlı Araştırmaları: Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 5 (1986) pp.65-81

15 HAZİRAN 1993

Gobineau, Renan, Humboldt. . .⁴³ But why then did Said not actually discuss the works of Gobineau and Humboldt? (Incidentally, the appearance of the geographer, mineralogist and botanist Alexander Humboldt in "the official genealogy of Orientalism" is even more mystifying than that of Gobineau, since Humboldt wrote nothing about the Middle East, Arabs or Islam and is chiefly famous for his travels in Latin America.)

Said also noted that Renan and Gobineau shared a common Orientalist and philological perspective and that Renan took ideas from Gobineau for his *Histoire générale*, but he does not say what these were.⁴⁴ The conviction grows that Said had never actually read Gobineau, or Humboldt. And that his acquaintance with Renan was of the slightest. Their names come up many times in Said's book, but not what they actually wrote. Gobineau was an anti-imperialist, who believed that the British would and should lose India and that the French should take great pains to avoid acquiring an empire. He was certainly a racist (though one who admired Jews and despaired about Aryans) and he was just possibly an Orientalist, but the eccentricity of his ideas means that it is difficult, or rather impossible to fit him (or for that matter his critical admirer, the anti-imperialist Edward Granville Browne) into some banal thesis about the collusion of nineteenth-century Orientalism with imperialism. irwin960@btinternet.com

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26 Temmuz 2016

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SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN



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⁴³Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London, 1978), p. 99.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 150.

Wittek and Köprülü

Mehmed Fuad Köprülü 130815

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26 Temmuz 2016

RUDI PAUL LINDNER*

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Abstract

The friendship and enmity between Paul Wittek and Fuad Köprülü form one of the most interesting episodes in the development of Turcology. This contribution examines the ebb and flow of that relationship as well as some of the other victims who suffered on the sidelines.

In 1938 the Royal Asiatic Society published *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* by Paul Wittek, based upon lectures he had delivered in London a year before. In this little book he offered for the first time in English the Strong Wittek Thesis, in which zeal for the holy war became the engine fuelling Ottoman success (and its disappearance leading to doom: "It is not surprising that [the Ottomans] failed the test of the Great War and disappeared forever").¹

Wittek began with a brief review of the scholarly literature on the formation of Ottoman history, of which there was little. In particular, he discussed "the eminent Turkish scholar Mehmed Fuad Köprülü", whose recent book he found wanting: "Unfortunately in this book the investigations are limited to the earliest epoch and do not go beyond the beginning of the fourteenth century. All the questions which are especially important for explaining the development towards an empire are therefore completely missing in this work".² Wittek soon went further. Building on his earlier detection of interpolations and his demolition of the early Ottoman dynastic genealogies, he commented: "The fact that such an interpolation, which splits the whole genealogical connection, was possible and could establish itself proves that any tribal feeling, if such ever existed, had already disappeared".³ He added: "Yet even Fuad Köprülü has not been able to renounce this tradition, and he still

*I am indebted to Professor David Morgan for a number of reasons. First, he shares my affection for the late piano sonatas of Schubert and Beethoven; second, he offered me support at a crucial point in my career; third, Professor Morgan and my own master, Professor John Masson Smith, Jr., provide models of serenity and humility in their discussions of scholarly differences. What follows, on the other hand, is a story of boys who did not play nicely with each other.

¹ Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1938), pp. 2-4; Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire, Studies in the History of Turkey, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries*, (ed.) Colin Heywood (London, 2012), p. 35. Cf. Rudi Paul Lindner, "Stimulus and justification in early Ottoman history", *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 27 (1982), pp. 207-224. There is a Weak Wittek Thesis, admitting of additional factors; for its demolition see Colin Imber, "What does Ghazi actually mean?", in Çiğdem Balım-Harding and Colin Imber (eds.), *The Balance of Truth, Essays in Honour of Professor Geoffrey Lewis* (Istanbul, 2000), pp. 165-178.

² Wittek, *Rise*, p. 5; Wittek, *Rise*, (ed.) Heywood, p. 36.

³ Wittek, *Rise*, p. 9; Wittek, *Rise*, (ed.) Heywood, p. 39, and see Lindner, "Stimulus and justification", p. 217.

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26 Ağustos 2015

PAUL WITTEK

COLIN HEYWOOD

OTTOMANICA
AND META-OTTOMANICA:
STUDIES IN AND AROUND
OTTOMAN HISTORY,
13th-18th CENTURIES

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	234129
Tes. No:	956.07 HEY.0

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

THE ISIS PRESS
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2013

Preliminary Note: This short essay, which was written in 2005, may serve as an introduction to my earlier work (1988-98) on Wittek, conveniently accessible in my Writing Ottoman History: Documents and Interpretations (Ashgate: Variorum, Aldershot, 2002), §§ I, V-VII. It may be supplemented now by my 'Introduction: A Critical Essay' (pp. 1-27) to Paul Wittek, The Rise of the Ottoman Empire: Studies in the History of Turkey, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries (London: Routledge/Royal Asiatic Society, 2012) and by the insightful Preface ('Paul Wittek: A Man in Dark Times'; pp. ix-xvi), in the same volume, by İlker Evrim Binbaş.

Survivors. An ominous word. Survivors from what? Catastrophes, wars, or simply the sword of time? But a word of particular significance for historians, with its implications of witnesses, *shuhūd*, to a past that may have already vanished or be on the point of vanishing. Michelet, the great French national historian of the nineteenth century, observes somewhere that historians are the custodians of the dead. Historians may of course also be, themselves, survivors: there comes, for some of them, a point in time (usually brief, and certainly temporary) when they may be more interesting for what they remember than for what they may have written. This is what my good friend and colleague, Rudi Paul Lindner, himself both an early Ottoman historian of distinction and a man of impeccable Viennese antecedents, has felicitiously termed the 'I shook hands with Franz Joseph' syndrome.

It was as a subject of the Austrian emperor Franz Joseph that Paul Wittek was born in 1894. By the time, more than sixty years later, that I encountered him, when I was in the second year of my undergraduate career at SOAS, he was in the last, pre-retirement phase of his short but momentous career (1949-1961) as Professor of Turkish in the University of London. It was indeed for me a stroke of good fortune that in those years the retirement age from SOAS could, in special cases, be extended to 67. Thus it turned out that Wittek continued teaching at SOAS into his late sixties, and only retired in the same year (1961) that I completed my undergraduate degree in what, at the time, was almost understatedly defined as 'History with Special Reference to the History of the Near and Middle East'.

Now, having reached the age of 67 myself and looking back with the perspective of half a century, it was surely a matter of chance, or the random application of chaos theory, that, at the age of eighteen, I found myself at

bringing to historians' attention many of Wittek's lesser-known works and clarifying their content and the circumstance of their writing.

ADDENDUM

Kemal H. Karpat

WITTEK, PAUL (210333)

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

20 Aralık 2015

PAUL WITTEK AND THE GAGAUZES OR CHRISTIAN TURKS

While writing a review of Colin Heywood's excellent collection of Paul Wittek's works on the Turks' early history (thirteenth-fifteenth centuries) I remembered another of Wittek's major contribution that remains largely unknown—or disregarded—by many scholars. The history of the Gagauzes, to whom Wittek alludes in a footnote (p. 140 n6 in Heywood's work) has great value for the late Seljuki and early Ottoman and Balkan histories. It represents a rather unique case in which historical legacy, ethnicity, and linguistic and religious identity laid the foundation of Gagauz nationhood, and it also had a rather unexpected impact on my own intellectual development. The Gagauzes, consisting of about 400,000 people, are the largest Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christian group. Some 200,000 inhabit south Moldova and southwestern Ukraine (also known as Budjak), and the rest live in Central Asia, on the western shores of the Black Sea in Bulgaria and in northeastern Greece. The Gagauzes migrated from their original home along the coast of the Black Sea to south Bessarabia (Moldova) or Budjak as Russia took possession of the area, after 1800, ousting the Muslim population (Nogai, Tatars, Turks) between 1806 and 1812. Thus Christian Turks replaced the Muslim Turks. The Russian Turkologists F. W. Radloff (1837-1918), V. A. Moskof, and A. Sokalal regarded the Gagauzes as descendants of the Uzes; others, such as the Czech K. Skorpil (1859-1944), viewed them as part of Asparukh's (seventh century) proto-Bulgarians, while the Bulgarian historian P. Mutafchiev claimed that they were Turkified Bulgarians. The Gagauzes themselves claim to descend from the Gök Turks, who established their state and subdued the Oguz in the eighth century. The seventeen or so existing theories lacked a truly convincing historical, documented basis until Wittek entered the debate. Although the majority of the seventeen theories held that the Gagauzes originated among the Uzes or Turkic groups living north of the Black Sea, Wittek argued that they descended from Seljuks converted to Christianity in the thirteenth century.

Paul Wittek was not the first to claim that the Gagauzes belonged to the Oguz, or the southern branch of the Turks. V. A. Smirnov (1931-1996) and, initially in a mere footnote, the Bulgarian historian G. D. Balashev (1869-1936) already had stated the Gagauzes may be descendants of the thirteenth-century Seljuki sultan İzzeddin Keykaus II. But it was Wittek who used documentary evidence to prove definitively that the Gagauzes were indeed Seljuki Turks. "Les Gagauzes: Les gens

de Keykavus," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny XVIII* (1951-52) (Krakow, 1953); "Yazijioghlu 'Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14, no. 3(1952): 639-668; and "La descendance chrétienne de la dynastie Seldjouk en Macédoine," *Échos d'Orient* 176 (1934): 409-412, are Wittek's major writings on the subject.

Wittek's main source was Yazıcıoğlu Ali, who had relied on the İbn Bibi's (d. ca. 1285) history of the Seljuks, *El-Evamirü'l-Ala'yye fi'l-umuri'l-Ala'yye*, better known as *Seljukname*, Yazıcıoğlu Ali, translated İbn Bibi's work into Turkish on the order of Murat II (1421-51). Yazıcıoğlu's work, *Oğuzname*, also reports on developments occurring after Bibi's, especially those of his own time. A clerk at the Sultan's court in Edirne shortly after it was conquered by the Ottomans in 1360, Yazıcıoğlu brought İbn Bibi's history, which ended in 1280, up to 1424 and made a special effort to write the history of the Keykaus family. His *Oğuzname* also includes some events he witnessed personally and suggests Yazıcıoğlu possessed a wide knowledge of the Balkans. A popular, shortened *Oğuzname*, edited by Seyyid Lokman ca. 1600-1601 and translated into Latin and published in 1854 by J. J. Wilhelm Logus, is the most widely known version in the West.

Yazıcıoğlu Ali—and this is important—brings the Seljuki events to his own times and is, in a way, writing about contemporary events. Wittek proved some 12,000 "çadır" (tents), or approximately 70-80,000 Seljuks, after being defeated by the Mongols in 1262, left Central Anatolia under the leadership of Sultan İzzeddin II Keykaus, d. 1279, the nephew of Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII Paleologus (1261-1282), and took refuge in the Byzantine lands newly freed from the forces of the fourth crusade. The Seljuks' actual spiritual leader was the legendary Sarı Saltuk (d. 1297), who established the town of Babadağ in Dobruja (now in Romania) in 1263. Probably he was one of the Bektasi babas usually associated with the ghazi conquerors of the Balkans although he lived before the Ottomans' advent. Over the years, Sarı Saltuk's exploits were widely narrated among the Muslim population of the Balkans and gathered by Ebulhayır Rumi into a book known as *Saltukname* on the order of Prince Cem (Jem) 1459-1495), the son of Mehmet II, who was spending the winter in the area. Today there is abundant literature on Sarı Saltuk.

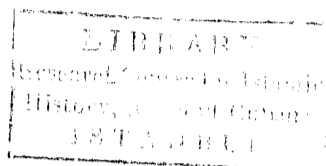
As to the fate of the Seljuki Turks, the first mass Turkish settlers in the Balkans, some claim that they went to Crimea or back to Karesi in Anatolia, but it is certain that a group stayed in Dobruja and many converted to Christianity under the pressure of Constantinople, most likely in the thirteenth century. Yazıcıoğlu says little about their conversion, but Wittek uses Byzantine sources to expand and correct Yazıcıoğlu Ali's work. As I confirmed in research for my article on the Seljuki origins of the Gagauzes published in *Ethnograficheskoe Obozrenie*, vol. 4 (Moscow, 1994) and other articles reproduced in *Balkanlarda Osmanlı Mirası ve Milliyetçilik* [Ottoman Heritage in the Balkans and Nationalism] (İstanbul, 2012), it is certain that the Gagauzes established their own state on the shores of the western Black Sea under Dobrotich in the fourteenth century.

DER ISLAM

ZEITSCHRIFT
FÜR GESCHICHTE UND KULTUR
DES ISLAMISCHEN
ORIENTS

BEGRÜNDET VON
C. H. BECKER

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
BERTOLD SPULER



SECHSUNDFÜNFZIGSTER BAND

1979

WALTER DE GRUYTER · BERLIN · NEW YORK

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Karl Süßheim still und unbemerkt, wie er gelebt hat, am 13. Januar 1947 in Istanbul gestorben. Er wurde auf dem Ashkenazen-Friedhof in Ortaköy bestattet, nicht weit von seiner Wohnung in der Palanka Yokuşu.

Süßheim war offenbar ein geborener Sammler; eine Briefmarkensammlung vermehrte er durch umsichtige Käufe, und wie hier schon erwähnt wurde, trug er über die Jahre hin eine wertvolle Sammlung islamischer Druckschriften und vor allem türkischer Handschriften zusammen. Diese Sammlung, die sich jetzt im Besitz der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin befindet, zeigt Süßheims sichere Hand bei der Erwerbung zahlreicher fast oder ganz unbekannter Werke, die der Turkologie sowohl in der Geschichte als auch der Literaturforschung neue Erkenntnisse gebracht haben¹⁸⁾.

Eine noch unerschlossene Quelle für die türkische und zum Teil auch die deutsche Geschichte ist der erhaltene Teil des Tagebuchs, das Süßheim seit seiner ersten Reise ins Osmanenreich bis zu seiner Emigration in die Türkische Republik auf türkisch (in arabischer Schrift) und in den letzten Jahren auf arabisch geführt hat¹⁹⁾. Solange dieses Tagebuch nicht bearbeitet ist, das schon allein als sprachliche Leistung Achtung abnötigt, und bei dem eine nüchterne, bewußt unpersönliche Faktenregistrierung auffällt, ist es verfrüht, das Wirken dieses Gelehrten zusammenfassend zu würdigen. Wer bei ihm hörte, rühmt die wissenschaftliche Strenge und Gründlichkeit seines akademischen Unterrichts; wer seine Arbeiten liest, erkennt die unermüdliche Detailforschung und in den zeitgeschichtlichen Beiträgen die unerschöpflich scheinende Faktenkenntnis des „teilnehmenden Beobachters“. Dieses Material und vor allem Süßheims Sammlungen und eigene Aufzeichnungen auszuwerten, wird der beste Dank an den stillen, einsamen Gelehrten sein.

¹⁸⁾ Katalogisiert in: *Türkische Handschriften Teil 1*. Beschrieben von Barbara Flemming, Wiesbaden 1968 (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band XIII, 1), mit kurzer Bemerkung zu Süßheim S. X, und *Türkische Handschriften und einige in den Handschriften enthaltene persische und arabische Werke*, beschrieben von Hanna Sohrweide, Wiesbaden 1974 (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band XIII, 3).

¹⁹⁾ Von 21 nummerierten Heften sind zwölf, die die Jahre 1912—16, 1917—24 und 1936—41 behandeln, erhalten. Ich bearbeite sie zur Zeit im Hinblick auf eine Veröffentlichung, die auch das Schriftenverzeichnis Süßheims enthalten soll.

Paul Wittek 1899—1978

Von Anton Cornelius Schaendlinger (Wien)

Paul Wittek, em. Prof. an der British School for Oriental and African Studies, University of London, ist am 13. Juni 1978 im 85. Lebensjahr gestorben. Er wurde am 11. 1. 1894 in Baden bei Wien geboren, und sein Leben war so bewegt und wechselvoll wie die Zeit, in der er gelebt hat. Sein Studium der Alten Geschichte und Philologie an der Universität Wien mußte er bei Ausbruch des ersten Weltkrieges unterbrechen, um seiner Militärdienstverpflichtung nachzukommen. Als Artillerieoffizier war er an verschiedenen Fronten eingesetzt, am längsten jedoch als Angehöriger des österreichischen Hilfskorps an der türkischen Palästinafront (1916—1918). Dieser Aufenthalt im Vorderen Orient war für die endgültige berufliche Ausrichtung Wittteks entscheidend; nach Beendigung des Krieges schloß er wohl sein Studium der Alten Geschichte und Philologie mit dem Dr. phil. ab (1920), doch begann er bereits 1921 mit den orientalistischen Studien an der Universität Wien, die er bis 1924 fortgesetzt hat. In dieser Zeit gründete er mit F. Kraelitz die Zeitschrift „Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte“, in der auch seine ersten Beiträge zur frühosmanischen Geschichte erschienen sind („Zum Quellenproblem der ältesten osmanischen Chroniken“, „Neues zu ‘Āṣiqpaşazāde“). Die Ausrichtung seines wissenschaftlichen Interesses auf die Fragen und Probleme der frühosmanischen Zeit, die ihn sein Leben hindurch am meisten beschäftigt haben, wurde in diesen Beiträgen bereits deutlich. Im Jahre 1924 fuhr Wittek zur Erweiterung seiner fachlichen Ausbildung nach Istanbul und wurde dort nach zwei Jahren (1926) im Deutschen Archäologischen Institut als Referent für den turkologischen Fachbereich angestellt. Er blieb bis 1934 in dieser Stellung, und als Ergebnis seiner Forschungen präsentierte er 1934 seine Studien zur Geschichte der westkleinasiatischen Dynastie der Menteşoğulları „Das Fürstentum Mentesehe“. In demselben Jahr gab Wittek, da er sich mit der politischen Entwicklung in Deutschland nicht identifizieren wollte, seine Stellung im Deutschen Archäologischen Institut in Istanbul auf und nahm einen Ruf an die Universität

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ANKARA ARKEOLOJİ MÜZESİNDE BULUNAN BİR PORTRÉ YÜZÜ

NEMİKA ALTAN

Arkeolog

Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu

Burada konu olarak aldığımız eser, bronzdan yapılmış bir erkek başının yüzüne aittir. Müzeye, nereden, ne yolla geldiği bilinmemektedir¹. 134-1-1972 numara ile envantere kayıtlı olan bu eser içi boş döküm tekniğinde yapılmıştır. Yüksekliği 0.28 m. dir.

Başın, kafatasının üst ve arka, yan kısımları, kulaklardan itibaren alnın az bir kısım eksiktir. Alnın büyük kısmı, pek az saçlar, kaşlar, gözler, burun, ağız, çene, sakalı mevcuttur. Çehre uzun olup dörtgen şeklindedir (Resim, 1-2).

Alın, geniş, yüksek olup hafif öne çıkıktır. Alnın ortasında kişisel hatlarını belirten, uzunlamasına derin bir çizgi vardır. Bu çizginin biraz aşağısından, kaşların ortasına meyilli inen iki derin çizgi görülmektedir.

Saçları; alnın üzerinde, başın sol yanında pek az küçük parçalar halindedir. Saç telleri ince çizgilerle belirlenmiştir.

¹ Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesine 1955 yılında naklen geldiğimizde, bu eser depoda bulunuyordu. Zaten envanter numarasında da 972 senesinde envanter edildiği anlaşılabilir. Sonraki yıllarda, Kervansarayın ikinci katındaki odalar, bronz eserler için kullanıldığında odalardan birine konulmuştu. 1968 yılında Be-destenin (Müzenin) restorasyonu biten üçüncü ve dördüncü salonlarının ziyaretçilere açıldığı gündenberi klasik eserler vitrininde durmaktadır.

Nekroloji :

PROFESÖR PAUL WITTEK (1894-1978) *

STANFORD J. SHAW

University of California, Los Angeles

Çeviren: TÜTEN ÖZKAYA, Ph. D.

Londra Üniversitesi'nin Doğu ve Afrika Araştırmaları Okulu'nda Türk Dili Profesörü (Emeritus) Paul August Wittek'in 13 Haziran, 1978'de 84 yaşında yaşama gözlerini kapaması ile, Osmanlı ve Türk tarihi üzerinde yapılan araştırmalarda yeni bir çağ sona ermektedir.

Paul Wittek, Avusturya - Macaristan İmparatorluğu devrinde, Viyana yakınında Baden'de bir Çek ailesinin oğlu olarak dünyaya geldi. Birinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında Rus cephesinde topçu subayı olarak hizmet etti. Başından aldığı ciddi bir yaranın (yaşamının son-raki yıllarında öğrencilerinin, başındaki bu çukur yara izine dokun-malarını istemekten hoşlanırdı) iyileşmesi üzerine, Osmanlı Genel-kurmayı'nda danışman olarak görevlendirildi; savaşın son günlerinde Filistin cephesinde hizmet etti. Kendisinin sonradan anlattığı gibi, güneydoğu Avrupa üzerinden İstanbul'a giden bir askerî trende yolculuk ederken Türkçe öğrenmeye başlamıştı. Devrin birçok önemli Osmanlı liderleri ve ayrıca Gelibolu savaşı sırasında ve sonrasında Mustafa Kemal Atatürk ile tanıştı. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ü çok zeki, o sırada Osmanlı ordusunda hizmet etmekte olan birçok Alman ve Avusturyalı subaylarının, Türklere ve Müslümanlara karşı ta-kindıkları kendini beğenmiş tavırlara aldırış etmeyen bir kişi olarak tanımlamaktaydı.

Wittek, savaşın ardından Türkoloji öğrenimi yapmak üzere yurduna döndü ve Viyana Üniversitesi'nden diplomasını aldı. Daha sonra Türkiye'ye geldi ve bir süre Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü'nde çalıştı. Burada, Osmanlıların kökenleri ile birlikte Ortaçağ Türkçesi

* International Journal of Middle East Studies, 10 (1979), 139-141. Printed in Great Britain.

Paul Wittek

La formation de l'Empire ottoman

edited by V.L.Ménage



VARIORUM REPRINTS

London 1982



Paul Wittek (1894-1978)

PREFACE

The posthumous presentation under the Variorum imprint of a collection of articles by Professor Paul Wittek (1894-1978), whose publications¹ influenced and inspired many scholars already represented in this series, needs no justification. All the same, I ought to make some introductory comments on his work in order to explain my selection, from over forty titles eligible for consideration, of the seven items included in this volume.

In his obituary notice on Wittek,² Dr John Wansbrough remarked that his works represented "an exacting standard of scholarship uncommon in his days and ours", and went on to recall most appositely, how he "could move from the most obscure detail to the grandest theory of historical development and remain convincing." Wittek's concentration on detail sprang on the one hand from his early and sustained interest in epigraphy and in toponymy, and on the other from the influence of his teacher in Vienna, Friedrich Kraelitz (1876-1932), whose analysis of fifteenth-century firmans and of *pençes* laid the foundation of the study of Ottoman palaeography and diplomatic, and with whom Wittek collaborated in the production of the (unhappily short-lived) *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*. From the generation of scholars preceding his own, he especially respected J. H. Mordtmann (1852-1932), whose articles, including his sixty-odd contributions to the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, still repay careful study for their succinct presentation and for their exploitation of the non-Ottoman historical sources and of the epigraphic and numismatic evidence. These are the characteristics of Wittek's work also.

Wittek's procession from detail to synthesis is well illustrated by his monograph *Das Fürstentum Mentеше* (Istanbul 1934) – dedicated to Mordtmann – which developed from his study of the inscriptions of the district. *Menteshe*, of which a Turkish translation appeared in 1944, has served as the model for substantial

Pioneers

IN MEDIEVAL MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES

Paul Wittek

by Colin Heywood

Survivors. An ominous word. Survivors from what? Catastrophes, wars, or simply the sword of time? But a word of particular significance for historians, with its implications of witnesses, *shuhūd*, to a past that may have already vanished or be on the point of vanishing. Michelet, the great French national historian of the nineteenth century, observes somewhere that historians are the custodians of the dead. Historians may of course also be, themselves, survivors: there comes, for some of them, a point in time (usually brief, and certainly temporary) when they may be more interesting for what they remember than for what they may have written. This is what my good friend and colleague, Rudi Paul Lindner, himself both an early Ottoman historian of distinction and a man of impeccable Viennese antecedents, has felicitously termed the 'I shook hands with Franz Joseph' syndrome.

It was as a subject of the Austrian emperor Franz Joseph that Paul Wittek was born in 1894. By the time, more than sixty years later, that I encountered him, when I was in the second year of my undergraduate career at SOAS, he was in the last, pre-retirement phase of his short but momentous career (1949-1961) as Professor of Turkish in the University of London. It was indeed for me a stroke of good fortune that in those years the retirement age from SOAS could, in special cases, be extended to 67. Thus it turned out that Wittek continued teaching at SOAS into his late sixties, and only retired in the same year (1961) that I completed my under-

graduate degree in what, at the time, was almost understatedly defined as 'History with Special Reference to the History of the Near and Middle East'.

Now, having reached the age of 67 myself, and looking back with the perspective of half a century, it was surely a matter of chance, or the random application of chaos theory, that, at the age of eighteen, I found myself at SOAS, and not at Cambridge, whose offer of a place to read Oriental languages I had, with all the arrogance that a seventeen-year old can muster, turned down in favour of what my Headmaster had termed 'a place which you might find interesting'. And, once again, a year or two later, initiation into the Wittekian charmed circle, to gain, as it were, the attention of the Master, was a matter of chance. It must have been the late winter of 1958, and we were, as I recall, more than half way through Wittek's famous lecture course on Ottoman history from the origins to 1453. We had reached the bitter years of the *Fitnet devri*, the succession struggle between the sons of Bayezid I which occupied the decade after Timur's defeat of Yıldırım Bāyezīd at Ankara in 1402, and we were dwelling on the events of the year 1410. Wittek was in full socratic mode. '1410', he announced, 'was also a very important year in European history. Who here knows what happened in Europe in 1410?' The socratic gaze swept the length of the seminar table, taking in the assembled respectful and uncomprehending faces, Sudanese, Syrian, Egyptian, Cypriot Turkish, Anglo-Indian and Hungarian, and also a solitary, pain-

fully shy Anglo-Saxon one. Silence. 'Of course, nobody in England knows anything of European history.' Again silence, which had somehow to be broken. Finally, from the bottom end of the table, the solitary Anglo-Saxon, with visible embarrassment, managed to mutter the words 'well, I suppose it might have been the defeat of the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg in that year'. Silence again, this time eloquent with surprise (we were not expected to trump Wittek's aces), then: 'How is it that an English schoolboy knows anything not about English history?'. I cannot recall what happened thereafter: the epochal moment had passed, and we must have moved on to discuss -- rather, to be instructed about -- the downfall of the regime of Musa Çelebi and the eventual triumph, a couple of years later, of Wittek's hero Mehmed I. But I had caught the eye of the sultan, and thereafter life was to take a different turn, away from Arabic and a contemplated career (yes, still just possible at that time) in the Colonial Service. Let us move on, and away, to the distinguished scholar who forms the subject of this short essay.

Paul (August) Wittek (he never seems to have used either his middle name or its initial in his published work) was born in the small town of Baden bei Wien, a few miles from Vienna, on 11 January 1894, the son of the headmaster of a *Gymnasium* or high school. His studies in ancient history and philology at the University of Vienna were interrupted by a call to the colours in the *k.u.k. Armee* on the outbreak of World War I. As an artillery

disappointedly resigning his service in imperial Germany in 1899, he acquired Gut Langpolten, an estate in Weißenbach near Liezen, Austria. His writings include *Meine zweite Durchquerung Äquatorial-Afrikas* (1890), its translation, *My second journey through Equatorial Africa* (1891), and *In den Wildnissen Afrikas und Asiens; Jagderlebnisse* (1901). He died in a hunting accident in Weißenbach, Styria, 15 June 1905. BbD; BiD&SB; DiBE; *Muséon* 92 (1979), pp. 387-94; *Who was who 1*

Witelo (Vitelo), born about 1220 in Poland, he was a philosopher about whose life very little is known. Whatever there is must be inferred from scattered remarks in his *Perspectiva*, a work which reflects the teachings of Greeks and Arabs. His modern editions include *Teorema della bellezza* (1958), *Opticae thesaurus; Alhazeni Arabis libri septem nuncprimum editi* (1972), and *Witelonis Perspectivae liber primus = Book I of Witelo's Perspectiva; an English translation* (1977). He died about 1270. ADIB, vol. 43, pp. 556-8; DcScB; DiBiInd (1); Dziekan; NEP; Polski (3)

Withof, Johann Philipp Lorenz, born 1 June 1725 at Duisburg, he studied classical philology, philosophy, and history at the local university but changed to medicine in 1743. In 1747 he went to Utrecht and Leiden, where he received his medical doctorate in 1747. He subsequently practised medicine in Lingen, Lower Saxony; he received a Dr.habil. at Duisburg, where he then taught at the faculty of medicine. With the exception of five years, he was successively, since 1752, a professor of history rhetoric and moral philosophy at Hamm and Duisburg, where he died on 3 July 1789. His writings include *Das meuchelmörderische Reich der Assassaninen* (Leipzig, 1765). ADIB, vol. 43, pp. 559-63; DiBE

Witkam, *Januarius Justus*, born 27 December 1945 at Leiden, where he received all his education and his Ph.D. in 1989 for his thesis *De Egyptische arts Ibn al-Aktani en zijn indeling van de wetenschappen*. He was a Middle East codicologist, bibliophile, and a printer with his own hand-operated press. From 1974 to 1979 he was keeper of Middle East manuscripts at the Oosterse Afdeeling van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek, and since 1980 its director. In 1986 he founded the periodical *Manuscripts of the Middle East*. His writings include *Seven specimens of Arabic manuscripts in the library of the University of Leiden* (1978); he was joint-author with Wim Raven of the *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane* (1988); and he jointly translated from the Arabic of Ibn Hazm, *De ring van de duif* (1977). For many years he was president of the International Middle East Libraries Committee, MELCOM International. Private

Witsen, Nicolaas, born in 1641 at Amsterdam, he received a doctorate in law on 11 July 1664 at Leiden for *De Senatsconsulto Macedoniano*. He subsequently travelled in eastern and southeastern Europe. In 1671 he was appointed town councillor of Amsterdam and later entered national politics. His writings include *Noord en oost Tartarye* (1692), and its partial translation, *Berichte über die uralischen Völker* (1975). He died in Amsterdam in 1717. BiBenelux (11); NieuwNBW 4 (1918), cols. 1473-79

Witte, Johannes, born 19 February 1877 at Silligsdorf, Pomerelia, he received doctorates in 1903 at Erlangen for *Der Kommentar des Aponius zum Hohenliede*, and in 1915 at Bonn for *Das Buch des Marco Polo als Quelle für die Religionsgeschichte*. He was a pastor, a sometime director of the Ostasien-Mission, and a professor at Berlin. His writings include *Das Jenseits im Glauben der Völker* (1929). He died in Buch near Berlin, 7 August 1945. DiBE; DiBiInd (1); Kürschner, 1926-1935; Master (1); RHbDiG

Wittek, Paul, born 11 January 1894 at Baden near Wien, he was educated in the evening glow of the Habsburg monarchy and at the bottom of his heart he remained a son of k.u.k. Österreich throughout his life. His university study in Wien was interrupted by the fateful summer of 1914. Wounded at the Russian front in Galicia in the early months of the war, he later served on the Isonzo; finally, from 1917, he spent the remainder of the war on secondment in Turkey, serving in Constantinople and later in Syria. In 1921 he received a doctorate in classics from the Universität Wien. The 1920s were for him years of uncertainty, during which he supported himself by journalism. In 1929 he took up a post at Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Istanbul. In 1933 he quickly renounced a position which rendered him a civil servant in the employ of the Reich, and a year later found refuge in Bruxelles, where he established a connection with the Université libre. After the invasion of Belgium he escaped via Dunkerque to Britain, where he was to spend most of the rest of his life. In 1948 he was appointed to the newly-created chair of Turkish in the University of London, a post which he held until his retirement in 1961. His writings include *Das Fürstentum Mentesche* (1934), and *The rise of the Ottoman Empire* (1938). He died near London, 13 June 1978. *Islam* 56 (1979), pp. 9-10; Kürschner, 1928/29, 1931, 1935; *Welt des Islams* 38 (1998), pp. 386-405

Wittelsberger, Helmut, born 29 September 1936 at Höhr-Grenzhausen, Germany, he trained as a bank clerk, 1953-56. After studying at an economic collegiate institute he studied political economy at Frankfurt/Main and Bonn. He received his doctorate in 1967 at the Universität Köln for *Beziehungen zwischen wirtschaftlichem Wachstum und Außenhandel*. He became affiliated with the Commission of

WOLFGANG BEHŃ, CONCISE BIOGRAPHICAL COMPANION TO INDEX ISLAMICUS: AN INTERNATIONAL WHO'S WHO IN ISLAMIC STUDIES FROM ITS BEGINNINGS DOWN TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY : BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT TO INDEX ISLAMICUS, 1665-1980, VOL. III(N-Z), LEIDEN 2004.

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Writing Ottoman History

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Die Welt des Islams 38.
Leiden 1998

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-Wittek Paul VII

A SUBTERRANEAN HISTORY: PAUL WITTEK (1894-1978) AND THE EARLY OTTOMAN STATE

"... there is a subterranean history of scholarship awaiting exposure".
David Abulafia, *Frederick II* (2nd edn., London, 1992), 456.
"... my work covers only ... Ottoman studies and ... I am rather a his-
torian than a linguist".

Paul Wittek¹

10 AGU 2007

I.

In the extensive literature which has appeared in recent years on the work of refugee or self-exiled German-speaking historians during the Emigration², little attention appears to have been paid to those who concerned themselves with what may be termed, in the broadest sense, oriental history. This is equally the case for German-speaking historians born within the boundaries of the Dual Monarchy, as for that greater number who were by origin subjects of the German Empire and its post-war successors. Thus, for example, Catherine Epstein's recently published and otherwise admirable prosopographic study of German-speaking refugee historians in the United States³ makes no mention of the Vienna-born Islamicist and medieval historian Gustave E. von Grunebaum, who had a

¹ Wittek to Professor Ralph Turner, Brussels, 6 March 1948. Autograph Letter. SOAS.

² Hartmut Lehmann and James Sheehan (ed.), *An interrupted past: German-speaking historians in the United States after 1933* (Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute, and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Catherine Epstein, *A past renewed: a catalog of German-speaking refugee historians in the United States after 1933* (Washington, D.C. and Cambridge, 1993); Ritchie Robinson and Edward Timms, *Austrian exodus: the creative achievements of refugees from National Socialism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995 [= *Austrian Studies*, vi]).

³ Epstein, *op. cit.*

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V 'Boundless Dreams of the Levant': Paul Wittek,
the *George-Kreis*, and the Writing of Ottoman History
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
London, 1989

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“BOUNDLESS DREAMS OF THE LEVANT”:

 PAUL WITTEK, THE *GEORGE-KREIS*, AND THE WRITING OF
 OTTOMAN HISTORY.¹

*His gaze unites the plans of Ottos, Carls,
 With his own boundless dreams of the Levant.
 (George, “The Graves in Speyer”)*

*What a strange affair history was, come to think of it!
 It could safely be asserted of this and that event that it
 had by this time found its proper place in the annals of
 history . . . but whether this or that event had ever
 occurred at all was not by any means certain. **
 (Musil, *The Man without Qualities*, II/2, §83)

That history may be read as literature is an aesthetic judgment, which does not deflect from the essential difference between the two modes. To paraphrase Gibbon, who above all in this context knew what he was talking about, “the end of history is truth . . . the end of poetry is pleasure”.² History, by definition, must fail to attain its ultimate goal of recreating the past “exactly as it happened”.³ that such is the case, whether because of the fallibility of the human intellect, or the difficulty (but not impossibility) of constructing history in a non-linear mode, or even – that stock excuse of historians – the doubtful, maybe putatively “fictional” quality of “the sources” – does not mean, as is from time to time suggested, that the attempt should not be made, or that history and fiction are indistinguishable. Intent, in this context, is all, nor should one forget that earlier

¹ Earlier versions of this paper were delivered at a Symposium devoted to Paul Wittek which was held at the School of Oriental and African Studies in June 1984, and at the 6th Symposium of the *Comité des Études Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes*, at Newnham College, Cambridge, in July 1984. It is here published without the benefit of a full apparatus of footnotes and references, for which I beg the reader's indulgence. An exhaustively documented and expanded monographic version, incorporating much new material brought to light since 1984, will appear in due course. I thought it worthwhile, however, to reproduce here the stage my thoughts had reached in (approximately) mid-1984.

² Edward Gibbon, *Horace's Art of Poetry with two dissertations on Drama and Poetic Imitation*, Cambridge, 1757, quoted (without page reference) by J. A. W. Bennett, *Essays on Gibbon*, Cambridge (Privately Printed), 1980, p. 4.

³ That it is the very impossibility of ever achieving the Rankean ideal which validates historical enquiry as an epistemologically autonomous activity goes without saying: cf. for what I take to be a coherent defence of (amongst other things) this view, Michael Oakeshott, *On History and other essays*, Oxford, 1983.

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VI Wittek and the Austrian Tradition
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
 London, 1988

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WITTEK AND THE AUSTRIAN TRADITION¹

If I were to offer one specific reason for our meeting today, beyond a general and justifiable intention to commemorate the contribution made to early Ottoman historical studies by the late Professor Paul Wittek, it would not be that the year 1987 marks any of the usual anniversaries in the life of our subject. Wittek, a Fellow of this Society, was the first occupant of the Chair of Turkish in the University of London, from 1948 to 1961. It is still seven years short of one hundred since he was born, on 11 January 1894, in Baden, to the south of Vienna, the son of a *Gymnasium* headmaster; and it is less than a decade since *The Times* recorded the death, at the age of eighty-four, in an outer suburb of London, of this quintessentially Austrian scholar.²

We must therefore move our search for an anniversary closer to home. Fifty years ago this month, in the spring of 1937, there took place in Wittek's life an event which was to prove significant not only for his own career and for the future course of Ottoman scholarship in this country and even further afield, but one which, in its working-out if not in its direct causation, was to demonstrate a close connection with this Society.

In the years preceding the outbreak of the Second World War it was the laudable practice of the University of London, through the agency of its various Boards of Studies, to sponsor an annual series of Special University Lectures. These lectures, delivered by distinguished scholars drawn often from foreign universities, were addressed, according to the rubric, "to students of the University and to others interested in the subject". The academic year 1936-7, that uneasy twelvemonth of domestic crisis and continental alarms, was, as it turned out, also the last year in which the Special University Lectures were held. Fortunately, it produced, at least in this respect, a classic vintage. In February 1937 the Board of Studies in History brought over Dopsch from Vienna to give three lectures on Economic Problems of the Middle Ages. Three months later, in May, the ancient historians produced Rostovtzeff, who lectured on Dura-Europos.³

The orientalist of the University were not to be outshone in this display of domestic and foreign scholarly virtuosity. In the spring of 1937 there appeared in the vitrines of the then newly-opened Senate House in Bloomsbury the printed announcement that "a Course of Three Lectures on 'The Rise of the Ottoman Empire'" would be given "at the New Buildings of the University by Dr. Paul Wittek (of the Institute of Oriental and Slavonic Philology and History in the Université Libre, Brussels) at 5.30 p.m. on May 4th, 5th and 6th, 1937". The chair at the first lecture would be taken by

¹ A slightly amended version of the 1987 Anniversary Memorial Lecture, delivered at the Royal Asiatic Society, 14 May 1987.

² *The Times*, 16 June 1978.

³ University of London, University Archive. Minutes of Senate, 21 July 1937, p. 56.

ment for his leftist views after the military intervention of 1971, the book is rather a curious reminder of the fact that certain significant strands of the nationalist discourse such as the purely positive assessment of the Turkish conquests cut across both sides of the political spectrum in Turkey.⁴¹

Speros Vryonis, a Greek-American (and a Byzantinist, as some reviewers noted, much to his resentment), published his monumental work on medieval Anatolia in 1971.⁴² It covered the period that saw the rise of the Ottoman state but was not directly concerned with that specific phenomenon. Vryonis rather traced the broad currents of demographic movement, nomadization, and religious and cultural change in Asia Minor that, over four centuries, transformed what was a Hellenic/Greek Orthodox peninsula into a predominantly Islamic one dominated by a Turcophone political elite. In the shortest summary of the set of conclusions he reached at the end of his exhaustive research, he wrote that "the Turkish success ultimately was a product of the dynamics of Byzantine decline and Turkmen (nomadic) demographic pressure."⁴³ As for the role of frontier warriors in that process, whose absence in the book was noted by a reviewer, Vryonis commented that "the Wittek thesis was of interest and stimulus some two generations ago, but only as a tool to stimulate further discussion. To accept it as an established fact and then to apply it here and there to different areas and periods is erroneous methodologically."⁴⁴

To Ernst Werner, a Marxist-Leninist medievalist of the former East Germany, the first two centuries of Ottoman history represented the framing of a feudal system through the subjugation of pre- and antifeudal elements.⁴⁵ Though his conceptual framework is dated and forced, Werner was quite astute in focusing on social conflicts within and around the growing polity in detail as the dynamic that shaped political developments. He explicitly criticized Turkish historiography for its chauvinistic tendencies, including the tendency to overlook conflicts in Turco-Muslim society in general and among its warriors in particular.⁴⁶ Since he made only scanty use of the sources in Islamic languages and clung to a rigid Marxist-Leninist position with a rather facile application of the notion of class struggle,⁴⁷ his views were not seriously considered in the guildlike mainstream of Ottoman studies, which, despite the considerable impact of quasi-Marxian materialism beginning in the 1960s, stood on the western side of the cold war divide. Although Werner identifies Köprülü as "Kommunistenhasser und extremer Nationalist,"⁴⁸ his methodological position has an obvious affinity with that of the

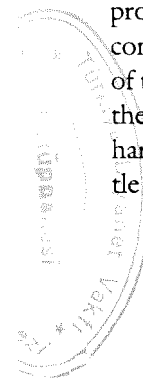
latter, the only Ottomanist of the earlier generation to have a serious interest in sociological history. In his *Origins*, Köprülü had underlined the importance of "research on the *stratification* of various elements which constituted Anatolian Turkish society in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, their positions with respect to each other, their strengths and weaknesses, the causes of *conflict and solidarity* among them," but his agenda simply included too many other questions that he preferred to focus on.⁴⁹

Whatever the merits of the insights they brought to the rise of the Ottoman state, these works had agendas that assigned higher priority to other matters. Thus, their comments on our specific theme remained by and large buried. Surveys (and syllabi?) of Ottoman, Islamic, and world history framed the activities of the state founders in terms of the gaza thesis. It should be obvious, however, that not all the scholars in the field were compelled by Wittek's gaza thesis even when it reigned supreme. Their works rather represent a continual, if not directly critical or widely influential, search for alternative explanations. Even if the gaza ethos was accepted to have played a role, there was an obvious urge to consider other factors, mostly social and economic, like trade, demographics, nomad-settled relations, as well as societal conflict, as the dynamics that produced an empire. In the beginning of the 1980s, İnalçık wrote a concise and masterly synthesis, to be discussed later, that brought many of these elements together with the gaza ethos.⁵⁰ It turned out to be not the last word on the subject, as one might have expected, but only the harbinger of a decade that saw a flurry of publications aiming to dismantle the gaza thesis altogether.

The Wittek Thesis and Its Critics

It is time now to go over the gaza thesis in more detail and then turn to its critics. As indicated above with respect to the methodological position he shared with Köprülü, Wittek could not have formulated his thesis without assuming some sort of diachronic continuum in the gazi traditions of Anatolia, and of medieval Islam in general, reaching the early Ottomans, as well as some level of synchronic communication and similarity between the gazis in Bithynia and elsewhere in Anatolia. That is precisely why he prefaced his account of the rise of the Ottomans with a survey of the gazi traditions in Anatolia starting with

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The Construction of the Ottoman State, Berkeley-1995
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proponents of fictionalised history may on occasion prove to be somewhat uncomfortable intellectual bedfellows.

This is not to say that poetic – or even political – preoccupations must of necessity debar the historian (or any scholar) from producing good (i.e. intellectually respectable) work. Namier we think no less of as a historian of eighteenth century England because of his political commitments in another sphere, nor has it ever been suggested that, for example, Housman's obsessively subjective poetry ever clouded the objective vision of a consummate textual scholar. Here we are dealing (apparently) with well-compartmentalised intellectual processes; more difficult, however, is the task of attempting to ascertain the influence of poetry (more so, probably, than is the case with politics) on the historian's processes of thought or in his choice of subject. Such influences tend thus to present obstacles to their identification or to the quantification of their effect, particularly in situations where the poetic matrix and the historical context are apparently widely removed from one another.

I

The historical writings of Paul Wittek (b. Baden bei Wien, 1894; d. Eastcote, Middx, 1978; Professor of Turkish in the University of London 1949 – 61) furnish a case in point. In a recent contribution⁴ (undertaken long after but published in advance of the present paper) I attempted to locate Wittek's historical writings within the context of certain Austrian attitudes to history. What is attempted here is to examine more closely the purely literary (and more immediate) influences in Wittek's history-writing. More specifically, the aim and object of the present paper is to argue the case for a more general recognition of the influence of extraneous but identifiable literary influences on Wittek's theories concerning the origins, early history and fundamental character of the Ottoman state.

The present study has had a long gestation, possibly too long a one for either its own or the author's good. A personal aside may therefore be in order. Some two decades ago, when I first embarked on the teaching of Middle Eastern history, I was obliged, in the company of a particularly responsive group of students,⁵ to examine the historical orthodoxies concerning the early history of the Ottoman state which I had absorbed a decade or so earlier from Wittek's own uniquely memorable teaching. Subsequently⁶ I was, for long, pursued by – rather, alas,

⁴ "Wittek and the Austrian tradition", *JRAS* 1988/1, pp. 7–25, where (p.8, n.5; p.9, n.13) further bibliographical references to Wittek's career and publications are provided.

⁵ At the Near Eastern Center, University of Michigan, in the academic year 1967–8.

⁶ In fact since 1971. I record my indebtedness to my former colleague at the University of California, Los Angeles, Professor J. D. J. Waardenburg, of Lausanne University, for his comments on my original and still only partially fulfilled plan for a study on "causation and its rationalisation in the interpretation of early Ottoman history", when we discussed it in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in March 1971.

للتاريخ، وقبل دائرة العصور الوسطى (جامعة فرجينيا ١٩٧٥)، و نائب الفكر في العالم الطبيعي، نظرية إسماعيلية للنبوة، واجتماع دراسات الشرق الأوسط (١٩٧٥)، وهل الروح الإنسانية جزء من روح العالم؟ مناظرة في القرن العاشر قام بها أربعة شيوخ إسماعيليين (صحيفة الجمعية الشرقية الأمريكية ١٩٧٦)، والأفلاطونية الحديثة في أخلاقيات الإسماعيليين (المؤتمر الدولي للفلسفة، نيويورك ١٩٧٦).

وله من المقالات: انتصار البيزنطيين على الفاطميين في الإسكندرية عام ٩٧١ (بيزنسنيون ١٩٧٢)، وصلاح الدين (دائرة المعارف البريطانية، الطبعة الحديثة)، والرد الإسماعيلي لمشكلة عبادة المجهول (الصحيفة الأمريكية للدراسات العربية ٢، ١٩٧٤)، ومفردات إسماعيلية للخلق (الدراسات الإسلامية، ١٩٧٤)، وتفسير إسماعيل القديم للإنسان والتاريخ والخلاص (صحيفة أهيو للدراسات الدينية، ١٩٧٤)، وكون هيراركي في الفكر الإسماعيلي القديم - وجهة نظر أبي يعقوب السجستاني (عالم الإسلام ١٩٧٦)، والحرب الصليبية لجون تريمسكوس في ضوء الدلائل العربية الحديثة (بيزنسنيون ١٩٧٦)، والكون الأبدى ورحمة التاريخ في الزمن في الفكر الإسماعيلي القديم (الصحيفة الدولية لدراسات الشرق الأوسط).

ووكر، جون (المولود عام ١٩٠٠) J. Walker

تخرج في جامعة جلاسجو، وعمل في المتحف البريطاني (١٩٣١)، ثم عين محافظاً للنقود فيه (١٩٥٦).

آثاره: فهرس أثري للنقود العربية الأساسية. وترجمة كتاب في طب الركة لعبد الرحمن إسماعيل خريج مدرسة قصر العيني (لندن ١٩٣٤)، وله في العالم الإسلامي: من هو ذو الكفل؟ (١٩٢٦)، وإدريس (١٩٢٧)، وعزير (١٩٢٩)، والطب الشعبي في مصر الحديثة (١٩٣١)، والإسلام في مدغشقر (١٩٣٢)، وفي موزيون: الكتابات الكوفية الفاطمية في مصر (١٩٣٨)، وكتابات عربية بخط حضرموت (١٩٣٩)، وست كتابات كوفية (١٩٥١)، وعن نقود الخلفاء (تاريخ النميات: ١٩٣٤ و ٣٥ و ٣٦ و ٤٦ و ٥٢ وفصول المتحف البريطاني: ١٩٣٥ و ٥٥. ومجلة الجمعية الملكية الآسيوية: ١٩٣٣ و ٣٥، وذكرى هرسفيلد ١٩٥٢)، وعن نقود شمالي أفريقيا (فصول المتحف البريطاني: ١٩٣٥ و ٣٦، وتاريخ النميات ١٩٣٦ و ٣٩). ثم السجل (الثقافة الإسلامية ١٩٣٥)، ونقود الجزيرة العربية (الثقافة الإسلامية ١٩٣٦)، ونقود أمراء كريت (تاريخ النميات ١٩٥٣).

وعن النقود الشرقية (فصول المتحف البريطاني ٢١، ١٩٥٧)، ورسم سلجوقي فريد (منشورات جمعية النميات الأمريكية ١٩٥٨)، وكتابات جنوب الجزيرة العربية والصابئة (موزيون ٧٥، ١٩٦٢)، وبمعاونة غيره: حول الأوزان والمكاييل البيزنطية العربية (فصول المتحف البريطاني ٢٥، ١٩٦٢).

ويتك، ب. p. wittek

ألماني الأصل، وقف نشاطه على تركيا وعلاقتها بأوروبا، وأنشأ مصنفاته بالألمانية والإنجليزية. آثاره: البلاط العثماني وتنظيماته الإدارية (برنستون ١٩٣٣)، والوسط التاريخي لأول دولة عثمانية بالألمانية (إستابول ١٩٣٤)، ومن مباحثه: القسطنطينية والإسلام والخلافة (مخطوطات علم الاجتماع والسياسة ٥٣، ١٩٢٥)، والرسوم التركية (الإسلام ١٩٢٥)، وتركيا والإسلام (مخطوطات علم الاجتماع والسياسة، ٥٩، ١٩٢٨)، والأدب العثماني التركي (الأدب الشرقية ١٩٣٠)، والمنمنمات العثمانية (الإسلام ١٩٣١)، وبيزنطة والسلاجقة (١٩٣٦) وفصلان من تاريخ أترارك روم (بيزنسنيون، ١١،

آثاره: موقف الرسول من يهود المدينة، وهي رسالته في الدكتوراه (ليدن ١٩٠٨)، ومحمد واليهود (الإسلام ١٩١١)، والإسرائيليات في الإسلام (الإسلام ١٩١٣)، وفهرس ذيل الحديث (المجلة الآسيوية البريطانية ١٩١٦ - ١٨)، وقيمة الحديث في الدراسات الإسلامية (العالم الإسلامي ١٩٢١)، ومحمد والنبوة (الأعمال الشرقية ١٩٢٤)، وفلسفة ابن خلدون الاجتماعية للدكتور طه حسين مبدئياً برسالة من ابن خلدون (القاهرة ١٩٢٥)، ومفتاح كنوز السنة مرتباً على الحروف الأيجدية (ليدن ١٩٢٧)، والمعجم المفهرس لألفاظ الحديث عن الكتب الستة، ومسند الدارمي، وموطأ مالك، ومسند ابن حنبل وغيرها، وهو كتاب جليل صنّفه بالإنجليزية تصنيفاً لغوياً لجميع الألفاظ الهامة في الكتب الستة وأبعه ثلاثة تذييلات: للأعوام والأماكن والاستشهادات القرآنية.

ونشر الموجز (ليدن ١٩٢٧)، والمطول (ليدن ١٩٣٣ - ٣٦)، والخمر في الإسلام (العالم الإسلامي ١٩٢٨)، والشمس في تقاليد الساميين (منوعات هنري باسه ١٩٢٨)، ومصنف في الصوفية الشرقية، مسيحية وإسلامية (ليدن ١٩٢٨)، والاعتقاد بمشيئة واحدة عند الشرقيين (ليدن ١٩٢٨)، والصوفية الشرقية في الآداب السريانية (ليدن ١٩٣٠)، والعقيدة الإسلامية وتطورها التاريخي (كمبريدج ١٩٣٢)، والغزالي (دراسات سامية ١٩٣٢ - ٤١، والأندلس ١٩٤٦)، وفكرة الغزالي (باريس ١٩٤٠)، ودراسات سامية (ليدن ١٩٣٨ - ٤١)، والأثر اليهودي في أصل الشعائر الإسلامية (المجلة الأفريقية ١٩٥٤).

وود، ألفرد سيل (المولود عام ١٨٩٦) A.C. Wood

تعلم في ليفربول وأكسفورد. وعين محاضراً في الكلية الجامعية بنوتنجهام (١٩٢٦) وباحثاً (١٩٤٦) وأستاذاً للتاريخ الحديث في جامعة نوتنجهام (١٩٥١).

آثاره: السفارة البريطانية في الأستانة من عام ١٦٦٠ إلى عام ١٧٦٢ (صحيفة التاريخ البريطاني ١٩٢٥) وتاريخ التجارة الإنجليزية في المشرق (لندن ١٩٣٥) وفهرس مخطوطات ابن النفيس (صحيفة الطب الأمريكية ١٩٣٥).

وورثنجتون، - E.B. Worthington

آثاره: العلم في الشرق الأوسط، في ٢٥٢ صفحة (لندن ١٩٤٦).

ووكر، بول إرنست - Earnest Paul Walker

مساعد أمين مكتبة الجمعية التاريخية بولاية يوتا (١٩٦٠ - ٦٣)، ومدرس في أكاديمية جان دارك (١٩٦٧ - ٦٨)، ومدرس ومحاضر (وقت إضافي) في كلية جورج وليامز (١٩٧١ - ١٩٧٢)، وجامعة جورج واشنطن وجمعيات سميث ومدرس تاريخ بالمتحف القومي للتاريخ والتكنولوجيا (منذ ١٩٧٥)، ومؤسسات سميث (١٩٧٣ - ٧٦).

تخرج في جامعة يوتا، وحصل على درجة الليسانس في التاريخ (١٩٦٤)، وعلى الماجستير في الدراسات العربية من الجامعة الأمريكية في القاهرة (١٩٦٤ - ٦٦)، والدكتوراه في لغات الشرق الأدنى والحضارة من جامعة شيكاغو (١٩٦٨).

آثاره: أبو يعقوب السجستاني وتطور الأفلاطونية الحديثة لدى الإسماعيليين (جامعة شيكاغو ١٩٧٤)، وصحف المؤثر والمحاضرات العامة (الأسماء الحديثة فقط) واختراع ساعة الدوام الميكانيكية وفكرة لينار

ويتك ، ب. - Wittek, P.

ألماني الأصل ، وقف نشاطه على تركيا وعلاقتها بأوروبا ، وأنشأ مصنفاته بالألمانية والإنجليزية .

آثاره : البلاط العثماني وتنظيماته الإدارية (برنستون ١٩٣٣) ، والوسط التاريخي لأول دولة عثمانية بالألمانية (استانبول ١٩٣٤) ، ومن مباحثه : القسطنطينية والإسلام والخلافة

١٠٣

- (مخطوطات علم الاجتماع والسياسة ٥٣ ، ١٩٢٥) ، والرسوم التركية (الإسلام ١٩٢٥) ،
وتركيا والإسلام (مخطوطات علم الاجتماع والسياسة ، ٥٩ ، ١٩٢٨) ، والأدب العثماني
التركي (الآداب الشرقية ١٩٢٨ - ٢٩ - ٣١) ، والمعهد الألماني للآثار في القسطنطينية
(الآداب الشرقية ١٩٣٠) ، والتمتات العثمانية (الإسلام ١٩٣١) ، وبيزنطية والسلاجقة
(١٩٣٦) وفصلان من تاريخ أتراك روم (بيزانسيون ، ١١ ، ١٩٣٦) ومن هزيمة أنقره إلى
فتح القسطنطينية (مجلة الدراسات الإسلامية ١٢ ، ١٩٣٨) ، والإمبراطورية العثمانية (المجلة
الآسيوية البريطانية ١٩٣٨) ، ونقد المخطوطات العثمانية (بيزانسيون ، ١٣ ، ١٩٣٨) ،
وبمعاونة ليميرل : مباحث في تاريخ ونظام الأديار في مصر تحت الحكم التركي (مخطوطات
تاريخ القانون الشرقي ، ٣ ، ١٩٤٧) ، وله : أهل قياقوس (الحولية الاستشرافية ، ١٧ ،
١٩٥١) ، وفي نشرة مدرسة الدراسات الشرقية والأفريقية : النصراري والأتراك
(١٤ ، ١٩٥٢) ، ورسالة من مراد الثالث إلى دوج البندقية عام ١٥٨٠ (١٤ ، ١٩٥٢)
والإدريسي والجزر البريطانية (١٧ ، ١٩٥٥) . وحول تاريخ تركيا (٥٩ - ٦١ -
٦٢ - ٦٣) وتكريم ماير ١٩٦٤ ، وتكريم جيب (١٩٦٥) والإقطاع في الإسلام (١٩٥٨)

IN MEMORIAM

PROFESSOR PAUL WITTEK, 1894-1978

The death of Professor Paul August Wittek, Emeritus Professor of Turkish at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, on 13 June 1978, at the age of eighty-four marks the end of a pioneering era in the study of Ottoman and Turkish history.

A true scion of the Austro-Hungarian empire, Paul Wittek was born at Baden, near Vienna, of a Czech family. He served as an artillery officer during World War I on the Russian front, and after recovering from a serious head wound (in later life he was fond of luring unsuspecting students into feeling the hole that remained), he was dispatched as adviser to the Ottoman General Staff, serving on the Palestinian front during the latter days of the war. He began his study of Turkish, as he later related, while traveling on a military train which took him through southeastern Europe to Istanbul. He met most of the great Ottoman leaders of the time, and also Mustafa Kemal Atatürk during and after the Gallipoli campaign, describing the latter as brilliant but aloof in reaction to the airs of superiority taken toward Turks and Muslims by many of the German and Austrian officers then in Ottoman service.

Following the war, Wittek returned home to study Turkology formally, securing his degree at the University of Vienna. He then spent a number of years back in Turkey at the German Archaeological Institute, where he began his studies of medieval Turkish and Islamic epigraphy as well as Ottoman origins, also making an important contribution to the study of later Ottoman history by bringing to public attention the proposed sale of the Ottoman archives to Bulgaria as 'wastepaper.' Professor Wittek later said that he was lunching one sunny day at a restaurant overlooking the Sirkeji railway station when he noticed a number of papers being blown down the street. Running quickly to intercept them, he found several early Ottoman governmental documents. With the help of other leading Turkish historians, the scandal was uncovered and publicized, and the archives were saved for future generations of scholars.

After his return to Vienna, Professor Wittek reacted to the rise of Nazism by emigrating to Brussels, where he flourished under the stimulus of the Institute of Byzantine Studies, then directed by Professor Henri Gregoire. When the Nazis invaded the Low Countries Wittek fled in a small boat to England, where, as an Austrian national, he was initially imprisoned as an enemy alien. It did not take long, however, for a number of British orientalist, led by Professor Sir Hamilton A. R. Gibb and Sir Denison Ross, to secure his release and employment at the University of London. He traveled back to his wife and family in Brussels soon after the war, but returned to England permanently when he was named to a new Chair of Turkish at the School of Oriental and

WZKM, 68 (1976) Wien, S. 1-7

PAUL WITTEK

SCHRIFTENVERZEICHNIS*

1921—1966

Doğru den Türkçe için.

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1. *Das Fürstentum Mentеше. Studie zur Geschichte Westkleinasiens im 13.—15. Jh.* (= Istanbuler Mitteilungen 2). Istanbul, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1934. Türkische Übersetzung von ORHAN ŞAIK GÖKYAY: *Menteşe Beyliği*. Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1944.
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* Von PAUL WITTEK selbst im Januar 1966 zusammengestellt („Publications by Paul Wittek — a selective list“).

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WITTEK AND THE AUSTRIAN TRADITION¹

By COLIN HEYWOOD

If I were to offer one specific reason for our meeting today, beyond a general and justifiable intention to commemorate the contribution made to early Ottoman historical studies by the late Professor Paul Wittek, it would not be that the year 1987 marks any of the usual anniversaries in the life of our subject. Wittek, a Fellow of this Society, was the first occupant of the Chair of Turkish in the University of London, from 1948 to 1961. It is still seven years short of one hundred since he was born, on 11 January 1894, in Baden, to the south of Vienna, the son of a *Gymnasium* headmaster; and it is less than a decade since *The Times* recorded the death, at the age of eighty-four, in an outer suburb of London, of this quintessentially Austrian scholar.²

We must therefore move our search for an anniversary closer to home. Fifty years ago this month, in the spring of 1937, there took place in Wittek's life an event which was to prove significant not only for his own career and for the future course of Ottoman scholarship in this country and even further afield, but one which, in its working-out if not in its direct causation, was to demonstrate a close connection with this Society.

In the years preceding the outbreak of the Second World War it was the laudable practice of the University of London, through the agency of its various Boards of Studies, to sponsor an annual series of Special University Lectures. These lectures, delivered by distinguished scholars drawn often from foreign universities, were addressed, according to the rubric, "to students of the University and to others interested in the subject". The academic year 1936-7, that uneasy twelvemonth of domestic crisis and continental alarms, was, as it turned out, also the last year in which the Special University Lectures were held. Fortunately, it produced, at least in this respect, a classic vintage. In February 1937 the Board of Studies in History brought over Dopsch from Vienna to give three lectures on Economic Problems of the Middle Ages. Three months later, in May, the ancient historians produced Rostovtzeff, who lectured on Dura-Europos.³

The orientalist of the University were not to be outshone in this display of domestic and foreign scholarly virtuosity. In the spring of 1937 there appeared in the vitrines of the then newly-opened Senate House in Bloomsbury the printed announcement that "a Course of Three Lectures on 'The Rise of the Ottoman Empire'" would be given "at the New Buildings of the University by Dr. Paul Wittek (of the Institute of Oriental and Slavonic Philology and History in the Université Libre, Brussels) at 5.30 p.m. on May 4th, 5th and 6th, 1937". The chair at the first lecture would be taken by

¹ A slightly amended version of the 1987 Anniversary Memorial Lecture, delivered at the Royal Asiatic Society, 14 May 1987.

² *The Times*, 16 June 1978.

³ University of London, University Archive. Minutes of Senate, 21 July 1937, p. 56.

- Wittek, Paul

WITTEK VE AVUSTURYA GELENEĞİ*

Colln HEYWOOD

Çev: Prof.Dr. Ahmet Turan YÜKSEL
Selçuk Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi

ÖZET

Paul Wittek, Osmanlı tarihi üzerindeki araştırmaları ile ünlü Avusturyalı bir bilim adamıdır. Osmanlı tarihi konusunda özellikle "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Doğuşu" başlıklı kitabıyla bu alanla ilgili tezlerini ortaya koymuştur. Bu makalede Heywood, Wittek'in hayatını ve çalışmalarını Avusturya geleneği çerçevesinde Osmanlı Tarihine katkıları açısından ele almıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Paul Wittek, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Doğuşu, Anadolu.

ABSTRACT

Wittek and The Austrian Tradition

Paul Wittek is a well-known Austrian scholar in the field of Ottoman history. On the Ottoman history, he set up his views in especially his book titled the Rise of the Ottoman Empire. In this article Heywood examined the life of Wittek and his works about the Ottoman history within the Austrian tradition.

Key Words: Paul Wittek, The Rise of the Ottoman Empire, Anatolia.

Bugün burada bir araya gelişimiz için, müteveffa Profesör Paul Wittek'in ilk Osmanlı Tarihi araştırmalarına yaptığı katkıları anmak gibi genel ve haklı bir amacın dışında özel bir gerekçe sunmak gerekseydi, bu, konumuz olan şahsiyetin hayatında sıradan kutlamaların herhangi birisini tanımlayan 1987 yılı olmazdı. Bu Cemiyetin bir bireyi olan Wittek, 1948'den 1961'e kadar Londra Üniversitesi'nde Türkçe kürsüsünün ilk başkanlığını yapmıştı. 11 Ocak 1894'te, Viyana'nın güneyinde, Baden'de, bir *Gymnasium* (lise) müdürünün oğlu olarak dünyaya gelişinden bu tarafa doksan üç sene geçti. *The Times*'in, gerçek bir Avusturyalı bilim adamının Londra'nın dışında bir banliyöde seksen dört yaşında ölümünü kaydedişinden bu tarafa da on seneden az bir süre geçmiş bulunmaktadır.¹

* Royal Asiatic Society Dergisi'nin 1988 yılı 1.sayısında 7-25. sayfaları arasında yer alan "Wittek and the Austrian Tradition" başlıklı makalenin çevirisidir. Söz konusu makale, 14 Mayıs 1987'de, Royal Asiatic Society'de sunulan 1987 Anniversary Memorial Lecture'in biraz daha geliştirilmiş şeklidir. Bu arada Almanca kısımların çevirisindeki değerli katkılarından dolayı Prof.Dr.Mustafa Tavukçuoğlu'na teşekkürlerimi sunarım. (Çev.)

¹ *The Times*, 16 Haziran 1978.