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Karl Hadank (1882–1945) and the *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*: Ambitions, Achievements, and Ideological Entanglements¹

Abstract

This article examines Karl Hadank's contribution to the important publication series *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen* (KPF) in a comprehensive way. It considers the academic and historical context in which Hadank edited three KPF volumes from Oskar Mann's *Nachlass* (scholarly legacy) between 1926 and 1932. It furthermore provides a narrative of 25 years of Hadank's academic life, exploring his personality, including his entanglements in ideological discourses of his time.

Keywords: West Iranian dialectology, History of Science, Prussian Academy of Sciences, Academic Anti-Semitism, *Nachlass* Oskar Mann/Karl Hadank

1. Introduction, Aims, State of the Art

From October 1901 to December 1903, and again from January 1906 to August 1907, the orientalist and librarian Oskar Mann (1867–1917), who at the time was head of the manuscript section of the Berlin Royal Library, undertook two expeditions to Iran and the Kurdish regions of the Ottoman Empire to collect large amounts of linguistic material on Kurdish, Zazaki, Gorani, and other Western Iranian languages and dialects. After returning to Berlin, Mann started publishing the results of his expeditions in the three first volumes of a series called *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen* (KPF).² He was prevented from completing the publication of the KPF due to other commitments, an eye disease, World War I, and finally by his sudden and untimely death on 5 December 1917.³ The work on the KPF volumes and their publication was continued from 1919 onwards by the historian Karl Hadank, who published three more volumes⁴ based on Mann's scholarly legacy (*Nachlass*). Mann's expeditions were

1 I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Vera Enke, Wiebke Witzel, and the other employees of the *Archiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin) for their generous help during my many visits there. Besides, I would like to thank my colleagues Prof. Birthe Kundrus (Hamburg) and Dr. Roman Siebertz (Bonn) for drawing my attention to various important publications; and Annett Krafft (*Archiv des Leibniz-Instituts für Bildungsforschung und Bildungsinformation*, Berlin) for her prompt and helpful answer to my request.

2 Mann 1906–1910; the three volumes were published in four parts.

3 Kolivand 2014, 12.

4 Mann/Hadank 1926–1932.

among the most important research missions of the late *Deutsches Kaiserreich*, comparable to the various Turfan expeditions that were undertaken at about the same time.

The Turfan expeditions collected large numbers of manuscripts and *objets d'art* from the bygone religious cultures of the Silk Road. These artefacts, which were brought to Berlin, provided the basis for new important academic (sub-)fields, such as Turfan Philology or Manichaean Studies, that would soon claim the energy and interest of many Iranian scholars, religious historians, and art historians. Mann's expeditions furthermore brought spectacular finds to Berlin, but they proved to be interesting only to a relatively small number of specialists in modern Iranian dialectology and Kurdish literature. Nevertheless, the publication of his materials was considered a major academic undertaking by the Prussian Academy of Sciences and played an important role in the development of modern Iranian dialectology.

Karl Hadank's role in the publication of the *KPF* is far from being adequately understood. While Oskar Mann's importance as a scholar is well established, and there are studies on his life and work (e.g., the edition of his correspondence during his expeditions),⁵ Karl Hadank has remained practically unknown as a scholar and a person until very recently. Since Hadank was contracted by the Prussian Academy of Sciences, and was neither an Academy employee nor affiliated with any university, there is a lack of information and published sources on his life and works. The only account published before 2018 seems to be a short report on his scholarly activities after 1933.⁶ Hadank is referenced in a Bamberg dissertation from 2018,⁷ and in another 2018 publication⁸ based on a 2011 Berlin dissertation.⁹ Henning (2018) deals with Hadank only in the context of his 1932/33 expedition to Syria/Iraq (v.i.), and regarding his relationship with the influential Kurdish Bedir Khān family. Lemke/Rosbeiani (2018) is an important, pioneering study dealing with a military mission of the German *Wehrmacht* in 1943, for which Hadank played a minor role (as an academic advisor, v.i.). Furthermore, it contains a valuable account of Hadank's life.¹⁰

The present article aims to study the *KPF* and Hadank's contribution to them comprehensively, considering the academic and historical context(s) in their entirety. This includes the establishment and organisation of the *KPF* in the framework of the Academy projects, the scholarly networks that were important for their establishment

5 Kolivand 2014.

6 See Grau in: Stern 1979, 344–345. The references to Hadank in Ellinger 2006, 147, 486 are also based on Stern/Grau 1979.

7 Henning 2018.

8 Lemke/Rosbeiani 2018.

9 Rosbeiani 2011.

10 Lemke/Rosbeiani 2018, 19–29; There are some minor factual mistakes, particularly concerning Hadank's academic life and relations, e.g. that he was an Iranologist (p. 19; he was educated as a historian and geographer), or the names of two scholars (Franz Labinger, p. 24: correctly Franz Babinger; Wolfgang Lang, p. 29: correctly Wolfgang Lentz). Hadank was born in 1882 (not in 1889, p. 19). However, this does not limit the value of this well-researched archive study.

(beyond institutional support), and their importance for Iranian dialectology. Most importantly, it includes an account of Karl Hadank's role as an editor of the *KPF*. Following the progress of the *KPF* from 1919 until 1945 (and beyond) chronologically, this article gives a narrative of the 26 years of Hadank's academic life. Finally, it describes his character, including his achievements, his unfulfilled scholarly ambitions, and his involvement in the Nazi and anti-Semitic ideology of his time.

The official progress of Hadank's work on the *KPF* can be traced in the annual reports of the Prussian Academy of Sciences.¹¹ For further details on this, the author consulted the files of the *Orientalische Kommission* of the Academy (up to 1945).¹² For the last year of Hadank's life (1945), and the (dis-)continuation of the *KPF* after this year, the files of the Academy of what would later become the German Democratic Republic provide further information.¹³ Certain aspects of Hadank's life and scholarly personality can be gained directly from his publications; a wealth of further information can be drawn from his extensive *Nachlass*, namely, his unpublished writings and correspondence. Hadank's *Nachlass* is kept in the archives of the *Berlin-Brandenburger Akademie der Wissenschaften* (BBAAdW), together with those parts of Oskar Mann's *Nachlass*, which Hadank worked on from 1919 to 1945; this is referred to herein as: '*Nachlass* Mann/Hadank'. It comprises 220 files or folders with approximately 4,500–5,000 pages of text (excluding thousands of index cards). The other unpublished sources that were previously mentioned (*Or. Komm.*, *Bestand Ak.*) are also kept in the BBAAdW archives. Most of Hadank's materials and sketches are written in old German (*Sütterlin*) script, some in stenography. The sections of Mann's *Nachlass* on which Hadank did not work are kept in the *Staatsbibliothek* (Berlin), and are not discussed here.

2. Hadank's Life and Work

2.1 *The Years 1882–1918*

Karl Emil Hadank was born on 21 February 1882 in Kesseldorf (a district of Löwenberg) in Silesia, to the Protestant clergyman Emil Hadank and his wife Marie, née Voigt. He grew up in Cottbus and Berlin. From 1901 to 1905, he studied History and Geography at the University of Berlin. On 2 June 1905, he defended his dissertation on the 'Battle of Cortenuova (1237)', which explored the victory of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II over the union of Lombardian cities.

The list of 30 names of professors and teachers, whose classes he had attended during his Berlin studies (1901–05), which Hadank gave in the curriculum vitae of his dissertation, is impressive and provides evidence of his universal academic interests. The list includes outstanding scholars such as the historians Hans Delbrück, Otto

11 See AdBBAAdW, *Sitzungsberichte* and *Jahrbücher*.

12 See AdBBAAdW, *Or. Komm.*

13 See AdBBAAdW, *Bestand Ak.*

Hintze, and Hermann Oncken; the theologian and philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey; the theologian and church historian Adolf von Harnack; and the geographer Ferdinand von Richthofen, who coined the term *Seidenstraße* (Silk Road). Although there is no scholar of Iranian on the list, the scholar of Ancient History Eduard Meyer and the scholar of Ancient Near Eastern History Carl Friedrich Lehmann-Haupt may have awakened Hadank's interest in Iran, either from an Ancient Greek, Mesopotamian, or from an Armenian perspective. These names personify not only the best of German academic humanities of their time, but also represent a broad range of ideological premises and attitudes, from German-national, over liberal, to socialist-leftist. Hadank's staunch anti-Semitic attitude, evident from his later writings (v.i.), was not determined by his teachers: as a young man, he seems to have been open to influences from different perspectives.

After graduating, Hadank became a high school teacher, and passed his teaching exam on 23 January 1906 at the *Königlich-Wissenschaftliche Prüfungskommission* (Berlin), for the subjects History, Geography, and Latin. He completed his year of traineeship and several short posts as a substitute teacher at various Berlin high schools. Finally, in April 1908, he was employed by the *König Friedrich-Realgymnasium Friedrichshagen* (near Berlin), where he taught History, Geography, Latin, and German.¹⁴ During his first years as a teacher, he edited a work in Latin by a fifteenth-century Spanish Humanist,¹⁵ demonstrating that he was still interested in topics related to his dissertation, namely, the History of the Late European Middle Ages.¹⁶ Moreover, he stayed in contact with his alma mater, and developed new academic interests. From 1910 at the latest, perhaps even earlier, he took classes in various oriental languages at the University of Berlin (v.i.). The only other information that is provided specifically about Hadank by the annual school reports is that after World War I, during the schoolyear 1921/22, he fell seriously ill and had to be replaced by another teacher during the entire summer of 1921, and halfway through the following winter.¹⁷

Concerning Hadank's private life, some information can be deduced from a small booklet that was published as an obituary after the death of his wife Gertrud, on 1 October 1936.¹⁸ Hadank became acquainted with Gertrud in a Harz (North Ger-

14 See Hadank's personnel file (AdLifBuB, Personalblatt A 143), preserved in the *Archiv des Leibniz-Instituts für Bildungsforschung und Bildungsinformation* (Berlin) (<https://archivdaten.bank.bbf.dipf.de>), and AdLifBuB, *Realgymnasium ... Jahresbericht*, 4. Two short, almost identical accounts of Hadank's professional career up to 1908 resp. 1912 are also given in the *Realgymnasium ... Jahresbericht*, 9, and in Kössler 2008.

15 de Nebrija 1912.

16 In de Nebrija, Hadank may have combined his historic and linguistic interests: in 1492, Antonio de Nebrija had published a grammar of Castilian (i.e., Spanish), the first ever published grammar of a Romance, non-classical language.

17 AdLifBuB, *König Friedrich-Schule ... Jahresbericht 1921/22*, 22–23.

18 She was a writer (24 January 1870, Wartenburg, Ostpreußen – 1 October 1936, Berlin), who published historical novels under her maiden name, Gertrud von Wenckstern (e.g., *Sansina's Opfer*, Berlin: Wilhelm Meister Verlag, 1926, about the life of the Albanian national hero Skanderbeg). Regarding her life and works, see Strecker 1936.

many) bathing resort in 1911. They married on 14 May 1915 in Berlin and had no children. In the summer of 1916, he was called to arms to join a *Landwehr* (Territorial Reserve) in Rathenow (near Berlin). After a two-month training period, he was asked to report to Berlin to be sent to Germany's ally, the Ottoman Empire, as an interpreter of oriental languages. In 1917/18, he served in Panderma (Turkish: Bandırma), a town in Asia Minor, on the southern shore of the Sea of Marmara, ca. 100 km north of the city of Balıkesir, where he seized the opportunity to learn Armenian.¹⁹ At the end of the war, he was imprisoned in Panderma for some months.²⁰

2.2 The Years 1918–1932

In the summer of 1918, while he was still imprisoned in Panderma (v. s.), Hadank received a letter (dated 29 June 1918) from the Berlin professor of Semitic studies Eduard Sachau on behalf of the Prussian Academy of Sciences, asking him to take over the publication of the posthumous works of Oskar Mann on Iranian dialectology.²¹ After Mann had passed away (on 5 December 1917), his sister Marthe Mann entrusted his *Nachlass* to the Prussian Academy of Sciences, and a commission was set up to manage this important material.²² The commission was headed by Eduard Sachau, its other members being the Indologist Heinrich Lüders, the Indo-Europeanist Wilhelm Schulze, the Orientalist Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Müller, and the church historian Adolf von Harnack.

In her letter, Marthe Mann emphasised her late brother's wish that the Göttingen Iranologist Friedrich Carl Andreas (1846–1930), an expert in Iranian dialects, should not be given access to this *Nachlass*; the commission complied with this request on 15 February 1918.²³ In a meeting on 24 October 1918,²⁴ the commission unanimously considered Hadank to be the person best qualified for editing and publishing Mann's

19 Mann/Hadank 1926, IX, and Mann/Hadank 1932, X.

20 See his report from 7 February 1920, AdBBAdW, *Or. Komm.* II-VIII-199, doc. 17, 2, and doc. 47; *The Militärarchiv* (Freiburg) provides no information on Hadank during his military service.

21 AdBBAdW, *Or. Komm.* II-VIII-199, doc. 17, 1.

22 See letter from Marthe Mann to the Academy, dated 23 January 1918 (AdBBAdW, *Or. Komm.* II-VIII-199, doc. 2).

23 AdBBAdW, *Or. Komm.* II-VIII-199, doc. 3. The cause of the conflict between Andreas and Mann remains unclear. Mann had dedicated his 1890 Straßburg dissertation to Andreas, with whom he had studied in Berlin, and addressed him in a very friendly and respectful manner in various letters up to 1906 (e.g., in a letter from 5 July 1906; Kolivand 2014, 514–515). In a letter written to Paul Kahle from 5 May 1912, Andreas complains about Mann, writing that he had not sent back a Persian manuscript that he (Andreas) had borrowed for him under his name (Kanus-Credé 1992, 11). The conflict therefore probably originated between 1906 and 1912.

24 AdBBAdW, *Or. Komm.* II-VIII-199, doc. 6.

Nachlass.²⁵ On 10 June 1920, a contract was prepared detailing the publication of Mann's dialect materials in six volumes, with a remuneration of altogether 7,200 RM (*Reichsmark*) for Hadank.²⁶ Due to various disagreements, the contract was still missing one of the requested signatures on 15 February 1921, as reported in a letter dated the same day. The signature was added subsequently, probably shortly after 15 February 1921, on the original contract from 10 June 1920.²⁷

Hadank had never received a formal university education in Iranian Studies or Linguistics. This raises the question why the commission considered him best qualified for the task; the available sources do not explain this. Only one member of the commission, the church historian Adolf von Harnack, had been mentioned in the list of Hadank's teachers in his C.V. However, folder 220 of the *Nachlass* Mann/Hadank contains ca. 10 notebooks written by Hadank that show his continued occupation with the study of various oriental languages at least since 1910, an interest he probably pursued in his free time: he studied Turkish (with Mirza Hassan) in the winters of 1910/11 and 1911/12; modern Arabic dialects (Syrian, Egyptian) in the winter of 1913/14 and Chinese in the summer of 1914. His familiarity with Persian is demonstrated in a notebook entitled 'Firdausi II', a class he took with the renowned Berlin professor of historical geography Josef Marquart (1863–1930) in the summer of 1915. Hadank's knowledge of oriental languages was clearly the reason why he was sent to the Ottoman Empire during World War I as an interpreter. His service there, which allowed him to further improve his linguistic skills, led to the Academy asking him to edit Mann's *Nachlass*.

It is clear from the preface to the first *KPF* volume,²⁸ in which Hadank thanks 'his dear teacher' Sachau, that he must also have taken classes with Sachau before 1916 (perhaps in Arabic dialects). Sachau thought very highly of Hadank as a scholar; in the Academy commission meeting of 6 May 1920, where the contract was discussed, he suggested that on account of the great confidence that Hadank deserved, the remuneration of the whole contract could be awarded to him before completing the work. This, however, was not approved by the other members.²⁹

Before Hadank began the task entrusted to him by the Academy, he had to ward off an attempt by Josef Marquart to use Mann's Zaza material for his own purposes. From January 1920 onwards, Hadank attended a Zaza reading class with Marquart, in which the Zaza texts that had been published by Peter Ivanovič Lerch in 1857/58 (see bibliography) were studied. Hadank reports that Marquart asked him to hand over Mann's Zaza texts, which he had just received from the Academy. According to Hadank, Marquart wanted to publish the texts in a way that would show that he, rather than Oskar Mann, had been the first scholar to identify the main dialectal

25 I do not believe that, as suggested by Lemke/Rosbeiani 2018, 19–20, the commission's decision to choose Hadank for the task was for political reasons.

26 AdBBAdW, *Or. Komm.* II-VIII-199, doc. 38.

27 AdBBAdW, *Or. Komm.* II-VIII-199, docs. 31, 38.

28 Mann/Hadank 1926, XII.

29 AdBBAdW, *Or. Komm.* II-VIII-199, doc. 23.

characteristics of Zaza. Despite Marquart's warning not to 'disappoint him!'(!), Hadank did not comply with this request. Instead, he wrote a comprehensive (unpublished) account about this affair, addressed to the *KPF* commission, which he titled 'Prioritäten-Streitereien' ('disputes about priority'), and in which he explained that Mann held the 'priority' of recognising the salient linguistic features of Zaza, meaning he was the first to describe these features.³⁰

For Hadank, the task he was confronted with was enormous, and he was facing personal struggles at the time. He worked as a high school teacher and could only devote his spare time to Mann's *Nachlass*. He complained about not having access to books that were necessary to work on the *Nachlass*. His health had suffered during his military service in Turkey and various grave illnesses kept him from starting his work on the *Nachlass* until the autumn of 1919. See Hadank's letter from 20 November 1920,³¹ and his health-related release from teaching obligations in 1921/22 (v.s.). Accordingly, the first volume did not appear until 1926.³² Two years before, on 1 May 1924, Hadank retired from his teaching position to be able to fully concentrate on his work on Mann's *Nachlass*.³³

In the meantime, it had become clear that the task commissioned to Hadank was more difficult and time-consuming than it had been initially assumed, and that the original research and publication plan had to be revised. A new contract was drafted between the Academy and Hadank and signed on 1 March 1927, rescinding the 1920 contract.³⁴ On the basis of this new contract, Hadank was obligated to publish altogether nine volumes instead of six (seven more volumes in addition to the one already published, plus an additional large Kurdish dictionary volume). The mode of payment was also changed: while, according to the 1920 contract, Hadank was supposed to receive a fixed sum of 1,200 RM for each volume, the new contract specified the payment of 100 RM for each section (i.e., 16 pages) for any of the volumes. It is not true that Hadank – as a scholar once flippantly remarked – added lengthy introductions to the two volumes that he edited after 1927 to make more money on the basis of this new contract: the 1926 volume, delivered before the new contract was signed, contained a 120-page introduction, and all of Hadank's introductions contain original and important scholarly work.

The next volumes appeared in 1930 and 1932 (see Bibliography). Part (*Abteilung*) III of the *KPF* was almost completed now, with only vol. IV missing, that is, the text volume on Gorani. For the subsequent volumes to be published on Kurdish, as *KPF* pt. IV, Hadank believed his work could greatly benefit if he undertook an expedition

30 7 February 1920, AdBBAdW, *Or. Komm.* II-VIII-199, doc. 17; see also Mann's letter to Andreas from 5 July 1906 (Kolivand 2104, 515) in which Mann explains some basic features of Zazaki.

31 AdBBAdW, *Or. Komm.* II-VIII-199, doc. 42.

32 Mann/Hadank 1926.

33 Letter from the Ministry of Education from 5 December 1924, AdBBAdW, *Or. Komm.* II-VIII-199, doc. 74.

34 AdBBAdW, *Nachlass* Mann/Hadank, 209.

to the Kurdish regions of Syria and Iraq, in order to improve his knowledge of the language. On 3 May 1932, the *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft* granted Hadank a sum of 3,500 RM for travel costs and photo equipment, to which the Foreign Office and the Ministry of Culture added another 3,500 RM.³⁵

2.3 The Years 1932–1939

Hadank embarked on his expedition from Berlin on 5 November 1932 and left Europe by ship from Genova on 7 November. He arrived at his first base, Damascus, on 16 November (through Port Said and Beirut). He went on to Baghdad on 5 December, arriving there two days later. His *Nachlass* contains various notebooks and accounts of the expedition, explaining his activities, some fellow-travellers with whom he became acquainted, his expenses, etc.³⁶ One of his hosts in Damascus was the Kurdish writer and politician Celâdet Bedir Khân, whose brother Kâmurân ‘Ali would visit Hadank some years later in Berlin to work with him on a Kurdish dictionary (v.i.). The context in which Hadank and Celâdet Bedir Khân interacted in Damascus has been explained in a recent work on the Ottoman-Kurdish Bedir Khân family.³⁷

In Damascus, Hadank found out that the quarter of as-Sâlihiya hosted a large community of over 300 families who had migrated there generations ago from Zaza-speaking areas during the Ottoman period. He showed a great interest in studying Zaza with them, but soon realised that most of them were already linguistically assimilated (to Arabic and/or Kurdish). Hadank found only few speakers who he could use as informants, for example, the 78-year-old Kemal Ahmad from Çermik.³⁸ Further interesting details on Hadank’s stay in Baghdad have been explored by Lemke/Rosbeiani,³⁹ for example, his argument with the German Hans Neyer, who ran a boarding-house in Baghdad and hosted Hadank there while he was ill, and apparently tried to rob him.⁴⁰

The expedition was planned for six months but was interrupted in March 1933 in Baghdad, when Hadank fell seriously ill. He had to return to Germany and remained in the sanatorium *Schwarzeck* in Blankenburg (Thuringia) until July 1933; in a letter from 3 July 1933, addressed to Hadank’s wife Gertrud in *Schwarzeck*, the head of the Academy commission Heinrich Lüders assured her that the work on the *KPF* would not be taken away from her husband.⁴¹ Hadank resumed his work on the edition of

35 AdBBAdW, *Or. Komm.* II-VIII-200, docs. 68, 79, 81.

36 See, e.g., AdBBAdW, *Nachlass* Mann/Hadank, 212, a small exercise book that describes the journey from 5 Nov 1932 to 22 January 1933 (in Baghdad) and lists his expenses.

37 Henning 2018, 553–561.

38 AdBBAdW, *Nachlass* Mann/Hadank, 160.

39 Lemke/Rosbeiani 2018.

40 AdBBAdW, *Nachlass* Mann/Hadank, 23.

41 AdBBAdW, *Or. Komm.* II-VIII-200, doc. 136.

Mann's *Nachlass*, again interrupted by various periods in hospital from December 1933 until April 1934.⁴²

A letter from the printing office Baensch (Dresden), addressed to Hadank, from 22 February 1933, states: 'your publication of *Eine Sammlung von Aufsätzen der Görres-Gesellschaft über spanische Geschichte* has unfortunately not been sold during the year 1932'.⁴³ This shows that Hadank was still academically committed to his dissertation topic, the history of the late European Middle Ages, at this time, although his exact role in the publication of this book series remains unclear; he is not mentioned as an author, editor, or collaborator in any volume from the series.

Hadank now started work on the Gorani text volume ('Proben aus der Gorani-Literatur'), which was the last volume to complete *KPF* pt. III. These texts include the *Nāyir-nāma*, written by Mirzā Almās Khān around 1763, which describe the Iran of the early eighteenth century, when the country was in great turmoil. *Nāyir-nāma* is the Gorani form of (Persian) *Nāder-nāme* ('Book of Nāder'). The poem praises Nāder Šāh Afšār, who saved Iran from marauding Afghan and Turkic tribes after the demise of the Safavid dynasty (1729). Mann had left a version of the *Nāyir-nāma* of ca. 400 transcribed verses in his *Nachlass*, taken from the dictate of an informant (who was possibly reciting from a manuscript) during one of his expeditions.⁴⁴

Hadank had completed well over half the work on the *Nāyir-nāma* by the end of 1935, and most of it by the end of 1937. It included an edition that considered *Nāyir-nāma* manuscripts that were kept in the Berlin *Staatsbibliothek*; a German translation, a Gorani-German vocabulary, and a comprehensive introduction. To complete the work, only the dictionary and the long introduction would have to be put into fair copy once again.⁴⁵ Hadank had already received payments for delivering parts of the work in 1933 and 1934 (1,100 RM in total, which would correspond to 176 pages according to the contract).⁴⁶

Various other commitments (v.i.) and his unstable health⁴⁷ kept him from completing the volume. Despite these explanations, the question remains why Hadank, who published three large *KPF* volumes (of over 400 pages each) between 1926 and 1932, and had completed most of the Gorani text volume by 1937, did not manage to have it published during the next eight years of his life. After 1937, each annual Acad-

42 See Hadank's *Jahresbericht* for 1934, from 9 December 1934, in AdBBAdW, *Or. Komm.* II-VIII-200, doc. 153

43 AdBBAdW, *Nachlass* Mann/Hadank, 98; see *Spanische Forschungen ... 1928–31*.

44 AdBBAdW, *Nachlass* Mann/Hadank, 144. See also Mann's report on his stay, and work with informants, in Gorani-speaking Kandūle, e.g., his letters from 11 September and 4 October 1902 (Kolivand 2014, 219, 231).

45 AdBBAdW, *Sitzungsberichte ... 1936 1937*, LXX, and *Sitzungsberichte ... 1938 1939*, LXXIX.

46 See Hadank's letter to the Academy from 30 September 1934, AdBBAdW, *Or. Komm.* II-VIII-200, doc. 150.

47 A niece of Hadank's, Gundula Hadank, told Zilfi Selcan in the late 1980s in Berlin that her uncle had to keep a vegetarian diet because of his health problems (Hadank/Selcan 1992, 28).

emy report (until 1939 the *Sitzungsberichte*, later the *Jahrbücher*) repeats that the work on the *Nāyir-nāma* is close to completion.

The Kurdish dictionary that Hadank was commissioned to edit from Mann's *Nachlass* as the first volume of *KPF* pt. IV, and for which he had undertaken the expedition to Syria and Iraq in 1932/33, is mentioned only once in the Academy reports. In 1936, Hadank had worked on Kurdish lexicography with the Kurdish writer and politician Kāmūrān 'Alī Bedir Khān (a brother of Celādet's, v.s.) in Berlin for 10 months to lay the foundation for a dictionary of Western Kurdish dialects.⁴⁸ This dictionary was not completed or published, and was never mentioned again in the Academy reports after 1937.⁴⁹ In a letter sent to the Academy on 3 July 1937, Hadank asked for funds to be granted for the publication of the Kurdish dictionary; they were granted on 4 November of the same year.⁵⁰ However, since he never seems to have submitted any parts of the dictionary, no payments of this grant were recorded.

The only book that Hadank did complete after 1932 is his thin but useful publication on the Kurdish dialects of *Bōti und Ēzādi* (1938), based on the linguistic materials that he collected during his stay in Iraq. Another of his publications is his work on the classification of West Iranian languages during this time, which was edited from his *Nachlass* by Z. Selcan in 1992 (v.i.).

2.4 The Years 1939–1945

From the summer of 1939 to the summer of 1940, Hadank worked on cataloguing the *Nachlass* of the Ossetian poet and lecturer at Berlin University Georg (Gappo) Baiew (9 September 1869, Vladikavkaz – 24 April 1939, Berlin), which, in addition to other factors, kept him from working on the Mann *Nachlass*.⁵¹

From 1943 onwards, Hadank once again served in the German army (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*) as an expert of the Middle Eastern region.⁵² He became a member of a combat group operating under the name of *Mammut*, whose purpose was to send a small group of agents to the Kurdish regions of Iraq for a secret mission. Their aim was to provoke a Kurdish uprising against the British army there, with the goal of bringing the area under German control. This mission has only recently been studied comprehensively on the basis of unpublished archive materials;⁵³ it was not mentioned by Ṭāheri.⁵⁴ The mission was based on wrong assumptions concerning the political and military situation in Northern Iraq and was a complete failure from the outset. Four agents were paradropped over Northern Iraq on 16/17 June

48 AdBBAdW, *Sitzungsberichte ... 1937* 1938, LXXXIII.

49 AdBBAdW, *Nachlass* Mann/Hadank, 72 contains a card index of approximately 10,000 Kurdish words, which is likely to have been the basis for the Kurdish dictionary.

50 AdBBAdW, *Or. Komm.* II-VIII-200, doc. 164.

51 AdBBAdW, *Jahrbuch ... 1940* 1941, 66–67; *Jahrbuch ... 1941* 1942, 64.

52 See AdBBAdW, *Jahrbuch ... 1943* 1944, 59.

53 Rosbeiani 2011; Lemke/Rosbeiani 2018.

54 Ṭāheri 2008.

1943 and arrested a few days later.⁵⁵ Hadank had been employed as an academic advisor and teacher for the preparation of the group. He gave lectures on Kurdish customs and ethnology, and taught some basic Kurdish.⁵⁶ Preparations partly took place in Berlin (e.g., the second half of March 1943),⁵⁷ and partly in the Austrian Alps, in a village near Klagenfurt (mid-April 1943).⁵⁸

In autumn 1944, Hadank worked for the Ministry of the Occupied Eastern Areas (*Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete*). He was asked to examine Ossetian texts (details are not specified) and received a payment for radio broadcasting in October and November 1944. Since he was informed about both issues on the same postcard from the Ministry,⁵⁹ the broadcast programme possibly also dealt with Ossetic.

After the end of World War II, Hadank was asked to return to his earlier profession as a high school teacher in September 1945, as a result of the pronounced lack of schoolteachers. In a letter sent to the Academy dated 4 November 1945, he expressed his thanks (probably to the then president of the Academy Helmut Scheel), for a letter that confirmed his continued work for the Academy and asked for another confirmation letter. Hadank's motive for asking for such a letter was not academic but practical: the new confirmation letter (dated 9 November 1945) ends with: 'this confirmation is valid only for the distribution of food ration cards',⁶⁰ suggesting that he had other concerns than editing Mann's *Nachlass* at the time. While his old connection to the Academy could help him for this, his ailing health would not allow him to survive the year. Karl Hadank died on 28 December 1945 in Friedrichshagen (near Berlin) from colitis.⁶¹ He passed away as a widower; his wife Gertrud had already died on 1 October 1936 (v.s.).

55 Lemke/Rosbeiani 2018, 77–78.

56 Lemke/Rosbeiani 2018, 91.

57 Lemke/Rosbeiani 2018, 198.

58 Lemke/Rosbeiani 2018, 135. The head of the combat group, Gottfried Johannes Müller, gave a less favourable description of Hadank without mentioning his name, in an adventure novel that he later composed about the *Unternehmen Mammüt* that combines a few facts with a lot of fiction: 'Finally I found an old, eccentric fellow, an independent scholar with metal-rimmed glasses, ailing, with an expressionless face. But he knew Kurdish ... I got hold of this man and took language lessons with him.' ('Schließlich entdeckte ich einen alten Sonderling, Privatgelehrter mit schmal umrandeter Brille, kränklich und mit ausdruckslosem Gesicht. Aber er kannte die kurdische Sprache. ... Diesen Mann holte ich mir und nahm bei ihm Sprachunterricht. '; Müller 1974, 19). All translations are by the author.

59 AdBBAdW, *Nachlass* Mann/Hadank, 218.

60 'Diese Bescheinigung gilt nur für die Zuteilung von Lebensmittelmarken'. AdBBAdW, *Bestand Ak.* 168/1.

61 According to the death certificate (Totenschein) issued by the *Standesamt* (Registry Office) *Treptow-Köpenick* on 28 December 1945. A copy of the certificate was provided by the *Landesarchiv Berlin*.

3. The *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen* after 1945

Shortly after the end of World War II (8 May 1945), former leading members of the Prussian Academy of Sciences tried to resume and reorganise their activities. On 21 July 1945, in an inventory of the Academy projects, the Tocharian scholar Wilhelm Siegling listed the Academy's oriental projects, in which the *KPF* were not mentioned.⁶² In another document, the former head of the *Orientalische Kommission*, Richard Hartmann, reported that since the occupation of Berlin (on 30 April 1945), the *KPF* editor had not yet shown up again.⁶³

The Prussian State had *de facto* ceased to exist at the end of the war; it was officially dissolved, by the Allied Forces, in February 1947. However, it was already apparent by 1945 that the 'Prussian' Academy had to change its name and structure. On 20 December 1945, the former *Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Prussian Academy of Sciences) decided to change its name to *Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*. Among its future projects, the work on the 'Kurdish-Persian documents from the travels of Oskar Mann' was once again listed.⁶⁴ On 1 August 1946, the new Academy was officially inaugurated under the full name of *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*. In the same year, the decision was made to continue the activities of the former *Orientalische Kommission* under the new name *Institut für Orientforschung*, which was officially inaugurated in October 1947. The new institute planned for two Iranian positions, one for the work on Turfan texts from Central Asia, and the other for a scholar to replace either the Iranologist Wolfgang Lentz (who had been an Academy employee until 1942), or Karl Hadank.⁶⁵

After Hadank's death, there was no scholar available in Berlin with the linguistic skills to continue the work on the *KPF*. In 1954, the Iranian linguist and specialist of Kurdish, David Neil MacKenzie (who was then based in London), made an inventory of Mann's Kurdish materials. He started preparing some of the texts for publication but did not succeed in publishing any of them during his lifetime. With the exception of Hadank/Selcan 1992, systematic work on Hadank's unpublished works has never been resumed since 1945. Although the *Nachlass* Mann/Hadank is quite voluminous, with probably more than 5,000 pages of text (not counting thousands of index cards), some important pieces seem to be missing. For example, of Hadank's work on the Gorani *Nāyir-nāma*, which must have been nearly complete by 1937, only Mann's transcription and Hadank's introduction and glossary can be found in

62 AdBBAdW, *Bestand Ak.* 166.

63 AdBBAdW, *Bestand Ak.* 166; The undated document was probably written in the summer of 1945.

64 AdBBAdW, *Bestand Ak.* 661.

65 AdBBAdW, *Bestand Ak.* 166; Being of partly Jewish descent, the Iranologist Lentz was not allowed to pursue his *Habilitation* after 1933, but remained an Academy employee, took part in a Pamir expedition in 1935, and was called to arms in 1942 (Ellinger 2006, 426, 505). After the war, he moved to Frankfurt and then to Hamburg, where he eventually became professor of Iranian Studies.

the *Nachlass*.⁶⁶ The work's core parts, the edition itself and the German translation allegedly prepared by Hadank, are missing. In a report on the continuation of certain Academy projects in the Federal Republic of Germany after 1945, Helmut Scheel, who had moved from Berlin to Mainz after the war, wrote in 1956 that Hadank had brought part of Mann's *Nachlass* to relatives in Luckau/Mark during the war, probably to save it from being damaged, and that these relatives refused to return it after the war. This may be the reason why this important work is missing from the *Nachlass* Mann/Hadank today.

4. Hadank, the Scholar and Person

4.1 Scholarly Ambitions and Contribution

Officially, Hadank is referred to as the editor of Mann's unpublished works, when in fact, Hadank was much more than a mere editor. The parts of Mann's unfinished works that Hadank adopted were far from being publishable. In the prefaces of the three volumes he edited, Hadank explains how much work and energy were required to make sense of Mann's materials.⁶⁷ These often contained original (Kurdish, Zazaki, Gorani, etc.) texts, transcribed from a native speaker's dictation, and their Persian, Turkish, or German translation(s); and in addition, purely arbitrary remarks on grammar. Hadank explains that Mann had a greater wealth of information on all of these languages, which he did not have time to put into writing. Hadank considered it his task to reconstruct all this information from Mann's incomplete notes. For each of the three Mann volumes edited by him, Hadank contributed lengthy introductions on the languages/dialects described, on their dialectology, speakers, etc. Furthermore, for most of the languages/dialects, Hadank added a grammatical description (based on Mann's notes, and his own study of the texts), a glossary, and dialect maps.⁶⁸ In his descriptions of grammar, Hadank could often go beyond Mann's level of analysis and correct a lot of mistakes and misunderstandings.

Aside from being a very productive editor, Hadank explicitly propagated an approach to dialectology that was progressive for his time. For him, dialectology had to start from texts, that is, from 'natural' language use, ideally collected *in situ*. The documentation of modern dialects based on natural texts had priority; historical dialectology, which was still the dominant approach of the time, should be conducted only on the basis of well-documented modern dialects. A passage where he explains his approach,⁶⁹ together with various unpublished passages from his *Nachlass* (e.g., 158: 'Vorrang der Neu-Iranistik'), can be read as a prelude to the method of modern documentary linguistics (a term that was not yet used at that time).

66 AdBBAdW, *Nachlass* Mann/Hadank, 54, 144, 147.

67 See, e.g., Mann/Hadank 1926, IX.

68 Mann/Hadank 1932, VIII.

69 Mann/Hadank 1926, XV–XVII.

Of course, there were other scholars of Middle Eastern languages who followed similar approaches at around the same time. One of these, the Semitist Gotthelf Bergsträsser, used new technical means of language recording (a phonograph) *in situ*, namely, in Syria, in the 1920s.⁷⁰ About 10 years later, Hadank did not yet utilise these new technical possibilities; this was perhaps due to the fact that the equipment needed was heavy, unpractical to transport, and expensive. As early as 4 July 1908, Oskar Mann had surprised his audience with a presentation held before the Berlin *Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* (Geographical Society), by playing a short Kurdish phonograph recording of a Kurdish resident of Berlin.⁷¹

Furthermore, Hadank expanded his methodological approach to Iranian dialectology in various reviews that he wrote. For example, when reviewing F. C. Andreas's 1939 work on Iranian dialectology, he criticised the author for not collecting longer genuine texts in any of the Iranian languages or dialects that he had surveyed during his five-year stay in Iran (1876–81), although he had plenty of time and occasion to do so. He also criticised the editors of the volume, especially Kaj Barr, for his 'speculative' word explanations and the 'badly arranged' supplements.⁷² This critique – which seems partly legitimate in the case of Andreas – reflects the antagonism against Andreas that Hadank may have 'inherited' from Oskar Mann, and which also became apparent in Mann's last wish that his *Nachlass* should not be given to Andreas (v.s.). In another unpublished bundle of papers, Hadank criticised the renowned historical geographer Josef Marquart for 'daring to write about historical-linguistic Iranian topics, without ever having gone deeply into the sounds of living Iranian languages', reflecting the same methodological considerations.⁷³

In his reviews, Hadank always presented himself as a painstaking, often very critical scholar, who was qualified to review works well beyond his own research areas (viz., West-Iranian dialectology). An example of this is his comprehensive review of Georg Morgenstierne's monograph on the East Iranian languages Parachi and Ormuri,⁷⁴ which includes a lot of criticisms and corrections, but also a positive verdict at the end. Furthermore, Hadank reviewed Armenian historical and literary works, and one review on a book on 'Moorish art' brought him back to his earlier interest in medieval Spain.⁷⁵

70 Weninger 2009, 142.

71 Kolivand 2012, 18–19.

72 Hadank 1941, col. 109.

73 '(Marquart) ... wagte es, über sprachgeschichtliche Fragen des Iranischen zu schreiben, ohne jemals die Laute an lebenden (Sprachen ...) vertieft zu haben.>'; *Nachlass Mann/Hadank*, 158; see also Hadank's 'disputes on priority' in Zaza studies with Marquart in section 2.2 above, and in AdBBAdW, *Or. Komm* II-VII-199, doc. 17.

74 Hadank 1931.

75 Hadank 1925.

4.2 Ideological Commitments and Entanglements

Aside from scholarly works, Hadank occasionally wrote articles for various non-academic journals or newspapers, for example, on 27 September 1936, in the Nazi journal *Völkischer Beobachter*, on ‘Judentum in der Rechtswissenschaft’ (‘Jewry in Jurisprudence’).⁷⁶ Judging from these publications, and also from many of his letters and unpublished sketches designated for publication in his *Nachlass* (especially from after 1933), Karl Hadank was a loyal follower of the Nazi regime and ideology, that is, a convinced anti-Semite. In an unpublished sketch from ca. 1937, he accused the Indo-Iranian scholar Walter Wüst of a ‘lack of German attitude’, because Wüst had quoted a high number of foreign scholars in one of his reviews, but only few German ones, and had failed to mention Hadank’s name.⁷⁷

It is clear from studying Hadank’s extensive *Nachlass* sketches in old German (*Sütterlin*) script, that there is one topic that runs through some pieces almost like a *Leitmotiv*: his belief in an international conspiracy, orchestrated by Jews, Jewish scholars, and their (non-Jewish) helpers, who actively denied ‘small’ Iranian peoples like the Kurds their right(s) as objects of academic research for the benefit of more established ‘Semitic’ peoples like the Arabs or Jews. A programmatic headline over a large bundle of writings that Hadank may have planned to publish (but luckily did not), is as follows: ‘Die Professoren-Internationale und die iranischen Bergvölker. Ein Beitrag zur Kennzeichnung der judenhörigen Orientalistik. Unterbindung der Iranistik durch amtliche Hüter der Wissenschaft’ (‘The international association of professors and the Iranian mountain peoples. Contribution towards labeling orientalists that are anxious to please the Jews. Prevention of scholarship through official guardians of scholarship’).⁷⁸

This ‘conspiracy theory’ of Hadank’s combines his anti-Semitism with his keen academic interest in, and sympathy for, the Kurds, and for other, smaller Iranian peoples and ethnic groups, to which he devoted the larger part of his academic life. To quote another typical passage: ‘The fanatic hatred of the Jews, and of other international forces, against the Kurds, is maybe the best recommendation for this people.’⁷⁹ In his concern for the neglected Iranian ‘mountain races’, Hadank may have also injected his own frustrations as a private scholar merely conducting contracted work without the full institutional support of an academy or university, as can be

76 AdBBAdW, *Nachlass* Mann/Hadank, 30, 96.

77 ‘Ich vermisse bei Professor Walter Wüst deutsche Gesinnung. Bei der Rezension (... der Festschrift Pavry ...) zählt er ... Iranisten auf ... darunter auch Nichtdeutsche. Aber meinen Namen übergeht er.’; AdBBAdW, *Nachlass* Mann/Hadank, 40. Under Wüst’s supervision as the rector of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (Munich), Sophie Scholl and her anti-Nazi fellow students and conspirators were arrested on 18 February 1943 and executed four days later.

78 AdBBAdW, *Nachlass* Mann/Hadank, 41, 1; ca. 1936.

79 ‘Der fanatische Haß der Juden und der anderen internationalen Kräfte gegen die Kurden ist für dieses Volk vielleicht die beste Empfehlung.’; AdBBAdW, *Nachlass* Mann/Hadank, 14, 58; ca. 1939.

gathered from the following passage: ‘For 20 years, I have done research on some Iranian mountain peoples and their languages, whose existence the German orientalist professors try to conceal from the German people.’⁸⁰

One main ‘mistake’ committed by the German ‘judenhörige’ (‘anxious to please Jews’) academic establishment, according to Hadank, was dealing with religions and countries instead of peoples, which should (again, according to Hadank) be the main object of research in humanities:

The *peoples* must be the focus of the humanities. It is time for our linguists to stop being indifferent to the heritage of leaders in the area which they study. As Germans, we have the right to demand that our university teachers teach according to German national and not to Jewish concepts.⁸¹

Hadank even saw a specific ‘völkische’ connection of the ‘Nordic’ peoples with the Iranian ‘mountain peoples’: ‘The Iranian type of the Nordic-Indo-European mentality has attracted Germans again and again. The discovery of philosophical similarities with thinkers who belong to Iranian peoples in Asia, had a powerful effect.’⁸²

These views of Hadank’s were obviously in agreement with official Nazi racist propaganda. It is not clear if, or to what extent, Hadank’s views were derived from, or inspired by, written sources of other Nazi ideologists, or if they represented his own mixture of (pseudo-)academic information and Nazi ideology. One of the main Nazi ideologists and writers who propagated a racial and cultural connection between ‘Nordic’ (Germanic) and ‘Asian’ (Iranian and Indian) Aryans, was Hans F. K. Günther (1891–1968). For him, the Kurds’ ‘mountaineous nordic genes’ were ‘less diluted’ through climatic conditions than those of the more urban Persians. In his writings, Günther drew extensively, and eclectically, on a broad range of sources (travelogues, reports, academic publications) describing the (‘Nordic’) racial and cultural features of various Indian and Iranian peoples, taking into account works by contemporaneous orientalists like Georg Morgenstierne (Oslo), Franz Babinger, and Wolfgang Lentz.⁸³ However, the Kurds play a minor role in his theories and are dealt with on four pages.⁸⁴ In Hadank’s writings, no reference has been found so far to Günther’s works, or

80 ‘Ich bin seit 20 Jahren mit der Erforschung einiger iranischer Bergvölker und ihrer Sprachen beschäftigt, deren Vorhandensein die deutsche Professorenschaft der Orientalistik ... dem deutschen Volk zu verheimlichen sucht.’; AdBBAdW, *Nachlass* Mann/Hadank, 59.

81 ‘Im Mittelpunkt der Geisteswissenschaften ... können nur die *Völker* stehen. Es wird Zeit, daß die Gleichgültigkeit unserer Sprachforscher gegen die Abstammung der ... Führer der Völker, mit deren Sprachen sie sich beschäftigen, aufhört. Wir haben als Deutsche ein Recht zu verlangen, daß unsere Hochschullehrer nach deutsch-völkischen Begriffen, und nicht nach jüdischen lehren.’; AdBBAdW, *Nachlass* Mann/Hadank, 30, 2; ca. 1935.

82 ‘Die iranische Ausprägung nordisch-indogermanischen Wesens hat immer wieder Deutsche angezogen. Die Entdeckung lebensanschaulicher Gleichheit mit ... Denkern, die somit nach Asien verschlagenen iranischen Völkern angehören, übte eine so nachhaltige Wirkung [aus]...’; AdBBAdW, *Nachlass* Mann/Hadank, 40, 9; ca. 1937.

83 Günther 1933, 93, 140, 148.

84 Günther 1933, 142–145.

to works of other Nazi ideologists. It therefore seems that Hadank's writings represent his own, idiosyncratic views, rather than an elaboration of Günther's (or other Nazi ideologists') works.

Hadank's disappointment with the neglect of the study of the *peoples*, especially of the 'Iranian mountain races', by the German academic establishment, even caused him to reject the study of religion: 'If Germans like to occupy themselves with Islamic theology or mysticism, they may do so, [but] the German people has no reason to maintain professorships therefore.'⁸⁵ Hadank preferred the study of Iranian national heroic epics, and was happy to follow the great Iranologist, and pioneer of Iranian epic studies, Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930)⁸⁶ in this point. As for national epics, he did not fail to remark that Kurdish epics had received little recognition from Iranian scholars at the time: '[The] Mukri epics are not inferior, in poetic power and magnitude, to Firdausis *Šāhnāme*.'⁸⁷

Hadank's opposition to the academic establishment and to the 'Semitic-dominated' mainstream of Oriental Studies at German universities coincided partly with an initiative undertaken jointly by the Iranologist Walter Hinz and the Turkologist Franz Babinger in May 1933. In a letter sent to the Prussian Ministry of Science, they proposed a structural reform of Oriental Studies in Germany, with the aims of strengthening Iranian and Turkic studies at the expense of Arabic/Semitic studies, and of fostering historical and modern, rather than purely philological, studies of the Middle East.⁸⁸ From the available sources, it seems that Hadank was unaware of this proposal, or that any kind of connection between Hadank and Hinz or Babinger on this issue existed.⁸⁹ Moreover, his antagonistic and polemic attitudes towards more established academic colleagues becomes evident in an article in the *Völkischer Beobachter* from 21 November 1934, in which he reports on a presentation by the renowned Iranologist Hans Heinrich Schaeder (1896–1957) about German orientalist research. Hadank calls Schaeder a 'demokratischer Ideenhistoriker' ('democratic historian of ideas'), abusing the epithet 'democratic' as an invective, and accuses Schaeder of failing to consider the 'Rasgedanke' ('concept of race') in his speech.⁹⁰

85 'Wenn sich Deutsche zu ihrem Privatvergnügen mit der Theologie oder der Mystik des Islam beschäftigen, so mögen sie es tun, das deutsche Volk ... hat keinen Anlaß, besondere Professuren dafür zu unterhalten. '; AdBBAdW, *Nachlass Mann/Hadank*, 30, 2; ca. 1935.

86 AdBBAdW, *Nachlass Mann/Hadank*, 41, 10.

87 '[Die] Mukri-Epen [sind] Firdausis *Šāhnāme* an dichterischer Kraft und Höhe mindestens ebenbürtig. '; AdBBAdW, *Nachlass Mann/Hadank*, 158, 30.

88 Ellinger 2006, 150–152.

89 Shortly afterwards, Franz Babinger came under pressure because he had a Jewish grandmother. In 1934, he lost his Berlin professorship and went into exile to Bulgaria, later Romania (Ellinger 2006, 54–55, 463).

90 AdBBAdW, *Nachlass Mann/Hadank*, 30, 27.

5. Summary and Outlook

Karl Hadank's scholarly life seems to be both typical and atypical for a scholar of his time. It combines great achievements with some disillusionments, as well as high ambitions and expectations with problematic ideological entanglements. From May 1924 onwards, Hadank worked as a retired teacher and contractor for the Academy, without the full institutional support of an academy or university. This gave him independence as a scholar, but his academic isolation may also have contributed to the increasing feelings of frustration that are expressed in his many (unpublished) writings from the 1930s found in his *Nachlass*, which demonstrate his erratic views on the academic situation in Germany.

The expedition to Syria and Iraq that he undertook in 1932/33 can be called a symbolic turning point between the first, academically more successful half of Hadank's work on the *KPF* (1919–32), during which he published three volumes, and the second half (1933–45), in which he failed to complete any more *KPF* volumes, although his work on the Gorani text volume was well advanced. The large number of sketches concerned with the academic and political situation in Germany that can be found in his *Nachlass*, which express Hadank's anti-Semitic views, but also his anti-establishment ideology and his frustration, exemplify his failure in what was (presumably) his actual academic ambition during this time, namely, the publication of the *KPF*. Hadank may also have been disappointed because after 1933, despite all his scholarly efforts and the conformity of his views with official Nazi ideology, his works were not more appreciated by the authorities or the public at large.

Another work of Hadank's on West Iranian dialect grouping, which he probably completed in 1941 or 1942, and which was edited posthumously by Zilfi Selcan,⁹¹ can also be viewed as a document of his academic failure during the years after 1933. It contains a very extensive and polemic refutation of the (supposedly wrong) views of many Iranian linguists on various aspects of West Iranian dialect grouping, demonstrating his sharp condemnation and his disillusionment with large sections of the Iranological establishment of his time. While it also explains dialect isoglosses, the polemic parts are so overrepresented that it seems it was more important for him to be right in the end, and to blame others, than to produce new and innovative scholarship.

Hadank's involvement in Nazi ideology was typical and atypical at the same time. It was typical because German orientalist groups were well integrated into the academic, ideological, political, and military aims and structures of the Nazi regime and more or less collectively pledged themselves to the regime.⁹² It was atypical because Hadank, a 'lone wolf' at odds with the academic establishment of his time, developed an elaborate, idiosyncratic version of the Nazi ideology that brought together 'Nordic' Germans with Iranian 'mountain races'. Although this was in line with official

91 Hadank/Selcan 1992.

92 Ellinger 2006, 420.

Nazi ideology, Hadank does not seem to have taken part actively in the official Nazi ideological discourse over this issue.

In conclusion, Hadank's personality seems to have been that of a typical Prussian officer, but at the same time, he was a very gifted linguistic scholar of unlimited academic zest. In all his writings, he could be dogmatic and overly critical regarding the works of other scholars. However, in this he was not an exception among his colleagues and contemporaries.

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