Refugee Classicists in Britain after 1933

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In the past Latin and Greek, classical studies in general, did not traditionally attract large numbers of Jewish scholars.[1] Other fields of scholarship are occasionally regarded as somehow typically Jewish: economics and history, the exact and social sciences, literature. But the field of classical studies seems, if not *judenrein*, at least thinly populated by Jews.[2] The reasons for this may have something to do on one hand with the history of the Judaeo-Hellenic encounter in antiquity and on the other with the timing and manner of the Jewish exit from the ghetto.

More than two thousand years ago, the Jewish struggle for political independence from the heirs of Alexander implanted in Jewish tradition a hostility to everything Greek as deep and as long-lasting as it was ignorant of how deeply shaped, imbued, that tradition itself was by things Hellenic. The overwhelming bulk of surviving Jewish writing from the period between the composition of the latest work in the biblical canon, in the second century B.C.E., and the redaction of the Mishnah, around 200 C.E., is in Greek. Possibly the great bulk of everything that the Jews wrote, at least outside Babylon, in that period was in Greek. The use of that language was no accident, nor was it merely some sort of accommodation to conventional linguistic pieties of the time. It reflected the significance on every level, for the Jews as for other Near Eastern nations, of the meeting with Greek thought and Greek ways of thinking.[3] The hostility of some Jews to the fruits of this encounter and the apparent withdrawal of ancient Jewry from further engagement

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1 The flourishing state of classical studies in Israel today is very different, for reasons to do not least with the archaeological re-discovery of the Jewish past in that country. See for this phenomenon Bernard Lewis, *History — Remembered, Recovered, Invented*, Princeton, 1975; and below. See also Ch. Wirszubski, 'The study of classics in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem', in *Hebrew University Garland. A Silver Jubilee Symposium*, ed. N. Bentwich, London, 1952, 73-5.

2 See how rarely Jews are mentioned in, e.g., J.E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1903, 3rd edition 1920, repr. New York, 1958; and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Geschichte der Philologie*, mit einem Nachwort und Register von Albert Henrichs, Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1998 (published originally in 1921); translated into English as *History of Classical Scholarship*, by Alan Harris, edited with introduction and very useful notes by H. Lloyd-Jones, London, 1982; Wilamowitz was not one to miss an opportunity to note the Jewish identity of scholars of such background, as his memoirs show (*Meine Erinnerungen, 1848-1914*, Leipzig, 1928; translated into English as *My Recollections, 1848-1914*, London, 1930); see also H. Chantraine, 'Die Leistung der Juden für die alte Geschichte im deutschen Sprachraum', in W. Grab (ed.), *Juden in der deutschen Wissenschaft, Jahrbuch des Instituts für Deutsche Geschichte*, Beiheft 10, Tel Aviv, 1986, 113-45.

3 Cf., e.g., Seth Schwartz, 'Language, power and identity in ancient Palestine', *Past and Present*, 148, August 1995, 3-47.

with Greek thought should not allow us to forget that from the time of Alexander to the present the closest tie between Jews and ancient Greek wisdom is to be seen not in modern university libraries but in the active participation of ancient, especially Alexandrian, Jews, as Jews, in the Greek culture of the Hellenistic period and after.[4]

The failure, or the passing, of that symbiosis has permitted a contrary view to hold the field, one shaped by the details of the story of Hanukkah, so much so that in modern Hebrew the verb *le-hityavven* — to act in a Greek manner, to behave à la grecque, to go Greek — has acquired a whole range of meanings having less to do with Greek or Greek culture as such and more with anything perceived, however mistakenly, as alien to ultra-orthodox Jewish tradition and practice. Greek culture itself, epitomized succinctly in the ancient Hebrew expression חכמת יונית, *hokhmat yevanit*, with an easy-to-remember grammatical oddity to its formation, 'Greek wisdom', is seen in this view as everything antithetical to Jewish belief, Jewish tradition, opposed thus to the imperative of Jewish survival.[5]

It causes little surprise, against this background, that Jews did not bulk large in classical studies — the pre-eminent field of non-Jewish semi- or wholly secular academic endeavour — in the period from the Renaissance on, through to the nineteenth century. Something here derives also from the nature of the exit from the ghetto, as noted earlier: classical studies in the nineteenth century were above all, in the lands of Jewish dispersion, a feature of the German world, where Jews found other fields for their talents and interests, not least, from the 1820s onwards, in the field of Jewish studies themselves.[6] This is not to ignore the contribution to classical studies in Germany of such a figure as Jacob Bernays (1824-81), of whom Sandys wrote: 'The Jewish and the Greek were united in the person of Bernays, who was at once a strictly orthodox Jew and a devoted adherent of Hellenic culture'. At the same time, it is to try to place his relative isolation in due perspective, and also to draw attention to the consequences for his career which his refusal to follow his brother to the baptismal font brought upon him. Michael Bernays (1834-97) converted to Protestantism as early as 1856 and became later on the holder of the first chair in Germany devoted to modern German literary history (in Munich). Jacob, as a non-Christian, was unable to receive a professorship in a German university, and in consequence spent the first part of his career helping to build up the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau, and the second part as an assistant professor and

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4 For a particularly good example of the encounter, see H. Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*, Cambridge and New York, 1983. The New Testament is another obvious example.

5 The expression is always pejorative, with connotations of treachery to what are seen as essential values of Judaism and of the Jewish people. It is relevant to note that the verb itself, as distinct from the notion, is also apparently a modern creation. I owe this observation to my late father.

6 In the twentieth century the secularizing character of Russian communism, which attempted to break the link between Jews and their past, quite naturally encouraged Jewish participation in such fields as classics. See for one example Bronislava Vitz-Margulis, 'Solomon Luria and his contribution to the study of Antiquity', *Scripta Classica Israelica* XXII, 2003, 273-6. For an eloquent picture of the Jews in Germany in the last two centuries see now Amos Elon, *The Pity of It All*, New York, 2002.

librarian in Bonn.[7] 'Bernays ging gern von Breslau fort, ungern nach Bonn zurück', wrote Bach.[8]

In the generations between Bernays and Hitler, things changed greatly. As classical studies stood for the historical model of the antithesis to Jewish learning, so in this period greater numbers of classical scholars of Jewish faith or background point to the rapidly growing pace of assimilation of Jews, in every way, into the neighbouring society. Bollack reminds us that in the time of Bernays Jews thought worthy of classical chairs could only receive them following conversion: Karl Lehrs (formerly Kaufmann; 1802-78) in Königsberg; Gottfried Bernhardy (1800-75) in Halle; Ludwig Friedländer (1824-1909) in Königsberg. He adds to this little list also the linguistic scholars Theodor Benfey (1809-81) in Göttingen, and Karl Albert Agathon Benary (1807-60), who never held a university appointment.[9] We can add to these the names of such figures as Joseph Rubino (1799-1864), a pioneer in the study of Roman law, in Marburg; Otto Hirschfeld (1843-1922), in Prague, Vienna and Berlin; Eduard Norden (1868-1941), in Greifswald, Breslau and Berlin; and Friedrich Muenzer (1868-1942), in Königsberg and Münster. Theodor Gomperz (1832-1912), who held a chair in Vienna, lost his faith at the age of twelve, but was never baptised. One of the greatest of these figures was Friedrich Leo (1851-1914), in Göttingen, eulogised at his death by no less a figure than Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. After them, however, we see a number of Jewish professors, most of them pupils of Wilamowitz, who were able to secure appointment without undergoing the baptismal indignity: Paul Friedlaender (1882-1968) in Marburg; Eduard

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7 On Jacob Bernays see John Glucker and André Laks, avec l'aide de Véronique Barré (eds.), *Jacob Bernays: un philologue juif*, Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1996. For Sandys' remark, see his *History* (above n. 2), III, 179. See also Jean Bollack, *Jacob Bernays, un homme entre deux mondes*, Lille, 1998.

8 Hans I. Bach, *Jacob Bernays, Ein Beitrag zur Emanzipationsgeschichte der Juden und zur Geschichte des deutschen Geistes im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Tübingen, 1974, 169. Bach points out (id., *The German Jew, A Synthesis of Judaism and Western Civilization, 1730-1930*, Oxford, 1984, 125) that Bernays had been a teacher of Treitschke, and it was in reaction to that writer's notorious attack on the Jews in 1880 that Bernays had the cerebral stroke from which he died (though Bach makes him two years older at the time than he actually was).

9 Jean Bollack, 'Juden in der Klassischen Philologie vor 1933', in Wilfried Barner and Christoph König (eds.), *Jüdische Intellektuelle und die Philologien in Deutschland, 1871-1933*, Göttingen, 2001, 165-85, esp. 173-83. W.M. Calder III, 'The refugee classical scholars in the USA: An evaluation of their contribution', *Illinois Classical Studies* XVII 1, Spring, 1992, 153-73, says (at 162) that 'There was in Germany a tradition of Jewish classical scholars', but the following sentences put this statement into rather bald perspective. Calder (162) also refers to J. Glucker, 'Juden in der deutschen klassischen Philologie', *Jahrbuch des Instituts für deutsche Geschichte*, Beiheft 10, 1986, 95-111, though he warns that it has omissions and errors (non vidi). For very different presentations of the attitude of government to Jews in Wilhelmine Germany see Marjorie Lamberti, *Jewish Activism in Imperial Germany. The Struggle for Civil Equality*, New Haven and London, 1978, and Christopher Clarke, 'The Jews and the German state in the Wilhelmine era', in Michael Brenner, Rainer Liedtke and David Rechter (eds.), co-ordinator Werner E. Mosse, *Two Nations, British and German Jews in Comparative Perspective*, Tübingen, 1999, 163-84.

Fraenkel (1888-1970) in Kiel, Göttingen and Freiburg; Paul Maas (1880-1964) in Berlin and Königsberg. Felix Jacoby (1876-1959), in Kiel, was baptised as a child.

Nonetheless, attitudes and popular awareness do not change at the same rate as formal rules. As late as 1912 we find evidence that Jews were still unwelcome as professors in an anecdote recounted by the well-known sociologist Norbert Elias, born in Breslau in 1897: 'there was an incident at grammar school, when I was 15 or 16. We talked in class about our plans for a career. I said I wanted to be a professor at the university, and a classmate interjected, "*That* career was cut off for you at birth"'.[10]

This, incidentally, is also the time of considerable anti-Jewish sentiment in the classics (and generally in the academic) profession in the United States. James Loeb, 'the greatest benefactor American classics ever had', moved to Germany. So did Alfred Gudeman who, unable to find a post in his own country, worked in Germany for many years on the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, dying at the age of eighty in the Nazi concentration camp of Theresienstadt. Another American Jewish classicist, Harry Caplan, worked at Cornell for many years, until his death in 1980. After his death a letter was found in his desk, from 1919, signed by four of his former teachers there, assuring him that they themselves were not anti-Semites, but that it would be sensible for him, because of 'a very real prejudice against the Jew' in the universities, to try schoolteaching.[11] E.A. Lowe (originally Loew; 1879-1969), the great expert on Latin palaeography, is mentioned in that letter as another Jew in like position, though by that time he had already been employed in Oxford for some five years and more, and would in 1936 return to the USA, to spend the last ten years of his career as a professor at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.[12]

The rise of Nazism in Germany in the 1930s led to the exile (or escape) and absorption in foreign countries of nearly 300,000 refugees before the imposition of an official

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10 'Biographical Interview with Norbert Elias', in id., *Reflections on a Life*, Cambridge, 1994, 12.

11 The letter is published in *Cornell Alumni News*, 84, July 1981, 7, and also in Coser, *Refugee Scholars* (below, n. 17), 321. It is mentioned by Calder (n. 9), 168, who refers also to a republication with useful comment and bibliography by B. vom Brocke, in *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren*, ed. W.M. Calder III, H. Flashar and T. Linken, Darmstadt, 1985, at 680, n. 43. For Loeb and Caplan, as well as the case of Moses Hadas (who was paid so little that he was 'forced to write books that sold'), see Calder (n. 9), 167-8; for Gudeman see also D.W. Hurley, 'Alfred Gudeman, Atlanta, Georgia, 1862-Theresienstadt, 1942', *TAPA* 120, 1990, 355-81. Though Coser (322) says that comment is unnecessary, it seems worth pointing, beyond the obvious, to the fact that Caplan kept the letter for over sixty years, until his death; cf. the case of Rudolf Pfeiffer, compulsorily retired from his chair in Munich by the Nazis in 1937, the letter to whom informing him of this fact survives, ripped to pieces, in the bequest of his papers in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (see *Dictionary of British Classicists* [below, at n. 25], 766).

12 This seems to be the only explicit suggestion that he was a Jew. However, his name at birth was Loew; he was born in Moscow in 1879, at a time when very few Jews had the right of residence there and then moved, with his family, to the USA in 1891, at a date when Jews living illegally in Moscow were faced with the choice of return to the Pale of Settlement or emigration (*The Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Yearbook 1973, 293, suggests that he was born in Lithuania; that he was born in Moscow comes from the entry on him in the *Dictionary of British Classicists*, below, n. 25).

ban on emigration from the Reich in 1941.[13] Some ten to fifteen percent of these, an estimated 35,000, found refuge in the United Kingdom.[14] Among these were numerous scholars, intellectuals and academics, many of them Jewish or of Jewish origin, others opposed to Nazi policies, and some (occasionally also) because they were married to Jews.[15] The great orientalist Paul Kahle left Germany in haste in 1938 because his wife and one of his sons were known to have helped Jews following the so-called Kristallnacht pogrom.[16]

We have some studies of this emigration, both in its general aspects and in the case of some smaller and more specific groups within it.[17] And we have also a couple of short

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13 See, e.g., for the British case, A.J. Sherman, *Island Refuge, Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich, 1933-1939*, Berkeley, 1973; Gerhard Hirschfeld (ed.), *Exile in Great Britain, Refugees from Hitler's Germany*, Leamington Spa, 1984.

14 For the figures see Hirschfeld (n. 13), 2.

15 There are great numbers of memoirs and other studies by and of members of this group, of very varying quality and interest. Among the best of the memoirs is that by Felix Gilbert, *A European Past, Memoirs, 1905-1945*, New York, 1990. For some others see Peter Gay, *My German Question. Growing up in Nazi Berlin*, New Haven, 1998; Sebastian Haffner, *Defying Hitler, a Memoir*, trans. Oliver Pretzel, London, 2002; Reinhard Bendix, *From Berlin to Berkeley, German-Jewish Identities*, New Brunswick, 1986; P.O. Kristeller, *A Life of Learning*, the Charles Homer Haskins lecture, New York, 1990; W. von Leyden, *Growing Up Under the Weimar Republic, 1918-1933. Reflections on Personal Identity and the Past*, New York, 1984; Eric Voegelin, *Autobiographical Reflections*, Baton Rouge and London, 1989; Sir Karl Popper, *Unended Quest, an Intellectul Autobiography*, La Salle, Illinois, 1974; Peter Singer, *Pushing Time Away. My Grandfather and the Tragedy of Jewish Vienna*, London, 2004; George Clare, *Last Waltz in Vienna: the Rise and Destruction of a Family*, New York, 1982; and Elias (n. 10). The German cases are surely different from the Austrian, but I am not aware that anyone has yet studied this minor genre.

16 See, e.g., the obituary of him (by Matthew Black) in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* LI, 1965, 485-95; Marie (née Gesevius) Kahle wrote, in German, an account of the events leading to her and her family's exile: entitled *What Would You Have Done? The Story of the Escape of the Kahle Family from Nazi-Germany*, it was printed privately in London in 1945, in English. It did not appear in the original German, under the title *Was haetten Sie getan? Die Flucht der Familie Kahle aus Nazi-Deutschland*, until 1998 (in Bonn). Paul Kahle expressed himself with less ease about his enforced departure from his native country, and the loss of his library and position in Bonn; see his, rather strange, reference to this, in the preface to the first edition of his Schweich Lectures of 1941, *The Cairo Geniza*, London, 1947 (it is absent in the second edition of 1959): 'I dedicate this book to my wife. Her noble action resulted in our leaving our home country and losing everything we possessed. Her special intuition linked with energy enabled us to escape and to settle in this country'.

17 For general views of this scholarly exile see, e.g., the articles by Jarrell C. Jackman ('German émigrés in southern California', 95-110) and Bernard Wasserstein ('Intellectual émigrés in Britain, 1933-1939', 249-56) in Jarrel C. Jackman and Carla M. Borden (eds.), *The Muses Flee Hitler, Cultural Transfer and Adaptation 1930-1945*, Washington, 1983. For studies of specific groups, see, for the relatively high-profile physicists, Gerald Holton, 'The migration of physicists to the United States', 169-88 in the volume just cited; and, for doctors, K. Decker, 'Divisions and diversity: the complexities of medical refuge in Britain, 1933-1948', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 77 (4), 2003, 850-73; and for a series of studies of individual members of specific groups, Lewis A. Coser, *Refugee Scholars in*

studies which devote some space to classicists of European background in the USA at this time.[18] So far, however, there does not seem to be any study devoted to such classical émigrés in the British Isles.[19] We do have obituaries and biographical notices for some of the more prominent individuals among them, notably for those who became Fellows of the British Academy, the *Proceedings* of which body are a feast for the obituary-reader in general.[20] But there is to date no collective examination of the group of classical scholars brought to the British Isles by the rise of Nazism.

The exile of academic classicists to the UK began almost immediately on the accession of Hitler to power in Germany and the move to dismiss Jews, or those defined as Jewish, and others from teaching and research posts.[21] British reactions to this development are noted as early as the following year, when the President of the British Academy referred in his annual address to that senior organisation of British scholars in the humanities both to what was happening in Germany and to attempts in Britain to aid and absorb such exiles.[22] Succeeding volumes of the *Proceedings* record concern for German (and Italian) scholarship and scholars, and reveal something of what British universities

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America, Their Impact and Their Experiences, New Haven and London 1984 (this includes, at 271-7, a brief chapter on Werner Jaeger).

18 Calder (n. 9); id., 'William Abbott Oldfather and the preservation of German influence in American classics 1919-1933', in Hellmut Flashar (ed.), *Altertumswissenschaft in den 20er Jahren: Neue Fragen und Impulse*, Stuttgart, 1995, 403-21 (This latter is little more than a revised version of the article of 1992).

19 'Emigrés', 'emigrants', 'refugees', 'exiles', 'immigrants' — all have different connotations. Coser (n. 17), 3, suggests some lines of demarcation among the last three. Some are mentioned, as historians, in Christhard Hoffmann, 'The contribution of German-speaking Jewish immigrants to British historiography', in W.E. Mosse (co-ordinating ed.), J. Carlebach, G. Hirschfeld, A. Newman, A. Paucker, P. Pulzer (eds.), *Second Chance, Two Centuries of German-Speaking Jews in the United Kingdom*, Tübingen (Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts 48), 1991, 153-75, but that deals with historians, and is concerned only with Jews and German-speakers among them.

20 The Academy, through its own biographer, is conscious of this: Mortimer Wheeler, *The British Academy 1949-1968*, London, 1970, 5: 'Collectively the Academy's obituaries constitute a primary and invaluable contribution to the history of British scholarship'.

21 The situation was of course different, in tempo if in nothing else, in Austria. But Voegelin (n. 15), 6-7, notes that although there were Jewish professors when he entered the university of Vienna, 'after 1918 and establishment of the [Austrian] Republic, no more Jews were appointed full professors, so that the younger people who were Jews had no chance of ever rising beyond the level of *Privatdozent*'.

22 J.W. Mackail, 'Presidential Address', *Proceedings of the British Academy* XX, 1934, 17-24, at 23-4, where he says that over 150 displaced or exiled scholars had been found places in British universities. Many of them were helped by the Academic Assistance Council, formed in May 1933, which by 1936 had become the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning. By 1958, 2600 scholars had been helped. The Society still exists. See http://www.lse.ac.uk/resources/LSEHistory/academic_assistance_council.htm. See also Katharina Scherke, 'Esther Simpson und die Aktivitaeten der SPSL (Society for the Protection of Science and Learning) im Zusammenhang mit der Emigration deutschsprachiger Wissenschaftler zwischen 1933-1945', in J.M. Ritchie (ed.), *German-Speaking Exiles in Great Britain* (Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies, 3), Amsterdam and Atlanta, Georgia, 2001, 121-30.

and individual scholars were doing to alleviate their colleagues' suffering at Nazi hands in Germany and German-dominated Europe.[23] But inevitably, such works as the *Proceedings* of the Academy are limited in their purview, covering as they do only the Fellows of that institution, and until now it has been difficult to find the material for a broader-brush picture.[24] The lacuna can be filled now, to some extensive degree, thanks to the recent publication of *The Dictionary of British Classicists*.[25]

The publication of this work places a valuable tool in the hands of researchers. We now have a convenient biographical resource for the study of the history of classical scholarship in the United Kingdom (actually in all the British Isles).[26] It offers the user both advantages and disadvantages. Like the *Dictionary of National Biography* it confines itself to the dead, so that there are, happily, many about whom we might be curious who are not there.[27] Unlike the *DNB*, which perhaps inevitably has a broader focus though not necessarily shallower coverage, this dictionary contains some seven hundred entries in the narrow area of classical studies — archaeology, the history of art and other areas are included in general only when the biographee in question worked also in the field of classics more narrowly construed. Again like the *DNB*, it aims at chronological comprehensiveness, ranging back as far as 1500. But it has a welcome and almost inevitable emphasis on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It has longer entries on the obvious — Porson, Bentley, Housman — and also on that second rank of such scholars as Jebb, Gow, Page, Gomme and others, while the great majority of its entries concern the more everyday classicists who make up the bulk of the profession, though we also find the odd and the unusual — for example, Bathsua Reginald, in the seventeenth century, who was not only a woman but also knew, and taught, Hebrew.[28]

The *Dictionary* is not the only possible source for such information. There are several German publications which can be used to supplement the material offered here. One is the *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, a huge multi-volume German parallel to the

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23 See, e.g., id., 'Presidential Address', *Proceedings of the British Academy* XXII, 1936, 27-9, recording the dismissal of nearly two thousand academics from their posts in Germany. The first paper in that volume, following on immediately from the Presidential Address, is a summarized version of a paper on 'Horace', by Eduard Fraenkel, one of the most eminent of the classical scholars thus given refuge in Britain.

24 Hugh Lloyd-Jones, in his inaugural lecture as Regius Professor of Greek in Oxford, 'Greek Studies in Modern Oxford', in id., *Blood for the Ghosts, Classical Influences in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Baltimore and London, 1982, 21-2, offers a generously admiring list of some of the classical scholars driven out of Germany who found a home in Oxford, but his concern there is exclusively with Oxford, and it is just a brief list of names.

25 General editor Robert B. Todd, 3 vols., Bristol, 2004. I should declare an interest here, as a contributor: I wrote the entry in that work on my father (1033-4).

26 Its geographical definition and its scope alike make it different from Ward W. Briggs, Jr. and W.M. Calder III (eds.), *Classical Scholarship, A Biographical Encyclopedia*, New York and London, 1990, which covers a very limited selection of scholars.

27 There are also what the *DNB* calls 'missing persons', such as A.W.H. Adkins, dead now for some years.

28 There is also one Jewish woman, Amy Levy (1861-89).

DNB.[29] And there is also the *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie*.[30] These are huge and on paper, and collection of any relevant figures from them would be a Sisyphean task — the numbers of classicists involved are only, as will be seen, a couple of dozen or so at most. Finally, there is a much more important work, from the present point of view, the *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933*. This is a bilingual work, and its English title is slightly, and curiously, different: *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigration, 1933-1945*.[31] All four of these works make contributions here, and I give indications of the coverage of each in the list in the Appendix.

The boundaries of such an enquiry as this are porous. Are we to include Kurt von Fritz, who spent a little time in Oxford in 1936, before moving on the USA?[32] Or Werner Jaeger, who spent a period as a visiting Gilford Lecturer in St Andrews before moving on, also in 1936, to the USA? Both were clearly exiles from Hitler, but they did not stay very long in Britain. They also do not have entries of their own in the *Dictionary of British Classicists*, and perhaps that is right.[33] On the other hand, Raymond Klibansky (1905-) is absent, despite his work in the history of the classical tradition, and that exclusion is at least debatable (and he is also still alive, and to be feted on his centenary at the Kalamazoo Medieval Congress this spring). Similarly, Günther Zuntz, who wrote on, inter alia, Byzantine music, is in, but Egon Wellesz (1885-1974), who wrote on the same subject, is not. At the other end of this spectrum, Isidor Scheftelowitz (1875-1934) is in

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29 *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, herausgegeben von der historischen Kommission bei der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1953- . By 2003, 21 volumes, going from A to Rohlfs, had appeared. This work is a kind of supplement and replacement to the old *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, whose concerns are too early for ours. A 'Gesamtregister' of the two works is said to be available on the Web, at http://www.mdz2.bib-bvb.de/~ndb.

30 *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie*, 12 vols. in 14 parts, herausgegeben von Walther Killy (from vol. 4, following the death of Killy, with Rudolf Vierhaus), Munich, New Providence, London, Paris, 1995-2000.

31 3 vols. in 4 parts. General editors Herbert A. Strauss and Werner Röder, Munich, New York, London and Paris, 1980-83.

32 For an interesting autobiographical account by Kurt von Fritz of 'The reasons which led to my emigration in 1936' (for some reason, Coser [n. 17] 274, gives the date as 1934), see the appendix to William M. Calder III, '*Nuda Veritas*: William Abbott Oldfather on Classics at Columbia', in id., *Men in their Books. Studies in the Modern History of Classical Scholarship* (Spudasmata 67), Hildesheim, Zürich, New York, 1998, 261-80, at 276-80 (first published in *Illinois Classical Studies* 18, 1993, 359-78).

33 Two other such missing persons are Piero Treves (1911-92), a son of the famous Italian socialist leader Claudio, and Paolo Vivante. Treves spent the war years in Britain, working with his brother Paolo for a free Italy, before returning to Italy and enjoying a distinguished career as a Hellenist; Vivante came to England just before the war, which he spent in British uniform before studying at Pembroke College, Oxford, and returning to Italy (see his obituary elsewhere in this issue of *SCI*). Papers of the two Treves brothers are held in the 'Records, 1941-1974' of the American Council for Emigrés in the Professions, in the Department of Special Collections and Archives of the library of the State University of New York at Albany. On Piero Treves see also A. Mastrocinque (ed.), *Omaggio a Piero Treves*, Padua, 1983.

the *Dictionary*, although his areas of interest and specialization lay much further east than the classical world and he does not seem to have made any contribution to classical studies as such. Scheftelowitz's son, however, born in 1919, and hence before the father went into exile, changed his name to Shefton during the Second World War, and is a 'prolific' emeritus professor of classical archaeology in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He does not merit an entry of his own in the *Dictionary* (archaeology is represented but not fully covered in this work, and he is still alive), though he is mentioned at the end of that on his father. And apart from the absence from the *Dictionary* of those who are still alive, we may note the absence also of one scholar who, though dead, was not so much an exile as the child of exiles: Thomas Wiedemann (1950-2001), the author of important works on Roman slavery, 'very Catholic, very Jewish, very German, very British, an impossible combination united in a single personality', had a Jewish grandmother, on his father's side (on the other side, his grandfather was Josef Schmitt, State President of Baden in 1933, deposed and placed under house arrest at that time); his father spent part of the war in a Nazi forced labor organization, but managed to survive and came to Britain only after the war to work as a producer with the German service of the BBC.[34] Definitions have to be loose rather than well-fitting.[35]

A list compiled from these sources contains some two dozen names. They are given in the Appendix below, with indications of the scholars' dates of birth and death. A first glance shows that they are a rather miscellaneous collection. With one exception (Ludwig Bieler, who went to Ireland) they all went to the United Kingdom. Not all were classicists in the narrow sense suggested by the editors of the *Dictionary*: Scheftelowitz has already been mentioned. Popper won his principal distinction outside the realm of the classics narrowly conceived (and apparently did not learn Greek until he was living in New Zealand during the war). Daube's relation with the classics was part of a polymathic erudition that helped him to move on later to the USA. Walzer seems on occasion to have been regarded as an orientalists' classic and a classicists' orientalist. Two (Momigliano and Minio-Paluello) were Italians, while all the rest belonged to that nebulous category of the Central European or the *deutschsprachig* covered by the *Biographisches Handbuch*. The two Italians as well as Walzer and Weinstock came to the UK from Italy (the latter two going there after losing their posts in Germany), but all the rest came more or less directly from Germany (or Austria, following the Anschluss; in the case of Ehrenberg, from Prague). The reason for this deceptive appearance of a concentration of Jewish classical scholars in the Reich and in Italy is of course that Jews and others in Germany (and to some degree also in Austria and Czechoslovakia), as well

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34 See obituaries of Thomas Wiedemann in *The Independent*, 10 July 2001, *The Guardian*, 11 July 2001, *The Times*, 16 July 2001; the description comes from one of the readers for this journal.

35 Helen Waterhouse, *History of the British School at Athens, The First Hundred Years*, London, 1986, 142, refers to another person of marginal interest here: Wulf Schäfer, an architect at the British excavations at Mycenae at the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact, '(a quarter-Jew), who, after agonised days of indecision, had returned to his ungrateful fatherland'. He seems to have survived the war, as he published (identified as in Bremen) 'Neue Untersuchungen ueber die Baugeschichte Nauplias', *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* (*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts*) 76, 1961, 156-214.

as in Italy, had some time in which to try to find a refuge outside German-dominated territory. Not all succeeded: as we have seen, Gudemann died in Theresienstadt, in 1942; Muenzer died there too, in the same year. Those in other areas, occupied following 1 September 1939, had little or no opportunity to escape.

With a single exception, Wasserstein, all of them came to the British Isles as established scholars. In age, they range from 24 (David Daube, who left Germany as early as 1933, having just received his Dr. iur. degree) to 63 (Felix Jacoby), and that range is reflected also in the character of their professional attainments and career achievements: Daube had just been appointed as an Assistant when he left; Jacoby, like others, was forcibly retired while others were approaching that stage in their careers. With the same exception, none of them ended up in Israel.[36] They were all men (in this they differed little from the US group, which contained only one woman, Margarete Bieber).[37] Half of them revived connections with Germany after the war, and one or two believing in the importance of reconciliation with the Germans even returned permanently or for extended visits to academic posts in that country (Daube; Ehrenberg; Fraenkel; Heichelheim — who had emigrated from Britain to Canada after the war; Jacobsthal — was interested in doing so but was too old; Jacoby; Momigliano — to Italy, not Germany; Pfeiffer; Pringsheim; Schulz; Walzer; Wasserstein; Zuntz: as will be seen, they represent the entire span of religious variety in the group).[38] Only about half of them were actually Jews, in the sense of having a Jewish mother and/or of being in some sense practising: Brink, Daube, Ehrenberg, Fraenkel, Heichelheim, Maas, Momigliano, Morel, Scheftelowitz, Walzer, and Wasserstein. Their degrees of Jewishness varied: Scheftelowitz was a rabbi, Daube was orthodox (latterly with a distinctly Californian tinge) all his life, but Ehrenberg described himself as 'a more or less pure example of that assimilated Jew to whom the German cultural heritage was always stronger than the Jewish one'.[39] Jacobsthal, Jacoby, Popper, Pringsheim, Rosenberg (who had also served as a Communist [KPD] member of the Reichstag from 1924 to 1928), Schulz, Skutsch, Weinstock and Zuntz were all themselves converts to varying forms of Christianity or came from families of recent conversion.[40] Of the remaining three in our list, Bieler left Austria following the Anschluss of 1938 because the woman he was proposing to marry came from a Jewish family, Pfeiffer was sacked from his job because his wife, the painter Lili

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36 We know little of the attitude of these scholars to Zionism and Israel, but Walzer's books did, following some complicated legal manoeuvres, find a home in the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem after his death.

37 On women see the interesting article of Hiltrud Häntzschel, 'Professionell ohne Profession. Arbeitsfelder von Philologinnen jüdischer Herkunft', in Barner and König (n. 9), 65-73.

38 Calder (n. 9), 168, says of the American group, 'I do not know any, other than Lehmann, that remained embittered'.

39 The quotation comes from a set of 'Personal Memoirs' by Ehrenberg, written in 1971 and held by the Research Foundation of Jewish Immigration in New York, quoted in the entry on him in the *Dictionary of British Classicists*.

40 As to Zuntz, the *Dictionary of British Classicists* says that he came from a Jewish family, but Martin Hengel, in the obituary which he contributed to the *Proceedings of the British Academy* (vol. 87, 1995, 493-522), reports that his grandfather had converted in 1889, 'influenced by the writings of Spinoza'. Zuntz's mother came from a family of East Prussian Lutherans.

Beer, was of Jewish origin, and Minio-Paluello was a Catholic (with a wife-to-be of Austrian Jewish extraction). This distribution, with its large group of converts or descendants of converts, is oddly different from that of those refugee classical scholars who went to the USA: Calder says of them that they were 'either Jews, husbands of Jews, or Kurt von Fritz'.[41] This difference is not reflected in the dates when they left Europe.

Comparison of the importance of the classicists who came to the UK with that of those who went to the USA is difficult; it is too easy to think of varying criteria for judgement. Nonetheless it is clear that the British group included a number of classical scholars who would be in the first rank in anybody's view: Fraenkel, Skutsch, Maas, Bieler, Ehrenberg, Daube, Jacoby, Momigliano, Pfeiffer. The significance of these scholars for the field of classical studies in Britain was much greater both because the UK was so much smaller than the USA and because it contained at that time so many fewer universities and similar institutions. A large number of them also found a home in Oxford (more than in Cambridge), whose centrality for classical studies in Britain needs no stressing. England was very different from the de-centralised Germany in this respect.

Age, ability to use the English language, the existence (or the creation) of possible vacancies, temperament (being a refugee does not guarantee an equable temperament[42]), patterns of scholarly activity, all played a part in these scholars' futures too, and sometimes in the contributions that they were able to make to their new home. Fraenkel was instrumental in introducing the new-fangled foreign notion of the seminar to Oxford. But it would be simplistic to think that everything that these scholars achieved after they left Germany was something of which the Germans had by exiling them deprived themselves. Harriet Zuckerman notes valuably that the experience of exile in itself had effects, not all of them negative, on the careers and intellectual and scientific activity of those who went on to win Nobel Prizes after they left Germany. What is true of Nobel prizewinners, we may assume, is no less true of classicists.[43]

One of these scholars, Ludwig Bieler, had a major impact on new fields of research perhaps largely as a result of his exile. Following his settlement in Ireland, he devoted himself to the study of the early Latin literature of that country and made important contributions to that field.[44] However, perhaps his most important, if not generally noticed,

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41 Calder (n. 9), 161. It is not clear whether this is just rhetorical exaggeration.

42 Cf. K.C. Cirtautas, *The Refugee: a psychological study*, Boston, 1957. Scherke (n. 22), 126, notes Esther Simpson remembering that, 'You got the Germans who had already been professors, came over here and came to a place like Cambridge and found the professors cycling around in old flannel trousers and so on. And that was something they found very difficult to assimilate'.

43 Harriet Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite. Nobel Laureates in the United States*, New York, 1977, reviewed by Sir Peter Medawar, 'The "Ultra-Elite" of Science', in id., *The Threat and the Glory, Reflections on Science and Scientists*, New York, n.d., 58-9 (originally published in *Minerva* XV, Spring 1977, 105-14).

44 Ireland took in a handful of intellectual exiles from Europe. Apart from Bieler, there is also, most famously, Erwin Schrödinger. What is striking about the Irish case is that they were absorbed not in the richest and most prestigious Irish institution, Trinity College, Dublin (non-denominational but still at that time largely Protestant, and in many ways also British), but Schrödinger at the newly-founded Irish Institute of Advanced Studies and Bieler at the

contribution lies in his drive to collect microfilm copies of manuscripts of Irish relevance from continental and British libraries. These are now in the National Library of Ireland, where they form an important scholarly national research resource. It can be compared, as a major project of national cultural significance, with the great collection of microfilms of manuscripts in Jewish languages and scripts from all over the world initiated over half a century ago with the active support of Israel's first prime minister, David Ben Gurion, and now associated with the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem. In both cases the aim was to build up a collection, not of original manuscripts as these were all (or mostly) already in collections elsewhere, but of copies of manuscripts of national interest as part of the cultural identity building activity of a new, or a renewed, nation.

Another contrast with the USA lies in the types of jobs that these refugees found. Coser points out that in the USA as in England there was a fear that the newcomers in general might take jobs from local people, through a form of unfair competition.[45] As a result, he suggests, few of them won jobs in prestigious east and west coast research universities of the first rank (though Voegelin says in his memoirs that east coast institutions were 'overrun' by central European refugees, and gives that as a reason for his preferring to begin his American career in the south).[46] Most began their American careers at fairly minor institutions, many of them without graduate programs and lacking research facilities and the resources necessary for such work, and it took some of them many years before they received the kinds of jobs and recognition that they had enjoyed in Europe. Perhaps as a result of this wider geographical distribution, they contributed to what Coser calls the 'deprovincialization of the American mind'.[47] Coser's point is a general one, however, and a closer look at the classical situation, on the basis of Calder's study of 1992, shows that there things were rather different. Of the eighteen scholars listed by Calder, fully fourteen began their American careers in Brown, Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, New York University, Stanford, UCLA, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign or Yale.[48] Geographical distribution in this case did not necessarily point to a fog of mid-western provincialisation that was waiting to be dispersed.

In a collection of essays entitled 'English Questions', Perry Anderson writes about the intellectual immigration to England during the pre-War period, pointing to what he sees as a further difference between the immigration to England and that to the USA. He suggests that unlike what he labels a 'Red' migration of those who went on later to the USA, 'The intellectuals who came to Britain were thus not just a chance collection. They tended to be a "White", conservative emigration', for whom 'England was not an accidental landing-stage on which [they] found themselves unwittingly stranded. For many it

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(non-denominational, but Catholic) University College, Dublin (part of the National University of Ireland).

45 Coser (n. 17), 7.

46 Voegelin (n. 15), 58.

47 Coser (n. 17), 109.

48 Calder (n. 9), 171-73. Calder's list is not completely parallel to that studied here because of indistinctions of definition, but the general point is the issue.

was a conscious choice, as the antithesis of everything they rejected'.[49] He uses this as part of the basis for a general condemnation of British culture and an alleged unoriginality and lack of fruitful intellectual endeavour in the decades following the First World War. Portrayal of the forest here leaves little room for trees. It is very striking that Anderson pays no attention whatever to the field of Classics, then and for some decades to come a central field of teaching and research in British as in European universities, nor, though he looks at history, to one of the most prominent of all the historians to find refuge in Britain, Victor Ehrenberg. He does mention Ehrenberg's son, the historian Geoffrey Elton, but fails to take note of his age at the time of this 'conscious choice' — seventeen, on the very eve of the Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia in the spring of 1939. Anderson's argument and the way he constructs it also take no genuine account of the real reasons for the flight of all those considered in this article: to speak as he does of a search for political or social stability suggests not just relatively free choices about going or staying, and about where to go, but also a strange ignorance of what was going on in Europe of the 1930s. The refugees from the Nazis are not quite the same as those who came to England round World War One as intellectuals admiring of British ideas: Sir Lewis Namier who came to England in 1906 to advance a career is scarcely to be compared with Paul Maas, who had to be persuaded to flee from his native country days before the outbreak of the Second World War, or Paul Kahle and his family, who had to abandon home, job, rich library and position in society, in order to save their lives as a result of doing a good deed.[50] Gerhard Hirschfeld points out usefully in this connection that the number of historians who left Germany and settled in Britain was 55, of whom 46 were Jews; scarcely any of them left Germany as a result of a free decision but because any chance of a career there was blocked for them as a result of German government action.[51]

In Britain, things were different from the USA, not least because most of the newcomers were not given existing, established posts, at least at first. The new arrivals had not all lost distinguished academic positions in Europe: some were too young to have achieved senior rank yet. Nonetheless, overall the group does display considerable achievement: of the 24 on our list, ten were professors at the time they left (Ehrenberg,

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49 From Perry Anderson, 'Components of the National Culture', in id., *English Questions*, London and New York, 1992, 62-3. This piece was originally published as an article in the *New Left Review* 50, July-August 1968. The re-publication appears 'shorn of some of the bombast and excess of the period to render [it] more readable, if not defensible' (see 'Acknowledgements'). The passages discussed by Hirschfeld (in his 1996 study; see below, n. 51) are quoted by him from the original publication. Those interested in the applied use of textual criticism will find the changes between original and later publication of this piece instructive.

50 For Namier see especially Linda Colley, *Lewis Namier*, New York, 1989.

51 Gerhard Hirschfeld, 'Durchgangsland Grossbritannien? Die britische 'Academic community' und die wissenschaftliche Emigration aus Deutschland', in Charmian Brinson, Richard Dove, Marian Malet and Jennifer Tayler (eds.), *'England? Aber wo liegt es?' Deutsche und österreichische Emigranten in Grossbritannien 1933-1945*, Munich, 1996, 59-70; see especially 68. See also id., 'Die Emigration deutscher Wissenschaftler nach Grossbritannien, 1933-1945', in G. Niedhart (ed.), *Grossbritannien als Gast- und Exilland für Deutsche im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Bochum, 1985, 117-40.

Fraenkel, Jacobsthal, Jacoby, Maas, Momigliano, Pfeiffer, Pringsheim, Rosenberg and Schulz), one was an honorary professor (Scheftelowitz), another had the title of Privatdozent (Heichelheim), two were *Gymnasium* teachers (Weinstock and Zuntz), two worked at the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae in Munich (Brink and Skutsch), one in a similar position in Heidelberg (Klibansky), another in Austria (Bieler) and another in such a position in Italy (Minio-Paluello); one enjoyed private means (Morel), two (Daube and Walzer) were about to embark on academic careers when they left Germany; Popper was in similar plight; and Wasserstein was still a schoolboy.

The energetic British reaction to the Nazi persecutions as early as 1933 offered immediate solutions, but it did so by absorbing the refugees into a variety of posts that were temporary, acting, occasionally perhaps also unpaid. Only rarely were existing jobs given to newcomers — and even more rarely were there protests from locals about special treatment, as in the well-known case of Fraenkel's appointment to the Corpus chair of Latin in Oxford in 1935. On that occasion a letter from Housman silenced the criticism. Most of the newcomers just got by: Ehrenberg was a schoolmaster for much of the war; Maas spent many years as an advisor to the Clarendon Press (though he was elected to the British Academy in 1941); Minio-Paluello was a student for a doctorate and employed on war work until 1945; Morel taught in a private school between 1941 and 1945; Pfeiffer was given shelter by the Jesuits of Campion Hall; Rosenberg moved on to the USA as early as 1938, and died in 1943; Schulz was an 'unaffiliated tutor' in Oxford from 1939 onwards: he cannot have made much money. Momigliano too, though he was in Oxford throughout the war, apparently had considerable difficulties in making a living. Only a few enjoyed genuine academic posts. Apart from Fraenkel, Daube held a fellowship at Caius in Cambridge between 1938 and 1946; Heichelheim was given a junior lectureship at Nottingham in 1942, where he stayed until his move to Canada after the war; Popper held a lectureship in New Zealand from 1936 until the end of the war; Skutsch and Zuntz both found university posts as well, sharing for a while an employer in the University of Manchester. What stands out is less the shifts to which some of the scholars were put in making a living as refugees and more the generosity and inventiveness of the British university establishment, and especially that of Oxford, in searching out ways to support the refugees at a time when the country itself as a whole was on a war footing.[52] Oxford could perhaps do more than other places because she was richer and had a greater variety of institutions and projects in which minor forms of employment could be provided: the tutorial system, the Latin Dictionary, the Clarendon Press, and so on.

What also stands out is the degree to which the members of the group as a whole, older and younger in varying degree, eventually found proper posts and became absorbed within the academic profession in the United Kingdom. In this they differ somewhat from the group constituted by historians (including some ancient historians) from Germany. Hoffmann points out that 'regular appointments were very rare and the great majority of the historians of the older generation did not find an academic position

52 The academic staff of the London School of Economics contributed a percentage of their salaries to help the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning support the new arrivals.

in their new country'.[53] Although the different age distribution of the members of the two groups has something to do with this, a greater share of the explanation seems to derive from the character of their subjects: modern historians were less attractive to British employers, because the areas that they covered were less in demand in Britain than in Germany. History has had a tendency to the national, even when it is not nationalistic. In the field of classics, interest in different aspects of the field was broadly similar in the two countries.

As a group, these scholars possessed one un-Jewish characteristic: many Jewish scholars in classics, as in other fields, have seen topics in their fields connected with Jews as somehow attractive, even natural, areas of study. Among Islamists, this takes the form of an interest in the Jews under Islam, in what Islam and Judaism have given each other over fourteen centuries, and the like.[54] The greatest of Islamists have often, not coincidentally, been among the most significant contributors to Jewish studies too. Among the members of this group, however, such a shared feature is absent. Some were concerned with Jewish topics as classicists: Momigliano in particular wrote on a variety of Jewish topics related to his other studies; Wasserstein (after his move to Jerusalem) wrote on Jewish links with hellenism, and his book on the afterlife of the legend of the formation of the Septuagint will appear shortly; Walzer wrote on *Galen on Jews and Christians*, and Daube on a wide variety of Jewish topics; and Zuntz wrote on the so-called *Letter of Aristeas*. But Walzer's was an isolated concern for him, and Daube's work in this area cannot really be called classical; Zuntz's work on the *Letter of Aristeas* was an outgrowth of his interest in the textual history of the Bible (and he was not a Jew); and we should perhaps see Wasserstein's concern for such subjects as not unconnected with his move to Israel, so that it can in some sense at least be discounted here. It does not, apart from Momigliano, add up to very much – and Momigliano was Italian, not German. The subject exists, as can easily be seen, and not by accident, in the character of classical studies in Israel today. But in Germany, the example of Bernays, mentioned earlier, illustrates why German-Jewish classicists, or German classicists of Jewish background, were less anxious to emphasise through their choice of topics for research the background that might have given them special skills and aptitudes for such work and particular interest in it.[55] German Jews, and German baptised Jews and their offspring, who worked in classics were assimilating to the society around them; they were very often highly patriotic citizens of their country (Paul Maas was extremely reluctant to leave: it took a period of imprisonment by the Nazis in November 1938 to persuade him that he was not wanted in his native country and that he should take up, only a few days before the outbreak of the war, a visa for the UK — where the following year he spent eight weeks interned as an 'enemy alien' on the Isle of Man);[56] an interest in the Jewish

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53 Hoffmann (n. 19), 162.

54 See the articles collected in M. Kramer (ed.), *The Jewish Discovery of Islam, Studies in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, Tel Aviv, 1999.

55 For another example, at a slightly later date, cf. David J. Wasserstein, 'Evariste Lévi-Provençal and the Historiography of Iberian Islam', in Kramer (n. 54), 273-89.

56 On Maas see also Eckart Mensching, *Über einen verfolgten deutschen Altphilologen: Paul Maas (1880-1964)*, Berlin, 1987.

aspects of classical antiquity might have been a reminder to others of an insufficiently germanised identity.

As we have seen, only one of the people on our list, Wasserstein, ended up in Israel. He differs from the others on the list in several ways, not least because he actually pursued his classical studies in England, unlike the rest who came to Britain as established scholars.[57] In this sense Wasserstein really does not belong to this group, but rather to a different group of slightly younger scholars, including Martin Ostwald, Erich Gruen, Thomas Braun, J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, Ernst Badian, and others, most of them in North America but even then in some cases with a British stage in their migration: they had not completed, some not even yet begun, their studies and were far too young for academic posts when they left Germany. Wasserstein came to England as a student after the war, from Palestine. But three classical scholars of an older generation had in fact made their way from Germany to Palestine much earlier. Two of them had come as early as 1925, to help in the establishment of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem: Max (Moshe) Schwabe (1889-1956) set up the classics department there, and Victor (Avigdor) Tcherikover (1894-1958) the department of ancient history. Schwabe was from Halle, Tcherikover from St Petersburg, but both had studied in Berlin. A third scholar, a decade younger, was Hans (Yohanan) Lewy (1904-45), also a Berlin product, who came out to Palestine in 1933. These three scholars, products of the German classical world, and others in Israel could and did carve out areas of special Jewish interest in the classical field:[58] Tcherikover worked on Jewish papyri from Egypt, Schwabe on Greek inscriptions, Lewy's last (posthumously) published work was a collection of studies entitled *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy. Mysticism and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire*.[59] Later on Chaim Wirszubski worked on Renaissance cabbalists like Pico della Mirandola, and Menahem Stern (not a classicist but forging a tool of great value for classicists) produced a monumental three-volume collection of *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*.[60] Curiously, though the character of the Hebrew University, where all worked,

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57 This did not prevent him from saying once, in apparent, and successful, justification of the types of research that he occupied himself with, that he 'came from a different tradition'.

58 See Joseph Geiger and Ra'anana Meridor, 'The beginnings of classics in Israel: two documents', *Scripta Classica Israelica* 18, 1999, 159-73; H.M. Cotton, 'The Roman *Fasti* of Judaea/Palaestina', in *Memorial for Menachem Stern*, Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Jerusalem, 2002, 55-69 (Hebrew).

59 The work was published in Cairo by the Institut français d'archéologie orientale, as t. xiii of Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire, in 1956. The editors, thanking 'Professor Walter Zander' and 'Professor Polotsky' and 'Professor Goldschmidt', carefully avoid any mention of the fact that two of these scholars, like Lewy himself, worked in Jerusalem and at the Hebrew University. A few months after the appearance of the book, France took part in the Suez adventure. There is a collection of articles devoted to Lewy's memory: *Commentationes Iudaico-Hellenisticae In Memoriam Iohannis Lewy (1901-1945)*, ed. M. Schwabe, I. Gutman, Jerusalem, 1949. The date of birth is given as 1901 in the memorial volume, both in Hebrew and in English; 1904 is given in other sources.

60 Edited with introductions, translations and commentary by Menahem Stern, Jerusalem, 3 vols., 1974-84.

was heavily influenced by the German pattern,[61] the younger generation of Hebrew University classics professors, represented by Alexander Fuks (1917-78) and Chaim Wirszubski (1915-77), only later (in 1969) joined by Wasserstein, were heavily influenced by the English classical tradition and pattern: Wasserstein completed his studies in London, under Sir John Lockwood, and Wirszubski prepared his doctorate (under Adcock) in Cambridge.[62] The British experience left an imprint that has lasted to this day.

With the end of the war, there was little interest among members of the British or the American group in returning to Germany. Those who did, returned at a later stage, when the German universities had returned to a semblance of pre-Nazi scholarship and invited them to return in order to show themselves and the world that they had changed; those who went back were mostly Christians who saw themselves, as Calder points out, still as Germans.[63] The Jews and some of the Christians had identified themselves more completely with the countries that had given them refuge and defeated the Germans. But it would be a mistake to speak, as Calder does for the American case, of a German influence informing the style of British classical studies as a result of this immigration. In the USA, as Calder himself stresses, German influence had been transmitted largely through the significance for the USA of a very small number of Americans who had studied in Germany and returned home to direct doctoral dissertations in their own country, all this before the immigration of the 1930s. In the British case, the local tradition was older and stronger and the ties and the influences were longer lasting and went deeper. Since the war much has changed, but not solely under the influence of these immigrants: the expansion of research and with it the growth in importance of the doctorate; new areas of scholarship have been added to those traditionally studied by British classicists; and British scholarship, like that of other countries, has become generally more continental and international. The arrival of the Warburg Institute, with its rich collections and its staff, in the mid-1930s, had a direct and visible influence on the contents and character of scholarship in Britain, touching also on the classics.[64] But the contribution of an

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61 See, e.g., Hava Lazarus-Yafe, 'The transplantation of Islamic studies from Europe to the Yishuv and Israel', in Kramer (n. 54), 249-60.

62 For a fierce statement of the differences in style and temperament between the German and the British classical worlds see Calder (n. 9).

63 Returning was not always made easy, even for those who desired it. Richard Laqueur (1881-1959), a much-decorated veteran of the German army in the First World War, held a chair in Halle when Hitler came to power. Because of his wartime service, he retained his post until 1936, but was then forcibly retired. He escaped to the USA in 1939, but never found an academic post and worked in a business. After the war, according to the website of Halle University itself, 'colleagues thwarted his return' (http://www.catalogus-professorum-halensis.de/laqueurrichard.html); he returned to his native country only in 1952, and received an honorary professorship in Hamburg in 1959, shortly before his death.

64 For the transfer of the Institute, see Eric M. Warburg, 'The transfer of the Warburg Institute to England in 1933', *Warburg Institute Annual Report, 1952-53* (available on the Web at http://www.sas.ac.uk/warburg/mnemosyne/history.htm. See also Dorothea McEwan, 'A Tale of One Institute and Two Cities: The Warburg Institute', in Ian Wallace (ed.), *German-Speaking Exiles in Great Britain* (Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies, 1), Amsterdam and Atlanta, Georgia, 1999, 25-42.

institution is easier to measure and weigh than those of scattered individuals. From a British perspective, it is perhaps easier to see the result of this immigration of European classicists as a continuation and expansion of the international cross-fertilization that has always been characteristic of classical studies in general.[65]

Vanderbilt University

Appendix

I list here the refugee scholars discussed in this paper. For a similar list of such scholars who made their way to the USA, see Calder (n. 9), 171-3. I add the names of the authors of the entries on them in the *Dictionary of British Classicists* (most of the entries, 20 out of 23, are by Germans), except in the case of Klibansky, on whom there is no entry in the *Dictionary*, together with indications of entries on them in the other reference works mentioned above (as those works are organised alphabetically, I do not give the page references to such entries). *DBE = Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie*; *NDB = Neue Deutsche Biographie*; *BHDE = Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933*.

1. Ludwig Bieler (1906-81), by Marcus Deufert (*DBE*, *BHDE*).
2. Charles Oscar Brink (earlier Karl Oskar Levy; 1907-94), by Marcus Deufert.
3. David Daube (1909-99), by Johannes Keller (*BHDE*).
4. Victor Leopold Ehrenberg (1891-1976), by Stefan Rebenich (*DBE*, *BHDE*).
5. Eduard Fraenkel (1888-1970), by Marcus Deufert (*DBE*, *BHDE*).
6. Fritz Moritz Heichelheim (1901-68), by Kay Ehling (*DBE*, *BHDE*).
7. Paul Ferdinand Jacobsthal (1880-1957), by Volker Losemann (*DBE*, *NDB*, *BHDE*).
8. Felix Jacoby (1876-1959), by Volker Losemann (*DBE*, *NDB*, *BHDE*).
9. Raymond Klibansky (1905-) (*BHDE*).
10. Paul Maas (1880-1964), by Katja Bär (*DBE*, *NDB*, *BHDE*).
11. Lorenzo Minio-Paluello (1907-86), by Volker Losemann.
12. Arnaldo Dante Momigliano (1908-87), by Stefan Rebenich.
13. Willy Morel (1894-1973), by Katja Bär (*DBE*, *NDB*).
14. Rudolf Carl Franz Otto Pfeiffer (1889-1979), by Katja Bär (*DBE*, *NDB*, *BHDE*).
15. Karl Raimund Popper (1902-94), by John R. Wallach (*DBE*, *NDB*, *BHDE*).
16. Fritz Pringsheim (1882-1967), by Johannes Keller (*DBE*, *NDB*, *BHDE*).
17. Arthur Rosenberg (1889-1943), by Jürgen v. Ungern-Sternberg (*DBE*, *BHDE*).
18. Isidor Scheftelowitz (1875-1934), by Kai Brodersen (*BHDE*).
19. Fritz Schulz (1879-1957), by Johannes Keller (*DBE*, *BHDE*).
20. Otto Skutsch (1906-90), by Katja Bär (*BHDE*).

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