

ALFRED GUDEMAN, ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 1862—
THERESIENSTADT, 1942

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The will of Alfred Gudeman (1862–1942), dated Berlin, July 1, 1941, and signed Alfred Israel Gudeman,¹ reads in part,

Since I was born an American and owe my scholarly development to American Universities, where I also taught for 16 years, I designate to Columbia University, my alma mater (1879–1883), the following bequest. Its Board of Trustees solely shall have all copyrights to the following indicated scholarly publications...

The will then lists the revised versions of six of Gudeman's earlier works.² In 1949 Columbia was informed of Gudeman's bequest by his interim executor, and after making inquiries about the value of the legacy, the University agreed to accept it and to assume the small expense of having the papers shipped to New York; it did not, however, promise to undertake publication. What was left of Gudeman's lifetime of scholarly activity in America and Germany was delivered to the Columbia University Libraries from Berlin-Charlottenburg on March 20, 1952. The lot consists primarily of three manuscripts: A new edition of his picture album, *Imagines Philologorum*, and with it the 560 photographs of classical scholars which were to be its contents, an updated ("eighth") edition of his *Manual of the History of Classical Philology*, and a handwritten revision

¹ After January 1, 1939, male Jews in Germany who did not have first names that were clearly Jewish were forced to add the middle name Israel.

² "(1) Manual of the History of classical philology, 8th Edition. - (2) Imagines philologorum, New Edition. - (3) Bibliography to Aristotle's Poetics, New Edition. - (4) Arist. de poetica, editio minor. - (5) Sallust Catiline, 4th Edition, Numbers 1-5 are ready for publication. - (6) English Translation of my 4 volumes containing History of Latin Literature. In preparation. The copyright of the work, which has been out of print for many years, was released to me by the publishers in 1938 (7) Collection of Critical Essays and The World's Literature, 30 volumes, 1897, N.Y." The seventh item was originally published as part of the *Library of the World's Best Literature, Ancient and Modern*, C. D. Warner, ed. (New York 1896–98), reissued in 1917 and again in 1928–29 as *Columbia University Course in Literature* (New York) in 18 volumes. It is an anthology of selections of critical essays. The will is dated from the "Pension Schwalbe, Mommsenstrasse 55III, Berlin-Charlottenburg 4." A photostat is in the Central Archives of Columbia University and was made available along with correspondence concerned with bringing Gudeman's papers to New York by the Office of the Secretary of Columbia University. I am indebted to Patricia J. Billfaldt, Assistant Secretary of the University, and to Patricia L. Francy, Controller. The translation quoted here was made by a secretary in Columbia's German Department in 1949.

(*editio minor*) of his recension of Aristotle's *Poetics*.³ All three are ready for a printer with title pages, dedications and prefaces carefully prepared. This material remains at Columbia where it continues to witness Gudeman's many frustrated attempts to have it published in his lifetime—or after—as the culmination of his life's work. He wrote about the *Images* and the *Manual* that they were the two books with which he hoped to "crown [his] life's labors as a classical scholar."⁴ Between March and September 1942, at the age of eighty, Gudeman was taken to the Nazi concentration camp at Theresienstadt.

Alfred Gudeman was born in Atlanta, Georgia, on August 26, 1862, the eldest of four children.⁵ By 1865 the family was in New York⁶ where a brother Edward was born. Sisters Alma and Elsa followed in 1873 and 1876. When shortly thereafter their father went to Cuba never to return, Solomon Zickel, their mother's stepfather, effectively adopted the family. Zickel had come from Germany to New York where he published and edited several nationally circulated German language weeklies; his success with these allowed him to purchase and retire to an estate near Dresden.⁷ Alfred Gudeman and his sisters would follow him back to Germany.

³ *Images Philologorum* (Leipzig, Berlin 1911). The *Manual of the History of Classical Philology* was first published as the *Syllabus on the History of Classical Philology* (Boston 1892) and then as *Outlines of the History of Classical Philology* (Boston 1894, 1897) and in Germany, *Grundriss der Geschichte der klassischen Philologie* (Leipzig, Berlin 1907, 1909). Gudeman claimed eight editions by including two reprints. *Περὶ Ποιητικῆς* (Berlin, Leipzig 1934). The manuscripts are in the Alfred I. Gudeman Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University. In addition to the manuscripts, the Papers contain information about the Philadelphia Classical Club and the Philologische Gesellschaft of Munich, a small amount of correspondence pertaining to his research into the biographies of classical scholars, a few reviews and obituaries torn from journals, and a table of contents for the proposed update of the collection that he called *Extracts of Critical Essays from the Library of the World's Best Literature* (above, note 2). Jane Rodgers of the Columbia Rare Book and Manuscript Library has been helpful in suggesting ways to follow the trail that began with the Papers.

⁴ Alfred Gudeman to Lane Cooper, September 8, 1938. Lane Cooper Papers, #14-12-860, Department of Manuscripts and University Archives, Cornell University Libraries. All correspondence from Gudeman to Cooper is from this collection; Cooper's half of their correspondence is not extant.

⁵ His parents, Moritz T. and Clara (Alexander) Gudeman, had immigrated to the United States from Germany in 1841 and 1856 respectively. For details about the family, I am indebted to Alfred Gudeman's niece, Mrs. Hilda Kalinowsky, New York, New York, and to his great-nephew, Dr. Stephen Gudeman, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

⁶ In the *vita* that Gudeman appended to the privately printed edition of his dissertation (*De Heroidum Ovidii Codice Planudeo*, Berlin 1888), he wrote that his parents' sentiments were with the Northern cause during the Civil War and that the family had reached New York from Atlanta with some difficulty.

⁷ Notably *Novellen-Schatz* (1860-1903?), *S. Zickel's Deutsch-Amerikanische Familien-Blätter* (1873-1896), which merged with the preceding in 1897, and *S. Zickel's Deutsch-Amerikanische Volks-Bibliothek* (1873-1903). They featured "general entertainment for the family;" K. J. R. Arndt and M. E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955, History and Bibliography*² (Heidelberg, reprint New York 1965) 386, 411. Zickel seems to have left New York in 1903 or soon thereafter.

Zickel educated the Gudeman children and was responsible for sending Alfred and Edward to Columbia College, where Alfred matriculated in 1879, his younger brother four years later.⁸ Columbia was a small place in those days (Alfred's class of 1883 had sixty graduates) with a curriculum centered on Greek and Latin. Alfred took the Greek prize in 1882 and his graduating rank was second in the "second honor class," sixth overall.⁹ The social atmosphere at Columbia was described by Gudeman's fellow undergraduate, Nicholas Murray Butler, who wrote that the students were "drawn from various types, groups and classes, and the old and well-to-do New York families were well-represented." As for fraternities, they "attracted to their membership pretty much of all that was best in each class of that period." Extracurricular activity was dominated by two oratorical and debate societies, the Philolexians and the Peithologians, whose membership was in turn dependent on the fraternity lists. In response to this elitist system the Barnard Literary Association was formed in 1877. Butler wrote that "while it flourished for a few years...it never had anything like the importance or influence of the two old and historic organizations."¹⁰ Gudeman was not one of the "best" who were "attracted to" fraternities, and his only extracurricular credit was the less prestigious Barnard Literary Association. As a Jew, his experience at Columbia was not in the mainstream.

It is appropriate that this characterization of the social atmosphere at Columbia comes from Butler, who went through Columbia College one year ahead of Gudeman. Butler was a Peithologian, a fraternity man, and a leader in virtually every organization on campus. He also graduated "first in the first honor class" in 1882, by virtue of which he delivered the Greek oration at commencement, but after graduation he quickly turned away from classical philology to philosophy and education.¹¹ Butler and Gudeman could not have avoided knowing one another in a school of that size, but they clearly did not move in the same circles and can be presumed to have been acquaintances rather than friends, a fact that seems pertinent when Gudeman tried to turn to Butler for help when the latter was Columbia's President.

⁸ Edward Gudeman received both his undergraduate degree (1887) and doctorate (1889) in Chemical Engineering from Columbia. He also studied in Berlin and Göttingen. In 1890–91 he was a chemistry instructor at Columbia, but academia was apparently not for him and he became a freelance chemical consultant in Chicago. He is listed in *Who's Who in America* after 1921 and also in *Who's Who in American Jewry*. The brothers did not maintain a very close relationship after Alfred lived in Germany. Edward died in 1932.

⁹ Clippings from the *New York Times*, the Columbia undergraduate newspaper and commencement programs provide this detail; they are collected in Columbia University's Columbian Library.

¹⁰ N. M. Butler, *Across the Busy Years* (New York 1939) 1.63, 83. The Barnard Literary Association was named after F. A. P. Barnard, President of Columbia from 1864 to 1889.

¹¹ Butler complained about what he considered pedestrian pedagogy. Both he and Gudeman were taught by Henry Drisler and Charles Short, the first of whom Butler described as "dry-as-dust" and the second as "a pedant if ever there was one." Butler (above, note 10) 65–66.

It may have been Zickel who encouraged Alfred and Edward to continue their studies in his native country.¹² But Germany still held primacy in graduate education in the 1880's, and it was a logical choice for a would-be academic. Gudeman had spent the summer between his last two years at Columbia there and in Berlin had heard Johannes Vahlen lecture on Horace; this excited him (*in me iniecit ardorem*) to return there as soon as he graduated.¹³ He was the first American to take a doctorate in Classical Philology at the University of Berlin, a fact which he proudly put in his *cursus vitae* throughout his life.¹⁴ Conversely, he called himself "Alfredus Gudeman Americanus" on the title page of his dissertation, *De Heroidum Ovidii Codice Planudeo* on the lost manuscript D of the Ovid text. He was self-conscious about his unique German-American status and at that point surely thought that it promised well for his career. He credited Vahlen and Hermann Diels for their help with his dissertation, the former especially for taking him on as an unknown novice.¹⁵

Shortly after taking his degree on July 6, 1888, Gudeman returned from Berlin to the United States. The copy of his dissertation that he presented to Columbia College in September 1888 has with it a calling card on which there appears, "A. Gudeman, Dr. phil., New York." He arrived home unemployed. He found his way to Johns Hopkins, probably in 1890, where he was a "fellow and lecturer" and where he crossed paths with Basil L. Gildersleeve.¹⁶ Already in those early years at Hopkins he was interested in the history of classical philology. The first (1892) version of his survey on the subject had its inception in a course there and had the title, *Syllabus on the History of Classical Philology*.¹⁷

¹² Gudeman dedicated his dissertation *avo dilectissimo*. Zickel no doubt paid the expenses of his step-grandson's postgraduate education, including the necessary printing of the dissertation.

¹³ This according to his dissertation *vita*. The tide of German doctorates did not turn until the 1890's; W. R. Agard, "Classical Scholarship" in *American Scholarship in the Twentieth Century*, ed. M. Curti (Cambridge, Mass. 1953) 148-49.

¹⁴ What is apparently the last version of Gudeman's *cursus* arrived at Columbia in 1949 as part of the correspondence about his bequest (below, page 379), and he still makes the proud claim there. It is also present from his first appearance in *Who's Who in America* (1903-5) and in entries in *Kürschners Deutscher Gelehrten-Kalender* (beginning in 1926). His biography also appears in *Who Was Who in America* 4 (1968) and in *Who Was Who Among North American Authors 1921-1939* (1976).

¹⁵ From the dissertation *vita*. He dedicated his American edition of Tacitus' *Dialogus* to Vahlen, and Vahlen's work on Aristotle's *Poetics* probably influenced Gudeman's own life-long interest. In addition to its private printing, the dissertation was also published in *Berliner Studien für classische Philologie und Archæologie* 8, Heft 2 (Berlin 1888), but this edition does not contain the *vita*.

¹⁶ This title for his position at Hopkins is from his final *cursus*. *Who Was Who In America* calls him a professor and gives his dates there as 1890-93; the *cursus*, on the other hand, shows continuous employment from 1888 through 1904, as does the "16 years" of university teaching in his will. Gudeman filled in empty years on his resumé. For his encountering Gildersleeve, W. W. Briggs, *Selections from the Letters of Basil Lammeau Gildersleeve* (Baltimore 1987) 87n. 6.

¹⁷ His *cursus* gives 1891 for the date of this first book. The Quintilian quotation on the title page, *Genera gustamus non bibliothecas excutimus* (*Inst.* 10.1.104), which Gudeman does not locate, remains intact throughout all editions and title

In 1893 Gudeman went to the University of Pennsylvania. It was from there that he published the work for which he probably remains best known, his recension of and commentary on Tacitus' *Dialogus de Oratoribus*.¹⁸ The book was favorably received, and Gudeman was praised especially for his thoroughness and his willingness to undertake so massive a project of textual criticism in the German tradition, an unusual enterprise for an American at that time. According to one reviewer, "The independence and originality of the editor...are in striking contrast to the reserve and self-distrust which has hitherto characterized the work of our foremost American scholars in this field."¹⁹ But there were reservations about the tone in which he set forth his scholarship:

Indeed, I fear that the editor's manner of presentation is sometimes calculated to awaken a feeling of opposition in his readers, and I suggest that occasionally he has defeated his own purpose or the interests of a good argument by himself assuming the character of an advocate and by summoning evidence for cumulative effect that was better left alone.²⁰

Gudeman's two volume anthology of Latin readings of the literature of the Empire was also from this period, as were school editions of Tacitus' *Dialogus*, *Agricola* and *Germania*.²¹ His journal contributions from Pennsylvania were numerous, and he must have been working on Plutarch's *Life of Cicero* and on Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* while he was there since he published on these shortly after his departure.²² In addition, he was in 1895 a founding member and president of the Philadelphia Classical Club, an organization to which he continued to submit papers from abroad as late as 1920–21.²³ It appears to have been a productive period for him and, on paper at least, the beginning of a successful academic career.

But Gudeman's association with Pennsylvania ended in 1901. His biographical notices, his *cursus*, and the "16 years" of American university teaching mentioned in his will either give or imply the date of 1902 for the

changes of the work and still appears on the manuscript of the "eighth, considerably enlarged," edition that lies unpublished in the Columbia Library.

¹⁸ The text and commentary are 382 pages (Boston 1894).

¹⁹ G. L. Hendrickson, *AJP* 16 (1895) 88.

²⁰ Hendrickson (above, note 19) 81. Similarly Henry Furneaux, who wished that Gudeman had not included "the more polemical passages, in which opinions of others seem as it were paraded for censure and branded with notes of exclamation." Furneaux suggested that Gudeman's lack of graciousness might alienate precisely those who would most appreciate his work; *CR* 9 (1895) 47.

²¹ *Latin Literature of the Empire* 1, 2 (New York, Cincinnati, Chicago 1898, 1899); *Dialogus* (Boston 1898); *Agricola* (Boston 1899); *Agricola and Germania* (Boston 1900). He worked on the last two in England at the Bodleian Library and British Museum during the summers of 1898 and 1899 (*Agricola and Germania*, Preface, iv).

²² *The Sources of Plutarch's Life of Cicero* (University of Pennsylvania Series in Philology and Literature 6, no. 2) 1902; *Bellum Catilinae* (New York 1904).

²³ Letter from Elmer S. Gerhard, secretary of the Philadelphia Classical Club, to Gudeman in Berlin, April 22, 1940. Gerhard included a list of speakers and their topics from the club's inception in 1895 until the 1920's; Alfred I. Gudeman Papers.

termination of his connection with Pennsylvania and gloss over the fact that he was without employment in the academic year 1901-2. The membership list of the American Philological Association, however, gives his address for 1901 as 40 East 69th Street in New York City, his family home.²⁴ In 1900, Gudeman had married Julia Oelsner, the daughter of Ludwig Oelsner, a medieval historian in Frankfurt am Main, and the winter of 1901-2 found him in Germany, no doubt with his in-laws. A response from Nicholas Murray Butler to a congratulatory letter from Gudeman written from Frankfurt is dated January 31, 1902; Butler had just become President of Columbia. It concludes, "Hope you are having an enjoyable winter abroad and that you will have no difficulty in establishing yourself in a field that in all respects meets your wishes and capacity upon your return."²⁵ It sounds as though Gudeman dropped a hint that a job at Columbia would be welcome; if so Butler did not acknowledge it. This was not the last time that Gudeman initiated contact with the increasingly influential Butler.

The Department of Classical Studies at the University of Pennsylvania has no records about Gudeman's failure to have his position there made permanent,²⁶ nor would documentation be expected. But anti-Semitism is the prime suspect. Jews rarely had academic appointments at American universities at the turn of the century, and advancement within the system was very difficult.²⁷ A rare direct witness of prejudice has surfaced recently and by coincidence refers specifically to Gudeman's career. At Cornell University in 1919 Charles E. Bennett wrote the following to Harry Caplan, who was then one of his graduate students in Classics, urging him to go into secondary school rather than college teaching:

There is, moreover, a very real prejudice against the Jew. Personally I do not share this, and I am sure the same is true of all our staff here. But we have seen so many well equipped Jews fail to secure appointments that this fact has been forced upon us. I recall Alfred Gudeman, E. A. Loew—both brilliant scholars of international reputation, and yet unable to obtain a college position. I feel it wrong to encourage any one to devote himself to the higher

²⁴ TAPA 32 (1901) clx.

²⁵ This and other Butler correspondence with Gudeman is from the Nicholas Murray Butler Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, Gudeman file. This file consists primarily of Butler's replies; only a few examples of Gudeman's letters to him have been preserved.

²⁶ Professor G. N. Knauer at the University of Pennsylvania has been helpful in assuring me that this is so.

²⁷ Seth Low, President of Columbia from 1890 to 1901, prided himself on appointing four Jews to the Columbia faculty, an achievement that he considered unique in America at that time. He does not say at what level they served; H. S. Wechsler, *The Qualified Student, a History of Selective College Admission in America* (New York 1977) 137. There is at present no systematic examination of anti-Semitism in the American academic establishment; B. vom Brocke, "'Wissenschaft und Militarismus'" in *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren* (Darmstadt 1985) 681n. 43.

walks of learning to whom the path is barred by an undeniable racial prejudice.²⁸

It is not, of course, certain that race was the only factor that affected the tenure decision at Pennsylvania. Gudeman may have been a difficult department member; his contentiousness was noted by the reviewers of the 1894 *Dialogus*.²⁹ But personality was probably less of an issue with someone who was not Jewish, especially if he was as well-trained as Gudeman and if he presented the same more than respectable string of publications.

The way in which Gudeman rationalized his disappointment at Pennsylvania is fairly clear: real scholarship, the "scientific" kind that he associated with his graduate education in Germany, was not appreciated in the somewhat casual atmosphere of American universities. His posture can be seen in this letter which he wrote to his friend Lane Cooper at Cornell after he had relocated abroad. It seems legitimate to project its contents onto his own experience of 1901:

Accept the warm thanks for your thoughtful and courageous address, for it takes courage to give eloquent expression to such truths in a University whose President is one of many of his kind in America who talks glibly in a similar strain, but violates his alleged convictions continually and in a most flagrant manner. How often has thorough scholarship, reputation and unflinching devotion to duty and high ideals won academic recognition at his hands? Take his choice of the successor of Hart. It is simply preposterous and really only possible in America and I could mention a score of similar instances, although there is perhaps no case so grotesque as that of Gibbons, the full professor of Latin at the Univ. of Penn., who laboriously prepared by means of a pony three books of Horace's Odes. He had never read the fourth book, as he never got that far in a term's reading! Pull, a genial personality, alleged pedagogical ability are with us the prerequisites for academic appointments. Scholarly equipment, and reputation are quite a secondary consideration. In fact, the conviction is widespread among College presidents, that the scholar who is also a teacher is a 'rara avis' and that between the two the latter is preferable the implication being that one who is scientifically sterile is presumably a teacher! It is not till such truths as you

²⁸ The more usual way of stating the bias was a circumlocution like Butler's phrase, "all that was best in each class." This letter, dated March 27, 1919, and signed by C. L. Durham, George S. Bristol, and E. P. Andrews as well as by Bennett, is rapidly becoming notorious; *Cornell Alumni News* 84 (July, 1981) 7. It was published among letters responding to an obituary feature on Caplan. E. A. Lowe [Loew] did not become associated with the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton until 1936. His Cornell connections (B. A. 1902, Fellow, 1916) had probably called him to Bennett's attention.

²⁹ William M. Calder III describes Gudeman as "verbittert" and "spitzfindig und dogmatisch"; "Die Geschichte der klassischen Philologie in den Vereinigten Staaten," *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien* 11 (1966) 232 and note 101.

have voiced become more generally accepted that we can hope for a brighter academic future in America (June 1, 1912).³⁰

Had Pennsylvania justified its decision to him by charging that he was not a good teacher? Gudeman's feelings of personal slight are worthy of sympathy since "Hart's successor" as Chairman of the English Department at Cornell was Martin Wright Sampson, whose highest academic degree was the Master's. Henry Gibbons had come to Pennsylvania at approximately the same time as Gudeman and presumably got the "full professorship" that Gudeman felt had been denied him. Gibbons held no graduate degree at all and has left no discernable bibliography behind.³¹ Gudeman perceived this conflict between his own high standards and the classical philology practiced at American universities as derived from the wide gap between German and American scholarship. He expressed himself strongly about the value of the German achievement in a review of J. E. Sandys' *A History of Classical Scholarship*. Writing from Germany, he took exception to what he considered the excessive amount of emphasis (twenty pages) which that catalog gave to America and stressed the lack of prejudice in his judgment since he was an American himself:

...the space allotted to the classical scholarship of the United States...is—pudet dictu—simply ultra-generous and undeservedly flattering. So unpalatable a truth must here be the more emphasized, because coming from any other than an American source the motive for giving public utterance to it might be misconstrued, if not resented...Not a single contribution marking genuine progress, no work on an extensive scale, opening up a new

³⁰ The Cooper address that Gudeman refers to was delivered on the occasion of the Cornell Phi Beta Kappa initiation on May 30, 1911, and printed privately as a pamphlet that year, later reprinted as "The Function of the Leader in Scholarship" in Lane Cooper, *Two Views of Education with Other Papers Chiefly on the Study of Literature* (New Haven 1922) 182–218. Cooper must have sent Gudeman a copy of this pamphlet in which he spoke strongly and eloquently indeed about the primacy of pure scholarship and asserted that "no one who is not a scholar can be a teacher, and, other things being equal, the better scholar he is, the better teacher will he be" (194). The "President" is Jacob Gould Schurman, President of Cornell from 1892 until 1920, who presided during the period when the University was expanding its mandate to serve the greater community with extension work in agriculture, a function incompatible with an ideal that Cooper expressed in this address, i.e., that "the practical" should be "duly subordinated to the contemplative life" (215). This unfavorable opinion of Schurman did not prevent Gudeman from using him as a reference when he tried to regain his United States citizenship in 1936 (below, note 43).

³¹ James Morgan Hart was Chairman of the Cornell English Department until 1909 when he was succeeded by Sampson (A. M. University of Cincinnati 1890). Gibbons came to Pennsylvania by way of high school teaching in Pittsburgh, the University of Western Pennsylvania (later the University of Pittsburgh), and Amherst College. Both Sampson and Gibbons studied sporadically in Germany but took no degrees there.

perspective or breaking entirely new ground, nothing, in fact, of the slightest value can be placed to [American] credit."³²

But before Gudeman went abroad, he spent two academic years (1902–4) at Cornell. In all likelihood, he went there at the invitation of Charles Bennett, who, as can be seen from the 1919 letter to Caplan, thought highly of him. Gudeman had had a connection with Bennett from the early nineties when both had worked on the *Dialogus* and had shared information.³³ His 1902 *Sources of Plutarch's Life of Cicero* was dedicated to Bennett, his "friend and colleague".³⁴ Although family recollection reports that Gudeman's Frankfurt wife did not like Ithaca and this was used to explain his departure, his appointment there was only temporary.³⁵ Short as it was, the Cornell interlude did provide the opportunity to begin a lifelong friendship with Lane Cooper, who, although younger than Gudeman by thirteen years, also arrived at Cornell in 1902 as an instructor in English and remained there throughout his professional life.

In 1904 Alfred Gudeman left the United States for Germany, never to return for so much as a visit.³⁶ It was not an illogical choice for someone frustrated professionally as he was and seemingly attuned to that country by education and scholarly temperament. In addition, his German wife and his own family that was as German as it was American may have influenced his decision. His step-grandfather Zickel returned at about this time, and both of his younger sisters married in Germany during the decade and by virtue of this became German citizens themselves. Only brother Edward remained in the United States.

Gudeman located in Munich where he joined the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* as an assistant or associate editor and corrector. In his *cursus* he credited himself with seventy-three entries, "omitting smaller articles." He integrated himself into the local academic community, living in the neighborhood of the University of Munich (his address was Franz Josefstrasse 12 from 1904 until 1931) and probably using its library. And, as he had done similarly with the Philadelphia Classical Club, he helped found the Philologische Gesellschaft in Munich

³² This disproportionate allotment of space was in the third volume of Sandys' history, published for the first time in 1908 (Cambridge); Gudeman's review: *CR* 23 (1909) 115–16.

³³ Bennett's school edition of the *Dialogus* (Boston 1894) thanks Gudeman for sharing with him his own not yet published work, and Gudeman in turn thanks Bennett for his suggestions and proofreading when his own major edition of the *Dialogus* came out the same year. Gudeman's school edition of the *Dialogus* was in a series (College Latin Series, Allyn and Bacon) of which Bennett was one of the general editors.

³⁴ It was published in a Pennsylvania series after he left (above, note 22). With seeming accuracy Gudeman named himself on its title page, "sometime Associate Professor of classical philology, University of Pennsylvania." Earlier (e.g. the 1900 *Agricola and Germania*) he had titled himself more generously, "Professor of Classics in the University of Pennsylvania."

³⁵ Friedrich Solmsen understood it as a visiting professorship; communication, June 20, 1988.

³⁶ This according to his niece. Nor is there evidence in his correspondence of any thoughts about returning before 1936.

in 1907, was its president and remained one of its most active members.³⁷ His publications during this period include the updated editions of his *Syllabus* or *Outline* on the history of classical philology, now become the *Grundriss* (1907 and 1909), the *Imagines Philologorum*, his picture book of 160 portraits of classical philologists with brief biographical notices (1911), and the German edition of the *Dialogus* (1914), which he claimed was “almost a new work,” despite the fact that it ignored important new ideas that had been put forth since 1894.³⁸ While he was with the *Thesaurus* he seems to have enjoyed the rewards of his chosen profession—without, of course, its central reward, the university appointment. As an American citizen he was ineligible for a teaching position even if he had not been Jewish. In fact, anti-Semitism, although an issue for an academic career in Germany, was not so decisive a barrier as in America during the early years of the century.³⁹ Perhaps Gudeman finally felt at home—despite the American accent that persisted all of his life and the fact that he was an anomalous lone American on the staff of the *Thesaurus*.⁴⁰

His connection with the *Thesaurus* was severed in 1916 on the eve of United States involvement in World War I. Gudeman's contributions were found unsatisfactory and he was asked to leave.⁴¹ The War was beginning to be felt on the homefront, and it was probably not coincidental that the work of an American emigré was found to be inferior in that particular year.⁴² Not surprisingly, he himself interpreted his departure differently: “When the entrance of the United States into the war was imminent, my position, owing to the animosity against Americans, became untenable, so that I sent in my resignation.”⁴³ But

³⁷ *Zur Feier des 150 Vortrages der Philologischen Gesellschaft Gegründet 20 Februar, 1907, München; 15 Februar, 1930*, an anniversary program of the organization; Alfred I. Gudeman Papers.

³⁸ He makes his claim in the Preface of the new *Dialogus* (Leipzig, Berlin 1914) v, which was dedicated to Hermann Diels and achieved 514 pages. Teubner published this as well as the *Grundriss* and the *Imagines* (see above, note 3, for publication details). Gudeman's lack of scholarly development between the two editions is noted by J. W. Duff, *CR* 31 (1917) 176–79. The most notable intervening revision had been Friedrich Leo's analysis of the Ciceronian style of the *Dialogus* in generic rather than chronological terms; “Anzeige von Taciti Dialogus de Oratoribus ed. by A. Gudeman” in *Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften* (Rome 1960) 1.277–98 = *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* (1898) 169–88.

³⁹ vom Brocke (above, note 27) 680.

⁴⁰ An unpublished history of the *Thesaurus* by Dr. T. Bögel, a co-worker with Gudeman, states, “Eine Sonderstellung hatte Professor Dr. Alfred Gudeman inne, ein in Deutschland lebender amerikanischer Philologe, in welcher Hinsicht aber, ist mir nie bekannt geworden.” Communication from Dr. P. Flury at the *Thesaurus*, September 14, 1988.

⁴¹ Communication from Dr. Flury (above, note 40). On his *cursus* Gudeman gave himself one more year at the *Thesaurus* than Dr. Flury's information verifies.

⁴² There was also a rise in anti-Semitism at this difficult time; L. M. Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews, 1933–1945* (New York 1986) 45. Dr. Flury does not find evidence of anti-Semitism in Gudeman's dismissal and points out the associations of Eduard Fraenkel and Eduard Norden with the *Thesaurus*; communication, October 21, 1988.

⁴³ This statement is from Gudeman's affidavit written to explain his protracted residence abroad on his “Application for Registration” as an American citizen, dated September 21, 1936. This document was made available by the Office of Passport Services, United States Department of State, under the Freedom of

the War had a second, more profound (and eventually disastrous) effect on Gudeman's life. The United States entered on hostilities against Germany on April 6, 1917, and on May 11, Gudeman's American passport expired. He explained his response to this dilemma:

I had in due time applied for the renewal but was informed by the Spanish Consul that he was not authorized to renew American passports. I was not able to return to the United States at that time, firstly because of the war condiditons, secondly because I was not in a financial position to undertake the journey with my family, and finally because I was under contract for the philological encyclopedia (Brockhaus)...and also under contract to assist in the editing of the Pauly-Wissova [sic] Kroll, Encyclopedia... Because of the contracts for scientific work which involved years of labor it was necessary for me to remain here and as I did not want to be a man without a country, and unable to obtain an American passport I became naturalized as a German citizen at Munich, Germany on July 11, 1917.⁴⁴

Gudeman pleaded expediency as his motive for changing citizenship. Homer J. Edmiston, a sometime classicist and an old friend who acted as his advocate in 1938, stated his dilemma more strongly:

When the United States declared war on Germany in 1917, he was living as an American citizen in Munich where his children were in school, and was faced with the prospect of a concentration camp for himself and his family. He took counsel with his friends at the University of Munich, who advised him, especially since his wife was of German birth to apply for German citizenship. He did so with their endorsement and his application was granted.⁴⁵

Edmiston turned expediency into necessity. German citizenship was normally difficult to obtain, especially, so it may be imagined, for an American and a Jew during wartime.⁴⁶ The ease and speed with which Gudeman accomplished this testifies to his prestige within the Munich academic community.

World War I brought heightened feelings of national pride for Germans, and the scholarly community in general joined vociferously in championing the War. After it was over American scholars had difficulty forgetting the

Information Act, request number 8902788. Also included in this State Department file are Gudeman's expired United States passport and correspondence to and from the Passport Division in 1936 and 1938 regarding his citizenship status.

⁴⁴ From Gudeman's affidavit (above, note 43). His wife was included on his expired passport.

⁴⁵ Letter from Edmiston, dated November 26, 1938, from 21 via Monte di Pieta [Milan?] to Frederick P. Keppel, Esq., 152 East 35th Street, New York City; available under the Freedom of Information Act (above, note 43). Gudeman described Edmiston as "a tutor at Cornell 30 years ago [i.e. when he had been there] and old friend." By the thirties he was associated with the American Chamber of Commerce in Milan (to Cooper, March 5, 1935). He had prepared the *Index Locorum* for Gudeman's 1894 *Dialogus* (Preface viii).

⁴⁶ State governments had veto rights against individuals; K. A. Schleunes, *The Twisted Road to Auschwitz. Nazi Policy Toward German Jews 1933-1939* (Urbana Illinois, Chicago, London 1970) 110-11.

nationalistic posture of their German counterparts, and a long boycott of German "Wissenschaft" ensued.⁴⁷ Gudeman deplored the split between the two communities and thought Americans to blame. He wrote to Cooper:

Is [Bennett] afraid to write to an alien American before a de facto peace has been declared by Uncle Sam? I can hardly believe that he is an "assula Wilsonis."... Do the American "intellectuals" really believe they can boycott German science and scholarship with impunity?... Will the mists never be lifted to enable you to see how England and France, in company with Wilson, hoodwinked the American people? (December 25, 1920)

The schism gave American classicists an opportunity to declare their independence from their German tutors. When Paul Shorey listed the notable achievements of American scholars in his 1919 "Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship in America,"⁴⁸ he did not include Gudeman's *Dialogus*. Gudeman had effectively erased himself from American lists, and his origins were already being forgotten by his peers.⁴⁹ Yet despite what appears to be his wholehearted support for his adopted country, he nonetheless kept up his connection with the APA, "one of its oldest members," as he called himself with pride in his preface to the final *Imagines*. He was virtually its only member with a German address for many, many years,⁵⁰ and he consistently sent his bibliography in to the APA Proceedings until 1937, making an understated apology in his 1919 entry for his omission of the years 1917 and 1918 because of "War conditions."⁵¹ The same dual allegiance of the proud "Alfredus Gudeman Americanus," "first American to receive a doctorate in Classics at the University of Berlin," continued. Both his desire to retain his American citizenship and his admiration for Germany were no doubt genuine.

When he left the *Thesaurus* in 1916, regular employment ended permanently for him; the next entry in his *cursus* reads: "1917-1933 Engaged in

⁴⁷ vom Brocke (above, note 27) 651, 682-8. One American who did not drop his German connections was William A. Oldfather at the University of Illinois, and it is interesting that it was to him that Gudeman turned later when he needed help with his publications. See W. M. Calder III, "Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff to William Abbott Oldfather: Three Unpublished Letters," *CJ* 72 (1976-7) 119; E. C. Kopff, "Wilamowitz and classical philology in the United States of America: An Interpretation," in *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren* (above, note 27) 567-68.

⁴⁸ In articulating this new freedom, Shorey was very hard on the German achievement: "The German philological mind, like the German political mind, is fertile and ingenious in the multiplication of arguments for a chosen thesis or a foregone conclusion," *TAPA* 50 (1919) 44. cf. Gudeman's very contrary judgment in his review of Sandys (above, pages 362-63).

⁴⁹ For instance, a review of the 1914 *Dialogus* made the astonishing statement that Gudeman had published the 1894 English version "pendent un séjour aux États-Unis;" P. Lejay, *RPh* 4 (1917) 246.

⁵⁰ The other was the American banker, philanthropist and enthusiast for classical philology, James Loeb (1868-1933), who lived in Germany after 1905, first in Munich and then in a small town in Bavaria until he died; *Dictionary of American Biography*, 21, suppl. 1 (New York 1944) 503-4. His name was on the APA membership list from 1913 until his death.

⁵¹ *TAPA* 50 (1919) xxix.

philological work in Munich." It is unclear how he supported himself and his family after this, for he was never wealthy. The financial problems of a "freelance classical philologist" in the years between the Wars can be imagined. There may have been family resources and there were some royalties, including those from the school editions that he had published in the United States.⁵² He continued to contribute to encyclopedias. Perhaps he had private pupils. Despite his lack of employment, he remained a scholar ("engaged in philological work" as he wrote), concentrated on Aristotle's *Poetics*, and continued to publish, notably a German translation of the *Poetics*, four volumes on the history of Latin and early Christian literature, and a bibliography of the *Poetics* in 1928, this last with Lane Cooper, a joint venture that seems to have turned their acquaintanceship into a friendship.⁵³ His unattached status forced him to rely increasingly on his bibliography for recognition.

Gudeman's last published book, his recension of and commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics*, came in 1934. It was badly received by many reviewers who found its heavy reliance on the Arabic tradition misguided. But his friends Cooper and Edmiston welcomed it as a brilliant contribution.⁵⁴ He finished this last effort at the beginning of the Nazi period. Its Foreword has the dateline, "München, im August, 1933." September 1 of that year found him in Italy, in Merano just south of the Austrian border. "A severe heart trouble from which [he] happily recovered" (to Cooper, September 1, 1933) sent him there for his health and he remained for almost two years. His illness, he said, made him despair of continuing in his profession, and he sold his entire library with the

⁵² The Prefaces to the manuscripts of both the works on classical philology that he left to Columbia mention "financial difficulties which arose in the wake of the World War." A letter from August V. Bacon of Allyn and Bacon, one of Gudeman's Boston publishers, to Lane Cooper in 1947 notes, "He used to be very particular about acknowledging his royalties" (Lane Cooper Papers, above, note 4). Gudeman sued for the return of property impounded by the United States government during World War I and received \$2801.44 on May 13, 1921, and an additional \$4.86 on June 16. These must have been royalties; Department of Justice File 9-17-9-3490, obtained from the National Archives under the Freedom of Information Act (reference NN89-466).

⁵³ *Über die Dichtkunst* (Leipzig 1921); *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur I-II* (Berlin 1922-24); *Geschichte der altchristlichen lateinischen Literatur* (Berlin 1925); *A Bibliography of the Poetics of Aristotle* = Cornell Studies in English XI (New Haven 1928). Gudeman was concerned about the royalties for the *Bibliography* and in correspondence with Cooper throughout the year 1928 complained that its publisher, the Yale Press, was advertising it poorly abroad.

⁵⁴ See above, note 3, for publication details. Gudeman was very much influenced by the Arabic text of Aristotle translated into Latin by J. Tkatsch in the late twenties: *Die Arabische Übersetzung der Poetik des Aristoteles und die Grundlage der Kritik des griechischen Textes* (Vienna) 1928; the second volume of Tkatsch's work was edited posthumously by Gudeman and T. Seif (Vienna 1932). Gudeman's last important scholarship was an addendum to the *Poetics*, a three part article, "Die Textüberlieferung der aristotelischen Poetik" in *Philologus* 90, n.s. 44 (1935) 26-56, 156-75 and 441-60; this had not found a place with the text itself which was abbreviated because of financial constraints (*Poetics*, Foreward vi). His text was reviewed particularly harshly by A. Rostagni, *Gnomon* 11 (1935) 225-32, whose assessment Gudeman later called "virulent and calumnious" (to Cooper, September 8, 1938). Cooper's review, *PhR* 45 (1936) 409-11; Edmiston's, *CW* 30 (1936-37) 81-83.

exception of his own output. He reasoned that his family, who knew nothing about classical philology, would be taken advantage of when they went to dispose of his books without him, so he took the practical action of selling them himself (to Cooper, December 24, 1935). All this may be true, and a heart attack may indeed have necessitated a twenty-month sabbatical in the Alps according to the medical wisdom of the day. Initial Nazi moves against Jews were virulent, however, and the sale of a library and a retreat from Germany at that particular time may reflect pressures that Gudeman did not put on paper. A recovery by September 1 from "a severe heart trouble" that does not appear to have begun until August (with time out for a shrewd sale of books) is suspicious. Did a sympathetic medical friend arrange for an Italian visa on health grounds?

When Gudeman returned to Germany, it was not to Munich but to Berlin, where he arrived in the spring of 1935. The difficulties of the Hitler era begin to appear in his correspondence, but what he says about the growing oppression of Jews is oddly bland and always oblique; never once does he hint that he himself was or might become the object of it. It may have been a habit of dissembling that went back many years to early experiences with anti-Semitism at American universities; perhaps it was a denial of the seriousness of the situation even to himself; or again, he may have tried to keep his Jewishness undetected where he could. Members of the Gudeman family, like many German Jews, had their children baptized.⁵⁵ He wrote that "Dr. Solmsen, a colleague of W. Jaeger had to leave the University, presumably because of the notorious paragraph demanding an Aryan origin for at least three generations of all state officials" (to Cooper, March 5, 1935), and then that Jaeger's own departure for Chicago from Berlin "has created something of a sensation, non-Aryan descent not being a motive or cause in his case" (to Cooper, August 22, 1936). May 1935, found him settled back in Germany after much red tape about securing a place to live (to Cooper, March 5, 1935); "A greeting from my new quarters. Now that I am sitting at my own desk once more I hope to be able to do business at the old stand again" (to Cooper, May 21, 1935). He was "at least glad, that [he] had here access to a huge and very full library" (to Cooper, December 24, 1935). Why he went to Berlin, a city in which he had never lived beyond his student days, is unclear. Perhaps family reasons were decisive since both of his sisters lived there. But without doubt it was a better place for a Jew to lead the scholar's life than Munich.⁵⁶ He was seventy-three when he arrived, and his truly productive days were behind him, even if he did see himself "able to do business at the old stand." He continued to write reviews, however, many for *Philologische*

⁵⁵ According to his niece, Alfred Gudeman was not religiously observant.

⁵⁶ It may have been a decision against Munich rather than for Berlin; E. Mensching "Verfolgte Philologen in Berlin der dreißiger Jahre—Konrat Ziegler (1884–1974) vor Berliner Gerichten," in *Nugae zur Philologie—Geschichte* III (Berlin 1990) 7. Dr. Mensching notes that other Jews migrated to Berlin where they could continue to use the Berliner Staatsbibliothek; communication, August 29, 1988, citing Felix Jacoby, Walther Kranz, Paul Friedländer and Ernst Grumach. I wish to thank Dr. Mensching for the interest he has taken in this story, for the information he has provided about scholars in Berlin in the thirties, and for reading the draft for me.

Wochenschrift, and his last appeared there as late as June 14, 1941.⁵⁷ Yet as an old man and under very difficult circumstances, he still had an ambitious agenda for himself, an agenda that became increasingly urgent and frustrating as the next years passed: he wanted very badly to see published before he died the final revisions of some books that had become very important to him.

After the *Poetics* was out of the way in 1934, he turned his attention to the interest that had begun even at Hopkins, the history of classical philology, and to the two publications in which he dealt with it, the *Imagines Philologorum* and the *Manual of the History of Classical Philology* under its various titles. Beginning in 1935 he made four separate attempts to have the first of these published with institutional support from America and he elicited and gained the help of the influential William A. Oldfather toward this end. The *Imagines* was a real labor of love, and if it was, as he said, the work of three decades,⁵⁸ he must have begun to collect more pictures of classical scholars as soon as the first edition was published in 1911.

By the thirties, financial subsidies had become crucial. The 1928 Aristotle bibliography had required foundation support,⁵⁹ and Cooper evidently helped find an American patron for the *Poetics*. "Your statement," Gudeman wrote to his friend, "that there was an anonymous Maecenas willing to subventionize my edition of the *Poetics* was news to me" (May 31, 1927).⁶⁰ Its Foreword acknowledges the support of one of his American publishers, P. V. Bacon, and also of the American Council of Learned Societies, from which the book received \$1000. In the same letter in which he expressed his pleasure over the "anonymous Maecenas" for the *Poetics*, he asked Cooper if perhaps "Mr. Anonymous" would be good for new editions of his *Imagines* and *Manual* as

⁵⁷ It was a review of C. Giarratano, *Cornelii Taciti Historiarum Libri* (Rome 1939); *PhW* 61 (1941) 302–9. The very late date for this review is difficult to explain. Gudeman's low (almost forgotten) profile in these last years in Berlin may have made it possible for his Jewishness to escape the notice of someone like Franz Poland, the editor of *Philologische Wochenschrift*, for a long time. Poland does not seem to have been helpful toward Jews otherwise; he had earlier published a politically driven vicious attack on Felix Jacoby; R. C. W. Zimmermann, "Mitteilungen zu Hesiod," *PhW* 55 (1935) 1069–72 (noted by E. Mensching, "Texte zur Berliner Philologie-Geschichte. VI. Felix Jacoby [1876–1959] und Berliner Institutionen 1934–1939," in *Nugae zur Philologie-Geschichte II* (Berlin 1989) 28. This last 1941 review showed the German spelling "Gudemann" in the table of contents rather than his usual American spelling of his name with which he signed the review; Mensching (above, note 56) 7 and 39n. 28.

⁵⁸ Preface to the *Imagines* (Alfred I. Gudeman Papers) and Gudeman to William A. Oldfather, September 27, 1938. All references to correspondence between Gudeman and Oldfather are to the W. A. Oldfather Papers 1904–1945, series 15/6/20, Box #2, University of Illinois Archives. I am very much indebted to Professor Howard Jacobson for making this correspondence available.

⁵⁹ "The expense of publishing this volume was borne by a grant from the Heckscher foundation for the advancement of research, established by August Heckscher at Cornell University;" from the title page of the *Bibliography* (above, note 53).

⁶⁰ The Foreword (v) notes that there were limits even for "maezenatische Spender" in difficult times and that his work on the transmission of the text had to be eliminated from the book (above, note 54). Gudeman routinely used "Maecenas" for sponsor. He saw himself worthy of a serious patron.

well. He had already in 1927 used Nicholas Murray Butler as an intermediary to approach the Carnegie Institute for help with these two books.⁶¹ On that occasion the Institute turned him down because its statutes did not allow support for the kind of projects that he was proposing, new editions of older works. It was not the last time that he would hear some kind of unsuitability given as the grounds for a rejection.

Gudeman's correspondence with Oldfather, whom he never met, probably began with an exchange about the *Poetics*. 1934 found him writing from Italy that he still hoped to republish his books on the history of classical philology (July 8, 1934). Oldfather answered and added at the end of his letter:

It is just conceivable that the philological monographs [of the APA], a series which as you know was inaugurated last year, might conceivably publish the second of these [the *Imagines*]. It is not exactly "research" as the word is commonly used, but an extremely illuminating and helpful sort of thing (July 19, 1934).

Oldfather recognized the unique nature of the *Imagines* as did Gudeman himself, who called his portrait book *sui generis* (to Oldfather, October 22, 1935); as time passed it was this very uniqueness that proved to be its point of vulnerability. Over a year later in Berlin Gudeman took Oldfather up on his rather tentative 1934 suggestion in the following way:

Some time ago you honored me with the enquiry, whether I would be willing to have a new edition of my *Imagines philologorum* financed by the American Philological Association as a contribution to the Monograph Series recently inaugurated. (October 22, 1935)

He could not respond earlier, he continues, because he was still under contract with Teubner for both of the books in question, but he had had in the meantime an unpleasant experience with his publisher. Without giving a reason Teubner flatly refused to reissue the *Manual* but was willing to bring out the *Imagines* if it was subsidized. After a long delay Gudeman received what he considered an exorbitant estimate of the publication costs. He requested a breakdown of these and in response got an itemization of yet further charges. "Instead of showing him up," he writes, "I blandly asked T. to release his claims to both publications. This he did with all sorts of rhetorical flourishes which gave me the impression that he was glad to be let down so easily." Gudeman then turned to de Gruyter, who confirmed that Teubner's estimates were out of line. De Gruyter did for a time remain a publisher for Jewish authors who were abandoned by Teubner at an early date.⁶² Again Gudeman avoids the pertinent political issues. In this same letter (to Oldfather, October 22, 1935) he writes that he had already approached the ACLS about the *Manual*: "I applied for a subsidy from the

⁶¹ "[Butler] warmly endorsed my request and wrote to the Continental Committee in Paris" (to Cooper, May 31, 1927). There is no trace of this correspondence in the Butler Papers, but it appears that Butler did not keep a copy of every letter that he sent.

⁶² Gudeman's text of the *Poetics* is a case in point; Mensching (above, note 56) 39n. 25.

American Council of Learned Societies. I was encouraged to do so again by a letter which Dr. Leland [Waldo G. Leland, ACLS director from 1927 until 1946] wrote to me on receiving my Poetics. The Committee was so pleased with the book that they assured me of their willingness to help me again, if occasion arises." Unfortunately, the ACLS was supporting only completely new books which the *Manual* was not.

Oldfather suggested that Gudeman wait until the beginning of 1936 to approach the APA about the *Imagines* since its Monograph Committee would have a new chairman at that time, but he warned that objections might be raised to APA support for a publication by a commercial press (February 15, 1936) in Germany ("We too are getting nationalistic like everyone else," November 22, 1935). The new Chairman of the Monograph Committee was George M. Calhoun of the University of California, and Gudeman, with Oldfather's backing, applied to the APA for a \$1000 subsidy (to Cooper, April 2, 1936). In May he learned that his proposal had been rejected. The following note under the "Report of the Committee on Publication of Monographs" from the 1936 APA Proceedings must refer to the *Imagines*:

A request that the committee contribute a considerable sum of money toward the publication of a work outside of the series of Philological Monographs was denied with regret. The committee has decided that such contributions are not a proper use of the monograph fund.⁶³

Oldfather expressed his regrets but at the same time encouraged Gudeman to submit his proposal for the *Imagines* to the ACLS for consideration at its October decisions. He was himself on both the Jury and the Advisory Board for publications of the ACLS and he and Calhoun would recommend Gudeman's book highly (May 27, 1936). He was genuinely enthusiastic and encouraging and Gudeman hurried to get the proper applications made. It could only strengthen his case that he received his estimate from de Gruyter on September 12:

It is somewhat higher than I anticipated, for the number of portraits has reached the grand total of 550! To my great surprise the publishers are so enthusiastic about this unique collection, that they sua sponte decided to defray more than half the entire expenses... (to Oldfather, September 13, 1936)⁶⁴

And to make support for the project yet more attractive to the ACLS, Gudeman made a offer of a 45% price reduction to APA members in order to encourage sales of his "veritable edition de luxe" (to Cooper, August 22, 1936). The optimism that he felt in the summer and fall of 1936 seems to have been well-founded; consequently, the rejection that came at the end of the year was the more shattering. The *Imagines* never got out of the ACLS Executive Committee to go before the Jury where Oldfather had influence. The reason given was that it did not "fall within the scope of the Council's benefactions." (to Cooper, December 10, 1936). Gudeman called it a "wholly unmotivated refusal" (to

⁶³ TAPA 68 (1937) xix.

⁶⁴ The number of pictures kept growing: 320 (July 8, 1934), 430 (December 6, 1935), 530 (April 2, 1936, all to Oldfather), and so forth to a final total of 560.

Cooper, March 5, 1937) and had difficulty letting the matter rest. He continued to inquire of Oldfather whether the Executive Committee had acted according to its own rules (December 30, 1936) and kept expressing his disbelief even into the next spring (March 5, 1937). A trace of impatience can be observed beneath Oldfather's tact when he replied that the Committee had indeed been within its rights. He ended the letter in which he explained what had happened with, "Better luck next time!" (December 16, 1936), a phrase that seems painful in retrospect. Gudeman's time was running out.

Immediately after this deep disappointment Gudeman temporarily gave up on institutional support and tried once again for the kind of private sponsorship that had served him for the *Poetics*. He wrote to Cooper,

Enclosed you will find the sample pages of the portraits and the index nominum which I promised to send you. They are so superlatively attractive that I can't imagine that any wealthy man with humanistic proclivities will not be glad to subsidize the work in question, if approached... (December 23, 1936).

And with virtually the same words to Oldfather: "...I do not know to what Maecenas I can now turn. Do you happen to know one? I am sure there are many rich men in the U.S.A. with humanistic proclivities who would be delighted to help me..." (January 26, 1937). Oldfather replied with some amusement that if he did know an appropriate Maecenas, he would have visited him long since himself (February 11, 1937).

After this interlude of casting about for a private benefactor, Gudeman once more looked to the APA and on May 1, 1937, recalled to Oldfather his original suggestion (apparently going back to the beginning of their written exchange on the subject in 1934), the suggestion that the APA might bring out the *Imagines* as one of its own monographs; this would obviate the difficulty that there had been with its supporting a project at a commercial press abroad. Surprisingly, Oldfather gave him a degree of encouragement, "although it lies somewhat outside the range of the material which they have hitherto accepted" (May 13, 1937). He cannot have understood how profoundly dependent Gudeman was on his every word.⁶⁵ Again the APA rejected the *Imagines* but this time for a different reason. Gudeman objected strenuously:

It was alleged that a work upon which I was engaged for more than 25 years and which required as a condicio qua non a rather thorough acquaintance with the history of classical learning was not sufficiently scholarly for the Monograph Series!! (to Oldfather, September 27, 1938).⁶⁶

The APA Proceedings for 1937 mention a manuscript, in all likelihood the *Imagines*, that "has been declined with regret because a majority of the committee believe its subject matter does not come within the scope of

⁶⁵ Nor could Oldfather know how very much Gudeman wanted to meet him. He was in Berlin in the summer of 1937 during his sabbatical year but did not contact Gudeman (to Gudeman, October 24, 1938) although Gudeman had invited him to do so (to Oldfather, October 8, 1936).

⁶⁶ Similarly to Cooper (September 8, 1938) but with fewer exclamation points.

Philological Monographs.”⁶⁷ The *Imagines* continued not to fit neatly into any category.

Still undeterred, Gudeman made a fourth and last try for institutional support and took recourse to his long (if not close) connection with Nicholas Murray Butler. He tried to get the Columbia University Press to publish the *Imagines* with a subsidy from the APA. This would present a new configuration, an English edition brought out by an American university press, “thus eliminating all traces of its Germanic provenience, two important changes which I fancied would appeal to the patriotic sentiments of an American committee” (to Oldfather, September 27, 1938). Behind Gudeman’s vaguely ironic argument there seems to remain a trace of the earlier Germanophile—even in 1938. Furthermore, he would renounce all claims to royalties until the APA subsidy had been repaid. He wrote to Cooper that Butler had “warmly endorsed” his *Imagines* to the Columbia Press (to Cooper September 8, 1938).

Gudeman had written Butler, his “fellow alumnus,” sporadically over the years, and it is striking but not surprising that it was always Gudeman and never Butler who initiated the exchange. Butler gave an address at the opening of the Columbia academic year in 1929. Gudeman wrote to him:

As a member of the Freshman Class that entered Columbia College fifty years ago, I naturally read your reminiscent address with special pleasure and interest... As you single out three members of the class of '83 as having won special distinction in later days, I wondered why you did not also mention a fourth who as a classical scholar has acquired an international reputation... (October 15, 1929).

Butler’s answer was correct and distant: he had limited himself to the three who had served the University itself (October 24, 1929). Gudeman must always have felt that he was denied the recognition that he deserved. In late 1937, he sent Butler his *cursus vitae* and Butler replied:

It is so long since I have had the pleasure of seeing you that the *Cursus Vitae* you send me seems like a call across the years. It is difficult to believe that it is thirty-three years since you left Cornell University for Munich, and I am astonished at the evidence of your literary and scholarly activity through your whole lifetime. We are going to keep this *Cursus Vitae* for reference in our University library as the record of the life work of one of our most distinguished Alumni, whose relationship with Alma Mater goes back to the old Forty-ninth Street site, so long ago (September 22, 1937).

This copy of the *cursus* cannot be located in any Columbia archive; Butler was by now politically involved and had other concerns. It is in the light that these letters throw on their relationship that Gudeman’s approach to Butler about the *Imagines* should be seen. When Gudeman wrote to Cooper that Butler had “warmly endorsed” his book, what he apparently read as a warm endorsement is the following:

⁶⁷ *TAPA* 69 (1938) xxi.

I have received and read with attention your letter of January 19. The book to which you refer is, I feel sure, a most interesting one but I do not know what, if any, aid I can give you in regard to its publication. I shall look into the matter particularly with our Columbia University Press and send you such information as they give me whenever it is received. I trust that despite the troublous times which surround us on every side, things are going well with you (January 31, 1938).

Butler did indeed act on behalf of the *Imagines*, but it may be doubted that it was with the enthusiasm that Gudeman read into his gesture. Typed onto the corner of the carbon of this letter from Butler to Gudeman is "original sent to Mr. Proffitt," Charles G. Proffitt, the editor of the Columbia Press who was in charge of publication and with whom Butler often dealt. By the time that Gudeman wrote Oldfather about this latest tactic (September 27, 1938), Oldfather was APA President, and Gudeman formally but literally pleaded with him to intervene both within the Association and with the Columbia Press. Oldfather replied, "I am sorry to say that I don't see what I can do for the New-Imagines. I have written and argued and sweat in its behalf, all to no avail" (October 24, 1938). He said that he had spoken in person with Proffitt the previous spring but that he would write again.⁶⁸ Gudeman, for his part, thought it "passing strange" that he had not yet heard from Columbia since he had sent his preface and sample pages over six months before (i.e., in the spring in the wake of Butler's "warm endorsement"); he thought it a long delay even for a rejection (November 7, 1938).

When, much later in 1949, the Secretary of Columbia University made inquiries about whether or not the institution should accept Gudeman's bequest of copyrights, he was informed by Proffitt that the Press had corresponded with Gudeman from 1938 until 1941 but then had turned his proposal down.⁶⁹ Since this correspondence between Gudeman and the Press is not extant, it is impossible to say just how seriously the *Imagines* was considered. It appears that Proffitt wrote to Gudeman in response to Butler's initiative in January of 1938, and received in return his prospectus and the sample pages, but that little happened after that. Gudeman himself may have delayed a resolution by making the Press and the APA interdependent. Perhaps a file on the *Imagines* remained open as a low-priority concern until time ran out. By 1940 publication would probably have been out of the question in any case since the growing international

⁶⁸ Oldfather knew about Gudeman's January 1938 approach to Columbia, perhaps from the Monograph Committee, before Gudeman explained it to him in his letter of September 27. Oldfather did respond to Gudeman's plea and contacted Proffitt again in the fall of 1938: "I told him it was a first class enterprise, and that if it were brought out, it would be one of the very few books that I would actually buy myself for my own private library" (to Gudeman, November 8, 1938). He received a reply that he forwarded to Gudeman, but since he did not keep a copy, its contents are unavailable.

⁶⁹ Ossian R. MacKenzie, Secretary, to Joseph Campbell, Acting Vice President in Charge of Business Affairs, July 12, 1949. Central Archives, Columbia University.

crisis was affecting all production.⁷⁰ Gudeman's last *cursus vitae*, printed in 1940 or 1941 and updated by hand after mid-summer of 1941,⁷¹ lists the *Imagines* as published by "Columbia University Press, New York, 1941," with the "1" of 1941 crossed out and a "2" written in.⁷² With Germany at war, he may never have received a final refusal.

In the meantime, the *Anschluss* had prevented his *Manual* from being published in Austria; it was a narrow miss. It was to have been out (in his words) by "Easter 1938."

I had been promised a subsidy, but when Austria passed into German hands, this had to be withdrawn and the issue of the book was prohibited, because as a foreigner, I was not a member of the official Kulturverein, not to mention that it was discovered that half-a-dozen non-Arians, albeit born or dead for more than a century, were included! (to Cooper, September 8, 1938).⁷³

Again, the Jewish issue is expressed in generalities with no mention of the book's "non-Aryan" author. It is, of course, just possible that Gudeman was still successful in hiding his Jewish identity in some quarters, as he may have with the editor of *Philologische Wochenschrift*,⁷⁴ and that the reasons he gives for the aborted publication of the *Manual* are correct.

On March 7, 1939, Gudeman wrote a discouraged note to Cooper ("Dear Friend") saying that "there is a possible contingency, that both books will not be issued in my life-time or even thereafter." For some years he had been living on hopes that seem unrealistic in retrospect. He continually interpreted mild encouragement as enthusiasm and often refused to accept negative answers when it would have been more graceful to do so. The hope that he had for his books, which had long borne the total burden of his professional pride, seems to have kept him from despondency in a difficult time and place. But events in Germany with implications for him as a Jew that were far more serious than his impasse

⁷⁰ H. H. Wiggins, *Columbia University Press, 1893-1983* (New York 1983) 19.

⁷¹ This *cursus* arrived in New York in 1949 (below, page 379). The date after which Gudeman corrected it can be determined from the fact that he had crossed out "in print" after its listing of his last review published in *Philologische Wochenschrift* (above, note 57) and replaced it with the volume number, year and column numbers after it actually appeared, i.e., on June 14, 1941 (he gave the columns as 298-302 incorrectly). The *cursus* lists an additional seven reviews as "in print," but I cannot locate these. They presumably never made it to publication.

⁷² Next to it in another hand is written "(not published by Col.);" this must have been added in 1949 when Gudeman's bequest was being evaluated.

⁷³ He told a very similar story to Oldfather: "The book was just on the point of going to the press, the publishers of the Vienna Academy of Sciences have undertaken the job, when the firm, owing to its former affiliations with the former chancellor, was given its quietus. My book was put on the Index prohibitorum because someone discovered that a few distinguished classicists, like Lehrs, Friedländer, J. Bernays, H. Weil, Fr. Leo, had ancestors not 100% Arians! I am at present, at a loss as to what I can do in this matter" (September 27, 1938). The Vienna Academy of Sciences had had prior contact with Gudeman since it had published the Tketsch Latin translation of the *Poetics* from the Arabic (above, note 54).

⁷⁴ See above, note 57.

with his publications contributed to the discouragement that he expressed in early 1939.

Oldfather's last extant letter to him concludes, "It was very pleasant to hear that you might be coming to this country for a visit next year, and I hope that we see you at the next annual meeting of our society" (January 14, 1939). Gudeman had initiated efforts to leave Germany in 1939, the year after he returned from Italy, by trying to reclaim his United States citizenship and to undo the fatal decision that he had made in 1917. On the affidavit that explained his long residence abroad, he wrote:

When the first American Consul arrived in Munich after the war I applied to him to regain my citizenship. I was informed that in order to do this I would have to proceed to Washington. I was unable to do that because of financial reasons, and I had to abandon all hope of ever nullifying my enforced expatriation.

I have now been informed that I could not lose my American citizenship while the United States was at war, and as I became naturalized as a German citizen on July 11, 1917, I therefore make this application in order to establish my citizenship status.⁷⁵

His understanding of this last issue, that an American citizen could not expatriate during wartime, was his basis for hope and protest. His application was refused on December 15, 1936, at almost exactly the same time that he learned that the ACLS had found that his *Imagines* did not "fall within the scope of the Council's benefactions;"⁷⁶ it is no wonder that he refused to accept rejection gracefully. The reason why he could not restore his American citizenship was that, although it is true that citizenship cannot be renounced while the United States is at war, the assumption of other citizenship creates a condition that makes the expatriation effective at the cessation of hostilities, in this case on July 2, 1921. The logic is that Americans cannot avoid their duties as citizens during wartime and then regain their status with impunity thereafter. In a series of letters in October and November 1938, Ruth B. Shipley of the State Department's Passport Office clarified Gudeman's status in detail to John W. Boehne, Jr., who was intervening on Gudeman's behalf. Boehne was the Congressman who represented the Indiana district in which Gudeman's son Theodore now lived. Theodore Gudeman and his wife had immigrated successfully in 1937.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Application for Registration (above, note 43).

⁷⁶ The refusal came from the Passport Office (above, note 43). Both of his sisters were, however, able to get their American citizenship back and to leave Germany, but they had become Germans by the technicality of marriage and not by actively seeking German nationality. A letter from Hans Gumpert, Gudeman's interim executor (below, page 379), to Columbia confirms the difficulties: "Sein Versuch, mit seiner Familie nach den Vereinigten Staaten zurückzuwandern, scheiterte leider an den Einwanderungsschwierigkeiten" (May 25, 1949); Central Archives, Columbia University. According to Friedrich Solmsen, "Cooper and Harry Caplan...often wondered why G. after 1933 remained in Germany. At Cornell our impression was that he was an American citizen" (above, note 35).

⁷⁷ Theodore L. Gudeman (1908-83?) was a lawyer. He and his wife were sponsored by his cousins, Edward, Jr., and Richard Gudeman, the sons of Alfred's brother Edward. He initially settled in Evansville, Indiana, and had relocated to San Francisco by 1949. Boehne asked "if [Gudeman's] absence from this country

These letters were exchanged at the time surrounding the *Kristallnacht* pogrom (November 9, 1938), and a few weeks after that watershed Gudeman wrote a desperate letter to his friend Edmiston in Milan:

The illegality of the initial naturalization ceases to exist with the cessation of hostilities! It is perfectly clear that this conclusion is not based upon any clause in the law, but is an arbitrary surmise or interpretation open to serious objections. In consequence, *dira necessitate coactus* I determined to have my memorandum, which gives the entire history of my unique case, and certain personal documents of some influence which make it possible to distinguish me from some wholly unknown 'John Doe', submitted to Secretary Hull with a request to reexamine my application. Of course, it were highly desirable if some person of influence in Washington would interest himself in my behalf (November 24, 1938).

This letter is extant because Edmiston copied it into a letter to a lawyer friend in New York who he felt had influence with Cordell Hull, Roosevelt's Secretary of State. To affirm that Gudeman was not "some wholly unknown 'John Doe,'" Edmiston added that he was "one of the greatest classical scholars living... This merely to let you know that Prof. Gudeman is a very eminent and deserving person." The response from the Passport Office was a copy of the letter that had already gone to Congressmen Boehne on November 19.⁷⁸ Gudeman's discouragement in early 1939 was indeed in order.

At this point Gudeman appears to have given up trying to have his citizenship reinstated, and to have braved the second exit route, that of applying for an entrance visa to the United States as an immigrant. Although it was not difficult for a Jew to acquire an exit visa from Germany (provided he left empty-handed), the visa to enter another country was a different matter.⁷⁹ There is a reference to Gudeman in a 1942 visa name file at the Department of State, but the corresponding documentation no longer exists.⁸⁰ A last communication from Gudeman to Cooper, dated August 19, 1940, with Germany already at war, appears to reflect this new effort:

for thirty-four years and his subsequent adoption of German citizenship completely deprives him of his American birth-rights, will he be subjected to all of the conditions precedent to an immigrant's intention to come to the United States?" (October 8, 1938) When the answer came back that Gudeman would be an immigrant like any other (October 11, 1938), Boehne questioned the Passport Office's interpretation of the law about expatriation during wartime (November 14, 1938). Shipley cited legal precedent when she replied, "I am sorry that there seems to be no other decision possible" (November 19, 1938).

⁷⁸ Edmiston to Keppel (above, note 45); Shipley to Keppel, December 9, 1938 (Passport Office correspondence, above, note 43).

⁷⁹ D. S. Wyman, *Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis 1938-1941* (Massachusetts 1968) 35-36. Germany did not close its borders until October 1941.

⁸⁰ The file reference for his name is decimal 811.111; communication from the National Archives, July 14, 1989. For the absence of documents in the Office of Visa Services, communication from the United States Department of State, November 17, 1989, in connection the documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act (above, note 43).

The war has given our sanguine hopes a heavy setback as far as our long contemplated return to the USA is concerned, but the prospects of an early end of the conflict seem roseate. If realized we still expect to land in New York by next spring.

As for the *Imagines* and the *Manual*, he was translating them into English so that he could get the necessary subsidies when he "landed." He also had a completed *editio minor* of Aristotle's *Poetics*; "I venture to inquire whether it could not be published in the Cornell University Press. I can send a manuscript as soon as transit is possible."

The three manuscripts that he hoped to bring with him in person are the same three that were delivered to the Columbia Libraries from Berlin-Charlottenburg in 1952. The dedication page of the *Imagines* reads "To Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, N.Y., this publication is gratefully dedicated by an old fellow-alumnus." The preface projects Gudeman across the Atlantic and begins:

A new edition of this iconographic collection has been due for nearly three decades! Serious financial difficulties, however, which arose in the wake of the World War and then again the unexpected European conflict of very recent memory have continually prevented the reissue of this costly publication. If these obstacles have now at length been successfully overcome, I owe so 'happy a consummation' to the munificent gifts of a subsidy of the American Philological Association to one of its oldest members and finally to the Columbia University Press, New York, which on recommendation of President Butler...accepted the work for publication...

He then tells of the "time-devouring correspondence" in which he engaged to procure the pictures and apologizes for the "notable preponderance of Germanic philologists," a fact which reflected the historical importance of German classical scholarship and was not due to "influences of [his] local habitation at the time—a purely accidental circumstance at best." The photographs for the *Imagines*, most of them glossy prints, are with the typescript, still in order, all neatly numbered on the backs to 560, corresponding to the indices that he prepared.⁸¹ With the pictures are well-produced prints of a selected few portraits, four to the page, the "superlatively attractive sample pages" that he sent to this country in the late thirties to prove the quality of the work.

The lengthy typescript of the *Manual* (497 pages) has a dedication that reads,

To my oldtime friends and colleagues: Dr. Lane Cooper, Cornell Univ., Ithaca N.Y., Dr. Homer Edmiston, Milan, Italy, Dr. Wm. A. Oldfather, Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ills., Dr. Sidney G. Owen,

⁸¹ They are currently being prepared for publication by Professor Alan Cameron at Columbia, who joined me in pursuit of Alfred Gudeman.

Christ Church, Oxford, this new edition is affectionately dedicated.⁸²

This preface, like that for the *Imagines*, also acknowledges the subsidies he was to receive: "Although I privately thanked my benefactors for their generosity, I desire to emphasize my feelings of gratitude to them by mentioning their names also publicly in this more prominent place of a Preface." An empty quarter page follows. The third manuscript in the Columbia Library is a handwritten one of Aristotle's *Poetics*. Its title page gives "Cornell University Press" as publisher. But the word "Cornell" has been crossed out very heavily. The final postcard to Lane Cooper seems pertinent; did a reply arrive saying that it was impossible for the Cornell Press to take on the *Poetics*?

Another access to these last years after the correspondence record ends is the final version of Gudeman's *cursus vitae* which came to Columbia in 1949 from Hans Gumpert, a Berlin attorney and Gudeman's interim executor,⁸³ as part of his introduction of his client. Its first page records Gudeman's career from the undergraduate Greek and Latin prizes at Columbia to "1935-1941 Berlin" (changed in Gudeman's hand to 1942) and "1941 Evansville (Ind.), 1610 Shadywood Avenue" (also changed to 1942), the address of his son and daughter-in-law. The first part of his bibliography, the list of his books, repeats the optimism of the unpublished prefaces. Not only are the three works that are in the Columbia Library listed as published in New York in 1941 (changed in each case to 1942) but so are a new edition of his 1904 Sallust's *Catiline* and translations of the histories of Latin and early Christian literature that he wrote in German in the twenties. The *cursus* lists 1006 items in all, the total greatly increased by the individual listing of the contributions he made to the *Thesaurus*, Pauly-Wissowa, and two other encyclopedias.⁸⁴ At the end come the courses he taught and the lectures he gave from 1888 to 1904, from Hopkins to Cornell, the entirety of the teaching career that had ended almost forty years earlier.

Gudeman's will contradicts the optimism of the *cursus* to a degree, since it implicitly acknowledges the possibility that his work might not be published during his lifetime. But he never questioned that it could and should be published eventually. The will is written longhand in German and its "Alfred Israel Gudeman" signature, a legal necessity, is the only acknowledgment that he was Jewish that he makes in the available documents. Almost the entire will deals with the disposal of his professional work. He named Oldfather and G. D. Hadzsits⁸⁵ of the University of Pennsylvania as his editors. One third of the profits were to go to Columbia and two thirds to his son, who was to divide his

⁸² Edmiston's "Milan" is changed to New York, and Owen's name has been crossed out altogether in a second version of this manuscript. Owen (b. 1856) died in January, 1940.

⁸³ Oldfather was named the actual executor, but since he was dead in 1945, the transfer of responsibility became moot.

⁸⁴ *Johnson's Cyclopaedia* 1893-95 ("300, omitting smaller articles"); *Brockhaus, Großes Konversationslexikon* ("392 articles, omitting smaller ones").

⁸⁵ The fact that Hadzsits was editor for APA publications from 1938 until 1941 perhaps influenced this choice. Gudeman considered him an ally on the Monograph Committee (to Oldfather, September 27, 1938). He was also a reference on his 1936 Application for Registration as a citizen (above, note 43).

share with his sister on the condition that she be in the United States.⁸⁶ As for the publishing costs, Gudeman asked his son to bear them to the extent that he could, but he also implored his Maecenases to intervene even after his death in order to spare his son the expense.

Included along with the manuscripts in the Gudeman Papers are what appear to be printer's page proofs of the title pages and dedications of the *Imagines* and the *Manual*. They are printed (three copies each) on cheap, pale-green paper with "Columbia University Press, New York, 1941" as the publisher. On the *Imagines* the "1" of 1941 has again become a "2" and there are small handwritten changes in spacing or wording common in proof correction. Since Gudeman never had a contract with the Columbia Press, he must himself have had these pages printed in Berlin. Possibly they were an old man's indulgence to encourage himself. Or were they something to authenticate his anticipated publications, to create the impression that he fulfilled criteria for a visa because he was not "some wholly unknown 'John Doe'," a kind of self-sponsorship for himself and his family in 1940 or 1941?⁸⁷ A resumé (his *cursus vitae*) to a university President like Butler or an influential academic like Oldfather,⁸⁸ even from a seventy-five year old, seems to hint at something, perhaps no more than an invitation to deliver a lecture—if it could contrive an exit from Germany. Gudeman did not fit into the category of active Jewish scholars who were invited to come to the United States during the thirties under the sponsorship of American universities.⁸⁹ There was no interest in someone whose career anti-Semitism had aborted as long ago as 1901.

Although Gudeman kept affirming in his correspondence that the *Imagines* was ready for the printer, he continued to work on it into 1942. Among the few miscellaneous items included in his Papers in the Columbia Library is a folder of what appears to be his last work in progress; it is labeled "(Specimina) *Vita et Opera* O. Kern (1863) F. Marx (1859) W. Otto (1878[])." All these scholars

⁸⁶ Gudeman had two children. His daughter Margaret (b. 1902) died at Auschwitz in February, 1943. For this date and the death dates of Gudeman and his wife: *Gedenkbuch. Opfer der Verfolgung der Juden unter der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft in Deutschland 1933–1945* (Bundesarchiv Koblenz 1986) 1.474. I am indebted to Dr. Mensching for this reference.

⁸⁷ The possibility that these page proofs did come from New York as a deliberate attempt to help Gudeman establish a case for immigration can be rejected: considering the care with which he avoided any hint of his being Jewish or being in difficulty when he corresponded with Cooper with whom he clearly had a personal and trusting relationship, it seems highly unlikely that he would have been so open about his needs with the Columbia Press. Also, type sizes differ on the two title pages, and the *Imagines* is to be published by "The Columbia University Press" but the *Manual* by "Columbia University Press," an implausible inconsistency if the Press itself had been responsible. Most importantly, there is no evidence that Gudeman ever negotiated with the Press about the *Manual*.

⁸⁸ He had sent one not only to Butler but presumably to Oldfather as well: "It was also very good of you to send on your full bibliography which is the best of its kind that we yet have in the Classical Americana" (to Gudeman, October 24, 1938).

⁸⁹ Calder enumerates those who found positions in the United States and opened the way for other Jews to make a profession of classical philology in this country (above, note 29) 233–36.

died at the end of 1941 or at the beginning of 1942.⁹⁰ In this folder there is a letter on black bordered paper from Otto's widow, Gertrud, dated January 24, 1942, in reply to a Gudeman letter of the preceding December, and there are communications from Friedrich (Freiherr) Hiller von Gaertringen which supply a picture and biography of Otto Kern.⁹¹ The date of the last of these is February 25. The pages from the March, 1942, issue of *Gnomon* that contain the obituaries of the three scholars have been torn out and are in the folder as well.⁹²

In 1949 Gudeman's executor wrote Columbia that Gudeman had turned his manuscripts over to him before being deported to Theresienstadt and that he had managed to save them through the bombing and the battle for Berlin. Since Gumpert was himself Jewish and survived by going into hiding,⁹³ it has been against all odds that the 560 pictures of classical philologists arrived in New York, still in the order in which Gudeman arranged them; war has its random accidents. Alfred Gudeman died in the concentration camp on September 9, 1942, and his wife, Julia, on September 19.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Friedrich Marx, October 17, 1941; Walter Otto, November 1, 1941; Otto Kern, January 31, 1942.

⁹¹ Hiller von Gaertringen wrote the obituaries of Kern in *Gnomon* 18 (1942) 124–25 and *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 18 (1942) 103.

⁹² *Gnomon* 18 (1942) 122–28.

⁹³ Going "from cellar to cellar" in Berlin according to Gudeman's niece. "Es ist mir glücklicherweise möglich gewesen, die Manuskripte, die Herr Professor Gudeman mir vor seiner Deportierung behändigte, durch die Gefahren des Bombenkrieges und der Kämpfe um Berlin zu retten, so daß ich sie Ihrem Institut zur Verfügung stellen kann," Gumpert (above, note 76).

⁹⁴ Theresienstadt (Terezín), not far from Prague, was the special camp for elderly or prominent Jews, mostly from Germany and Austria. It was not a death camp, but many died there or were sent on to Auschwitz. Gumpert informed Columbia that the Court of Berlin-Charlottenburg established the death date of both Gudemans as December 31, 1944 (above, note 76). Lane Cooper made inquiries about his friend after the War, and Solmsen reported that he eventually learned that Gudeman had died at Theresienstadt (above, note 35). The APA Proceedings continued to list him (since he was a life member) at his last address in Berlin through 1948. The next two years give his address in care of his son in San Francisco. Finally, the report of the Secretary for 1951 includes the following in its annual necrology: "Alfred Gudeman (1889) During World War II—Life Member (The death of Professor Gudeman in a Nazi concentration camp was confirmed officially this year to his son. The exact date is not available.)" *TAPA* 82 (1951) vii. For the actual dates, see above, note 86.