

German Librarians in Exile in Turkey, 1933-1945

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The present article is the revised version of a speech presented at the IFLA General Conference in Istanbul in August 1995.¹ I received the first information on this subject during my work on a paper concerning the "University Library of Heidelberg during the Third Reich,"² which was written in 1985. I found indications there concerning German librarians who had emigrated to Turkey and had helped to organize a Turkish library system. In the course of the years the topic occupied my thoughts every now and then, and so I tried to obtain further information.³

Turkey as a target for emigrating German scientists during the Third Reich tends to be unknown in the consciousness of the general public. The United States, France, and England were the typical emigrants' destinations.⁴ But names like that of the physician Rudolf Nissen, Sauerbruch's favorite pupil, the Orientalist Helmut Ritter, Ernst E. Hirsch, who held a post at the Berlin University after the war, the economist Dankwart Rustow, and Fritz Neumark, as well as those of Ernst Reuter, who became Berlin's first mayor after the war and was the father of Edzard Reuter, Daimler's boss for many years, at least make you prick up your ears.

The image of Turkey in present-day Germany is determined by the so-called "Gastarbeiter"—foreign workers who came to the Federal Republic of Germany (in this case from Turkey) about thirty years ago and who are now living there in the second and third generations. The social implications of the migration, particularly in the second and third generations, i.e., people who were already born and brought up in Germany, are considered to be mainly negative. In addition to this, Germany is regarded as a country in which people who, for political and religious reasons are being persecuted in Turkey (for example Kurds, Alavits, etc.), will be granted asylum—with all the implication such a decision entails.

It has nearly been forgotten that about sixty years ago the historical development went in exactly the opposite direction and that it was

Turkey which accorded political asylum and work to Germans in a very generous way. This is what we are going to examine in greater detail.

Historical Background

Germany and the Jewish Question, 1933- 1945

The national socialist policy toward the Jews is marked by three phases. The beginning of national socialism is characterized by Hitler's seizure of power in January 1933 and by the law reinstating permanent civil service in April 1933. According to this decree every "non-Aryan" civil servant or one related by marriage to a "non-Aryan" could be made redundant. Thus began the exclusion of the Jews from all political and cultural life. At the same time the first wave of emigration set in. With the so-called "Nuremberg laws" of 1935 a second phase started, which saw the movement from political to biological anti-Semitism. Systematically all civil rights were withdrawn from the Jews as well as any possibility of earning of living. The culmination of these pursuits was the "Reichskristallnacht" of November 1938. Jews were thrown out of any profession left to them and their shops were expropriated. Each of these measures had increased emigration, but now a real exodus set in. It was followed by the third phase of national socialist anti-Semitism: the beginning of the deportations in 1941, the increasing forced labor, and the intensified selection of the disabled led finally to the murder of the Jews in concentration camps and to the Holocaust.

Turkey 1933- 1938/45

Turkey in this period was decisively molded by Kemal Atatürk.⁵ In the years 1919 through 1923 he had tried to create a Turkish national state. Then from 1923 to 1938 he concentrated on the erection and stabilization of an efficient Turkish state, based on the model of Western ones. The notion of "Kemalism" outlines best of all Atatürk's program: a determined modernization of Turkey in the sense of Europeanization.⁶ With breakneck speed he forced a "revolution from above" on to his people, starting with the abolition of the traditional headgear, the fez and the veil, the introduction of Roman characters instead of the Arab ones, and the introduction of monogamy instead of bigamy, and ending with the introduction of a civil code according to European standards. In this connection his extensive plans for educational reform and in particular for a reform of the universities of Istanbul and Ankara must be appreciated. These led to the appointment of many German-Jewish émigrés.

After Atatürk's death in 1938, his successor and friend İsmet İnönü started off by continuing this policy. It was only in 1945, after the end of the Second World War, that fundamental political changes took place in Turkey: the opening to a multiparty system and the turn toward democracy.

For the German emigrants in Turkey a new phase began as well. Most of them left Turkey. Some scholars returned to Germany, but most of them were offered chairs in another country, in particular the United States. Only a few stayed on in Turkey.

Emigration of German Scientists to Turkey, 1933-1945

Concerning this topic two excellent books exist. First, Horst Widmann's Ph.D. dissertation, written in 1973, "Exile and Educational Help: The German-speaking Academic Emigration to Turkey after 1933,"⁷ which contains no end of biographical information. Second, a contemporary source, the so-called "Scuria-Report,"⁸ was published in 1987 by Grothusen. Herbert Scuria, a senior executive officer, was sent to Turkey in 1939 by the Ministry of Science and Education to take stock of activities of German university professors there.

In one case history, we find that included among Atatürk's plans for a thorough educational reform was a plan for the reform of the universities. In July 1933 the old university of Istanbul was closed, only to be replaced the following month by a completely modern one, created on the model of West European universities. This concept was based on the "Rapport sur l'université d'Istanbul" that the Swiss educationalist Albert Malché had presented in 1932 by order of the Turkish government.⁹ Other scientific institutions were either restructured or newly established, as for example the Department of Architecture of the Technical University of Istanbul and the Agricultural and Veterinarian University in Ankara as well as other institutions there.

Let us now have a look at Germany. As we have already noted, Hitler's seizure of power in January 1933 was followed in April by the law reinstating permanent civil service, according to which all "non-Aryan" or politically unsafe university staff members could be made redundant. But even before this emigration was in full swing in April 1933, an organization called "Notgemeinschaft deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland" was founded in Zurich. This association for mutual assistance in emergencies was meant for German scientists abroad. Its president was the political scientist Philipp Schwartz of Frankfurt, who was first informed about Malché and the planned university reforms in Turkey in May 1933.

On 6 July 1933 Schwartz and Malché were already able to conduct decisive negotiations with the Turkish minister of education Resit Galip

in Ankara. In the eyes of the emigrant Fritz Neumark, this date stands out as “the day of the German-Turk miracle.”¹⁰ During nine hours of negotiations, it was possible to put together a complete list of names for the professorships of the new Istanbul University—and all were members of the “Notgemeinschaft deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland”! At the end of the day an overjoyed Schwartz was able to phone to Zurich: “Not three, but thirty!”¹¹

However, it was clear from the beginning that the German professors were meant to stay only until their Turk pupils, i.e., their assistants and lecturers, could take over their positions. As a result five-year contracts became the rule, and courses were to be held as soon as possible in Turkish, using handbooks which had been translated into Turkish too.

German Emigrants to Istanbul

With the appointment of German scientists to Istanbul University in July 1933 the decisive breakthrough had been reached. The university was now, according to Scurla, “firmly in the hand of Jewish emigrants.”¹² The Gestapo tried in some cases to prevent the departure of various people; the Turkish government managed, on the other hand, to even extract imprisoned professors and safely deliver them to Istanbul.

In November 1933 courses began at the new Istanbul University. The new professors were greeted individually in the big entrance hall, and immediately afterward they began their work.¹³ They were not divided equally among the four faculties; the majority of them were in the faculty of medicine or in the one devoted to mathematics and natural science. There were fewer in the faculty of law and the faculty of arts.¹⁴ In all faculties, however, exceptional representatives of great renown were on hand,¹⁵ so that this university could be referred to as “the best German university” at that time.

In the next years more German emigrants followed, while others moved on, particularly to the United States. The German government tried to intervene in Turkey (for example, through Scurla) so as to prevent the continued employment or new appointment of German scientists. To this end the emigrant circles were carefully spied upon.¹⁶ Scurla considered the problem of the emigrant to be a burden on German-Turkish relations. The Turkish government, on the other hand, rejected all interference from the German side and forbade any intervention in Turkish cultural activities. Scurla was expressively told that Turkey was not the slightest bit interested in accepting German professors who had held posts in the National Socialist Party. After 1945 and in particular after the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949, most of the scientists left Istanbul again.

German Emigrants in Ankara

Many fewer scientists found their way to Ankara than they did to Istanbul. This was due mostly to the university itself, which was still in its initial stages. Only a few institutes and scientific organizations existed. Furthermore, the borderlines were not so clearly defined here as they had been in Istanbul. The scientists came to Ankara through the intervention of the official German representative.

The biggest share of emigrants was to be found in the state school of music, followed by the faculty of arts and the medical institutes.¹⁷ From a merely external point of view, the achievements of the emigrants can best be seen here; the architect Clemens Holzmeister built many impressive buildings (for example, the new Houses of Parliament) and Paul Hindemith helped Turkey build up a state school of opera and theater.

The Emigration of German Librarians to Turkey, 1933-1945

The emigration of German librarians must be seen in the context of the emigration of German scientists as a whole. The exact number of Jewish librarians during the national socialist era is not known. In a catalogue by Werner Schochow,¹⁸ approximately 230 names are mentioned. It is easier to obtain data concerning scientific librarians than it is to find references to employees at a lower level. According to a more recent publication by Alwin Müller-Jerina,¹⁹ approximately 80 Jewish librarians existed. Of these about 65 percent worked in scientific libraries, about 10 percent in public libraries, and about 25 percent in libraries run by the Jewish community or a Jewish theological seminary. A Ph.D. was held by two-thirds of these librarians and by 80 percent of the faculty of arts. This shows the intellectual potential of this group.

Due to the "law reinstating permanent civil service" of April 1933, approximately 60 percent of the Jewish librarians were forbidden to continue working and lost their jobs. By the time of the Nuremberg laws in 1935, nearly all the Jewish librarians had been forced to abandon their careers. Even as readers they were not allowed to use the libraries any more. These steps left a great gap in the number of personnel, one which could hardly be filled.

Upon Hitler's ascent to power at the beginning of 1933, very few Jewish librarians left Germany because most of them thought that they could come to terms somehow with national socialism. However, many emigrated immediately after losing their jobs, so that most of them had left Germany by 1935. Most of these emigrated to the United States

(approximately 40 percent), followed by Palestine (approximately 30 percent), Great Britain (approximately 14 percent), and various other countries. About 60 percent of the emigrants stayed in the country to which they fled first. The others had a nerve-racking and most tiring path along which they had to trudge through various countries before they found a new home. Just about half of these emigrated Jews continued working as librarians while in exile. The others worked at universities or on a freelance basis. Only about 20 percent returned to Germany after the war.

Traces of these exiled German librarians can also be found in Turkey. The above-mentioned Malché addressed the situation of the libraries in his report of 1932 (established by order of the Turkish government). He made suggestions about a "centralization of the library administration" as well as about the praising of its utility."²⁰

In 1935 Helmut Ritter, Oriental scholar at the University of Istanbul, set up a "library expertise" in his function as president of a reform commission.²¹ The Austrian Dr. Joseph Stummvoll, who worked as librarian at the newly founded University for Agriculture and Veterinary Science in Ankara (Yuksek Ziraat Enstitüsü), contributed an article about "the Library system in Modern Turkey."²² He also directed a three-month training course for librarians in Turkey.²³

In general, one can say that the activities of the German-speaking professors led to the advancement of libraries in Turkey. This they achieved through public lectures, university weeks in the provinces, the expansion of old and creation of new institutes, publication of manuals in a modern style, and the establishment of scientific magazines.²⁴ All these are requirements for scientific work in the modern style of the West. The emigration to Turkey included the following German librarians.

Dr. Max Pfannenstiel (1902-1976) Max Pfannenstiel, born in Alsace in 1902, studied geology and mineralogy. He worked first at the University library in Freiburg, then from 1930 to 1932 at the Bavarian State Library in Munich, where he sat for his qualifying examinations. From January to July 1933, he worked once again at the University library in Freiburg. In August 1933 he lost his job due to his being cast as a "non-Aryan." Although the director of his library, Josef Rest, interceded with the Ministry of Education, pointing out that Pfannenstiel was only half-Jewish (his grandfather on his mother's side was a Jew), his redundancy came into effect on 12 October 1933.²⁵ For the time being Pfannenstiel was without a job and tried to work scientifically. From January 1934 to March 1935, he was employed at a medical book shop. Following that he

received a small grant from the "Society of German Natural Scientists and Doctors" to concentrate on various estates. Finally in February 1935 he managed to obtain (as a Rockefeller Scholarship holder) a modest position as a librarian at the League of Nations in Geneva. The medical department of the library there was built up by him.

On 19 January 1933 the Minister of Science and Education wrote to his colleague in Baden that the post of director at the library of the University of Agriculture and Veterinary Science in Ankara was vacant. Through the German embassy he had heard that Pfannenstiel was interested in this position—which was not acceptable from the German point of view. To quote from his letter: "It is not in the interest of Germany, for political-cultural reasons, that Dr. Pfannenstiel is given this job in Ankara."²⁶

Scurla looked through Pfannenstiel's personal file on behalf of the ministry.²⁷ On 14 April 1938 the ministry in Berlin reported in an outraged tone to its counterpart in Baden that Pfannenstiel was in Ankara and demanded to know immediately who had given him the exceptional permission to leave the country.²⁸ The ministry of Baden, in a clever move, pointed out that Pfannenstiel did not have to ask for permission, as he was no longer a civil servant of Baden.²⁹

This can be taken as proof of the fact that German emigrants were observed very closely in Turkey and that pressure was put on appointments. In the present case all pressure was useless. On 15 April 1938 Pfannenstiel took up his post as successor of Stummvoll as head of the library of the University of Agriculture and Veterinary Science in Ankara.³⁰ It did not take long for him to start working on the historical-geological background of Turkey and writing articles on this subject.³¹ That Pfannenstiel continued to be painstakingly observed by the Gestapo is proved by the fact that he (as well as numerous other scientists) was thoroughly sounded out by Scurla during his visit to Ankara in May 1939.³²

From 1940 onward Pfannenstiel worked for the Turkish Historical Society (Turk Tarik Kuruma), where he catalogued Atatürk's library which the later had left to the Society according to his will.³³ Pfannenstiel never gave up his contacts with the Freiburg University Library and hoped that he might one day be able to return to a German library, thanks to a saving clause in the civil service law.³⁴ Accordingly he put in an application on 16 June 1939, which was benevolently forwarded by the German embassy in Ankara.³⁵ Director Rest in Freiburg commented positively on his former staff member and unconditionally supported his return. Other former colleagues reacted similarly. The only negative reply came from Professor Wilser, director of the Geological-Palaeontologic

Institute in Heidelberg and also a former colleague in Freiburg. Although Pfannenstiel was helpful and full of bright ideas, Wilser nevertheless had misgivings about this nomination because "A Jew remains a Jew!"³⁶ And further,

Pfannenstiel was part of a decidedly Jewish set in Freiburg, which had had a hostile attitude toward national socialism. Even if Dr. Pfannenstiel tried to change himself inwardly and outwardly, he remains by blood a half Jew and does not belong to a community whose aim it is to fulfill the mission set to us by the Fuhrer. German civil servants are brothers-in-arms of Adolf Hitler!³⁷

In August 1941 Pfannenstiel's contract with the Turkish government came to an end. Due to the political and wartime situation there was no renewal. Pfannenstiel returned to Germany that year and, thanks to the saving clause mentioned above, became a civil servant—in the University library in Erlangen, however. Temporarily he worked in the library of the geological staff of the army—something which appears very surprising to us today. In 1947 he was offered a chair of geology in Freiburg and in 1954 became chancellor of this university—a late honor conferred on him after an eventful life. He died in 1976 in Freiburg.

Sonja Tiedecke. It appears that Sonja Tiedecke came as a qualified librarian from Hamburg to Istanbul in 1938. She worked at the library of the faculty of medicine of Istanbul University.³⁸ She did not return to Germany at the end of the war, but continued to work in Istanbul until 1961. She stayed there upon retiring and was known to still live there until well into the seventies.³⁹

Dr. Walter Gottschalk (1891-1974). Walter Gottschalk, born 1891 in Aachen, studied orientalism, philosophy, history, and the history of art in Wurzburg and Berlin. He took a Ph.D. in 1914 with a thesis on "The oath according to older Arab form."⁴⁰ From 1916 to 1918 he participated in the First World War and held posts in Turkey, Syria, and Palestine under Liman von Sanders, among others. He took up his duties at the Prussian State Library in Berlin in 1919 as the senior librarian for language and history of the Middle East and was promoted in 1923.

Gottschalk contributed greatly to the setting up of the Oriental Department in the Prussian State Library. In particular the reference library was his doing, and he set up a precise catalogue of it. He was a member of the Ibn-Saad Commission and coeditor of Ibn-Saad's complete works. He was dismissed in 1935 due to his Jewish origins and

forced into retirement. He continued to work scientifically and held lectures; for example, introductions to Arabic. In February 1939 he emigrated to Belgium, where he had relatives.

Gottschalk came to Turkey as an emigrant in 1941, where he was given instructions to work for Istanbul University as an expert on library matters.⁴¹ Connected with this was the supervision of all the libraries of the institutes of the university. From approximately 1949 onward, Gottschalk held a chair of library science at Istanbul University, where he also played a prominent part in the development of the Turkish library system. Gottschalk lived in Istanbul until his retirement in 1954.⁴²

After that he returned to Germany and settled in Frankfurt. He continued to work scientifically on an honorary basis. Special merit is due him for editing the reference book *Jewry, Fate, Nature and Presence*, for which he was honored with the Federal Service Cross. To mark his seventy-fifth birthday in 1966, he had already been made an honorary member of the Frankfurt University, partly in recognition of his "contributions to scientific books."⁴³ Gottschalk died in 1974 in Frankfurt.

Surrounding Field

The senior librarians who emigrated to Turkey were joined by junior colleagues, bookbinders, and restorers. In particular these skilled and well-trained refugees constructed corresponding bookbinding and restoration departments, and it is to their credit that many Turkish colleagues could be trained.⁴⁴ Unfortunately the source material here is exceedingly poor.

Conclusion

This article serves, in a narrower sense as a contribution to the history of the emigration of German scientists in the years from 1933 to 1945. Some of these emigrants turned toward Turkey, where nearly at the same time Kemal Atatürk developed his ideas of a global reform of universities on the model of European ones. The German librarians were a part of this emigration, which contributed greatly to the organization of a modern European university system in Turkey. From a mere quantitative point of view, this emigration to Turkey certainly does not rank first, but seen from a qualitative point of view, that is, the importance it had for their country of adoption, it is surely the case that it was of primary importance.

In a broader sense, however, this article seeks to contribute to the improvement of German-Turkish relations. We should consider not only

what the German scientists gave their Turkish colleagues, but we must also remember that they themselves benefited from their stay. Those German professors who engaged themselves wholeheartedly in Turkey, who learned the language and found Turkish friends, became real bridges between the Orient and the West. This tradition needs special care and attention, particularly in our time, so that it can be developed further and help to remove ignorance and prejudice on both sides.

Notes

1. This paper was given on the occasion of the "Workshop on Orientalist Libraries and Orientalism" organized by the IFLA Round Table on Library History on 17 and 18 August 1995 in Istanbul. For the translation into English, I thank Rosemary Ripberger of Mainz.

2. See Hildegard Müller, "Die Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg im Dritten Reich," in *Die Universitätsbibliotheken Heidelberg, Jena und Köln unter dem Nationalsozialismus*. Hrsg. von Ingo Toussaint (München: Saur-Verlag, 1989), 11–89.

3. Inevitably these researches could only produce fragmentary results. I would be very grateful for any further indications concerning German librarians who emigrated to Turkey.

4. See Evelyn Lacina, "Emigration 1933–1945," in *Sozialhistorische Darstellung der deutschsprachigen Emigration und einiger ihrer Asylländer aufgrund ausgewählter zeitgenössischer Selbstzeugnisse* (Stuttgart, 1982).

5. See Bernd Rill, *Kemal Atatürk mit Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten* (Hamburg, 1985).

6. See Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, *Die Türkei in der Zeit Kemal Atatürks (1919/23–1938) und die deutsch-türkischen Beziehungen von 1924 bis 1928. Eine Ausstellung* (Frankfurt, 1987), 9–30.

7. See Horst Widmann, *Exil und Bildungshilfe. Die deutschsprachige akademische Emigration in die Türkei nach 1933. Mit einer Bio-Biographie der emigrierten Hochschullehrer im Anhang* (Frankfurt, 1973).

8. See Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, *Der Scuria-Bericht. Bericht des Oberregierungsrates Dr. Herbert Scuria von der Auslandsabteilung des Reichserziehungsministeriums in Berlin über seine Dienstreise nach Ankara und Istanbul von 11.—25. Mai 1939: Die Tätigkeit deutscher Hochschullehrer an türkischen wissenschaftlichen Hochschulen* (Frankfurt, 1987).

9. See Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, "Die deutsche wissenschaftliche Emigration in die Türkei. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Hamburgs," in *Universität Hamburg, 1933 in Gesellschaft und Wissenschaft* (Hamburg, 1984), 189–206.

10. *Ibid.*, 194.

11. *Ibid.*, 195.

12. *Ibid.*, 192.

13. Very close to that hall, on historic soil so to speak, the IFLA workshop was held in 1995.

14. Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, "Die deutsche wissenschaftliche Emigration," 192. Faculty of Medicine: Friedrich Dessauer, Erich Frank, Josef Igersheimer, Adolf Kantorowicz, Wilhelm Liepman, Rudolf Nissen, Philipp Schwark, Max Sgalitzer, et al. Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Science: Fritz Arndt, F. L. Breusch, Curt Kasswig, E. F. Freundlich, Alfred Heilbronn, Arthur V. Hippel, Richard v. Mises, Willy Prager, et al. Faculty of Law and Economics: Josef

Dobretsberger, Ernst Hirsch, Richard Honig, Gerhard Kessler, Fritz Neumark, Wilhelm Ropke, Alexander Rustow, Andreas Schwartz, Karl Strupp, et al. Department of Architecture of the Technical University: Clemens Holzmeister, Gustav Oelsner, Bruno Taut, et al.

15. See Widmann, *Exil und Bildungshilfe*, 76.

16. For information on the daily life of the German emigrants in Turkey, compare the two catalogues: *Die deutsch-türkischen Beziehungen von 1924 bis 1938. Eine Ausstellung. Veranstaltet vom Türkischen Generalkonsulat Frankfurt/M. und der Deutschen Bibliothek* (Frankfurt, 1987), and Jan Cremer and Horst Przytulla, *Exil Türkei: Deutschsprachige Emigranten in der Türkei 1933–1945. Eine Ausstellung des Yol-Kulturforums in München* (München, 1991).

17. See Widmann, *Exil und Bildungshilfe*, 134ff.

18. See Werner Schochow, "Jüdische Bibliothekare aus dem deutschen Sprachraum. Eine erste Bestandsaufnahme," in *Antisemitismus und jüdische Geschichte. Studien zu Ehren von Herbert A. Strauss* (Berlin, 1987), 515–44.

19. See Alwin Müller-Jerina, "Jüdische Bibliothekare in Deutschland 1933–1945. Ein Projektbericht," in *Bibliotheken während des Nationalsozialismus. Teil I*, edited by Peter Vodosek and Manfred Komorawski (Wiesbaden, 1989), (Wolfenbüttler Schriften zur Geschichte des Buchwesens, Bd. 16).

20. See Widmann, *Exil und Bildungshilfe*, 47.

21. See Adnan Otuku, "Prof. Hellmut Ritter in Istanbul Kütüphaneleri hakkında bir rapor," *Türk Kütüphaneler Derüğü Bulteni* VI, no. 1–2 (1957).

22. See Joseph Stummvoll, "Yeni Türkiye'de Kütüphanecilik," *Ayin Tarihi* XXIII (November 1935).

23. See Munir D. Ahmed, "Die Ausbildung von Bibliothekaren, Dokumentaren und Archivaren im Vorderen Orient," *Auskunft. Mitteilungsblatt Hamburger Bibliotheken* 8. Jg. H. 4 (1988): 280–1.

24. See Fritz Neumark, "Ein Dank der deutschen Wissenschaft an Atatürk und sein Land," in *Die deutsch-türkischen Beziehungen von 1924 bis 1938. Eine Ausstellung* (Frankfurt, 1987), 42.

25. Concerning Pfannenstiel see the article "Max Pfannenstiel—Ein Einzelschicksal," in Ingo Toussaint, *Die Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg im Dritten Reich 2. ver. u. erw. Aufl* (München, 1984), 57–68. Compare the papers in the personal file of Pfannenstiel in the state archive GLA Karlsruhe 235/2378 of Karlsruhe 24.4.1993, letter from Rest to Ministry, 12.8.1933 Ministry to Rest.

26. See GLA Karlsruhe 235/2378. 19.1.1938 Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung an das Badische Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht.

27. Ibid., 9.2.1938 Reichsminister an Badisches Ministerium.

28. Ibid., 14.4. 1938 Reichsminister an Badisches Ministerium.

29. Ibid., 25.4.1938 Badisches Ministerium an Reichsminister.

30. See Widmann, *Exil und Bildungshilfe*, 160–1.

31. See Max Pfannenstiel, "Die altsteinzeitlichen Kulturen Anatoliens," in *Istanbuler Forschungen*, vol. 15, edited by Kurt Bittel (Berlin, 1941), and "Die diluvialen Entwicklungsstadien und die Urgeschichte von Dardanellen, Marmarameer und Bosphorus. Ein Beitrag zu den klimatisch bedingten, enstatischen Spiegelschwankungen des Mittelmeeres," in *Geologische Rundschau*, vol. XXXIV, Heft 7/8.

32. See Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, *Scuria-Bericht*, 140.

33. According to Ms. Mihin Lugal of Istanbul, a Turkish librarian who worked in this library after Pfannenstiel, traces of his activities can be found to the present day (interview, August 1995).

34. See Toussaint, *Die Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg*, 64.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., 65.
37. Ibid., 66.
38. See Widmann, *Exil und Bildungshilfe*, 91.
39. Further research among others in libraries in Hamburg and with retired librarians, unfortunately, did not reveal any new information.
40. See Herbert A. Strauss, *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933/1945*, vol. II, part 1 (München, 1983), 406. Alexandra Habermann, *Lexikon deutscher wissenschaftlicher Bibliothekare 1925–1980* (Frankfurt, 1985), 98. Werner Schochow, *Geschichte der preussischen Staatsbibliothek* (Berlin, 1989), 129. Thanks to Schochow for his friendly help.
41. See Widmann, *Exil und Bildungshilfe*, 115. He is said to have been sent through the occupied zones to Turkey in a closed train car on the express orders of Goebbels. S. Elverfeldt, *Zusammenstellung der Lebensdaten und Werke von Walter Gottschalk* (Aachen, 1979). Reference to this information was given by the Archiv Bibliographia Judaica in Frankfurt.
42. For the sake of completeness, let me mention that Gottschalk's successor was Dr. Rudolf Juchhoff, who held a chair in Library Science until 1968. His assistant and interpreter was Meral Alpay, who now holds a chair in Library Science in Istanbul.
43. See Allgemeine Jüdische Wochenschrift. Berliner Ausgabe vom 18.10.1974, 7.
44. I am very grateful to Mihin Lugal for this information (interview, Istanbul, August 1995).