

Kerstin Tomenendal / Fatma Doğuş Özdemir / F. Özden Mercan

German-Speaking Academic Émigrés in Turkey of the 1940s

Abstract: The article explores the academic working conditions for about 144 German émigré professors in Turkey in the 1930s and 1940s. Many of them migrated from Nazi Germany to Turkey. It is asked how the exiled professors have been seen by post graduate students. This sheds light on the mentality of a new generation of academics, the first in the newly-established Republican Turkey. Some of these students have been interviewed (oral history). Memory, however, is not a mirror that represents historical facts, but a field where the past is reconstructed. Most of the interviewees are graduates of Ankara University and some were post-doctoral assistants at Ankara University. The focus is mainly on the faculties situated in the Turkish capital, specifically, DTCF (the Language, History and Geography Faculty) and the Faculty of Law. The former students concur with the interpretation that the exiled professors gave them new intellectual perspectives and took eminent influence on their careers. As it turns out, the German professors were well integrated into Turkish society in terms of governmental contacts, although they did not become part of the Turkish cultural scene. With rising Turkish nationalism and Pan-Turkism in the later 1940s they were facing an increasingly hostile political atmosphere. This led most of them to dismissal from their faculties; they left for America or other countries in Europe. The highly positive commemoration of the émigré professors by their former postgraduate students can also be read as the commemoration of the period of Atatürk and his reforms.

Key Words: Émigré professors, postgraduate students, university reforms, Republican Turkey, nationalism, Pan-Turkism, memory.

„Der Verlust ist verschmerzt. Ich empfinde das Exil als einen Schicksalsruf zur Erneuerung. An alle Verbannten und Emigranten ergeht ja der Auftrag zum erbarmungslosen Neubeginn, gleichgültig, welche frühe oder späte

Kerstin Tomenendal, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey; kerstin@bilkent.edu.tr
Fatma Doğuş Özdemir, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey; fatmad@bilkent.edu.tr
F. Özden Mercan, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey; fmercan@bilkent.edu.tr

Stunde das eigene Leben geschlagen hat. Diesem Auftrag kann sich keiner entziehen, und von Tag zu Tag wird's für unsereins klarer, wie sehr alles Gewesene und Erworbene verwirkt ist.“
Franz Werfel¹

1. Introductory Notes

In recent decades, much has been written about German émigré professors and their experiences in Turkey.² The aim of this article is not to repeat or summarize what is already known, but by taking a further step, to reconstruct the time of the émigré professors as seen by their students. Such a reconstruction not only provides interesting details about how the émigré professors were perceived, but also tells us a lot about the mentality of a generation – a new generation of academics, the first to be produced in the newly-established Republican Turkey. As most of our interviewees are graduates of Ankara University or were post-doctoral assistants in Ankara, our focus will mainly be on the faculties situated in the Turkish capital, specifically, DTCF (the Language, History and Geography Faculty) and the Faculty of Law. Moreover, they are a select group of people highly representative of the new generation in question, not least in that all interviewees concur that the German professors gave them new perspectives and were a turning point in their careers.

The most important part of this article is the analysis and conclusions derived from our oral history findings. These findings are based on semi-structured in-depth interviews with eight persons, among them two females, who were studying in the 1940s and were therefore students of émigré professors who had already been living in Turkey for ten years or longer.³ This means that the professors we are investigating were well integrated into Turkish society in terms of governmental contacts, although their contacts with their students do not seem to have gone beyond the teacher-pupil relationship. Additionally, the interviewees were not witnesses to the most critical period of university reforms in the 1930s but were studying at a time when the reformed system was already stabilized and accepted. Nevertheless, the foreign professors in that latter period of exile were facing a growing nationalism in their host country which in some cases led to dismissal from their faculties.

The oral history method, with the insights it offers, is certainly important in revealing events or identities suppressed or ignored by traditional history. It can also be very useful for examining how interviewees regarded social phenomena. Interviewing the students of these émigrés sheds light not only on the experiences of the émigré professors themselves in Turkey, but also on the ethnography of that generation. Moreover, it provides clues about the broader picture. Even though the political and economic parameters of the republican period are well-known, little has been

done on how the first generation of young scholars educated by the republic experienced this period, how they were affected by this process or influenced it. Thus, the information provided by our interviewees highlights some suppressed or ignored aspects of recent Turkish history.

Knowledge of the past is mainly preserved through written sources and oral tradition. But not all historical events are regarded in the same way by those who lived through them. Some of them attract less attention while some are given great importance. We can say that people tend to select memories and most of the time they will shape them as they want to see them rather than as they really were. In this sense, collective memory is important in understanding how public history or memory is established. Most of the time, this selectivity aims to serve a purpose. Maurice Halbwachs regards remembering not as an objective act of memory but as a social construction. In other words, for Halbwachs the past is a social construction mainly shaped by the concerns, beliefs and interests of the present. Thus memory is not a mirror that directly reflects historical facts, but a field where the past is reconstructed.⁴ More explicitly, memory is always closely interlinked with the present, the past actively interferes with remembrance and will inevitably be presented differently, deformed and re-evaluated.⁵

In the case of our interlocutors, we noticed that they were attentively following recent publications about their German professors, and read their memoirs, where these had been published. Some of them were assisting the translation of memoirs into Turkish and editing commemorative volumes. During our interviews we were often asked whether we had read this or that book on the subject. We can therefore assume that in most cases, the students' knowledge about the exiled academics was derived from these books⁶ as well as from their personal memories.

According to Maurice Halbwachs, in historical memory, a person does not remember the events directly; but memory can be stimulated in indirect ways such as listening or reading.⁷ In this way, by closely following the literature on the émigré professors, the interviewees reproduce the history of these émigrés but also the history of the republican period. If we consider the group characteristics of our interviewees, they experienced the first decades of the republican period, which were afflicted by wars, national struggles, hardship and poverty. These certainly led to the emergence of a strong national as well as generational identity in these people. Being the first generation raised in the newly established republican Turkey, they are strongly attached to those glorious days. In fact, this certainly affects their perception of the past – a romantic approach to, or nostalgia for, the past. Moreover, the commemoration of the émigré professors by our interviewees can also be read as the commemoration and exaltation of Atatürk and his reforms.⁸

Name of Interviewee	Gender	University (Year of Graduation)	Discipline	Closeness to Professor	Professional Status	Date of Interview/ Interviewer/s
Bahattin Baysal (BB)	M	Istanbul University – Faculty of Science (1945)	Chemistry	Fritz Arndt (1885–1969, Chemistry)	Prof.	03.09.2009 ÖM
Halil İnalçık (HI)	M	Ankara University – DTCF (1940)	History	Benno Landsberger (1890–1968, Assyriology) with restrictions in the frame of interdisciplinarily attended courses	Prof.	11.06.2009 ÖM, KT, DÖ
İlhan Akipek (IA)	M	Ankara University – Faculty of Law (1951)	Law	Graduate and post-graduate assistant to Ernst Hirsch (1902–1985, Law)	Prof.	02.10.2009 ÖM, KT, DÖ, FD 23.10.2009 ÖM, KT
İhsan Dođramacı (ID)	M	Istanbul University – Faculty of Medicine (1938)	Medicine	Post-doc assistant to Albert Eckstein (1891–1950, Medicine) in Ankara	Prof.	15.10.2009 ÖM, KT, DÖ
Kamil İmamođlu (KI)	M	Istanbul University – Faculty of Medicine (1950)	Medicine	Post-doc assistant to Eduard Otto Melchior (1883–1974, Medicine) in Ankara	Prof.	17.04.2009 in-class interview including ÖM, KT, DÖ 03.11.2009 KT, DÖ
Muazzez İlmiye Çıđ (MIC)	F	Ankara University – DTCF (1940)	Sumerology	Hans Gustav Güterbock (1908–2000, Hittitology) and Benno Landsberger, museum connections to both	Academician at Museum	20.11.2009 ÖM
Nimet Özgüç (NÖ)	F	Ankara University – DTCF (1940)	Archeology	Hans Gustav Güterbock and Benno Landsberger	Prof.	23.09.2009 ÖM, KT, DÖ
Yaşar Karayalçın (YK)	M	Ankara University – Faculty of Law (1944)	Law	Graduate and Post-doc assistant to Ernst Hirsch	Prof.	25.11.2009 ÖM, KT

2. Historical Context

In 1922 with the foundation of a new Turkish Republic, a process of rapid reform began in all fields. The higher education system was also affected by this transformation process. *Darülfünun*, known as the House of Knowledge, had been established in a mood of reform during the late Ottoman period, and was modeled on the French university system. However, *Darülfünun*, representing the old, obsolete, Ottoman Empire, could not keep up with the pace of reform in the new republic – at least this was what the supporters of the reform asserted at the time.⁹ According to them, *Darülfünun* needed to be reformed quickly, as it did not meet the objectives of the newly-founded young Turkish Republic's policies of modernization. To this end, in 1932 Prof. Albert Malche from Switzerland was invited to Turkey, and he wrote a report in which he proposed a model based on the Western university system. Consequently, in the spring of 1933, a series of reforms were introduced to reorganize *Darülfünun*, which was reopened as Istanbul University on August 1, 1933. After the *Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service* had been enacted on April 7, 1933 in Nazi Germany, many German scholars decided to leave their home country. Following negotiations between Malche, Philipp Schwartz of the Emergency Union of Exiled German Scholars and the Minister of Education Dr. Reşit Galip which lasted nine hours, academic positions for thirty émigré professors were arranged as a first step. This day was described by Fritz Neumark as a “Turkish-German miracle”,¹⁰ while for Reşit Galip it had a historical significance. At the end of the negotiation, Reşit Galip said:

“Today is a special day on which we were able to accomplish a unique act. 500 years ago when we took over Istanbul, it was impossible to keep Byzantine scholars, they left for Italy and there they made the Renaissance. Today we've decided to retrieve that loss. We want our people to learn and follow the scientific developments. Bring us your knowledge and your methods and show our youth the way to progress. We present you our gratitude and appreciation.”¹¹

This dedication to progress was what would distinguish the new Republic from the remnants of the Ottoman Empire.

As Versan has argued, Atatürk's reforms aimed to alienate Turkey from “the oriental concept of society which he believed would prevent development and prosperity”¹² and to this end, Atatürk introduced Western principles and standards into Turkish society and law. However, in this process of modernization, which Western country would provide the model for Turkey? It is clear that in higher education, the German model became the norm, as reflected in the German loanwords used in the

Turkish higher education system. This was to a certain extent due to the close relations between Germany and Turkey that had existed since the 18th century and Germany's later policy of peaceful Wilhelminian Imperialism.

Between 1923 and 1939, there were further important developments in Turkish-German relations.¹³ German influence was quite visible not only in the political but also in economic, military and cultural fields. In that respect, it was inevitable that there would also be German traces on the higher education system. However, the main factor was certainly the influx into Turkey of so many scientists, scholars, professors and experts, who had had to leave their country because of the fascist and oppressive policies of Nazi Germany. In other words, the repression against the Jewish people and those who were opposed to the Nazi regime greatly served the interests of the Turkish government. "Thanks to Hitler"¹⁴ – this was the expression used by one of our interviewees about the arrival of the émigré professors. According to him, if Hitler had not brought in his racist policies, those important scholars would have never come to Turkey. Thus, an unfortunate event had a very positive impact on Turkey, giving her an opportunity to benefit from prominent scholars in modernizing her higher education system. Political circumstances in Central Europe meant that the teaching cadre at Istanbul University came mainly from Germany and Austria, which made them a closed community within the university structure. In fact, as Professor Friedrich Reimann (Internal Medicine) said of the University of Istanbul: "This university was the best German university of its time."¹⁵

Turkey provided asylum only for a select group of high-profile refugees from Nazism and victims of war. In the 1930s and 40s, Turkey – like many other countries including the United States – had a rather restrictive policy on accepting Jewish refugees into her territory.¹⁶ Additionally, foreigners could only work in certain professions, in accordance with article 2007 of the *Law on Arts and Services Allocated to the Turkish Citizen in Turkey*, enacted on June 11, 1932.¹⁷ From the way the professors' contracts were drawn up we can deduce that they were meant to train future generations of Turkish scientists and then to return to their countries of origin. Turkey never intended to become a receiving country. Grothusen suggests that it was known from the beginning that Atatürk intended not to establish a German-governed university, but a modern university equal to European standards that would be run by Turks.¹⁸ This means that the German professors were aware that their services would soon make them redundant, and that they would be replaced by their Turkish students. For this reason their contracts were short-term, albeit renewable. Still, being "on the periphery of occupied Europe" and "properly situated to provide escape routes",¹⁹ for a certain period Turkey was almost the only safe place in Europe for these people. Consequently, academic émigrés, albeit temporarily, made a new life for themselves in Turkey and obtained positions in the re-organized Univer-

sity of Istanbul and the faculties of the newly-founded University of Ankara. Some stayed for just a brief period, some for longer. In any case, in Reisman's words, these people "left an indelible mark on Turkey on their way to their ultimate destinations in the west."²⁰ In his memoirs, Neumark states that in no other host country did émigrés leave such an important academic heritage as in Turkey.²¹

3. Turkish-German Relations in the Light of Nazi Germany's Cultural Policy and its Influence on Turkish Anti-Semitism

The Weimar Republic and Turkey developed close trade relations in the years after World War One, in which the German and the Ottoman Empires had been allies. The newly emerging republics pursued different goals. Turkey aimed at consolidation and maintaining the status-quo, and had no tendencies towards territorial expansion, while Germany remained revisionist (*Lebensraum*). Thus, their foreign policies were different, with Turkey aiming for neutrality, especially towards the Soviet Union and in its Balkan policies.²² However, Turkey remained strictly anti-communist and anti-Soviet, and needed to maintain its economic relations with Germany.²³ This made it vulnerable to German influence, and Nazi propaganda definitely used the argument of the past *Waffenbrüderschaft* in the years after Hitler had come to power.²⁴ In 1938, Nazi Germany was Turkey's main trading partner and with that, the number of German specialists, engineers and advisors increased in the Republic of Turkey. The head of the economic section of the German Foreign Office claimed in August 1939 that 2,000 Germans were working in Turkey in official and semi-official capacities.²⁵

Even though Turkey was of pivotal geostrategic importance, the German embassy in Ankara remained vacant for about five months till Franz von Papen was made ambassador in April 1939 following the Italian attack on the Balkans.²⁶ This suggests that Turkey was not on Berlin's priority list at this early stage. With Franz von Papen, Hitler's former vice chancellor who had also served in Turkey as a staff officer of the German Orient Corps during World War One, a prominent German representative, with a deep knowledge of the country and excellent connections with both the military and political elites, was now present in Turkey. Roth even claims that von Papen attempted to turn Turkey into a "satellite power under German control"²⁷. Throughout the war years, Nazi Germany aimed at winning the Turks as allies, or at least at keeping them neutral, so that they did not enter the war on the side of Great Britain and her allies. Nazi foreign policy succeeded, insofar as Turkey signed a friendship treaty with Germany five days before it invaded the Soviet Union in 1941. This made Turkey a neutral buffer state, and Ankara became a most important diplomatic post for the warring blocs.²⁸

Up to 1939, Nazi Germany concentrated on exerting political and economic influence in the Middle East.²⁹ In the area of university programs, Nazi Germany was able to continue a pre-existing tradition going back to the 19th century, when German (military) instructors had been invited to the Ottoman Empire in order to reform the Ottoman system. During World War One, there were already nineteen German professors teaching at *Darülfünun*.³⁰ Nazi Germany attempted to continue this tradition by positioning Aryan German visiting professors in the Republic of Turkey³¹ and by replacing non-Aryan or non-conformist professors from Germany and Austria³² with personnel who were compliant with the new regime. It was most important for the Third Reich to have its scholars teaching and researching at various universities in Turkey, in order to influence both the curriculum, and the overall Turkish conception of history, with Nazi doctrines.³³ Nazi Germany played a pivotal role particularly in the newly-established Ankara University, with the *Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü* [Higher Institute of Agriculture], founded in 1928, employing almost exclusively non-Jewish German³⁴ staff. According to HI:

“This [Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü] is one of the most important institutions established by the German professors. It is very important for the economic life of Turkey, many German professors were invited to Turkey from Germany and they taught modern technology for agriculture, introduced reforms in animal husbandry. In a way they made a revolution in Turkish economic life. If Turkish agriculture has reached a high level, it is thanks to this Ziraat Enstitüsü.”³⁵

Another platform for active academic Nazi cultural policy involved political and ideological participation at congresses in Turkey, such as the Second Turkish History Congress from September 20–26, 1937. This congress took place shortly after Hitler’s speech at the *Nuremberg Party Congress* on September 7, when “he pointed to the active cultural policies of, particularly, the French and British, and then demanded a similar concentration of all academic and cultural forces for Germany”³⁶. The scholars who attended from abroad mostly came from Germany, which shows the Nazi aim of consolidating her status regarding cultural propaganda in Turkey. German scholars were therefore much less critical than they had been at the first congress of Turkish academia’s attempts to establish a Turkish national identity by focusing on the pre-history of the Turks and by linking them to the Sumerian and Hittite civilizations.³⁷ The interviews also suggest that the distinguished professor of Sumerology and Hittitology Benno Landsberger furthered Atatürk’s interest in finding a connection between Sumerian and Turkish to establish the ancestry of the Turks.³⁸ HI noted that this linguistic approach was part of Turkish historical theory and a very “exploited part” at that. He went on to explain as follows: “The serious philologists knew that [this theory] was not to be explained in scientifically linguistic terms. However, they held Atatürk in high esteem and did not stand against it overtly.”³⁹

On the other hand, the Turkish government preferred to hire well known émigré academicians from 1933 onwards, and where this was a question of appointing non-migrants, they favored the ones who were not NSDAP members.⁴⁰ The refugee professors were nevertheless a valuable asset for German cultural policy, as the Austrian ambassador, Norbert Bischoff remarked in 1936, when he pointed out that they were promoting German academic and cultural influence no matter what their political mindset was.⁴¹ From what we know from primary sources and the interviews we conducted, we can argue that – interestingly enough, considering the spirit of the time – the émigré professors perceived themselves as Germans⁴² and not as an unaccepted and unwanted minority group in their country of origin. This is why Turkish students made no distinctions about the background of their teachers, whether or not they were victims of racial or political persecution. This is also why a former assistant to Hirsch can say that Hirsch was a real German, representing German *Hochkultur* for him.⁴³ Another assistant of Hirsch's decided to learn German because of this high culture.⁴⁴ Indeed, generations later, the legacy they left was mostly praised by their students in terms of that “German spirit”.

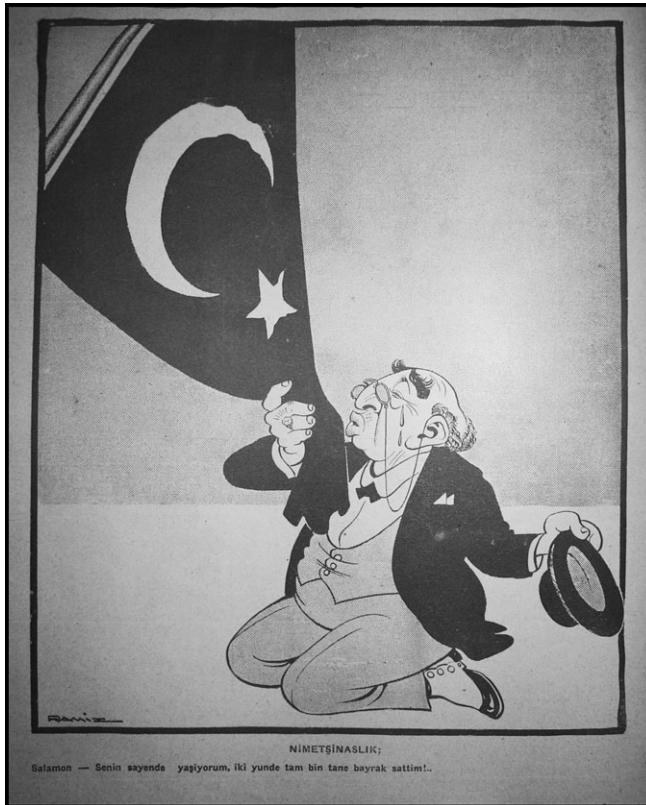
Here we encounter a great irony about the ambiguous self-perception of the Jewish émigré scholars. Adolf Leschnitzer, in his analysis of “the German-Jewish relationship”, designates a state of “false security” in the educated strata of the German Jewish community. Leschnitzer accounts for this “false security” in terms of the German Jews’ loss of the “*galut* consciousness” during the symbiotic relationship they realized when they entered German cultural life after around 1750 – a time when “neo-humanism, the revival of classicism and idealism, a great national renaissance [...] [which had] given a new mold to the development of the German spirit.”⁴⁵ However the “false security” they felt within this so-called idealism began to wane with the new dimension that the German spirit began to acquire, and in the 1920s it was totally destroyed. By 1933, the slogan “the Jews are our misfortune!” had had enough effect on the masses to revive the Middle Age conceptions that held them responsible for the plague. As Leschnitzer put it, “now, no less absurdly, the Jews were made responsible for unemployment and the economic crisis.”⁴⁶

The emigré scholars were very much aware of this “false security” once they came to Turkey. For the émigré scholars the position in Turkey was as ambiguous and insecure as their own habitat and the “false security” they had to bear back at home. At times they felt themselves to be German, were mostly treated as Germans, but were victimized by that very same culture.

Another cause may have been the perceptions of their students. They had a certain stereotype as to what a Jew was – a stereotype that did not fit their professors. The predominant stereotype of the Jew during the 1940s was that of the filthy, greedy usurer, the shylock. This stereotype was commonplace in the Turkish press.

This common stereotype of the Jews can be best observed in the two major satirical humor magazines of the time, *Akbaba* and *Karikatür*. The imagery in the caricatures in these journals was almost reminiscent of the iconography of the Medieval Europe as reflected in the *Bible Moralisée*.⁴⁷ Indeed, the styles of these modern drawings were most obviously borrowed from western images. As İzel Rozental noted in a study of the role of caricature in the 20th century,

“the issues nurturing British, German and French cartoonists during the pre-war period [were] Bourgeoisie, filthy power of money, bribery, corruption, aristocracy [...] And then there were the Jews! Jews were a goldmine for European cartoonists. European Jews had somehow become the symbol of stinginess, dirty world of finance, black marketeering, usury communism with their big hooked noses, thick eyebrows, fat lips, big bellies forcing the buttons of their black jackets, and their dirty clothes. They were stateless, money was their fatherland. They seemed religious, but somehow had no faith.”⁴⁸



A caricature questioning the patriotism of the Jewish minority
Translation: Salamon – Thanks to this flag, I earn my bread! I have sold a thousand just in two days. From: *Karikatür* 149, vol. 6 (1938).

Rozental points out that the stereotype described above began to appear in *Akbaba* and *Karikatür* magazines in Ramiz Gökçe's "gentler drawings" and that "when drawn in color, the Jewish man was red haired, resembling the Satan of Christian superstitions."⁴⁹ If we look specifically at Gökçe's cartoons, it becomes clear that such depictions became more common during the 1940s⁵⁰, especially in the years preceding the Wealth Tax (1942).⁵¹

The prevalence of such an image was confirmed by our interviewees as well. YK, a close student and assistant of Hirsch, stated that the dominant image in their perception since childhood days was that Jews were money-oriented, self-seeking people with no interest whatsoever in science or intellect. YK also mentioned that there was a great difference between the image he had and what he saw in Hirsch.⁵² Anyway, according to one of Hirsch's younger assistants, IA, Hirsch was "a great



A caricature satirizing the exile of Jews

Translation and explanation: After the evacuation of the European cities due to WWII

Exiled Jew: There are lots of available places in European cities but not any for us.

(The signs advertise each city as if it is a real estate: Urgently for rent, furnished, Berlin; For rent during the war season, London; Flat for rent, Madrid; For rent, Paris; For sublease and for sale, consult the occupiers for bargaining, Danzig; For rent, Warsaw).

From: Karikatür 193, vol. 8 (1939).



ŞARK CEPHESİNDE OYNANAN
OYUNLAR:
Alman — Elimdeki bütün taşları sürdüm,
bunları da kırarsa, benden dama!...

Germany and the Soviet Union, playing checkers.

Translation and explanation: Games played on the Eastern Front

*German: I have moved all my pieces forward. If he moves to capture them, then I will win!
(In the Turkish version of the checkers game, capturing is mandatory. The pieces of the Soviet
Union are marked as Hungarian and Bulgarian. The one Germany holds is Turkish.)*

From: Karikatür 369, vol. 15 (1943).

German. He never spoke out about his Jewishness. He grew up in Germany, he internalized Germany [...]. Nazi Germany did not like him, sent him away. However, this man's culture is German culture."⁵³ Thus his Turkish students saw him as having no relation whatsoever with the Jewish stereotype they envisaged.⁵⁴

For the students, their "German" or "German Jew" professors were disciplined, hard working, extremely punctual and they came from the upper social strata, as KI remarked.⁵⁵ KI also claimed that he did not see the German professors as forced emigrants, and thought their presence was entirely natural to him and his classmates.⁵⁶

During the 1940s, pre-existing anti-Semitic ideas were furthered by Nazi influence. Mete Tunçay, a leading Turkish intellectual who had graduated from Ankara University in 1958, gave an interview to Lizi Behmoaras in 1993. Explaining his father's frustration and anger with the Jews, he said that it was simply "the spirit of the 1940s". The general discourse was that "these Jews do exploit, and they live well themselves." Then he added that, in fact, the majority of the Jewish population was living in the poor ghettos around the Galata Tower. Tunçay also noted that this specific discourse of the 1940s was promoted by Nazi propaganda and thus was reflected in the press as well.⁵⁷ This misconception about the Jews' living standards was also evident with KI in his assumptions about the émigré professors. He thought "they must have been happy" as they all lived at the Bosphorus.⁵⁸

German propaganda was also able to foster an anti-Semitic outlook in Turkey by supporting the revival of Pan-Turkism. During the 1930s and 1940s, Pan-Turkist journals, which Jacob M. Landau described as "heavily influenced by Nazi race theories"⁵⁹ were the only publications aimed at the majority society that put forward an overtly anti-Semitic stance. All this led to an increasing "Turkification" of education⁶⁰ which reached its peak in November 1941 when mandatory history courses on the Turkish revolution were introduced, with the proviso that they could only be taught by Turks. Such courses have been part of Turkish curricula ever since.⁶¹ The aim of this course was to counteract both National Socialist and communist perceptions at universities.⁶²

Eric Jan Zürcher notes that Pan-Turkist propaganda was revived when Germany was thought to be capable of defeating the Soviet Union. A Pan-Turkist committee was even founded in July 1941, with the encouragement of Germany. In keeping with a policy that sought guarantees in case of a German victory, some Turkish generals had visited the Eastern Front at Germany's invitation, and some Pan-Turkists were included in the cabinet. This ambiguity did not come to an end until 1944, when Turkey finally decided to take the side of the allies. The proponents of the ideology were prosecuted and arrested.⁶³

As mentioned above, German ambassador Franz von Papen played an important role in promoting Pan-Turkist groups in Turkey. He made contact with some of these groups in order to get information about the Turkish speaking regions of Russia and also to utilize the Pan-Turkist movement in Turkey for the benefit of Germany. However after 1942 the Germans themselves became worried about the ultimate success of Pan-Turkism. When the Turkish government, after pursuing zigzag policies for a while, gave up supporting the Pan-Turkists, Germany stopped trying to exert influence in this area.⁶⁴ By 1943–44, when Germany was increasingly losing ground, Turkey was under pressure to remain neutral.

Besides the political scene, of which most of our interviewees were unaware, there was abundant evidence of anti-Jewish propaganda in Turkish society. Rifat Bali has pointed to the publication from the mid-1930s onwards of Turkish translations of some major anti-Semitic works. *Protocols* (the so called *Protocols Of The Elders Of Zion*) were translated from the works of the Swedish rightist radical writer W. Creutz and published in 1934 as a series in the Pan-Turkist journal *Milli İnkılap*; then the full text was translated from a French-language version of the Russian original in 1941 and published in 1943. Henry Ford's *The International Jew* was also published in translation in 1942, and Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was published twice between 1940 and 1945.⁶⁵

4. German vs. American École: A Struggle for Excellence

As for whether Turkey as a country of exile was only a second choice for scientists who had to flee Nazi Germany and later Austria, as the existing literature tends to claim, Rudolf Nissen's memoirs suggest that this was not true in his case. When he applied for a tourist visa for America in 1933, the American consul strongly advised him to ask for an immigration visa instead since the quota for Germany was still open. The reason Nissen did not follow this advice was that, after having consulted a renowned surgeon at Ann Arbor, he formed the impression that academic positions in the States were hard for foreigners to obtain. Nissen therefore gladly accepted the invitation of the Turkish government, at the recommendation of Philipp Schwartz and the Emergency Union of Exiled German Scholars,⁶⁶ for an *Ordinariat* at Istanbul University: "im Grunde meines Herzens war ich froh, das unbekannte und unheimliche Amerika aus den Zukunftsplänen streichen zu können."⁶⁷ Besides restrictive immigration laws and complicated visa procedures, academic discipline was another important factor. Turkey, as a European state which had undergone a reform of its legal system under Atatürk following the French, Swiss, Italian and German legal codes, was a more natural destination for jurists than the United States.⁶⁸ Unlike in Turkey, lawyers trained in Roman law who migrated to the United States never practised or taught law, and might "wind up in fields as diverse as Egyptology and film direction"⁶⁹, as they would have had to learn both English and Anglo-Saxon Law.

Economics was another specific discipline for which some scholars found a better environment in Turkey. Fritz Neumark was an example of this – as Arnold Reisman has pointed out, besides his services to academia, his support for étatist economic policies meant that he was much sought after by Ankara's government ministries as well.⁷⁰ Indeed Neumark was one of the émigré scholars who valued his experiences in Turkey so highly that he wrote memoirs about them that were translated into Turkish. These have become one of the basic sources for commemoration by

his Turkish students. In his memoir, Neumark talked about his reservations about leaving Turkey for the US, as a result of what he was hearing from scholar friends there. He said that he remained in contact with his acquaintances in the US, like many other émigré scholars living in different parts of Europe, as they initially could not be sure that they would be safe⁷¹ enough if they remained in Europe. Discussing his reasons for not leaving, he referred to a letter he received from Joseph Alois Schumpeter, who had been lucky enough to find a place at Harvard. In this letter Schumpeter warned him that “Americans would not easily walk on thin ice” and that they insisted on meeting an applicant personally before accepting an employment application.⁷² In the face of such risky procedures, he was more than willing to stay in Turkey, where he was most welcome both institutionally and academically. He clearly did not want to risk his position in Turkey, where his academic standing was valued much more highly, for the unsafe and risky environment of the US.

Nor was Turkey the second choice for refugee scholars who were directly conducting research on Turkey or the cultural heritage of Anatolia, such as Benno Landsberger and Hans Güterbock. Turkey was both a fertile and an untouched field, and these scholars were able to get state support and funding to conduct their research. Turkey’s nation-building process made the country receptive to inquiry into its Anatolian heritage, and these scholars found a ready environment to practise their own profession and produce original works of worldwide repute as well. Indeed, as HI remarked,

“German professors were supplied with generous funds through the Turkish Historical Society. Archeology was the number one field in popularity in those times and this German tradition, the scholars educated in Germany plus the German professors here had great role to play in this [...] and thanks to that, great explorations were carried out concerning Hittites and even a museum was founded in Ankara.”⁷³

Our case studies show that the oft-repeated prejudice that the “good” professors left as soon as possible whereas the mediocre ones stayed till they could return to their country of origin,⁷⁴ should definitely be rejected. According to their students, these professors, especially Landsberger, would have stayed on if they had not been dismissed from DTCF following disagreements with Turkish professors and the increasingly hostile political atmosphere in the later 1940s with rising Turkish nationalism. For MIC, it was a grave error for Turkey to dismiss these valuable professors. If they had stayed on, there would have been a well-developed Oriental Institute in Turkey rather than in Chicago.⁷⁵

As Fritz Neumark noted in his memoirs, the reason why many scholars were able to find refuge in the United States was that there were more opportunities for

research and employment there than in Turkey, especially in the positive sciences. However, he also pointed to the American environment's great capacity to liquidate other cultures and assimilate them into its own body. He made this remark after stating that none of the scholars who left their Turkish jobs for American positions had returned to their native Germany, unlike all of those who remained in Turkey.⁷⁶

Alongside the American environment's "assimilating power", there were some other obvious factors that made the United States less beneficial than Turkey. Even though the immigration of academics that Hitler had "booted out" early in 1933 was, as Heilbut puts it, "comparatively smooth" (probably thanks to the German quota which was still high), they had to support themselves with menial jobs both because of the lack of institutional protection and because of "scandalously low" salaries.⁷⁷ There was already an established and radically different intellectual and institutional foundation in American universities, which made it very difficult to accommodate scholars of the German school – especially for disciplines outside of the positive sciences.⁷⁸ As for the later arrivals, most of them never resumed their academic careers as "their specialties did not transfer well," and thus they kept on "leapfrogging from one field to another."⁷⁹ The United States might have offered them a more distant refuge, cut off from the turmoil in Europe, but for some émigré scholars Turkey was greatly preferable.⁸⁰ Besides, in the early phase of their exile, many academics hoped to return home once the situation was back to normal and, as Claus-Dieter Krohn put it, "distant America to them represented a 'point of no return'".⁸¹

Turkey in this respect provided a very convenient academic environment for émigré scholars in the field of social sciences – an environment without any need to assimilate. Turkish academia was also more attractive in that, as a newly-established sector, with its openness to the modernity of new ideas and its pre-existing association and historical affinity with German culture, it could easily welcome the German school. Ankara's DTCF in particular proved a very fertile field for those scholars in disciplines other than the positive sciences. It was only after the end of World War Two, that the US became a more favorable option.

This discrepancy between the various fields was also manifest in methodological approaches. As Heilbut quotes Franz Neumann: "The German scholar generally came under three intellectual influences: German idealism, Marxism, and historicism." Despite their "contempt for empiricism and pragmatism," they were expected to sacrifice their accustomed methodologies and opt for the American version. Moreover, American colleges were "student centered" – as Heilbut noted, "in Europe, the professor was king, but in democratic America, the students elected him".⁸² None of these problems existed in Turkey and professors in all disciplines could continue to use the methodologies and ways of interacting with their students to which they were accustomed.

During the early Republican period, there was a close interest in history-writing and archeology in order to establish connections between the Turks and ancient civilizations such as Hittites and Sumerians, and thereby “legitimize the Turkish state’s claims on Anatolia”.⁸³ To this end the first steps were taken by Afet İnan, one of Atatürk’s adopted daughters. In an interview, she explained the process like this:

“While reading French history books I noticed that very prejudiced and negative things had been written about the Turkish history. I saw that Turks were reflected as barbarians who did nothing for the world civilization. For this reason I decided to study history. I mentioned this negative image of the Turks in world history to Atatürk as well. We started researching on the Turkish history and TTK (Turkish Historical Society) and DTCF (Faculty of Language, History and Geography) were the outcome of this process.”⁸⁴

HI referred to his two colleagues educated in Germany as an example of this. He said that they “became members of the Turkish Historical Society and they brought with them the German archeological science and tradition to TTK. This in itself is another way of German impact. I was also a member starting with 1947.”⁸⁵ He then remarked that he had joined them in their struggle against the old generation and its traditional approach, in order to give the TTK a “scientific character”; and together they drafted a new statute of “German origin”.⁸⁶

5. Interviewees’ perceptions of German professors and Turkish Academia

It is astonishing how little information the interviewees were able to give us, bearing in mind how many years they had been working alongside the exiled professors. Their interaction was restricted to the academic and professional environment, even though their former students stated that the professors were always approachable. Nevertheless, we were still able to obtain information on their environment, living conditions and workplaces.

Ankara during this period was a city modernizing itself with new buildings designed by German, Austrian, and other European architects.⁸⁷ Although these developments changed the face of the city to a certain extent, conditions in Ankara were not that favorable in social terms. Although Ankara was the capital of Turkey, our interviewees stated that it was more like a village rather than a capital, lacking any social life.⁸⁸ The only activity was the classical music concerts which took place every weekend.⁸⁹ HI specifically mentioned such concerts, which were staged with a high degree of participation by young academics like himself, despite the deteriorating economic circumstances. He recalled that in terms of sophistication and professionalism, the music societies were still in their infancy during those times.⁹⁰ Ankara

had only recently begun to turn into a center of high culture and modernity. This meant that there were not many social activities other than working available to the German professors.

On the other hand, we know from the memoirs of Hirsch, who at that time already held Turkish citizenship, that

„Im Gegensatz dazu [zu Istanbul] bot mir Ankara ein neues, sehr weit gestecktes Arbeitsfeld und wissenschaftliche Aufgaben, die einen ehrgeizigen jungen Menschen – ich war damals erst 41 Jahre alt – begeistern konnten. Hatte ich mich 1933 gemeinsam mit Dutzenden deutschen Kollegen in das Istanbuler „Abenteuer“ gestürzt, so lockte jetzt, 10 Jahre später, ein ähnliches Abenteuer, das ich *allein* zu bestehen haben würde: als einziger „Ausländer“ eine Fachhochschule auf den Stand einer wissenschaftlichen Fakultät zu heben angesichts eines keineswegs homogenen Lehrkörpers und einer von der Istanbuler sehr unterschiedlichen anatolischen Studentenschaft.“⁹¹

Hirsch had first come to Ankara in 1936, at a time when, according to his memoirs, the Turkish capital was little more than a village. Seven and a half years later, the city had completely changed its appearance.⁹² These statements show how thrilling the dynamism of the young republic was for the German scholar, and how much he enjoyed playing an active part in this change.

Language was one of the areas in which German émigré professors had to adjust. According to their contracts, after three years they had to teach and publish in Turkish.⁹³ During World War One, when some German professors were already teaching at *Darülfünun*, they had been expected to teach in Ottoman Turkish from the second year of their contract.⁹⁴ This had been a lot more difficult, as Ottoman Turkish was written in Arabic letters. The Turkish Ministry of Education's expectation that the language of instruction *à la longue* should be Turkish⁹⁵ is quite understandable in the light of the university reforms, but for most of the German professors it still took a long time to learn this difficult language. For this reason, they were allowed to use interpreters in the classrooms. Interestingly enough, most professors continued to teach in German even when they had acquired a good command of Turkish.⁹⁶ At DTCE, the lectures and seminars were usually translated by an assistant even though some of the professors, such as Hans Güterbock, spoke Turkish very well.⁹⁷ This shows that the language clauses the Turkish government had inserted into the professors' contracts were not strictly observed. From Nissen's memoir we know that German remained the language of instruction at the students' own request:

„Und als einige der Professoren schon *vor* dem vertraglich geforderten Termin in Türkisch zu unterrichten begannen, waren die Studenten wohl erfreut über den Eifer und die Mühe beim Erlernen ihrer Sprache, ließen aber in taktvoller Art erkennen, daß ihnen der Übersetzungsmodus mehr gab.“⁹⁸

Still, an ability to speak Turkish was seen as demonstrating a scholar's willingness to adapt to Turkey. Prof. Hirsch was certainly a good example for this. He gave his lectures in Turkish and even wrote books and articles without any external help, apart from the final copy-editors.⁹⁹ This was mostly so that he could adapt more easily to his new environment and explore it with new eyes. For Hirsch and some others who chose this approach, Turkey offered the possibility to rebuild their own existence. In a way it meant a hopeful future. Awareness of all this, and gratitude to the country that had offered asylum certainly accelerated the process of adaptation among the émigré professors. Moreover, this also influenced the way their students perceived them. Our analysis of our interviews shows that those émigré professors who knew Turkish very well were more highly regarded by their students than the others, because it was thought that: "they learn Turkish because they love Turkey."¹⁰⁰

Another issue which concerned the German professors was their living conditions in Turkey. Our interviewees regarded the opportunities provided by Turkey to these émigrés as enormous blessings.¹⁰¹ Most of the scholars arriving in Turkey had fled their countries under extreme duress, leaving behind members of their families, either parents or children. Many came without any money or other belongings, although at home they had been used to every comfort. The interviews quite clearly show the general supposition that these professors led an elite existence, when compared to living standards in Turkey of the 1930s and 1940s. The Turkish government provided them with jobs and accommodation. These professors did not have any financial difficulties; they were living in good neighborhoods and they were very well paid, compared to Turkish professors.¹⁰² Conversely, our interviews could be seen as showing that our interviewees had only a limited insight into the private lives of their professors, their lifestyles and community life. Students at DTCE, owing to their curricula, which included field trips to excavations in central Anatolia, had more direct access to the private lives of their teachers than law students. Also in certain exceptional cases, some students had a chance to meet their professors' families and see how they lived. This was the case with Güterbock; after he had broken a leg while skiing at Uludağ Mount, classes were held at his flat. As NÖ remembered, the house was so plainly decorated that it looked as though Güterbock and his wife Franziska Heilbronn had only half settled in, and were always ready to leave at any moment. Moreover, during the field trips and excavations NÖ had a chance to meet Güterbock's wife Franziska, a German from Istanbul who was close to the age group of the female students in the department.¹⁰³ The examples of Güterbock and Hirsch would suggest that the émigrés led a very plain and modest life – contrary to the assumptions about the professors' glittering lifestyles.¹⁰⁴

One question of the utmost importance is the students' opinion of the émigré professors' teaching methods. According to the memoirs of Professor Hirsch,¹⁰⁵

his teaching methods in both Istanbul and Ankara were thought to be revolutionary, especially in an academic system that had been orientated on the French *école* model since the Tanzimat Era. This led to ongoing discussions with the dean of his faculty. Prof. Malche acted in this context as a referee in favor of Hirsch, resulting in a statement that if the University had to be reformed, then colleagues from abroad were expected to introduce new teaching methods. Our interviews show that the students were highly impressed with the new methods used by the German professors, especially when compared with existing teaching styles. As a young law student in Ankara, YK claims that after he had started the first class of Prof. Hirsch he went to his father saying: “Father, I was complaining about my professors but Hirsch is different – finally I’ve found my professor.”¹⁰⁶ For IA, Hirsch was a real professor, embodying the qualities of a good scientist and a good teacher.¹⁰⁷ According to MIC, who studied Sumerology at the DTCE, the small number of students in the class meant that lectures were interactive, and students were working under the close guidance of professors who combined theory and practice.¹⁰⁸ BB was fascinated by his professor Arndt’s teaching method:

“Prof. Arndt came to the class, put his class notes on the table, wrote the formulas on the board and then made the experiments in front of us. He had a very good way of teaching; unfortunately today this has changed totally.”¹⁰⁹

NÖ also thought the German professors had a very good system, in that instead of instructing they were guiding the students. They educated students not only in their field of research, but also in other fields such as librarianship.¹¹⁰ The limited number of students admitted to the departments meant that they were also encouraged to take classes in other disciplines.¹¹¹ Thus, the general impression of our interviewees was that the *émigré* professors had a very effective and disciplined way of teaching, and they were good pedagogues, which differed noticeably from what the students were used to from their Turkish professors.

Although some of the *émigré* professors adapted to Turkish society, learned the language, stayed on and continued to make a contribution into the 1950s, most of them left, or in some cases had to leave, for America or other countries in Europe in the 1940s once their contracts were suspended and other opportunities opened.¹¹² However these professors did not break off their contacts with the students to whom they had been close. At least, our interviewees maintained close relationships with their professors, which they all likened to the relationship between father and son or daughter. These relations continued even after the academics had left Turkey, and mostly lasted up to their death.¹¹³ Melchior wrote a reference letter for KI even though he had returned to Europe. In MIC’s case, she published books with Güterbock. NÖ was invited to America twice by Güterbock, who also sent her copies of

his works. IA and YK both visited Hirsch in Germany privately. Moreover, HI fondly mentioned visiting Landsberger in Chicago as late as 1972, and being welcomed personally and very cordially by him at the door of his office despite the passing of many years.¹¹⁴

Although the émigré professors contributed a lot to the development of higher education in Turkey, they did not become part of the Turkish cultural scene. Rather, the German academic community kept very much together despite their different backgrounds. According to BB, this was because Turkey was a “cultural desert” for the émigrés. BB suggested that for these professors Turkey at that time was probably like what Tanzania is for us today.¹¹⁵ Although Istanbul provided better opportunities than Ankara, it was still quite limited for the émigrés. There were no concerts, theaters or other social activities of the sort they could find in Europe. This, for BB, was one of the main reasons why most émigré professors left Turkey. He suggested that since they came from a rich cultural environment, it was quite understandable that they would have had difficulties in integrating themselves into Turkish society and preferred to leave for other places as soon as the opportunity arose.

Our interviewees had some interesting views as to why those professors with whom they had the closest connections ultimately left the country. These ranged from BB’s comparison of Turkey with Tanzania, to YK’s view that in Turkey Hirsch could only write books, whereas in Germany a post was offered to him as rector at the *Freie Universität Berlin*. Given that things had changed for the better in the newly-established Federal Republic of Germany, Hirsch decided to play an active part in his country of origin again. Still, according to YK, in his heart, he remained a Turkish citizen to the end of his life, and maintained his links with his former students back in Anatolia.¹¹⁶ However the predominant idea is that the serious conflicts that the émigré professors experienced at various times might have led to their departure. These conflicts can be divided into three categories: conflicts with Turkish academics, conflicts with the pro-Nazi German professors, and conflicts with the Turkish government.

As for the first category of conflict, when the antiquated *Darülfünun*, based on the French école, was reshaped, the majority of the Turkish academics – among them some very capable and renowned scholars¹¹⁷ – lost their positions. This may have been the cause of various intrigues and hostilities against the newly arriving German and Austrian professors and the personal assistants¹¹⁸ they brought with them. In his memoirs, Hirsch remarked that life for the exiled professors would have been much easier if they had been told about the sensitive situation surrounding the modernization of *Darülfünun*.¹¹⁹ There were continual critical remarks about the refugees, they were criticized for getting higher wages than the local academics, for not speaking Turkish during their lectures, for not publishing enough articles

and books, and so forth.¹²⁰ Moreover, the Turkish assistants who were helping the émigrés with translation and other services, would themselves probably have been appointed to the professorships that had been taken by the refugees. They therefore had little love for the professors and, according to American embassy accounts, even sabotaged their lectures.¹²¹ Nevertheless, our interviewees think that a drastic change in the university landscape of *Darülfünun* was urgently needed, since the Turkish academics were not efficient enough and did not have sufficient publications and knowledge of foreign languages.¹²² As our interviewees saw it, German professors laid the foundation of the modern education. Even though they were aware that the different procedures applied to German and Turkish academics sometimes created enmity or jealousy in academia, they never sensed any open conflict or rivalry between the émigré professors and Turkish academics. For them, the émigré professors were always very much respected both by their Turkish students and by their Turkish colleagues.

On the other hand, even though the professors in various departments of Ankara University had left Germany for various different reasons and represented the diversity of the German community in Turkey (Jews, socialists, Nazis, conformists, members of the *Kreisauer Kreis*),¹²³ so far as their students could see, there was no open conflict among them.¹²⁴ However as our interviewees were not politically conscious at those times, their impressions may not be reliable on this question.

As for the conflicts between the émigrés and the Turkish government, only one of our interviewees could provide any information. According to him, some academicians at DTCF thought Atatürk's history thesis was too exaggerated. HI noted that the linguistic attempt to establish connections between Turkish and ancient languages was part of the Turkish historical theory, and he suggested that the serious philologists knew this theory was not scientific. However as they held Atatürk in high esteem, they did not oppose it overtly and in the presence of Atatürk they appeared to support it, though none of them really believed it or took it seriously. Such situations certainly created uneasiness among the émigré professors, who might have felt that this encroached upon academic freedom.

The changing political relationship between Germany and Turkey also put the émigré professors in a delicate position. The increasing nationalism of the 1940s was also reflected in the university atmosphere. There was a reaction against Pan-Turkism among leftist intellectuals. This led to factions in the universities, especially in DTCF. The focus of such political conflicts was mostly the Institute of Philosophy, established in 1939. The institute chair Professor Olivier Lacombe had warned the faculty deanery as early as 1942 that the dispute between leftist and rightist assistant professors was taking on a political character, disturbing academic studies.¹²⁵ In 1948 some academics were stigmatized as communists and dismissed from the

university. In the DTCE, Behice Boran, Niyazi Berkes and N. P. Boratav fell victim to this purge.¹²⁶ In one of the interviews Boratav explained this process saying that:

“In those times there were protests against us in the faculty, calling for our deportation. This was also the time when faculty assembly decided against us. One of those days I came across Landsberger, he was also a member of the faculty assembly. I told him, in complaint, that ‘Professor what has happened to us recently may also happen to you one day.’ And he responded, ‘What shall we do? There were strong charges against you.’ Nevertheless, together with us, 25 émigré professors including Landsberger and Güterbock were also deported.”¹²⁷

This atmosphere of chaos and tension disturbed the émigré professors. While some of them were deliberately removed from their posts by the authorities, others became uneasy about the situation and looked for opportunities to leave. After the end of the war, America had become the destination for those who did not intend to go back to their home countries, and this coincided with the worsening atmosphere in Turkey during the late 1940s. Talking specifically about DTCE, İlber Ortaylı commented on this change as follows:

“A generation was educated there. But something terrible also happened. The war ended, the Cold War started, and with it, the tale of communism [...]. Sad to say that the first order of business was jealousy in this environment. The émigrés were expelled. The people who founded the faculty were hassled.”¹²⁸

Indeed in 1948, the tenure of eight professors at DTCE was terminated. The newspaper *Ulus* explained the reason on July 17, 1948, by declaring that the initiative to “cut down on the expenses of foreign professors” was motivated by the need to “enlarge the budget of the students.”¹²⁹ Frank Tachau noted that this move was “paradoxical” as it happened at a time when Turkey was making the transition from one-party rule to democracy.¹³⁰ Looking at this development in the context of the minister of education Hasan Ali Yücel’s resignation in 1946 and the dismantling of the Village Institutes he initiated, Tachau commented that “the leaders of Turkey’s new opposition party thus exploited fears of communism for partisan political purposes at about the same time as some prominent American politicians were introducing the tactic in the United States.”¹³¹

6. Conclusion – Answers to Open Questions and Future Desiderata

One of the most central and surprising findings we gained from our in-depth interviews was our discovery of the very open reception given to the German école and

the way Turkey provided an open field for the émigré scholars. This means that we need to reassess the mainstream assumption in the current scholarship that Turkey was the least best option, especially when compared to the United States. Many academics found a very fertile field in the newly modernizing Turkey of that time. We found that social scientists in particular were among those who benefited greatly from this field. For many scholars in DTCF, Turkey provided fresh, dynamic and ever changing material, which allowed many of them to produce world-renowned scholarly works. It was a place that they could literally build and construct. In this respect, a comparative and transnational analysis of the place that émigré scholars occupied in higher education, taking account of the differences between such disciplines as positive sciences and social sciences, would offer original insights into the existing literature.

Additionally, we have been able to reconstruct the habitat in which the émigré scholars and their students interacted with each other, based on our inquiry into the collective memory of that particular generation of students, who went on to become prominent in the academic and socio-political life of Turkey. The most interesting challenge in this process was the fact that our study at times felt like a reconstruction of the already constructed memories of our interviewees. We have juxtaposed their memories alongside the traditional historical narratives available and the memoirs of the émigré professors themselves. However, those very memories were also noticeably constructed by the interviewees, both through their discourse within the specific group that formed the special generation to which they belonged, and through their own personal commemoration of the times. Moreover, there were certain clichés they all commonly employed in their interaction with us as interviewees. Thus the particular issue of this memory-construction process might be a valuable field of further inquiry, that could contribute to the literature on the academic thrust of the Turkish Republic in the 1940s, as well as to inquiries into how Turkish history has been contextualized at present, and to comparative studies on the reception of émigré scholars by their host countries.

Throughout this investigation into the collective memory of this particular group of students, a key point that arose was the particular way in which the identities of the émigré scholars were constructed. Our analysis of these interviews clearly shows that the émigré scholars were perceived as an indispensable part of a German *Hochkultur*, from which the interviewees feel they are still deriving benefit. Another important point, relating to the celebration of this high culture, is the overarching tendency of this particular generation to romanticize a long gone age. Indeed, their access to this high culture was made possible by the modernizing project of Atatürk. In this context, the émigré scholars are commemorated in the very same process that the Atatürk epoch is commemorated.

Another discovery was that very few of the memoirs written, which offer great insight into the era, have so far been published. There are many unpublished and ignored memoirs to be utilized, published and worked upon. Looking more generally at the question of source material, we can see that, in order to get a broader comparative and transnational approach, it will be necessary to utilize international archival sources. Most of the studies on émigré scholars in Turkey have been based on mostly German, rarely American, source material. As we mentioned above, Turkey had become a neutral buffer state, which made Ankara a most important diplomatic post for the enemy blocs. There may well be valuable archival material in such countries as Great Britain or Switzerland. This would provide more comprehensive data on the perception, habitat, and living and working conditions of émigré scholars.

Notes

- 1 Franz Werfel, *Der veruntreute Himmel. Die Geschichte einer Magd*, Gütersloh 1959, 10.
- 2 For example, looking only at Turkish literature and what is available in Turkish translation on the subject, we have: Ali Arslan, *Darülfunun'dan Üniversite'ye* [From Darulfunun to University], Istanbul 1995; Philipp Schwartz, *Kader Birliği. 1933 Sonrası Türkiye'ye Göç eden Alman Bilim Adamları* [Notgemeinschaft. Zur Emigration deutscher Wissenschaftler nach 1933 in die Türkei], trans. Nagehen Alçı, Istanbul 2003; Ernst Hirsch, *Dünya Üniversiteleri ve Türkiye'de Üniversitelerin Gelişmesi* [World Universities and the Development of Universities in Turkey], 2 vols., Istanbul 1950; Ernst Hirsch, *Anılarım: Kayzer Dönemi, Weimar Cumhuriyeti, Atatürk Ülkesi*, [Aus des Kaisers Zeiten durch die Weimarer Republik in das Land Atatürks. Eine unzeitgemäße Autobiographie], trans. Fatma Suphi, Ankara 1997; Fritz Neumark, *Boğaziçine Sığınanlar. Türkiye'ye İltica Eden Alman İlim Siyaset ve Sanat Adamları 1933–1953* [Zuflucht am Bosphorus. Deutsche Gelehrte, Politiker und Künstler in der Emigration 1933–1953], trans. Şefik Alp Bahadır, Istanbul 1982; Aykut Kazancıgil et al., *Türkiye'nin Yabancıları* [Foreigners of Turkey], in: *Cogito* 23 (Summer 2000), 119–132; Horst Widmann, *Atatürk ve Üniversite Reformu. Almanca Konuşulan Ülkelerden 1933 Yılından Sonra Türkiye'ye Gelen Öğretim Üyeleri* [Exil und Bildungshilfe. Die deutschsprachige akademische Emigration in die Türkei nach 1933], trans. Aykut Kazancıgil, Istanbul 1999.
- 3 The total number of émigrés to Turkey remains unclear, as the figures cited vary in the existing literature. For example Widmann, *Exil* (Turkish version), 211–212; 269, speaks of around 103 émigré professors in Istanbul and around 41 in Ankara between 1933 and 1945. Tachau points out that out of 144 émigrés, nearly 75% arrived before 1937, half of those in 1933; half of the sample of 80 remained in Turkey 10 years or less, about 30% remained more than 16 years, nearly 25% retired and/or died in Turkey. See Frank Tachau, *German Jewish Emigrés in Turkey*, in: Levy Avigdor, ed., *Jews, Turks, Ottomans: A Shared History. Fifteenth Century through Twentieth Century*, New York 2002, 239. Whereas Widmann and Tachau agree on the number of émigrés, Regine Erichson gives the number of around 300 academics and experts. They were accompanied by their assistants and families so that the total number of émigrés would be around 1000. See Regine Erichsen, *Das türkische Exil als Geschichte von Frauen und ihr Beitrag zum Wissenschaftstransfer in die Türkei von 1933 bis 1945*, in: *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 28 (2005), 337–353, here: 339.
- 4 Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis Coser, Chicago 1992, 34.
- 5 Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*, München 1999, 29.
- 6 There are also problems with these memoirs as primary sources, in that they were mainly written authored in retrospect many years after the émigrés had left Turkey. Fritz Neumark claims in the introductory part of his book that he wrote down his memories because many colleagues urged him

- to do so and also as a response to Horst Widmann's publication on the subject matter, which he criticizes on the grounds that Widmann was not part of the exiled community and thus had to rely on archival documents and interviews. See Fritz Neumark, *Zuflucht am Bosphorus. Deutsche Gelehrte, Politiker und Künstler in der Emigration. 1933–1953*, Frankfurt am Main 1980, 7–8.
- 7 Halbwachs, *Collective Memory*, 24.
 - 8 Most of our interviewees referred to the period as a long-gone age that they miss, mostly with a presentist approach. Their idealized sentiments varied from celebration of the progressive spirit of the times, claims that there was no anti-Semitism, to an assumption that émigré academicians were officials of the Turkish government or a tendency to designate the period as a “mythical age”.
 - 9 Arslan, *Darülfünun*, 29.
 - 10 Philipp Schwartz, *Notgemeinschaft. Zur Emigration deutscher Wissenschaftler nach 1993 in die Türkei*, herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Helge Peukert, Marburg 1995, 13.
 - 11 Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, *Kemal Atatürk Döneminde Türk-Alman İlişkileri [Turkish-German Relations in the Era of Atatürk]*, Ankara 1981. [Eşsiz bir işi başardığımız zaman müstesna bir gün yaşıyoruz. Bundan 500 yıl kadar önce biz İstanbul'u aldığımız zaman Bizanslı bilim adamları İstanbul'dan ayrılmaya karar verdiler. Onları tutmak mümkün değildi, çoğu İtalya'ya gittiler ve Rönesans'ı yarattılar. Biz bugün Avrupa'dan bunun karşılığını almaya karar verdik. Milletimizin daha bilgili olmasını ve yenilikleri öğrenmesini istiyoruz. Bilgilerinizi ve metodlarınızı bize getirin, gençlerimiz ilerlemenin yolunu öğretin. Sizlere şükranlarımızı ve takdirlerimizi bildiriyoruz].
 - 12 Vakur Versan, *The Kemalist Reform of Turkish Law and its Impact*, in: Jacob Landau, ed., *Atatürk and the Modernization of Turkey*, Colorado 1984, 250.
 - 13 Cemil Koçak, *Türk-Alman İlişkileri [Turkish-German Relations] (1923–1939)*, Ankara 1991; Yavuz Özgüldür, *Türk-Alman İlişkileri [Turkish-German Relations (1923–1945)]*, Ankara 1993; Kemal Turan, *Türk-Alman Eğitim İlişkilerinin Tarihi Gelişimi [Historical Developments of Turkish-German Educational Relations]*, İstanbul 2000.
 - 14 Interview with KI, 17.04.09.
 - 15 Tachau, *Emigrés*, 238.
 - 16 See Anne Dietrich, *Deutschsein in Istanbul. Nationalisierung und Orientierung in der deutschsprachigen Community von 1843 bis 1956*, Opladen 1998, 306. Obviously, a more infamous, openly declared and historically long-standing anti-Semitism in the United States, both as state policy and as a widespread nativist sentiment in the majority society, prevented émigré scholars from entering the country safely and easily during the 1930s till the very end of the war (a new provision had been added to *The Immigration Restriction Act of 1924* with the deepening depression). Moreover, from 1938 onwards President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had other priorities to consider, such as trying to bend the isolationist and nativist public sentiment into moving America to the side of the allies. See Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, Boston/New York 1999, 49–52.
 - 17 See Corry Guttstadt, *Die Türkei, die Juden und der Holocaust*, Berlin/Hamburg 2008, 222.
 - 18 Grothusen, *Atatürk*, 13.
 - 19 Michael Marrus, *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century*, New York 1985, 269.
 - 20 Arnold Reisman, *Turkey's Modernization: Refugees from Nazism and Atatürk's Vision*, Washington 2006, 2.
 - 21 Neumark, *Zuflucht*, 8.
 - 22 Lothar Kreckler, *Deutschland und die Türkei im zweiten Weltkrieg*, Frankfurt am Main 1964, 13–15.
 - 23 Tevfik Çavdar, *Türkiye'nin Demokrasi Tarihi 1839–1950 [Turkey's History of Democracy 1839–1950]*, Ankara 1995, 409–410. Thus it is not surprising that Turkey at this time was searching for a political identity, and this resulted in a strange interplay of ideologies. This search swayed between right and left and eventually resulted in the suppression of both, binding them to populism's vicious cycle, bringing them together as a silenced opposition without any significant influence till the Cold War years.
 - 24 Johannes Glasneck, *Methoden der deutsch-faschistischen Propagandatätigkeit in der Türkei vor und während des zweiten Weltkrieges*, Halle 1966, 7. An eyewitness of that time, the Austrian ambassador in Ankara Norbert Bischoff, provides us with a valuable insight to the controversial perception of German-Turkish *Waffenbrüderschaft* amongst the Turks: „[...] Auch die Erinnerungen an den gemeinsam geführten und verlorenen Weltkrieg schlagen keine Brücken der Sympathie zu dem neu erwachten und militärischen ‚Jungdeutschland‘. Der Weltkrieg war hier nie populär. Man wusste

- nicht recht, wofür man kämpfte, aber man wusste bald, dass man an der Seite des künftigen Verlierers kämpfte.“ See Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖSTA)/Archiv der Republik (AdR)/Neues Politisches Archiv (NPA) 30, 14/Pol., 02.04.1933, Bischoff to Dollfuss.
- 25 Krecker, Deutschland, 23.
 - 26 Ibid., 27–28.
 - 27 Karl Heinz Roth, Berlin – Ankara – Baghdad. Franz von Papen and German Near East Policy during the Second World War, in: Wolfgang G. Schwantz, ed., *Germany and the Middle East. 1871–1945*, Princeton 2004, 181–182, 188.
 - 28 Ibid., 183. One of our interviewees confirms the importance of Franz von Papen, interview with HI, 11.06.09.
 - 29 Ekkehard Ellinger, *Deutsche Orientalistik zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus, 1933–1945*, Edingen/Neckarhausen 2006, 187. The Nazi institution responsible for cultural policy abroad was primarily the Foreign Office under Joachim von Ribbentrop which was guided by the Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda under Joseph Goebbels, as well as the Foreign Organization of the NSDAP, established in 1931, which co-ordinated members living abroad, and the APA under Alfred Rosenberg. See Ellinger, *Orientalistik*, 188; David Welch, *The Third Reich. Politics and Propaganda*, London/New York 2007, 28–32.
 - 30 Klaus Kreiser, „Im Dienste ist der Fez zu tragen!“. Türkische Vorlesungen deutscher Professoren am Istanbuler Darülfünûn, in: Christopher Kubaseck/Günter Seufert, eds., *Deutsche Wissenschaftler im türkischen Exil. Die Wissenschaftsmigration in die Türkei 1933–1945*, Würzburg 2008, 22, 26, 34. Only one of these professors, Fritz Arndt, came to Turkey again as a refugee in the 1930s.
 - 31 Ellinger, *Orientalistik*, 206. These attempts are evident in Herbert Scurla’s report. He visited Turkey in 1939 on a special mission and gave a detailed account of the status-quo regarding universities in Ankara and Istanbul. See Faruk Şen/Dirk Halm, eds., *Exil unter Halbmond und Stern. Herbert Scurlas Bericht über die Tätigkeit deutscher Hochschullehrer in der Türkei während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*, Essen 2007.
 - 32 In this context it is interesting to note that the Austrians were perceived as Germans.
 - 33 Ellinger, *Orientalistik*, 213.
 - 34 The institute was established following a German model, most of the personnel were directly sent from Germany to Turkey on the grounds of a bilateral agreement, the professors were exempted from their university positions in their home country. See Regine Erichsen, *Emigranten und offiziell aus Deutschland entsandte Fachleute im Bibliothekswesen: Ein Beispiel für Bedingungen und Wirkungen der Wissenschaftsemigration*, in: Christopher Kubaseck/Günter Seufert, eds., *Deutsche Wissenschaftler im türkischen Exil. Die Wissenschaftsmigration in die Türkei 1933–1945*, Würzburg 2008, 88.
 - 35 Interview with HI, 11.06.09.
 - 36 Frank-Rutger Hausmann, *The „Third Front“: German Cultural Policy in Occupied Europe. 1940–1945*, in: Ingo Haar/Michael Fahlbusch, eds., *German Scholars and Ethnic Cleansing. 1919–1945*, New York/Oxford 2006, 217.
 - 37 Ellinger, *Orientalistik*, 211.
 - 38 Interview with HI, 11.06.09.
 - 39 Interview with HI, 11.06.09.
 - 40 Ellinger, *Orientalistik*, 208. This attitude of the Turkish government is also reflected in the above mentioned report of Herbert Scurla as well as the attempts of the Third Reich officials who tried to place “their men” at available vacancies in Turkey and their attempts to hinder refugee academicians from accepting available chairs.
 - 41 ÖSTA AdR/NPA 778, *Türkei II/1 Beziehungen zu Deutschland*, 72/pol.-1936, 07.08.1939, Bischoff to state secretary Dr. Guido Schmidt. Although German embassy personnel had good contacts with the German exiled professors and used them for their cultural policy, this changed abruptly after 1935. See Dietrich, *Deutschsein*, 208.
 - 42 It is a well known fact that Jews in that era mostly had been assimilated into the German community, thus they became invisible. Welch points out that less than 20 % of the Jews were still living in the Jewish garbs in 1933. In Germany, the Jews counted less than 1% of the total population. Welch also gives numbers of Jews within certain professional groups: 17% of the lawyers, 17% of all bankers, as well as almost 11% of the doctors. See Welch, *Third Reich*, 92.
 - 43 Interview with IA, 02.10.09.

- 44 Interview with YK, 25.11.09. The information gathered from these two close assistants of Hirsch may best be accompanied with Hirsch's own words and the mission he thought he also had to fulfill while in Turkey:
 „30.3.1944 Gestern abend hatte ich in meinem Arbeitszimmer eine Anzahl von Internatsstudenten zu Besuch, mit denen ich eine wichtige Frage diskutierte. Ich hatte ihnen klargemacht, daß der Mensch nicht vom Brot allein lebe, sondern daß er neben seinem leiblichen Wohlergehen auch an seinen geistigen Fortschritt denken müsse. Das täten sie doch, meinten sie, sie seien doch fleißige Studenten. Dies sei für den künftigen Beruf, entgegnete ich. Aber neben dem juristischen gebe es noch eine Menge kultureller Bereiche, die damit nicht ausgefüllt seien, daß man einmal wöchentlich ins Kino gehe. Ob sie denn nicht das Bedürfnis hätten, Bücher zu lesen und sich auch auf nichtjuristischem Gebiet weiterzubilden. Dies Bedürfnis hätten sie schon, aber sie hätten kein Geld, sich teure Bücher zu kaufen; und in der Fakultätsbibliothek seien doch nur Fachbücher.“ See Ernst Hirsch, *Aus des Kaisers Zeiten durch die Weimarer Republik in das Land Atatürks*, München 1982, 297.
- 45 Adolf Leschnitzer, *The Magic Background of Modern Anti-Semitism. An Analysis of the German-Jewish Relationship*, New York 1956, 151.
- 46 *Ibid.*, 165. This was much the case with the Jewish minority in Turkey during the 1930s. Some policies of the new republican government, caused the same sort of shock the German Jews went through in Germany, although an institutionalized, state sponsored and specifically anti-Semitic policy never came about. As Rifat Bali reports, the first shock was the minor disturbance in 1927, due to the killing of a young girl named Elza Niego and the prosecution of 10 Jews during the mass demonstrations that followed. Then, in 1934, the Thrace events caused bewilderment among the Jewish population. These events as, Bali argues, “did not fit the Jewish community's conception of what the Turks, at their worst, would do to them.” They were an attempt to move the Jewish population who held dominant positions in the economy of the cities of Thrace – a quasi-pogrom so to speak. See Rifat Bali, *The 1934 Thrace events. Continuity and change within Turkish state policies regarding non-Muslim minorities*. Interview with Rifat Bali, in: *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, Thematic Issue N° 7, No. 7, *Demographic Engineering – part I*, <http://www.ejts.org/document2903.html> (20.01.2010).
- 47 See Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance. The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible Moralisée*, California 1999.
- 48 İzel Rozentel, *Karikatürün 20.Yüzyıldaki Rolü [Cartoon's Role in the 20th Century]*, <http://www.nd-karikaturvakfi.org.tr/yiruzkar.htm> (12.12.09).
- 49 *Ibid.*
- 50 These stereotypes were reinforced by the deteriorating economic conditions in the 1940s, as witnessed by one of our interviewees HI – economic conditions in the 1940s were so poor in Ankara that wages were extremely low and basic foodstuffs were rationed. Interview with HI, 11.06.09.
- 51 The Wealth Tax of 1942 was both a wartime and an economic measure. In the event, it proved to be a disaster and was therefore repealed in 1944. There were no consistent tax rates and the collection of the tax was the responsibility of the local authorities. This resulted in the victimization of non-Muslim minorities. They were not even allowed to pay in instalments and were forced to sell their businesses and property to Muslim businessmen. Some who were quite unable to pay the amount demanded were displaced and forced to work in camps. See Eric Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi [Turkey: A Modern History]*, trans. Yasemin Saner Gönen, İstanbul 1995, 290.
- 52 Interview with YK, 25.11.09.
- 53 Interview with IA, 02.10.09.
- 54 See note 42.
- 55 Interview with KI, 17.04.09.
- 56 Interview with KI, 17.04.09.
- 57 Lizi Behmoaras, *Türkiye'de Aydınların Gözüyle Yahudiler [Jews in the Eyes of Turkish Intellectuals]*, İstanbul 1993, 243. The earliest and most obvious voice in this respect, was that of Yunus Nadi in 1937 in *Cumhuriyet*. In a written exchange with Ahmet Emin Yalman of the left leaning newspaper *Tan*, Nadi accused Yalman of having communist sympathies just because he mentioned the existence of a network of Nazi propaganda penetrating Turkey. Discussing this polemic, Rifat Bali quotes Nadi's strong objection to the placement of “foreign professors” in universities, his call to terminate their contracts immediately, and his remark that Turkey “was too hasty in collecting the scientists that Nazi Germany's anti-Semitic move kicked out, in a wholesale manner as if they were opportune

catchpennies.” See Rifat Bali, Devlet’in Yahudileri ve “Öteki” Yahudi [The Jews of the State and the “other” Jew], Istanbul 2004, 278–283.

- 58 Interview with KI, 17.04.09.
- 59 Jacob M. Landau, Muslim Turkish Attitudes towards Jews, Zionism and Israel, in: Die Welt des Islams, New Series, Bd. 28, Nr. 1/4 (1988), 291–300, 294. Hüseyin Nihal Atsız, who was the most vocal advocate of Turkism during the early 1930s and later during the trials of 1944, explained his views on the need to preserve the purity of the Turkish race as follows: “In order to be purely Turkish, one should surely be a Turk at least for the past three generations. It is not me saying this, it is what science tell us. This scientific principle is now applied by the Germans on Jews and by the Americans on blacks. This is how they designate the people having Jewish and black blood traced back three generations and how they exclude them from their nations.” See Orhangazi Ertekin, Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkçülüğün Çatallanan Yolları [The Diverging Roads of Turkism in the Republican Period], in: Tamlı Bora and Murat Gültekin, eds., Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce [Political Thought in Modern Turkey], Vol. 4, Milliyetçilik [Nationalism], Istanbul 2001, 379.
- 60 Guttstadt, Türki, 86. In her monograph, Guttstadt mentions the influence of Hamdullah Suphi [Tanriöver], the previous chairman of the Türk Ocakları, who became Minister of Education in 1925.
- 61 Now being taught as Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi.
- 62 Hirsch, Kaiser, 278.
- 63 Zürcher, Turkey, 298.
- 64 Kemal Karpat, Türk Demokrasi Tarihi [History of Turkish Democracy], Istanbul 1996, 219–221; Roth, Berlin, 197–202.
- 65 Rifat N. Bali, Musa’nın Evlatları. Cumhuriyet’in Yurttaşları [The Children of Moses. The Citizens of the Republic], Istanbul 2001, 322–340. Though the impact of these works would be felt more in the following decades, with the rise of Islamic sentiments previously suppressed under single-party rule, their first appearance in the war years were mainly because of Nazi influence.
- 66 Rudolf Nissen, Helle Blätter – dunkle Blätter. Erinnerungen eines Chirurgen, Stuttgart 1969, 189–191.
- 67 Ibid., 191.
- 68 Interview with YK, 25.11.09.
- 69 Anthony Heilbut, Exiled in Paradise. German Refugee Artists and Intellectuals in America from the 1930s to the Present, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1997, 73. Heilbut also notes that the émigrés who hadn’t completed their degrees in Europe would be prevented from doing so in America, both because of the language barrier and because of a lack of funds. Indeed, his reference to historian Tony Oelsner’s remark is self-evident: “I often ran around like a peddler [in pursuit of employment] but in most people’s eyes, I was just a person with no Ph.D.” He also notes the ways in which these scholars were to display their “marketable skills” in America. Some examples to this are Helmuth Nathan – a professor of medicine and a professional painter; the Austrian novelist Robert Musil who was also an engineer and a philosopher; Hans Winterkohn, a professor of soil engineering who translated French symbolist poets.
- 70 Reisman, Modernization, 119.
- 71 Another wave of migration from Turkey to the United States took place after the beginning of World War Two when the émigrés feared that Germans would invade the country. See Dietrich, Deutschein, 308.
- 72 Neumark, Zuflucht (Turkish version), 126.
- 73 Interview with HI, 11.06.09 [Alman profesörlere de Tarih Kurumu yoluyla şey verildi, tahsisat verildi, para verildi bu arkeoloji şeylerini yapmak için. Arkeoloji bir numaralı gözde bir ilimdi Türkiye’de o zaman, anlatabiliyor muyum? Ve bunda tabii o Alman geleneği, Almanya’da okuyanlar ve buradaki Alman profesörler, Bittten’in çok büyük şeyi oldu – rolü oldu. Ve arkeoloji Türkiye’de [...] en önemli bir ilim halini aldı. Tabii bunun neticesinde Hitlerler üzerinde büyük keşifler yapıldı biliyorsunuz. Ankara’da müze kuruldu, efendim].
- 74 Interview with BB, 03.09.09.
- 75 After their dismissal from DTCF, Prof. Landsberger and Güterbock were offered positions at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and they continued their scholarly work in this institute.
- 76 Neumark, Zuflucht (Turkish version), 151.
- 77 Heilbut, Paradise, 70–74.
- 78 The discipline of philosophy is an exceptional case in this respect. For example, Hans Reichenbach who arrived in Turkey in 1933, left for the U.S. in 1938. In a letter to Albert Einstein who was already

in America, he was complaining how he was the only philosopher in Istanbul and felt “out of place”. He wrote that “the organization of the university is such that the natural sciences are quite cut off from philosophy. My chair is part of the Faculty of Letters; my students are exclusively students of the literature department without any background in mathematics or physics... That I am not in the least able to bring to the fore my own philosophical ideas that I championed for such a long time in Germany pains me greatly...” See Reisman, *Modernization*, 318–319. Erichsen points out that if there were no existing scientific infrastructure, the scholars would soon leave Turkey for another destination providing it. See Erichsen, *Emigranten*, 101.

- 79 Heilbut, *Paradise*, 70–74.
- 80 America would have been a safer place in terms of geography, but as Reisman acknowledged, “some of the elite East Coast universities outright discriminated, turned a blind eye, or worse played footsies with German universities that had already been Nazified...[and already before 1933] American Ivy League schools had each kept their faculty *Judenfrei*.” See Reisman, *Modernization*, 312. Moreover, as Marcia Graham Synnott pointed out, in America “academic anti-Semitism had a reciprocal relationship [...] with discrimination in employment. Few manufacturing companies, corporate law firms, private hospitals, or such governmental bureaucracies as the State Department welcomed Jews as businessmen, lawyers, doctors, or career diplomats [...]. This pattern of exclusion did not change significantly until after World War II.” See Marcia Graham Synnott, *Anti-Semitism and American Universities: Did Quotas Follow the Jews?*, in: David A. Gerber, ed., *Anti-Semitism in American History*, Urbana/Chicago 1986, 234.
- 81 Claus-Dieter Krohn, *Intellectuals in Exile. Refugee Scholars and the New School for Social Research*, trans. Rita and Robert Kimber, USA, 1993, 16–17. Krohn points out another factor that made America initially undesirable, which was “the negative fascination that had always been part of the attitude the German educated class held toward America” – an assumption which would change later with the newly elected president Franklin D. Roosevelt and the optimism created by the success of his New Deal.
- 82 Heilbut, *Paradise*, 76–78.
- 83 Esra Özyürek, Introduction, in: Esra Özyürek, ed., *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*, New York 2007, 13.
- 84 Interview with Afet İnan by F. P. Latimer: Columbia University Oral History Research Office Turkish project. New York. [Fransızca kitapları okuduğum zaman Türk Tarihi hakkında iyi şeyler yazılmadığını görüyordum. Barbar Türkler [deniyordu], medeniyet bakımından bizim bir şeyler yapamadığımız konuşuluyordu. Atatürk'e mütemediyen bunlardan bahsettim. Bu yüzden tarih çalışmaya başladım ve Atatürk'le beraber uzun zaman bu Türk Tarihi üzerinde çalıştık. Bu Türk Tarih Kurumu'nun kurulmasına sebebiyet verdi; DTCF kuruldu].
- 85 Interview with HI, 11.06.09. [Onlar Tarih Kurumu'na üye oldular ve Alman arkeoloji ilmini ve geleneğini Türk Tarih Kurumu'na getirdiler. Bu da ayrı bir şey, Almanya'nın tesiri. Ben de üye idim o zaman, 1947'den beri üye idim ona].
- 86 Interview with HI, 11.06.09.
- 87 Also in this context, struggles for dominance were to be seen. See Jean-François Pérouse, *Die Konkurrenz deutscher und französischer Wissenschaftsschulen in der frührepublikanischen Türkei am Beispiel der Planung Ankaras*, in: Christopher Kubaseck/Günter Seufert, eds., *Deutsche Wissenschaftler im türkischen Exil. Die Wissenschaftsmigration in die Türkei 1933–1945*, Würzburg 2008, 117–134.
- 88 Interview with NÖ, 23.09.09. Interview with MIC, 20.11.09, Interview with HI, 11.06.09.
- 89 Interview with HI, 11.06.09.
- 90 Interview with HI, 11.06.09.
- 91 Hirsch, *Kaiser*, 286.
- 92 *Ibid.* 291.
- 93 Schwartz, *Notgemeinschaft*, 23.
- 94 Kreiser, *Dienst*, 26.
- 95 Exiled academics in other (host) countries also had to teach in the language of the respective country.
- 96 Interview with HI, 11.06.09.
- 97 Interview with NÖ, 23.09.09.
- 98 Nissen, *Blätter*, 201.
- 99 Interview with IA, 02.10.09.

- 100 Interview with KI, 17.04.09.
- 101 Interviews with BB, 03.09.09 and KI 17.04.09.
- 102 Interviews with BB, 03.09.09 and KI 17.04.09; also see Widmann, Exil (Turkish version), 286.
- 103 Interview with NÖ, 23.09.09.
- 104 Interviews with YK 25.11.09, IA 02.10.09 and NÖ 23.09.09.
- 105 Hirsch, Kaiser, 228–229.
- 106 Interview with YK, 25.11.09. [Aradan zaman geçti Hirsch'in ilk dersine girdim ve sonra babamın yanına gittim dedim ki bak baba dedim ben böyle diyordum ama şimdi ben hocamı buldum bu hoca başka hoca].
- 107 Interview with IA, 02.10.09.
- 108 Interview with MIC, 20.11.09.
- 109 Interview with BB, 03.09.09.
- 110 Interview with NÖ, 23.10.09.
- 111 Interviews with MIC, 20.11.09 and NÖ 23.09.09.
- 112 Reisman, Modernization, 3.
- 113 Interview with MIC, 20.11.09.
- 114 Interview with HI, 11.06.09.
- 115 Interview with BB, 03.09.09.
- 116 It is a sad fact that the death of these distinguished German professors remained unnoticed in their home country, whereas in Turkey, their *fahri ülke*, they were celebrated and still are honored by their assistants and generations of Turkish scholars like a myth or legend.
- 117 For the names of these scholars who had received their education at various European universities, mostly in France, see Günter Seufert, Kritische Einschätzung der Wissenschaftsmigration durch die türkische Zeitgeschichtsschreibung: Bahnbrechende Aufsätze Mete Tunçays und Haldun Özens, in: Christopher Kubaseck/Günter Seufert, eds., Deutsche Wissenschaftler im türkischen Exil. Die Wissenschaftsmigration in die Türkei 1933–1945, Würzburg 2008, 157–175, here: 170–175.
- 118 Most of the assistants remained in Turkey for just two or three years, and then migrated to the US when they found a university that would give them the chance of a scientific career. See Erichsen, Türkisches Exil, 344.
- 119 Hirsch, Kaiser, 193–194.
- 120 Hirsch, Kaiser, 194.
- 121 Stanford Shaw, Turkey and the Holocaust. Turkey's Role in Rescuing Turkish and European Jewry from Nazi Persecution, New York 1993, 10.
- 122 Interview with MIC, 20.11.09.
- 123 „Zu den deutschen Hochschullehren kommen Nichtarier und Mischlinge. Trotz dieser mangelnden Einheit des Lehrkörpers der Fakultät ist der Lehrerfolg durchaus gut. Man kann sogar behaupten, daß innerhalb der Gruppe deutscher Staatsangehöriger eine gewisse Einheitlichkeit des Einsatzes vorhanden ist.“ Scurla as quoted in Şen/Halm, Exil, 57–58.
- 124 Interview with MIC, 20.11.09.
- 125 Uğur Mumcu, 40'ların Cadı Kazanı [The Crucible of the 40s], Ankara, 1992, 103.
- 126 Aytül Kasapoğlu, 60 Yıllık Gelenek: DTCF'de Uygulamalı Sosyoloji. 1939–99 [60 Years of Tradition: Applied Sociology at DTCF], Ankara 1999, 358.
- 127 Mete Çetik, Üniversitede Cadı Kazanı. 1948 DTCF Tasfiyesi ve P.N. Boratav'ın Müdafaası [A Witch's Cauldron. The 1948 Purge in DTCF and the Defense of Boratav], İstanbul 1998, 198.
- 128 İlber Ortaylı quoted in Arnold Reisman, Modernization, 310.
- 129 Reisman, Modernization, 66. The names listed were Landsberger, Güterbock, Eberhard, Haladikuhn, Ruben, Eckman. During the 1948 national assembly hearings, member of the Grand National Assembly (TBMM) Dr. Fahri Kurtuluş spoke in defense of the bill that proposed the removal of the cadre of three professors Boratav, Boran, and Berkes. In his defense he also noted that the remedy for the unpleasant situation in DTCF was to get rid of foreign instructors and leftist professors and assistant professors, and to accept “the principle of scientific method along with a national spirit, national ideal, national unity and Turkish regime – a democracy based on nationalism.” See Mumcu, 40'ların Cadı Kazanı, 111.
- 130 Tachau, Emigrés, 245.
- 131 Ibid., 338, deepnote 23.