

HAYMATLOS! EXILE: TURKEY,
TRAUGOTT FUCHS' LANDSCAPE OF RECONCILIATION

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Thesis Abstract

Suzan Meryem Rosita Kalayci “*HAYMATLOS!* Exile: Turkey,
Traugott Fuchs’ Landscape of Reconciliation”

This study aims to capture the émigré experience of German emigrants to Turkey in the Years 1933- 1945. By introducing the conceptual framework of *haymatlos*, the author tries to explain the émigré experience as a historical feeling rather than a sine qua non of world politics or the evils produced by Nazi Germany. Traugott Fuchs, who emigrated to Turkey as a young man in 1934, is not one of the grand names of the emigration to Turkey. It will be his life, however, that will bear example of the émigré experience in the global, local, personal and intellectual context. It will be, also, through his life that the conceptual framework of *haymatlos* will move from an attemptative definition to a more solidified definition that is deeply grounded, but still rootless, in the ‘mist of exile’. Diaspora and exile will then become the antidote to the horrors produced by Nazi Germany.

Tez Özet

Suzan Meryem Rosita Kalaycı “HAYMATLOS Sürgünü: Türkiye

Traugott Fuchs’un Uzlaşma Coğrafyası

Bu çalışma, 1933-1945 yılları arasında Türkiye’ye gelen Alman göçmenlerin deneyimlerini zapt etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Yazar, Haymatlos’un kavramsal çerçevesini sunarak, Nazi Almanya’sının yarattığı kötülüklerden veya dünya politikasının olmazsa olmazlarından ziyade, göçmenlik deneyimini tarihsel olarak açıklamaya çalışmaktadır. 1934’de Hümanistik duruşu ve inancı nedeniyle, genç bir adam olarak Türkiye’ye göç eden Traugott Fuchs, Türkiye göçmenlerinin en önemli isimlerinden biridir. Onun yaşamı, göçmenlik deneyiminde küresel, yerel, kişisel ve entellektüel bağlamda örnek teşkil etmektedir. Aynı zamanda, yaşamı boyunca Haymatlos’un kavramsal çerçevesi, ‘göçün pusu’ içinde girişimci bir yaklaşımdan çıkıp, gerçekçi temellere oturan ancak yine de kökü olmayan, katılaştırılmış bir tanımlamaya dönmüştür. Diaspora (yayılma) ve göç; bunun sonrasında Nazi Almanya’sının yaratmış olduğu dehşetin çaresi olacaktır.

Acknowledgements

I first became aware of Turkey's role in rescuing German scientists, academics and scholars through a book my father was reading: Fritz Neumark's *Zuflucht am Bosphorus*. As a matter of fact, my father was reading the book when I was still a small child. Always sitting on his lap when he was reading - one of my first drawings happens to be in the book, also, complete with my father's notation 'Suzan, drawing, 1983'. After receiving my highschool education in Germany and a short study abroad year in the U.S., I decided to follow my dreams and live and study in Istanbul. Accepted by Boğaziçi University's History Department meant that I was following into the footsteps of some of my German ancestors. In my second year of studying, I had to take a class with Japanologist Prof. Selcuk Esenbel, who asked me on a break how my German was and whether I have ever heard of Traugott Fuchs and told me that I should call Prof. Süheyla Artemel and tell her that I am interested in working in the project and that Selcuk hanim sends me. My German much better than my Turkish, but not really sure who Traugott Fuchs was, and certainly no idea whether I would be interested in working on this rather obscure sounding project, I was still intrigued. This is how the Fuchs Project, after years and years of insecurity, fell into the hands of Selcuk hanim and was started with a -for Selcuk hanim typical- military like planning session. Japanologist per se, but German historian at heart, we often joked that Selcuk hanim's involvement probably saved the project as a Machiavellaen type of *fortuna*. It is through her, that I got acquainted with Fuchs, the project. I thank her for all the advice and support she has given me. Not less important, but in a different way, was Prof. Süheyla Artemel for the project. As a dear friend and colleague and with her life- long dedication to Fuchs and ultimately the Fuchs Project, her unwavering idealism she - like Fuchs - is one of those last people for whom their ideals are more important than anything else. Her influence on me is unmeasurable. The Fuchs family, and here especially Hermann Fuchs and his wife Gisela, have also been of great support for me in difficult and rewarding times, *Vielen Dank dafür, dass Sie mir immer den Rücken freigehalten haben!* Their support for the archival project, by providing the necessary archival goods, such as boxes or folders, but also their never- failing dedication to the project, is measureless.

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I, also, want to thank Mr. and Mrs. Fox for making it possible for me to spend one semester at Yale University, a stay that influenced and inspired me greatly. The International Fox Fellowship has been one of my greatest academic opportunities. We will see each other at Cambridge or in Istanbul, soon!

At Yale University, I have met –in my eyes- the greatest and most inspiring historian: Prof. Jay Winter. I am so thankful for having had so many inspiring lunches with you, and for the marvelous interview you have given me! And yes you are right - in a way I am somewhat *haymatlos*, too. Thank you, also, for introducing me to Prof. Martin Jay and his book *Dialectical Imagination*. This changed the course of my thinking, as nothing else had. Prof. Richard Evans (Cambridge University), my future PhD advisor, is to thank for not only believing in my project but also for already giving me advice! Thank you for your kindness and the great input in this present master thesis, also.

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Arisu, Bavaria, Georgie and all the others

I think I could turn and live with animals, they are so placid and self-contain'd,
I stand and look at them long and long.

They do not sweat and whine about their condition,
They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins,

They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God,
Not one is dissatisfied, not one is demented with the mania of owning things,
Not one kneels to another, nor to his kind that lived thousands of years ago,
Not one is respectable or unhappy over the whole earth.

So they show their relations to me and I accept them,
They bring me tokens of myself, they evince them plainly in their possession.
(...)

(Walt Whitman)

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Introduction to the Topic:

The story of German émigrés to Turkey is one of those fascinating topics in the field of Modern History, that – yet - have to be discovered by a mainstream audience.

While the topic offers everything a good story needs: Drama, Life and Death, Romance and a Happy Ending, it is not one of those stories often told in history books.

The emigration of German émigrés to Turkey was forced by the anti-Semitic and racist policies adopted by Nazi Germany during the years 1933, 1935 and 1938, and by the political persecutions of individuals who protested openly against the regime and its policies. While the largest numbers of German émigrés escaped from Nazi-infested Germany to familiar countries such as England, the USA, or France, more than 1,000 individuals, most of them scholars, academics and scientists, fled to Turkey - saving their lives but also arriving at a time when the young republic's path was marked by progress and change. Not more than 60 days after Adolf Hitler passed the “Law for Restoration of the Civil Service” on April 7th, 1933, and with this marking the first stage of anti-Semitic policies, Kemal Mustafa Atatürk, Turkey's founder and state leader at the time, marked the last stage of his secularization and westernization reforms by announcing a state-wide and all-encompassing Education Reform, on May 31, 1933.

In the light of this historical context, the first German émigré scholars and professors arrived in Turkey and started teaching almost immediately at the newly founded universities in Istanbul and Ankara, thus helping Kemal Mustafa Atatürk to complete his Education Reform successfully by establishing and setting example through, new faculties and disciplines. In the summer of 1933 everywhere - on the

islands, in the streets of Beyoğlu and the Ankara neighbourhood of Ulus, in and around the universities whole German families with children and elderly, young German men and women, middle-aged professors and academicians were getting acquainted with their temporary home and exile in Turkey.

What a picture this must have been for the Turkish population at the time: throngs of Germans half-scared, half-happy to have escaped exploring the city from its cafes and family restaurants, to its mosques and old churches, to its old book stores and food and clothing stores? Having left Germany in fear and haste - sometimes hoping the remaining German population would come to their senses and render Hitler no longer dictator but a passing phenomenon - most of them only took the bare necessities, which for the professors and their families often meant few pieces of clothing and as many books as one could carry. Once in Turkey, housewives set out with their husbands' first allowances from the Turkish state to buy everything anew: from furniture and kitchen ware and other household articles to clothing and shoes. Provided with generous salaries, they quickly found appropriate housing, furniture and even household help to assist them with daily chores and the shopping in the –still- alien environment.

But, not everyone's adaptation and life started so smoothly. Often forgotten in the official – idealized - story line of the German emigration to Turkey are the less known, often young assistants who followed their professors into exile hoping to escape the horrors of Nazi Germany but also not knowing what awaited in the new and foreign country. No contracts or official invitations from the Turkish state in their hands, and thus no monetary provisions in their pockets, these young scholars or scientists lived in cramped quarters surviving on day-to-day work, waiting for a job opening at the

university, hoping that their professors would find them a job as lecturer or assistant at one of the faculties. One of these young assistants was Traugott Fuchs.

Traugott Fuchs had followed his professor and PhD advisor Leo Spitzer into exile in the spring of 1934, at the age of 28. Soon provided by his professor with a position at the newly founded Germanistic faculty at Istanbul University, Fuchs was one of the lucky ones who soon found his way in Turkey and adapted relatively easily to the alien environment. It will be through the lenses of his life that the story of the German emigration to Turkey will be told in this study.

Methodology:

Contextualization

In the light of heightened German - Turkish bilateralism and recurring discussions of Turkey's accession to the European Union, the topic of the German emigration to Turkey has become politically trendy in the past 10 years. Not well known or well documented, the topic has been much- talked about - most of it however is based on hearsay. Consequently, it will not be difficult for the reader to find bridges and linkages between the above described historical background and the historical affinities of Turco-German relations starting before WWI, or to see parallels between the German exiles as 'invited guest workers' and the Turkish 'invited guest workers' of the 1960s. Today's image of Turkey in Germany is mostly influenced by the latter's difficult adaptation of German culture and assimilation into German society. Naturally, politicians – both in Turkey and in Germany - try to counter-balance this rather negative picture of Turkish people with the more positive historical example of how

German émigrés were welcomed and cared for when Germany had turned its back on them.

I have argued earlier that the story of German emigration to Turkey is one of those topics that, still, have to be discovered by a “main stream audience.” This seems to be contradictory to the just mentioned political ‘hype’ around the topic. Seemingly contradictory, it serves my thesis that the topic has to move from being a widely talked about topic in the public domain to a topic of serious and interdisciplinary research. By choosing Traugott Fuchs (1906-1997), a fairly unknown man, as opposed to one of the grand names of the German emigration, such as Ernst Reuter, Alexander Rüstow, Paul Hindemith or Erich Auerbach, I have chosen a subject of relatively little historical importance – situated, so to speak, at the fringes of history. Traugott Fuchs, a young scholar with homosexual leanings, painter and poet of ‘Aryan origins’ cannot be put into the same category as the much-written about and well- known Jewish scholars, who were officially invited by the Turkish government and who are again and again the protagonists of an official glorification and idealization of the topic on the parts of Turkish and German political leaders.

Referring to Fuchs’ homosexuality¹, to his passions and professions before even properly introducing him might not be the most elegant way of paying homage to a truly

¹ It is still a very sensitive issue to refer to someone’s sexual orientation. And it has to be emphasized that Fuchs’ reasons for emigration was not his homosexuality, or sexual orientation, but his own political and humanistic convictions. We will discuss this in greater detail in Chapter 4. In case of the mentioning of Fuchs’ homosexulaity, we thought it would be best to consult with Fuchs’ family as they are the heirs to the Fuchs collection who have kindly given the permission to the History Department of Bogazici University to act as custodian of the collection. For further information about the Traugott Fuchs Cultural and Historical Heritage Archive and its making please consult the archive website: www.fuchs.boun.edu.tr. For information on the collection please consult the online catalogue: <http://issuu.com/suzanmeryemrosita/docs/fuchscatalogue>.

wonderful man, however it brings out his particularities. And it is exactly the disruptiveness of his personality and his not so ordinary life path that attracted me to study him in the first place. Rather than being part of the elite, or part of the Jewish scholar nobility, he is a fascinating, but also ambivalent man from a typical background of Prussian 'Bildungsbürgertum' (the educated middle class). Traugott Fuchs was the fourth child of the Evangelic pastor Karl Fuchs and his wife Marie Adelheid, born Krencker. He was born on 23 November 1906, in a small village at Lohr, which was part of Germany at the time but was lost to the French during First World War. The evangelic pastors households were the breeding grounds of the German cultural classes. All five children of the Fuchs family followed accomplished careers in the science or arts. Adelheid's brother Daniel Krencker, son of a pastor, also, as an archeologist belonged to the scholar nobility and became Rector of the Berlin Technical Highschool. Following his Abitur Fuchs studied Romance Languages, German Language and literature, history of art, philosophy and general pedagogy in Berlin, Heidelberg, Marburg and Köln. His academic instructors were the philosopher Karl Jaspers, the educationalist Eduard Spranger, the literary scholar and Hölderlin expert Friedrich Gundolf, and above all, the Romanist Leo Spitzer, whom he followed into exile to Turkey in 1934, where he became a beloved German literature and language teacher for generations of Turkish students. After teaching 63 years and a full and humble life, Fuchs died in Istanbul on 21 June 1997, leaving behind an educational legacy, still cherished and kept alive by his students to this day. ²

Even though the republican environment of Turkey was a haven to those who

² In Chapter 3 of this study, we will hear about Fuchs' life in greater detail.

escaped the horrors of Nazi dictatorship, there are topics condemned to silence in the official storyline. These are, for example, the émigrés' difficulties to adapt to the alien Turkish environment, the anti-Semitic tendencies of Turkish administration and society, the quasi- fascist character of the Turkish government³ and the hardship endured by many not so famous German émigrés. Traugott Fuchs was one of them, he, however, found a way to survive in Turkey and to make it his home.

Conceptualization

As part of a general conceptualization, I have decided to introduce the word *haymatlos*, as the major part of my theoretical framework. The concept *haymatlos* as opposed to the word 'haymatloz' that is defined in the prevalent literature as 'staatenlos', describing the stateless status of Jewish émigrés upon arrival in Turkey when their passports were stamped by the Nazi-German authorities with the word 'heimatlos' and when –in turn– Turkish authorities adapted the German 'heimatlos' as 'haymatloz' for the official Turkish residence papers, will serve as the vehicle of thought in this present study.⁴

Somewhat of an hybrid and synthesis of the two versions of describing the

³ Turkey was not the only country that showed quasi- fascist tendencies. Many Western countries such as the U.S., France and even Great Britain were showing such tendencies. For an interesting study on Turkey's quasi-fascistic leanings see Stephan Ehring's ongoing PhD thesis, at Cambridge University (Cambridge) which will be finished in the year 2010. This will be discussed in greater context in Chapter 2.

⁴ For further discussion about the automatic expatriation of German- Jewish emigrants by the Nazi State and about its general context, please refer to the following articles: Susanne Benöhr. "Staatenlosigkeit- Heimatlosigkeit. Ein Juristischer Exkurs." (Place Published: Donat Verlag, 1997), <http://www.sblq.de/text.htm> (accessed 24.08.2009). and the introduction of the following three volumes of Werner und Strauss Röder, Herbert, ed., *Biographisches Handbuch Der Deutschsprachigen Emigration Nach 1933*, 3 vols., vol. 3 (München: K.G. Saur, 1983), Werner und Strauss Röder, Herbert, ed., *Biographisches Handbuch Der Deutschsprachigen Emigration Nach 1933*, 3 vols., vol. 1 (München: K.G. Saur, 1980), Werner und Strauss Röder, Herbert, ed., *Biographisches Handbuch Des Deutschsprachigen Emigration Nach 1933*, 3 vols., vol. 2 (München: K.G. Saur, 1983).

stateless status of the Jewish emigrants, the concept *haymatlos* aims to describe the general feeling of displacement in a forthcoming set of polyvalent symbols and is therefore most appropriate in an open discussion of an interdisciplinary topic like the ours. Rather than referring to a Jewish entity of émigrés with the equivalent ‘haymatloz’⁵, as done so often in the context of the German Diaspora to Turkey, *haymatlos* acts as an inclusive definition towards the entire phenomena of Diaspora, disregarding the country of exile ethnic or religious backgrounds, and is my original interpretation to this study. Etymologically rooted in the German word *Heimat* (father/mother land, homelands) it refers to a historical feeling of belonging to a locality, the place one was born, rather than to a nation state (identity) to describe one’s origins. The word *Heimat* according to the extensive reference book of the origins of German/ic words “Deutsches Wörterbuch” by Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm, goes back to the Sanskrit root ‘kshi,’ meaning staying, living, inhabiting and finds its expression in Germanic language branch in the Indo- European language family as follows: Gothic as ‘haims’, Old and Middle High German ‘heim,’ which means so much as the house one belongs to and is still used in the Southern regions of Germany, like the Bavarian provinces (today’s Bavaria and the region called Pfalz), as such. Politically, the word or rather the concept of *Heimat* followed - as Cecilia Applegate describes in her book *A Nation of Provincials. The German Idea of Heimat* – “the shifting hierarchies of belonging, from hometown to territorial state to nation.”⁶ Further she says that:

⁵ Prof. Dr. Norman Stone, has critiqued the word ‘haymatloz’ on several occasions, of being insufficient in explaining the phenomenon of being displaced and of exclusively describing the stateless status of Jewish émigrés.

⁶ Cecilia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials. The German Idea of Heimat*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 13.

“The idea of Heimat (...) offered Germans a way to reconcile a heritage of localized political traditions with the ideal of a single transcendent nationality. Heimat was both the beloved local places and the beloved local nation; it was comfortably flexible and inclusive homeland, embracing all localities alike.”⁷

Heimat, then, describes a historical homeland that – even though it embraces the Hegelian idea of a greater nation (or spirit of a nation) politically – it describes in essence the idea of belonging where one was born. Later exploited by the Nazis in their infamous ‘soil and blood’ ideology, *Heimat* historically does not have the political aspirations of uniting a nation or group of individuals but of defining an individual within his/her personal realm of origins. Later, we will discuss the German ideal of education *Bildung* which is “at the heart of the German Romantic critique of the mathematical West European scientific spirit” – and which – true in the German Idealist philosophy - does not aim towards a “socialization of the younger generations” but towards the education of a “self- cultivating individual.”⁸ Like the word *Heimat*, *Bildung*, also places its importance on the individual and its relations to an idea, concept of certain text, or in the case of *Heimat* towards a locality. Also closely connected to the German Romantic movement, for which the concept *Heimat* was an important notion vis-à-vis the foreign lands to which Romantic artists /writers aspired to travel to and dreamt of while living in the home abode, the home lands, *Bildung* is the core element of German Intellectual history and therefore of the German cultural history, also. *Heimat*, in this context, embeds or better provides a home for an intellectual tradition that neither is abstract enough to break with the homelands nor distinct enough to be explained through it.

⁷ Ibid., 11.

⁸ Fritz Ringer, *Max Weber's Methodology: The Unification of the Cultural and Social Sciences*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 9.

Like the German émigrés, in our context, or people who lost their home involuntarily and who cannot totally break off from the cultural and intellectual traditions of their homelands but are spatially removed and somewhat also mentally removed from it, *Heimat* brings out a notion of homelands that is invertedly explaining what the concept ‘haymatlos’⁹ describes: A state of mind, a change of mentalities, a sense of rootlessness - the feeling that occurs when one realizes that one has no more home. In short, the word ‘haymatlos’ describes what is most fleeting and evanescent in exile and most powerful at home. On an abstract level, though, it will help us to look at how exactly the identities of these emigrants were re-constructed within their new alien environment and how an unwavering attachment to the historical and intellectual tradition of their homelands clashes with a simultaneous alienation – spatial and psychological - from their native country (or countries). Here, Edward Said in his phenomenal discussion of exile brings about the definition of exilic moments, as moments in which the true essence of life is revealed, in which a glimpse of eternity is granted to human kind.¹⁰¹¹ Those are then, also the moments – he says - in which

⁹ Also the word ‘heimatlos’ finds mentioning in these Romantic texts. Here for example by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749 – 1832): “wie er (...), und bei so viel unbestand and wagnis sich gewöhne heimatlos und freundlos zu sein” (like him (...) who needs to get used, with so much instability and risk, to be homeless and friendless, Goethe 17, 321), see in *Deutsches Wörterbuch* online at: http://germazope.uni-trier.de/Projects/WBB/WBB/woerterbuecher/dwb/wbgui?lemmode=lemmasearch&mode=linking&textsize=600&onlist=&word=heimatlos&lemid=GH05437&query_start=1&totalhits=0&textword=&locpattern=&textpattern=&lemmapattern=&verspattern=#GH05437L0

¹⁰ This discussion of the realization of the true essence of life though the disruptiveness of exilic moments is not unlike Plato’s discussion of love in *The Symposium* through the character of Diotima, where he argues that if beauty exists in many forms and persons, why not love it in and of itself? And why not go beyond beyond the forms and love the thing that makes them beautiful, the idea. So why then if life exists in many forms (countries) and persons why not love it in and of itself? For further discussion see Chapter 5.

¹¹ Also see: Edward Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2002). 174ff.

freedom is felt and enkindled - great works, such as Erich Auerbach's *Mimesis*. But other than in Said's discussion the conceptual framework 'haymatlos' refers to a locality that is not confined to the nation state rhetoric by situating itself into the historical and intellectual tradition of the German word *Heimat* and with this reaching way beyond the confines of modernity.

Through the word *haymatlos*, as opposed to the widely used German neologism 'haymatloz', offers a broad and historically rooted tradition of meanings, flexible enough to take in realms reaching from local communes, cultural territories and modern nation states to the most sincere and personal realm: the intellect. And can— in my opinion — serve as conceptual symbol with which to explain the profusion of shared and fractured identities of people who lost their home involuntarily in a holistic and encompassing *raison d'être*.

The fading cultural and political *Selbstverständnis* - the fading consciousness of belonging somewhere - is expressed in the literature of the time in many different ways. Max Rychner's sentence "demgegenüber es keine Freiheit gibt als die Liebe" (whereas there is no love but in freedom) for example comes to my mind because it expresses the fear that by being without a state, a home, a culture one loses the most essential: freedom. Rychner answers his fears by making a move to a more metaphysical definition of freedom. He says that —maybe- only through love can we achieve freedom, and that maybe love should and give us the space we need to project our own personal understanding of freedom. Like a 'double- flame' of freedom, emigration and exile gives both the possibility of breaking free from a socially and culturally constructed persona and of re-defining that persona away from social and cultural pressures and on the

grounds of detached and timeless humanistic values.¹² Like the breaking of historical silences, the breaking from a society – that is from a socially and culturally constructed entity, brings about a disruption in the cohesion of the social fabric and of one’s own personal life. Exile and emigration, leave no choice but to break free from one’s societal context and to re- evaluate life-defining and dominating maxims away from their cultural and social context and put them into a global, historical and objective perspective. This then frees the person of the socially and culturally manufactured clutter - leaving him or her with an open space of nothingness ready to be filled up with personally envisioned ideals and ideas. ‘And everything solid melts into air’- Nietzsche’s predicament of the unsettling experience of modernity comes to our minds, as does again Edward Said’s definition of ‘exilic moments’ or ‘spaces’. Unleashed by forced emigration, by self- inflicted exile, the so- defined exilic spaces, which are not more than open spaces, constitute a unique and new historical reality that begs no comparison with any other situation in history before. How then write about it, how to describe, this fleeting and evanescent feeling of exile, how to capture the historical reality without attempting to use labels that do not fit? As Berthold Brecht says in his poem “About the Name Emigrants”:

Always I always found the name wrong which they gave us: Emigrants.
That means those who leave their country. But we
Did not leave, or our own free will
Choosing another country: Nor did we enter
into a country, to stay there forever.
But we fled. We were expelled, Banned.
(...)¹³

¹² Sentence adapted from Octavio Paz, *The Double Flame: Love and Eroticism* (New York: Mariner Books, 1996).

¹³ in Bertholf Brecht, *Gesammelte Gedichte*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1976), 86. See full version of poem in original and translated version:

These people, whether to be called emigrants or not, 'fled' were 'expelled' and 'banned'. Our conceptual model of *haymatlos* can only hope to explain their sentiments and feelings. It will never, however, be able to fully capture the reality of their historical feeling of being displaced to another country and remains

“Immer fand ich den Namen falsch, den man uns gab: Emigranten
Das heißt doch Auswanderer. Aber wir
Wandereten doch nicht aus, nach freiem Entschluß
Wählend ein anderes Land, dort zu bleiben für immer.
Sondern wir flohen, Vertrieben sind wir, Vebannte.
Und kein Heim, kein Exil, soll das Land sein, das uns aufnahm.
Unruhig sitzen wir so, möglichst nahe den Grenzen.
Wartend des Tages der Rückkehr, jede kleine Veränderung
Jenseits der Grenze beobachtend, jeden Ankömmling
Eifrig befragend, nichts vergessend und nichts aufgebend
Und auch verzeihend nichts, was geschah, nichts verzeihend. Ach die Stille der Stunde täuscht
uns nicht! Wir hören Schreie
Aus den Lagern bis hierher. Sind wir doch selber
Fast wie Gerüchte von Untaten, die da entkamen
Über die Grenzen. Jeder von uns
Der mir zerissenen Schuhen durch die Menge geht
Zeugt von der Schande, die jetzt unser Land befleckt.
Aber keiner von uns
Wird hier bleiben. Das letzte Wort
Ist noch nicht gesprochen.”
 (“About the name emigrants
Always I always found the name wrong which they gave us: Emigrants.
That means those who leave their country. But we
Did not leave, or our own free will
Choosing another country: Nor did we enter
into a country, to stay there forever.
But we fled. We were expelled, Banned.
And no home, no exil, will the country be, that took us in.
Restless we are sitting, close to the borders.
Waiting for the day of return, observing every little change beyond the border,
Eagerly asking every arrival
not forgetting, not giving up,
and also not forgiving anything, what happened, nothing forgiving.
Ahh, the silence of the hour, does not fool us! We are hearing the screams
From the camps till here. Aren't we ourselves
Almost like rumours of misdeeds, who escaped
Over the borders. Everyone of us
Who walks through the crowd with torn shoes,
Bears witness of the shame, that stains our country.
But none of us
Will stay here. The last word is not yet spoken.”)

attemptative. Moving above state borders or international definitions, the history of emigration and exile, however, becomes one of transnational character and stateless essence.

By focusing on non- national actors, the history of emigration becomes the subject of transnational history, using sources from great variety of places - thus complementing national history and adding non- national layers to the national historical jargon, and maybe thereby leading to a more critical understanding of national history, itself. In the case of our topic, these sources will most likely and predominantly come from private archives and estates of the émigrés, themselves. Their' is the story to tell, and our's to read them with consciousness and detachment. For that the concept *haymatlos*, reminding us not only of the émigrés stateless status but also of their unique historical situation, will give us the chance of manoeuvring through their life stories and recognize their common quality.

After having recognized the stateless character of the topic and its need for untraditional sources, we have to acknowledge that many private archives, however, have not been opened to the general public yet. It is our job as historians to convince the families of these émigrés to let us access the private documents (such as personal letters or diaries) of their parents or grandparents to be able to hear their personal and untainted voices to add more and more layers to the historical narrative of the German emigration in the years 1933- 1945.¹⁴ This opening up of family archives corresponds to the breaking of the historical silence, which is discussed in recent

¹⁴ I have spoken to the nephew of Clemens and Johanna Bosch, German émigrés to Turkey in 1935, on May 6, 2009, and the family is thinking of opening up their family archive for serious researchers.

literature within the timely framework of the three generation gap of silence and its opening up through “the complicity of grandparents and grandchildren over the head of the parents” and was mentioned earlier in the context of breaking free from societal pressures and influences.¹⁵

I believe that serious research has to be done in archives and for me a good starting point, was the Traugott Fuchs Cultural and Historical Heritage Archive. Rather unique in its constitution the Traugott Fuchs Cultural and Historical Heritage Archive is a rare example of a – so-called – ‘complete archive’ that is the Fuchs collection is complete in holding all papers or things preserved by Fuchs until his death without having had to make concessions to space, time or financial needs and concerns many archives have to suffer from. With a common German- Turkish effort, this time bridging cultural and academic differences, the Traugott Fuchs Cultural and Historical Archive was established in a cross- border, cross- institutional effort supported financially by the Turkish Higher Education Council with a three- year grant for academic projects (BAP), the Fuchs heirs with the financing of archival material, and finally the German General Consulate in Istanbul with the financing of the archive exhibition “Bonded by Exile” catalogue. Starting in the year of 2006, Boğaziçi University had, jointly with Yeditepe University and the support of the German Senior Expert Service (Stiftung der Deutschen Wirtschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit) and the University of Leipzig, undertaken the project of archiving the Traugott Fuchs’ collection’s archival documents and making it accessible to the general public. The author of this study,

¹⁵ For further discussion see Jay Winter, “Thinking about Silence”, 2009, Jay Winter and Suzan M.R. Kalayci Interview “Silence and Representation” to be published in the Inaugural Issue of the History Graduate Journal at Boğaziçi University.

Suzan M.R. Kalayci, with the help of archival expert Prof. Dr. Gerald Wiemers, organized, archived and catalogued the collection which comprises not only Traugott Fuchs' correspondence from 1934 until his death (more than 5000 letters), but also his translations, unpublished manuscripts, lecture notes, poems, musical compositions, and an impressive corpus of drawings, sketches, and paintings of artistic as well as sociological significance. The international work shop "Bonded in Exile" and the widely acclaimed archival exhibition "Bonded by Exile", in 2008, then marked the end of this archival process and opened the doors of the archive to visitors from all over Turkey and abroad. The most noteworthy collaborators of the project are former project director Prof. Dr Selcuk Esenbel of Boğaziçi University, Prof. Dr. Suheyla Artemel of Yeditepe, and the Fuchs family heirs, here especially Dr. Hermann Fuchs, whose great efforts as preserving the Fuchs material, conducting academic research, organizing exhibitions and workshops, over the years have made it possible to make the material available for researchers in Turkey and abroad. The work of Traugott Fuchs has been studied by Assist. Prof. Martin Vialon. His work together with others has not only contributed in making the archive known to a wider public, it has also contributed to this present master thesis greatly. Many people believed in the Fuchs Archival Project and helped with their expertise and know-how, with their continuous trust and constant affirmation to realize the immense difficult task of founding the Traugott Fuchs Cultural and Historical Heritage Archive; the first archive of its kind in Turkey. Among them are (in alphabetical order): Prof. Dr. Füsün Akarsu, Assist. Prof. Mehmet Nafi Artemel, Dr. Lale Babaoğlu, Prof. Dr. Edhem Eldem, Dr. Hermann Fuchs and his wife Gisela, Prof. Dr. Ayse Soysal, and many more.

Like the Traugott Fuchs Cultural and Historical Heritage Archive, which was established in a common effort between many scholars, institutions and its two relevant countries - Turkey and Germany, other (family) archives have to be opened up to not only bring together people, institutions and countries together but to access the *haymatlos* experience in a more quantitative way. The present study will focus on the *haymatlos* experience through the documents and material available in the Fuchs collection but hopes to make a pathway for many more studies like this and hopes to make an argument for the opening and cataloging of more and more private collections. In the process of archiving the Fuchs Collection, I was able to acquire extended knowledge and a deep understanding of not only Fuchs' life but also of the types of documents that are available to researchers of the subject.

As the concept *haymatlos*, in this study, will be exemplified mostly through the life and work of Traugott Fuchs, I have focused in my research on life and work documents, letters to and from other émigrés, friends, colleagues or family, Fuchs' poetry, his prosaic writings and finally on his awe-inspiring essay "Mensch - lebenswichtige Etymologien" (The etymological origins of humankind)¹⁶, which will be discussed in great detail in Chapter 5 and brings together Fuchs' thoughts on living in exile, draw-backs of a female- male genderization and love in general.

Before the official opening of the Traugott Fuchs Cultural and Historical Heritage Archive, a few scholars, friends and family members have written about Traugott Fuchs or organized exhibitions on his life and work as painter and poet. Most notably are two essays in the book, *Istanbul. Geistige Wanderungen aus der Welt in*

¹⁶ Comment: The title could, also, be translated as "Wo-man- important Etymologies"

Scherben,’ edited by Georg Staudt and Faruk Birtek.¹⁷ The first entitled “Traugott Fuchs zwischen Exil und Wahlheimat am Bosphorus. Meditationen zu klassischen Bild- und Textmotiven” (Traugott Fuchs between Exile and Adopted Home on the Bosphorus. Meditations of Classical Image- and Text- Motives) by Martin Vialon is a study of Traugott Fuchs as an artist living in exile which argues that Istanbul as his *Wahlheimat* reconciled Fuchs with his lack of self-confidence and his loss of home.¹⁸ Martin Vialon has, also, published another essay concerning exile entitled „The Scars of Exile: Paralipomena concerning the Relationship between History, Literature and Politics – demonstrated in the Examples of Erich Auerbach, Traugott Fuchs, and their Circle in Istanbul.“ The second essay entitled “Heimat im Exil. Lebensalltag am Bosphorus in den Briefen von Traugott Fuchs an Rosemarie Heyd- Burkart” (Home in Exile. Daily Life on the Bosphorus in the Letters of Traugott Fuchs to Rosemarie Heyd- Burkart) by Yasemin Özbek, describes Traugott Fuchs’ friendship to fellow émigré and Spitzer assistant Rosemarie Heyd - Burkart and their letter correspondence after Heyd- Burkart left Turkey and returned to Germany. Though deeply connected with the traditions of his homelands, Fuchs is open enough to appreciate and acknowledge

¹⁷ Birtek Faruk Staudt Georg, ed., *Istanbul. Geistige Wanderungen Aus Der 'Welt in Scherben'* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2007).

¹⁸ Martin Vialon, "Traugott Fuchs Zwischen Exil Und Wahlheimat " in *Geistige Wanderungen Aus Der 'Welt in Scherben'*, ed. Birtek Faruk Staudt Georg (Bielefeld: Transcript 2007), 54ff and 126ff. Please also refer these other essays by Martin Vialon: „The Scars of Exile: Paralipomena concerning the Relationship between History, Literature and Politics – demonstrated in the Examples of Erich Auerbach, Traugott Fuchs, and their Circle in Istanbul.“ in: Yeditepe’de Felsefe 2. A refereed Yearbook, Istanbul: T. C. Yeditepe Üniversitesi Yayinlari, July 2003, pp. 191-246, „Bio-bibliographische Angaben zu Erich Auerbach, Traugott Fuchs und Leo Spitzer“ in: Georg Stauth/Faruk Birtek (Hg.): *Istanbul. Geistige Wanderungen aus einer Welt in Scherben*, Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag 2007, S. 275-284 and „Erich Auerbach schreibt 1938 an Johannes Oeschger über Phänomene der Modernisierung in der Türkei. In: *Brotchrift für Ulrich Keicher*,“ ed. Matthias Bormuth, Joachim Kalka und Friedrich Pfäfflin (Christian Wagner Gesellschaft Warmbronn e. V.), Warmbronn: Gulde-Druck 2008, S. 158-167.

positive influences on his life by his exile country Turkey as we can see in his letters to Heyd- Burkart.¹⁹ Various exhibition catalogues such as of the exhibition “Traugott Fuchs- ein in der Türkei verbrachtes Leben” (Traugott Fuchs, a Life Spent in Turkey) edited by Süheyla Artemel, Nedret Kuran Burcoglu, Suat Karantay, here especially the contributions by Prof. Dr. Süheyla Artemel und Natascha Masanowitsch, Prof. Dr. Nedret Kuran Burcoglu and Prof. Dr. Walter B. Denny, and the exhibition catalogue of the German exhibition, “Bilder der Sehnsucht” (2001, Paintings of Longing), have drawn short sketches of Fuchs’ life and work and have enabled family, friends, colleagues and students to commemorate Fuchs in an intimate and small setting through memory and a few selected sources such as Fuchs’ autobiographical essay “A Short Story of my Life” and “Mein Besuch bei Hermann Hesse” (My visit to Hermann Hesse). The catalogue of the ‘Bonds in Exile’ exhibition (2007) at Boğaziçi University that had marked the official opening of the Traugott Fuchs Cultural and Historical Heritage Archive, was then the first publication that made use of a wider array of sources and of a complete knowledge of what type of documents were part of the Fuchs collection. A few articles in academic journals and local newspapers by Prof. emeritus and archive expert Dr. Gerald Wiemers, without whose help and know-how the archive could not have been established, followed up on this approach making use of different archival documents and introducing Traugott Fuchs to a wider audience in Germany.

In general, we can say that the literature on Traugott Fuchs has focused on small aspects of Fuchs’ life but yet has not attempted to fully capture his historical experience

¹⁹ Özbek Yasemin, "Heimat Im Exil. Lebensalltag Am Bosphorus in Den Briefen Von Traugott Fuchs an Rosemarie Heyd," in *Istanbul. Geistige Wanderungen Aus Der 'Welt in Scherben*, ed. Birtek Faruk Staudt Georg (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2007), 188ff.

vis-à-vis its inherent historical moment or within the local and global historical context of his emigration of the *haymatlos* experience. In previous discussions, I have called Traugott Fuchs – a historical antidote. Derived from the Greek word **αντιδιδοναι** *antididonai*, ‘given against’, traditionally meaning ‘against poison’, I evaluate Fuchs, being part of a transnational émigré network, as the antidote to the Nazi experience. In historical reality, his experience stands against the Nazi experience and horrors. In reality, his convictions, his ideals stood against the evils of humanity at a time when not many people had the courage to stand up, at a time when many people closed their eyes to what was happening in Germany. In a way Fuchs, and the other émigrés, were the last men and women standing in the Babylonian circus of the time, their status of being homeless or stateless, their feeling of being *haymatlos* in a way serving them to root themselves in the mist of the time and the echo of eternity. Fuchs describes this feeling in his essay “Mensch - lebenswichtige Etymologien” and argues that especially the socially and culturally constructed gender differences between men and women prevent humanity to blossom fully and ideally. Compared to the other studies on Fuchs, here especially Martin Vialon and Yasemin Özbek aforementioned essays, this present study of Fuchs is different in making a full use of sources in the Traugott Fuchs Cultural and Historical Archive, which were catalogued by the author of this study and cited with their catalogue reference numbers for the first time. But also by contextualizing his experience in the global and local context of the *haymatlos* experience. Evaluating this global and local context within Fuchs’ life and work, that is from a personal and intellectual perspective of one individual member of the transnational émigré network, I hope, will give us the opportunity to find a new way of describing the general feeling of

displacement in 'einem Zirkel des Verstehens' (circle of understanding), and why not using the approach of Spitzer and his stylistic school, of which Fuchs was also part of, to explain their historical experience within their own theoretical framework? ²⁰

Within this framework then, this study will move and evaluate the general haymatlos experience within the global, local, personal and intellectual context of Traugott Fuchs' life, as *the* historical antidote and example of a time when human lives, because of their ethnic or religious origins or because of their humanistic values were persecuted and murdered while the whole world was watching. The emigration of more than a half of a million German- Jewish and non- Jewish people from and the death of over 10 Million people in Central Europe bears a grave testimony to the extent of the Nazi horrors. Our subject, however, is not mourning the victims of Nazi Germany but in a way to celebrate the refugees. In the case of the German emigration to Turkey, we will see that the overall impact of the émigrés was pertinent in a way that Atatürk's education reform could have not carried out without these German academics, scholars and scientists. Called the 'best German university of the time', Istanbul University, was the center of inter-disciplinary research and had some of the most renown scientist and scholars of time in its ranks. But was their mere presence enough to make an impact? Were their enough infrastructural means, money and scientific or academic openness on parts of the Turkish authorities to carry out their studies? What was their overall impact on Turkish academia and can we measure it?

²⁰ for a short introduction to Leo Spitzers' method and the Stylistic School, please refer to the following article: Arthur Evans, "Literary Criticism and the Structures of History: Erich Auerbach and Leo Spitzer by Geoffrey Green," *Comparative Literature* 37, no. 1 (1985). 94. Here, I am grateful to Martin Vialon that he pointed out to me that "der Zirkel des Verstehens" goes to back to the hermeneutic circle of understanding as described and discussed by Martin Heidegger.

Scholars, such as Andreas Eckert have pointed out that it would be near impossible to figure out the extent to which the views of intellectuals really shape the intellectual discourse and tradition of a country and question whether they really can have an impact on their host country.²¹ Others have argued that in the context of the German emigration to Turkey, that -though long-lasting effects on medicine, law and architecture- the intellectual émigrés to Turkey, did not have enough long- lasting influence on the humanities and social sciences to prepare the path to an open and free society.²² With the life example of Traugott Fuchs, we see that on a personal level, Fuchs had a direct impact on Turkish society by educating generations of young Turkish students. We will read about Fuchs' impact on Turkish academia and his influence on his students in the fourth chapter of this study. Though there was a certain impact on a personal level, the impact of these scholars on a national level remains obscure and need to be studied in greater detail and a more fluid framework. For example, I don't agree with Andreas Eckert argument that we cannot measure the impact these scholars had on their host countries, and I would champion the conceptual framework of the *haymatlos* experience as vehicle to do so. Re-reading Leo Löwenthal's writings, here especially his book *Erzählkunst und Gesellschaft: die Gesellschaftsproblematik in der deutschen Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Narrative Art and Society): The Social Problematic in the German Literature of the Nineteenth Century, we might find a way of understanding social and cultural phenomena through a close study of individuals and maybe extent his argument

²¹ Andreas Eckert, (paper presented at the Crossing German Borders: New Approaches to German Transnational Relations in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Cambridge University, St. John's College, 2007). Here, I would like to thank Regius Prof. Dr. Richard Evans and his PhD Student Mehmet Yercil for their comments and for pointing out his particular point in Eckert's presentation during my visit to Cambridge University 5-7 July, 2009.

²² Interview with Prof. Dr. Selcuk Esenbel on Büyükdada, 1 September, 2009.

to the more abstract framework of networks (between individuals and groups), again the concept of *haymatlos* provides us with a set of polyvalent symbols useful in such a study.²³ In Lowenthal's case it is the reception of literature within society and its mirroring back within literature itself. In our case, this synthesis between society and the work of an intellectual, is spread throughout the different disciplines- a fact that makes it more difficult, but not impossible as suggested by Eckert. In addition, have we not all taken the linguistic turn? Is it not the case that facts – especially the facts of exile – do not exist outside of the language in which they are expressed? Yes, language is multiform, and that is why we need to interpret and not simply assume the facts presented to us.

Another question that can be raised in this context is whether for an intellectual surrounded by other intellectuals, and the ever-present university environment of modernity, can we speak about an exile? For an interconnected elite, to what extent can we speak about an exile? To what extent is space transcended for the world's elite, by their networks? We have seen the inclusivity and relative little direct influence of the Frankfurt School on the American academic tradition. Can we then maybe say that the exilic moment does not exist with exclusive or coherently transnational groups, such as the Frankfurt School? Martin Jay writes in his book *The Dialectical Imagination* that:

[a]lthough the exigencies of history forced them [The Frankfurt School] into exile as part of the intellectual migration from Central Europe after 1933, they had been exiles in relation to the external world since the beginning of their collaboration. Far from being a source of regret, however, this status was accepted, even nurtured, as the sine qua non of their intellectual fertility (...) ²⁴²⁵

²³ Leo Löwenthal, *Erzählkunst Und Gesellschaft: Die Gesellschaftsproblematik in Der Deutschen Literatur Des 19. Jahrhunderts* vol. 32, *Sammlung Luchterhand* (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1971). And also: Leo Löwenthal/ Siegfried Kracauer, *In Steter Freundschaft- 1921- 1966*, ed. Peter- Erwin and Schmidt Jansen, Christian (Springer: zu Klampen Verlag, 2003), Löwenthal, *Falsche Propheten. Studien Zum Autoritarismus*, Löwenthal, *Literatur Und Massenkultur*, Löwenthal, *Mitmachen Wollte Ich Nie. Ein Autobiographisches Gespräch Mit Helmut Dubiel*.

²⁴ Jay, *Die Dialektische Phantasie*, xxix.

In Jay's opinion, the Frankfurt School "even nurtured" their status of exile, but we should not forget that the 'school' was relatively financially independent. Rather than being invited or supported by the American government, Jewish Refugee Funds, the Rockefeller Foundation or academic institutions, which could make demands for certain academic outputs, essays or studies, as we have seen in the case of Siegfried Kracauer and Erwin Panofsky,²⁶ Horkheimer, Adorno and other members of their group could freely write on and study the topics that were of their own interests – at least in the first years of emigration. Scholars and scientists to Turkey had to follow a certain agenda and fulfill certain conditions of the work contracts, such as writing standard works on their subjects in Turkish within three years, lecturing in Turkish within one year, and so on. What if they would have not fulfilled these conditions, would they had been removed from their positions and sent back to Germany? A few examples of émigrés sent back on accounts of political activities exist. So was the project of saving German émigrés from their evil fates part of a greater Machiavellian scheme? The Turkish state and government not really caring about the lives of these German émigrés but only about their worth? In Chapter 2 of this study, we will see other countries, such as Great Britain and Japan, showing the same tendencies of following through with a modernist project in which progress stands above anything else. Tying in with the argument that Turkish politics in the 1930s showed a quasi-fascist character, Turkey's opening its arms (can be misunderstood with weapons) to German exiles seems to have no favor, but part of a greater in making Turkey a stronger state. Either way, more than

²⁵ These issues were also discussed in a personal interview between the author and Prof. Dr. Martin Jay at Berkeley University, May 6, 2009.

²⁶ Leo Löwenthal/ Siegfried Kracauer, *In Steter Freundschaft- 1921- 1966*, ed. Peter- Erwin and Schmidt Jansen, Christian (Springe: zu Klampen Verlag, 2003).

1000 German refugees were welcomed in Turkey and among them was Traugott Fuchs, who as we will see in the succeeding chapters made Turkey to his home regardless of Turkey's national interests and politics and lived a life among and with the Turkish people not as a German or 'assimilated' Turkish man, but as a simple and honest person, who stood up for his ideals and convictions and therefore refused to go back to the country that once betrayed him.

The chapters of this study will be dealing with the following topics:

CHAPTER 1:

The first chapter of this study introduced the topic putting forward the argument that – though highly politicised - few people know the extent to which Turkey provided a safe haven for more than 1000 individuals in exodus from Nazi- infested Germany during the years of 1933- 1945. While human catastrophes, like the Holocaust in Germany, appear disastrous at first glance and stay horrendous in our memories, they sometimes had -as was the case with German émigrés to Turkey- partly favourable side effects. On a conceptual level the word *haymatlos* is introduced as an original contribution of the author and as a way of explaining the 'exilic' situation and space in which these émigrés are situated.

CHAPTER 2:

The second chapter places the topic within a global context by showcasing various other exile countries and prevalent literature and pointing out shared issues and problems among the individual host countries. It, also, gives an overview of the existing literature

of the topic in study and of Traugott Fuchs, the subject of study.

CHAPTER 3:

After a global perspective in chapter 2, the third chapter deals with a local perspective and gives information to the historical background that was leading up to and on the “how” and “who” of the emigration.

CHAPTER 4:

Chapter 4 then introduces Traugott Fuchs as the main subject of this study and gives details of his life as a way of bringing a personal perspective into the argument. We see, for example that exile provided Fuchs with the space needed for an upward mobility as defined by Fritz Ringer following the Weberian explanation of the German mandarin scholars. Istanbul, as the landscape of his fate became Fuchs’ home and place of self-realization.

CHAPTER 5:

Chapter 5 continues the discussion of chapter 4 on an intellectual level by introducing Fuchs’ seminal essay “Mensch, lebenswichtige Etymologies” (Wo-man, important etymologies) and arguing that only in exile Fuchs could reconcile with his own sexuality, interpretation of love and ultimately life.

CHAPTER 6:

As the conclusion, Chapter 6 deals with bringing together the different threads of my thesis, which moved from a global, to a local, to a personal and then finally to an intellectual level. Important questions that have been raised in the main text are revisited and connected to different theoretical works. Traugott Fuchs' life once again appreciated and put into the described context.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW- the Global Context

Introduction to the Prevalent Literature:

I have started my research by reading about German exiles in various countries, such as Brazil, Mexico, Sweden, the U.S., France, Great Britain, or about those who chose inner Exile over emigration like Victor Klemperer, and by reading theater plays by Toller Ernst, Upton Sinclair, the Mann's, or Bertold Brecht or personal memoirs of various émigrés in various life situations, life stages and political convictions. This

nurtured my thoughts and illuminated my own personal questions on the subject of the German Diaspora. Most importantly, however, it made me realize the vastness of the subject and made me think of what can be and what should be done. What is it that makes those émigrés so important for our histories? What makes them in all their diversity so similar? Did exile serve as cement to their beliefs, to their Germaneness and their Cosmopolitanism alike? To their common intellectual tradition? The Frankfurt School and their existence in exile is a telling example to this. Questions like: how did they adapt to their new environment, how did the environment influence their intellectual debate and how much of it owes to a much older tradition, as for example, the intellectual tradition of the Weimar republic? The pillar questions that influenced my intellectual quest through the subject were, however, influenced by my curiosity of the kind of influence the emigration of so many Germans had on their host countries and the cultural transfer that happened with it. That is why I have not dwelled on the affinities between the different mentalities of the émigrés in their different host countries in my literature review but more on their output there. My conceptual framework *haymatlos*, here, serves as a reminder that all these émigrés were part of the same historical experience and that their output in the various host countries is to be evaluated within their unique exilic situation. Speaking of cultural transfer and linking it with the concept of *haymatlos* can only be done in the realm of transnational history and should not be understood as the cultural transfer between two nation states. The émigrés, even if only for the limited time of the Nazi Period, were stateless or homeless, and contributed to the culture of their host countries through their unique status of having certain attachments to the cultural traditions of their homelands but being

alienated from them at the same time. This dialectical relationship between alienation and attachment gives place for the creation of non- politically created space, where these émigrés could interact freely and exchange knowledge, know- how, and expertise without failing national interests but by contributing –in their eyes- to the progress of humanity.

German Emigration in a Global Context:

When Hitler came to power and the persecution of German political ‘dissidents’ and Jewish people started, emigration to other countries was on the minds of all those who were concerned. In total, more than half a million people fled Nazi Germany in the years 1933- 1945 and with this representing 10% of the total European migration flows between the two world wars.²⁷ German journalist and author Raimund Pretzel (Sebastian Haffner, 1907- 1999) recounts in his (post-mortem published) autobiography, *Defying Hitler*, that there were few options available for those who wanted to emigrate.²⁸

France

France – as a country that was still very close - was on top of the list. So it is no surprise that in 1933 nearly 50 % of the emigrants went to France, here especially to Paris. From a total number of 65,000 refugees in the year 1933, 30,000 found their way to France- most of them political refugees.²⁹ Some, like Pretzel, thought of France as being close enough to return to Germany in the case the rest of the German people came to their senses and Hitler was deposed of his power. Some chose France because they spoke

²⁷ Röder, ed., *Biographisches Handbuch Der Deutschsprachigen Emigration Nach 1933*.

²⁸ Sebastian Haffner, *Defying Hitler*, trans. Oliver Pretzel (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002).

²⁹ Röder, xxxix

French and were hoping to find a job easily, for some France was a way to reach other countries more easily. Saint Sauveur - Henn's book *Zweimal verjagt. Die Deutschsprachige Emigration und der Fluchtweg Frankreich- Lateinamerika 1933- 1945* (Twice chased - away. The German- speaking Emigration and the Escape Route France- Latin America)³⁰ and her book *Fluchtziel Paris- Die Deutschsprachige Emigration 1933- 1945* (Escape Destination Paris- German- speaking Emigration 1933- 1945)³¹ describe how Paris, since the Russian Revolution, was somewhat of a capital of exile because of its liberal and intellectual appeal first to the Russians, then to the Italians and Spaniards and finally to the German émigrés. However, the situation soon changed when too many émigrés were coming and the local population and earlier émigrés were beginning to fear that these new arrivals would take away their jobs and/or drain the economy. These changes in French hospitality, its possible reasons the economic crisis and the political changes that led to legislative revisions concerning immigration in the late 30s, but also the more serious situation in Germany in particular, and in Europe in general, and France's geographical proximity to Nazi- Germany, made France soon a transit country to Spain and Portugal from where an emigration to the U.S or to the Latin- American countries was more easily achieved.

Great Britain

After France, Great Britain was clearly an obvious choice for emigration in Europe because of its geographical proximity and its relative cultural affinity in the sense that

³⁰ Anne Sauveur- Henn Saint, ed., *Zweimal Verjagt. Die Deutschsprachige Emigration Und Der Fluchtweg Frankreich- Lateinamerika 1933-1945* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998).

³¹ Anne Sauveur- Henn Saint, ed., *Fluchtziel Paris- Die Deutschsprachige Emigration 1933- 1940* (Berlin: Metropol, 2002).

there were long- lasting cultural and historical ties between Germany and Britain (seen for example in the frequent relations and marital arrangements among the upper classes and aristocracy) . Restrictive and selective immigration policies by the British government, however, made it to a difficult undertaking if one was not extremely rich, well- known or a child. Many Jewish families, therefore, send their children to England first to later find a way for themselves to come, too. Alone 10,000 German children were living in exile in England during the Nazi period. Out of a total number of 65,000 refugees, most of whom arrived after the relaxation of the immigration policies after 1938, this is an impressive number.³² Again, I would like to refer to a book of Raimund Pretzel, *Als Engländer maskiert- ein Gespräch mit Jutta Krug über das Exil* (Disguised as an English Man- a Conversation with Jutta Krug about the Exile), in my opinion, one of the most candid (autobiographical) accounts of emigration.³³ Here Pretzel tells us the story of how he decided – after short stays in Paris that became unbearable- to follow his Jewish girlfriend, and later wife, to Oxford, England. He also tells how this led to his internment ion at the Isle of Man and how difficult it was for him to find a job or get used to the English customs, and finally about his reasons for emigration and thoughts on why and how Hitler came to power. For Pretzel, for example, there was no question whether to emigrate or not. With his 25 years and an almost completed law degree, he was aware that practicing law under Hitler would be not just and decided to discard his law degree and to emigrate to England in 1938, where – after some adaptation problems - he became a very influential figure in the rebuilding of the English daily The Observer.

³² Röder, xxx

³³ Sebastian Haffner, *Als Engländer Maskiert- Ein Gespräch Mit Jutta Krug Über Das Exil* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags- Anstalt, 2002).

“The English leave you alone” is a sentence Marion Berghahn heard often during her interviews with German-English refugees to England. In her essay, “Women Émigrés in England”, in Sybille Quack’s volume, *Between Sorrow and Strength- Women Refugees during the Nazi Period*³⁴, Berghahn tells us further that “[i]t was a telling insight (...) that in the early stages of emigration had caused much pain (...) [and that] it was not a question of coping emotionally with being confronted by relatively closed society [but that] the highly restrictive immigration laws made it difficult for the refugees to rebuild their businesses and professional lives... .” And that from the beginning, the British government decided to “try and secure prominent Jews who were expelled from Germany and who had achieved distinction in pure science, applied science such as medicine or technical industry, or in music and art.”³⁵

All in all, because of the restrictive immigration policies of the British government and because of the relative difficult assimilation of the foreign emigrants into English society and their difficulty in finding economic opportunities, the emigration to Great Britain was not a “success story”, and often the British Isles were used to get somewhere else either the U.S. or Palestine.

USA

The total number of émigrés fleeing to the U.S. by far exceeds the number of any other

³⁴ Marion Berghahn, "Women Émigré in England," in *Between Sorrow and Strength: Women Refugees of the Nazi Period*, ed. Sybille Quack, *Publications of the German Historical Institute* (Washington D.C.: Cambridge University Press, Marion).

³⁵ Ibid., 75 and also see: Gerhard Hirschfeld, ed., *Exil in Großbritannien*, vol. Bd. 13, *Veröffentlichungen Des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London* (Stuttgart: Klett- Cotta, 1983). and Walter Muchitsch’s book Walter Muchitsch, *Österreicher Im Exil: Grossbritannien 1933-1945- Eine Dokumentation* (Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1983)., for a discussion about British immigration policies, activities of the Austrian Widerstand in Great Britain.

host country. With 132,000 emigrants coming from Nazi Germany, in the years especially after 1937, the U.S. became the number one emigration country.³⁶ The U.S., traditionally an immigration country, did not grant asylum to the fleeing emigrants. Further, emigration happened slowly because American quotas were filled very quickly and personal contacts to organizations, important public or political figures, or relatives were needed to get official permissions for immigration. So it is interesting to see that most emigrants to the U.S. either came from other host countries to America or were elderly people who decided to follow their children into exile, or relatively rich or famous people who could skirt around the quotas easily.³⁷

There is no wonder that the resources available to a researcher studying the German emigration to the U.S. are plentiful and widespread. There are few established émigré archives as the Feuchtwanger Memorial Library Archive at the University of Southern California or the German Émigré Collection at the State University of New York and there are also many smaller collections of individuals at nearly all of the major universities, especially the prominent collections at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton University. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that there are many books written about the subject in the U.S.³⁸

The German Historical Institute (GHI) in Washington D.C. alone brought out two volumes about German émigré historians in recent years.³⁹ One entitled *An*

³⁶ Röder., xxix

³⁷ For more information on the profile of the German emigrants to the U.S. see: "Council Correspondence," No. 5 /Frühjahr 1961), p. 11-21, available in the internet at: http://www.rijo.homepage.t-online.de/pdf/DE_DE_JU_emigration.pdf

³⁸ Helge Pross' book "Die Deutsche Akademische Emigration nach den Vereinigten Staaten" (Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1955) gives an extensive overview over how many emigrants came to the U.S. and to England, and through the help of which organizations.

³⁹ For more information on the activities of GHI, see their website: <http://www.ghi-dc.org/>

Interrupted Past: German-Speaking Refugee Historians in the United States after 1933, edited by Hartmut Lehmann and James J. Sheehan ⁴⁰ tells the story of important German historians having to flee to the U.S. and thus changing not only their life paths but also the historical discipline in the Anglo-Saxon world.

The second book, *A Past Renewed: A Catalogue of German-Speaking Refugee Historians in the United States after 1933*, by Caroline Epstein, on the other hand, gives us the bio - bibliographical data entries for the eighty-eight émigré historians who came to the U.S. and - as outlined in the book mentioned above - changed the discipline in a considerable way. Another interesting book in the same Cambridge book series of the GHS is *Hannah Arendt and Leo Strauss: German Émigrés and American Political Thought after World War II*, edited by Peter Graf Kielmansegg, Horst Mewes and Elisabeth Glaser - Schmidt. ⁴¹ This book analyzes how both Arendt's and Strauss' philosophical frameworks were heavily shattered by the occurrence of Hitler and their own emigration to America and how their perception of democracy changed and how that, on the other hand, influenced American Political thought.

Hannah Arendt and Leo Strauss both had immigrated to New York at the time. And they were not the only intellectual emigrants that were attracted to the big, bustling city with its endless opportunities. Like Paris in Europe, New York in North America was the capital of exile. With its wide array of universities and other educational institutions, with its open-minded and very cultured population, Broadway

⁴⁰ Catherine Epstein, *A Past Renewed - a Catalog of German- Speaking Refugee Historians in the United States after 1933*, ed. German Historical Institute, *Publication of the German Historical Institute* (Washington: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁴¹ *Hannah Arendt and Leo Strauss: German Émigrés and American Political Thought after World War II*, ed. Mewes Horst Kielmannsegg Peter Graf, Glaser- Schmidt Elisabeth, *Publications of the German Historical Institute* (Washington D.C.: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

and countless museums and galleries, New York offered solace and many opportunities to the arriving emigrants from Germany and Central Europe. Still as we can read in Heike Middel's book, *Exil in den USA mit einem Bericht 'Schanghei- Eine Emigration am Rande'* (Exile in the USA with a Report on Shanghai- An Emigration on the Side), it was difficult to adapt and get used to the foreign environment. Here she quotes Alfred Döblin saying in one of his letters: "The whole weight of exile is weighing on me. For me America is neither an immigration nor an easy emigration, but as a matter of course a country of exile of an exiled. Why exile? Because of the impossibility... to gain a foothold and to strike root." Or Bertolt Brecht noting that "[h]ere one feels like Francis of Assisi in an aquarium, Lenin in the Prater (or Octoberfest), a chrysanthemum in a mine or a sausage in a greenhouse (...)." ⁴²

Soon called the 'University in Exile'- the New School of Social Research in New York became the gathering place for the newly arriving 'academic' emigrants, and soon an influential émigré group formed around economists and social scientists such as Rudolf Arnheim, Emil Lederer and Hans Speier or Arnold Brecht and Albert Salomon (whose collections can be looked at the above mentioned German Émigré Collection at the State University of New York). Also, Leo Strauss joined the New School as a teacher between the years 1938-1945 before moving on to the University of Chicago. Klaus Dieter Crohn's book, *Intellectuals in Exile: Refugee Scholars and the New School for Social Research* tells their story and is a fine example of in-depth archival research and of a study of intellectual history.

⁴² Still as we can read in Eike Middel, *Herrmann Hesse: Die Bilderwelt Seines Lebens, Biographien Und Dokumente* (Leipzig: Verlag Phillip Recalm jun., 1975), Heike Middel, *Exil in Den USA Mit Einem Bericht "Schanghei- Eine Emigration Am Rande"*, vol. Bd.3, *Kunst Und Literatur Im Antifashistischen Exil 1933-1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg- Verlag G.m.b.H, 1980), 11ff.

Martin Jay's phenomenal book, *Dialectical Imagination*,⁴³ on the other hand, is a study of the second 'intellectual émigré circle' in New York: the exiled Frankfurt School (Institute for Social Research) camping out at Morningside Heights of Columbia University from 1938 onwards. Though the book is more aimed towards writing *the* history of the Frankfurt school and spans over the timeframe 1923 - 1952, an important part of the book deals with their time in the U.S. and how exile changed their language and theoretical outlook. So Horkheimer, then the head of the Institute, said:

After our emigration to America via Geneva, the Marxist interpretation of social events remained, to be sure, dominant, which did not mean in any way, however, that a dogmatic materialism had become the decisive theme of our position. Reflecting on political systems taught us rather that it was necessary, as Adorno has expressed it, 'not to think of claims to the Absolute as certain and yet, not to deduct anything from the appeal to the empathic concept of the truth' (...)⁴⁴

The book, *Exile, Science, and Bildung: The contested legacies German Émigré Intellectuals*, edited by David Kessler and Gerhard Lauer,⁴⁵ is another book that describes the effects that exile had on the fleeing German intellectuals and that these intellectuals had on the scholarship and academic field of its host country, in this case again the U.S.

While the so-called Frankfurt school had difficulties in adapting to the alien environment and to the prevailing institutionalist empiricism of American academia, and thus continued to write and publish in German, Kessler's and Lauer's edited volume describes the lives of those who were successfully adapting, like Siegfried Kracauer, Leo Strauss and Ernst Cassirer, among others, to their American exile. Overall, the book's leitmotiv Bildung (education) is overshadowed by their attempt to stress the politics of

⁴³ Martin Jay, *Die Dialektische Phantasie*, trans. Greiff Bodo von Hanna Herkommer (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1981).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, xxv-xxvi.

⁴⁵ "Exile, Science, and Bildung" (paper presented at the Exile, Science and Bildung, Bard College, 2002).

ethics and recognition, leading us to think more about the general feeling of being stateless.⁴⁶

Jean-Michel Palmier's book, *Weimar in Exile: The Antifascist Emigration in Europe and America*, is an attempt to approach the subject with a conceptual framework.⁴⁷ By leaving out single biographies and life stories, his book stands in contrast to Kessler's and Lauer's volume and makes us think about the fate of the 'Weimarer Exiles' and ponder why Hitler came to power and whether it was out of historical necessity. Another point that he raises is whether these exiles were really so appreciated in their host countries and whether or not they were politically feared more than they were appreciated.

This links with another very interesting book, published in the year 2000 by Yale University Press, which deals with the 'quasi- fascist' tendencies of the US government in the 1930s as well as with the German émigrés. Written by Alexander Stephan it is „Communazis- FBI Surveillance of German Émigré Writers“ written by Alexander Stephan.⁴⁸ This study shows that the U.S. authorities feared German émigrés on account of left - wing leanings and surveilled émigrés, such as Berthold Brecht, over a long period.

Brazil

A work worth mentioning in the context of the Latin - American emigration is the catalogue of an exhibition at the Deutsches Exilarchiv (German Exile Archive) entitled

⁴⁶ Another book very similar to this volume is for example: Robert Boyers, ed., *The Legacy of the German Refugee Intellectuals* (New York: Schocken Books, 1972).

⁴⁷ Jean- Michel Palmier, *Weimar in Exile: The Antifascist Emigration in Europe and America* (London: Verso, 2006).

⁴⁸ Alexander Stephen, *Communazis- Fbi Surveillance of German Émigré Writers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

*Exil Brasilien*⁴⁹ which outlines the problems the 16,000- 19,000 German émigrés encountered upon their arrival in Brazil especially with the change of regime after the putsch of 1937 and the Vargas Regime⁵⁰ which toyed with sympathies towards the Nazi Regime and which was afraid of the subversive elements within the émigré population. It is interesting to see how politically active those émigrés were or became in Brazil although they were not concentrated in one or two cities only but scattered all over the country.⁵¹

Palestine

There are not many books written about the German - mostly Jewish emigration to Palestine, though with 55,000 émigrés and its relative size Palestine belongs to one of the major host countries.⁵² Many books have been written about the impact of German émigrés on the Zionist movement and ultimately in the creation of the Israeli state, in terms of cultural transfer and impact, however, not many studies were attempted. The book “Die Emigration deutschsprachiger Musikschaffender in das britische Mandatsgebiet Palästina” The Emigration of German Musicians into the British Protectorate Palestine), by Barbara von der Lüche, is worth mentioning in this context.⁵³ This little study tells us the story of émigrés musicians fleeing to Palestine and setting up

⁴⁹ *Exil in Brasilien. Die Deutschsprachige Emigration, 1933- 1945- Eine Ausstellung Des Deutschen Exilarchivs 1933-1945*, ed., ^eds., vol. Nr. 21, *Die Deutsche Bibliothek* (Frankfurt am Main: Die Deutsche Bibliothek).

⁵⁰ Getúlio Dornelles Vargas (1882–1954), President of Brazil from 1930 to 1945 and from 1951 until his suicide in 1954, employing quasi- fascist methods to develop a centralist state dominated by corporations.

⁵¹ For more information on the Latin- American emigration see also: “Council Correspondence,” No. 2 (Winter 1959/60), p. 30-35, available in the internet at: http://www.rijo.homepage.t-online.de/pdf/DE_DE_JU_emigration.pdf

⁵² Röder, xxviii

⁵³ Barbara von der Lüche, *Die Emigration Deutschsprachiger Musikschaffender in Das Britische Mandatsgebiet Palästina* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999).

important stepping stones for the further development of music institutes, conservatories (here especially the Palestine Conservatoire in Jerusalem) and orchestras. Their influence on the Palestinian/Israeli classical music scene, and also in the continuation and preservation of German classical music in a non-Nazi context cannot be appreciated enough.⁵⁴

Japan

We don't have a lot of sources on the emigration in Japan, however, Turkish Japanologist Prof. Dr. Selcuk Esenbel has pointed out and given me the following article on three German philosophy professors, that had emigrated to Japan pre- Nazi period and after the Nazis had come to power: "Drei Bedeutende Denker in Sendai: Herrigel, Löwith und Singer," (Three Important Thinker in Sendai: Herrigel, Löwith and Singer) by Wolfgang Wilhelm.⁵⁵ The article describes the different life paths of these three German scholars and tells us that whereas Eugen Herrigel and Kurt Singer had emigrated before the Nazi period, well- known Husserl expert Karl Löwith found refuge in Japan on his flight from Nazi Germany. Very different in their perception of and assimilation in Japan, we see how different personalities and mentalities could clash with the host countries' society and culture. Kurt Singer, for example, though he had emigrated pre- Nazi period, lost his high- rank position as a philosophy professor due to the rising anti- Semitism during Japan's approachment vis- a vis Nazi- Germany and

⁵⁴ For a discussion of authoritarian, quasi- fascistic tendencies of German classical music please refer to Theodor Adorno's essay "Fragmente über Wagner" in: ZfS VIII, 1/2 (1939)

⁵⁵ Wolfgang Wilhelm, "Drei Bedeutende Denker in Sendai: Herrigel, Löwith und Singer," published by the Sendai Cultural Association.

barely got a position as a German lecturer at the University of Sendai. Karl Löwith, on the other hand, a refugee from Nazi Germany who was welcomed with open arms by the Japanese government and academic and was much revered. Contradictory to the highest extent, we detect a certain practicality in the scheme of Japanese educationalist policies: Jews who were not politically inclined and were quiet in respect to the fascist government were tolerated as useful elements in the modernization project. Jews who were loud, discontented and sceptical of the government policies were immediately removed from the frontlines (of academia). Löwith celebrated, Singer hidden.

Emigration Before the Nazi Regime:

Lastly, I want to point out another book by the GHI, edited by Ash, Mitchell and Söllner (1996) and entitled *Forced Migration and Scientific Change - Émigré German-Speaking Scientists and Scholars after 1833*.⁵⁶ Rather than looking at the cultural transfer exclusively during the Nazi period, this book quite daringly points out that there was cultural exchange antedating the Nazis and not also not only from Germany alone. It says:

The larger story would include the exodus in various stages over several decades from the Soviet Union, the pursuit of the *carriere ouverte aux talents* by Frenchmen such as Alexis Carrel and Rene Dubos who migrated to the United States before 1930, the flight of Spanish refugees from Franco and French refugees from Hitler, the migration to America of Enrico Fermi, Emilio Segre, and Rita Levi-Montalcini, and other Italians from 1938 forward, the exodus of Hungarians from the late 1950s, and the transfer across the Atlantic of German(ic) scholars such as Erwin Chargaff, Max Delbrück, and Joseph Schumpeter, whose various migrations were not enforced except by their sense of

⁵⁶ G. Mitchell and Söllner Alfons Ash, ed., *Forced Migration and Scientific Change- Emigre German- Speaking Scientists and Scholars after 1833* (Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute, Cambridge University Press, 1996).

greater opportunities.⁵⁷

This book helps us to keep a perspective of the general political and historical context and is therefore a must-read for anyone in the studies of transnational history and cultural transfer.

German Emigration in the Turkish Context

Comparative Perspective - Exile in Turkey in a Global Context

The literature cited above helps us put the topic “Exile in Turkey” into its contemporary global context through shared issues and problems. For example the French experience brings forth questions that relate to the study at hand in the social context. I was surprised when reading about the waning hospitality the German emigrants encountered, not only by the French, but also by their fellow emigrants. Surely, the emigration of thousands of German job-seeking emigrants was putting a strain on the local economy. However my own naiveté led me to believe that there was no competition in the struggle of economic survival among the émigré, themselves. How was the situation in Turkey? Was there a competition for jobs, or better positions, and how strong was the community sense and feeling among the émigrés themselves and between émigrés and Turkish local society during the war? And was the celebrated Turkish hospitality really not even a little bit tainted by economic struggle and fear of a

⁵⁷ Ibid., xi.

disruption in the social fabric?

The Latin - American experience, here in Brazil, on the other hand, is interesting from a political point of view: the Vargas Regime's quasi - fascistic tendencies with their aim for an *Estada Novo* (New State) and their open sympathies for the NS - Regime on the one hand, and the wide-spread political activities of the German émigré community on the other are clearly conflicting. Still German émigrés achieved relative success and riches and therefore a respectively high status in the Brazilian society. In contrast to the emigrants in Turkey, who were concentrated mostly in two cities - Istanbul and Ankara, - emigrants in Brazil were scattered throughout the country. Was the fact that they were scattered a boon to their political activities or a hindrance? Comparatively little is known about political activities on the parts of the emigrants in Turkey. It will be interesting to see, therefore, whether there were clandestine activities in the underground. We know from hearsay that a cell of the KPÖ (Komunistische Partei Österreichs, Communist Party Austria) was present but hidden at a time in Turkey.⁵⁸ To find out more about them, we probably have to look at the anti- communist activities of the İnönü government.

The books about emigration to United States are widespread and we can clearly see the important influence of the emigrants. We can actually see an explosion of Anglo-Saxon scholarship starting with WWII and reaching until the 1970s (this is when the last of the more important emigrants died). For example, the books published by the GHI indicate that the emigration of German historians to the U.S. had made a long-

⁵⁸ I am, again, grateful to Martin Vialon for having pointed out that recently published articles on the 'Austrian Exile in Turkey' have proven that a KPÖ cell existed in Turkey (Hausmann, 2000)

lasting impression because (1) there were a quite large number and (2) that they were already well known and well - published before they came to the U.S.

Even though the Frankfurt school is thought to have been a failure in integrating with the American academia and thus not making a major impact in the American academic field,⁵⁹ in general, the New School, which was also called the 'university in exile', was successful in finding a symbiosis between the German approach to *Bildung* and *Wissenschaft* and the institutionalized American empiricism. In contrast, because German émigrés arrived at a *tabula rasa* situation in Turkey, that is they were able to found faculties and institutes from scratch without the consideration of earlier traditions. They had – so to speak - a perfect condition for making a major impact on the further development of higher education and of the local academia. Their long - lasting influence is felt throughout Turkey, but was they really conscious of the unique situation that had been presented to them? These were again questions on my mind when reading about the influence of German academics in the U.S.

On the other hand, Kessler and Lauer's and Palmier's books bring up other but no less important subjects: the question of the statelessness and the internal conflict of valuing a culture- that is the Weimar Culture- that had bore both them and Adolf Hitler. The underlying problematic relates to the theme of this work, that it is very important to find a way to explain the loss of home by force and 'how an unwavering attachment to the historical and intellectual tradition of their homelands clashes with a simultaneous alienation – spatial and psychological- from their native country (or countries)'. Both Kessler and Lauer's book and Palmier's book have raised important

⁵⁹ For a discussion see Martin Jay's introductory remarks, xii ff.

aspects of these questions. This thesis confines its framework to the micro - history of looking at the history of the German émigré haymatlos experience through the life experience of an individual, Traugott Fuchs. Nonetheless, it hopes to shed light on some of these issues.

The book, *Communazis- FBI Surveillance of German Émigré Writers* by Alexander Stephan has been an eye - opener by pointing towards the ‘quasi - fascist’ tendencies of the U.S. government in the 1930s, and here in respect to the German émigrés. It would be extremely interesting to look at whether there are similar files on the parts of the Turkish government about *their* German émigrés. The British case and the attempts of the British government to recruit only “prominent Jews” bears similarities with the Turkish case and too little is written about Turkey’s immigration policies towards foreigners, in general, during those years. In the Japanese case we detect a certain scheming of useful and not useful academics within the greater goal of the fascist modernization project. The Jewish ethnic origin of Singer, as his counter example Löwith proved, even in the lights of German- Japanese alliance, was not the reason of his removal from a high- ranking position but his critique and uneasy relationship with the Japanese society and government was. How was it Turkey? Were certain ‘uneasy elements’ of the German émigré community removed, too, or maybe even sent back?

The impact of musicians on the musical field in Palestine is, also, a very similar situation to Turkey. A comparative analysis of the respective influences of the emigrants in both countries could be another wonderful subject to study.

Literature on “Exile Turkey”

A brief review of the books that have been written so far about Turkey as a German exile country indicates that the subject has not been approached by a sufficient critical point of view or lacks a comparative perspective regarding the global German émigré experience of the time. In general, we can say that the subject is mostly talked and written about by Turkish-German politicians and journalists, who in their own right have either glorified the experience or have concentrated on the most illustrious and well-known Jewish emigrants. So despite the fact that few scholarly works have been written on the subject, the larger number of publications concentrate either on a certain group of emigrants, as for example the émigré librarians, philologists or architects, or were written by emigrants or contemporaries within the genre of self-narratives.

The first book that was written about the German academic emigration to Turkey in a scholarly way, is Horst Widmann's book, *Exil und Bildungshilfe- Die Deutschsprachige Emigration in die Türkei nach 1933*.⁶⁰ By providing us with a bio - bibliography of most of the emigrants and by giving us a good overview of Atatürk's education reform and of the kind of work the emigrants had to master, the book is an essential read for anybody interested in the 'how' and 'who' of the subject. However, the work lacks a critical stance towards the Atatürk regime and omitting, for example, the fact that Turkey was at one point sympathizing with the idea of joining the Axis.⁶¹ Still, Widman's book should be read as what it is: a descriptive account of the 'how' and 'who' of the emigration.

⁶⁰ Horst Widman, *Atatürk Üniversite Reformu*, trans. Bozkurt Serpil Kazancigil Aykut, *Istanbul Üniversitesi Cerrahpaşa Tıp Fakültesi Atatürk'ün Yüzüncü Dğum Yilini Kulama Yayinlari Özel Seri 3* (Istanbul: Istanbul Matbaasi, 1981). Or for the book in the original language German: Horst Widman, *Exil Und Bildungshilfe- Die Deutschsprachige Emigration in Die Türkei Nach 1933* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lange, 1973).

⁶¹ For more discussion see Franz von Papen, *Memoirs* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1952), 222ff.

The second monograph that has attempted a study of the German refugees to Turkey is Arnold Reismann's book, *Turkey's Modernization: Refugees from Nazism and Atatürk's Vision*.⁶² Not well known in Turkey, it is a great historical account of both Turkey's modernization and the importance of the émigrés in executing 'Atatürk's vision'. However, the study lacks a comparative analysis and champions solely the very best of the emigrants. This 'elitist' approach of writing about the 'best and most famous' is one that goes hand in hand with the official storyline of a glorification of the subject on the parts of Turkish politicians and journalists and should be, therefore, critically evaluated. Not a historian by profession but a huge fan of Atatürk and his reforms, Reismann's book can be forgiven for its eager support of the official chorus by providing us with a comprehensive account of the emigration. However more archival and historical analysis is needed to make the subject a work of serious scholarly and interdisciplinary research.⁶³ Since, Arnold Reismann has become somewhat of an expert on the subject and has published many more articles about the German émigrés⁶⁴ -

⁶² Arnold Reismann, *Turkey's Modernization: Refugees from Nazism and Atatürk's Vision* (Washington DC: New Academia Publishers, 2006).

⁶³ See also: Reismann's article "Migration and Transfer of Knowledge: Refugees from Nazism and Turkish legal Reform" (co-authored with Fuat Andic, 2007), Available at: <http://etc.technologyandculture.net/2007/12/17/the-german-turk-miracle-arnold-reismans-turkeys-modernization/>

⁶⁴ See the following articles: Capar I. Reismann A, "The German Jewish Diaspora in Turkey: Exiles from Nazism as Architects of Modern Turkish Education (1933- 1945)," *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education: An International Journal* 1, no. 3 (2007), Andic. F. Reismann A., "Migration and Transfer of Knowledge: Refugees from Nazism and Turkish Legal Reform," *Forum historiae iuris* (2007), Namal A. Reismann A., "Joseph Igersheimer (1879- 1965) a Visionary Ophthalmologist and His Contribution before and after Exile," *Journal of Medical Biography* 15 (2007), Namal A. Reismann A., "Paul Pulewka Founder of Turkey's Pharmacology While in Exile from the Nazis: 1935- 1955," *Journal of the International Society for the History of Islamic Medicine* 5, no. 10 (2006), Oral A. Reismann A., Akar N., "Modernizer of Turkey's Pediatrics: Albert Eckstein in Exile," *Journal of Medical Biography* 15 (2007), Arnold Reismann, *Covenant, The Global Jewish Magazine* 2, no. 2 (Turkey's Invitations to Nazi Persecuted Intellectuals Circa 1933: A Bibliographic Essay on History's Blind Spot), Arnold Reismann, "A Brilliant Mathematician, a Woman

especially instructive are his bio-essays about individual emigrants published

Citizendium - an online encyclopaedia.⁶⁵

Stanford J. Shaw's book, *Turkey and the Holocaust*, is an excellent source regarding Turkey's treatment of the Jews during its history (his account starts with the Ottoman Empire), Turkey's role in rescuing Jews from the Nazis during Holocaust and certain Istanbul activities (that is mainly from the Jewish Agency) in rescuing European

of Strength, Tenacity and Dignity: Hilda Geiringer," *Women and the Holocaust* (2007), Arnold Reismann, "A Tribute to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and to One of His Many Visions," *The Voice of Atatürk: Official Publication of the Atatürk Society of America* (2008), Arnold Reismann, "Bringing the Best Western Classical Literature to Turkish Masses," *The Translation Journal* 13, no. 2 (2009), Arnold Reismann, "Exiled in Turkey from Nazi Rule, Eminent Biochemist Felix Haurowitz Became Indiana's Adopted Son," *AmeriQuest: The Journal of the Center for the Americas* 4, no. 1 (2007), Arnold Reismann, "German Jewish Intellectuals' Diaspora in Turkey: 1933- 1955," *The Historian* 69, no. 3 (2007), Arnold Reismann, "Harvard: Einstein's Disappointment," review of Reviewed Item, *History News Network*, no. (2007), Arnold Reismann, "He Replaced Ottoman Theology with Modern Philosophy in Turkey: Hans Reichenbach in Exile from Nazi Rule 1933-1938," *Epistemologia: Italian Journal for the Philosophy of Science* 30 (1) (2007), Arnold Reismann, "How a Professor Trained as an Engineer Came to Write a History of Holocaust Survivors Who Found Refuge in Turkey," *History News Network* (2006), Arnold Reismann, "Internment of Germans in Turkey in the Waning Months of WW II: Oral Histories-Invited by Turkish Armenians," (2007), Arnold Reismann, "Jewish Refugees from Nazism, Albert Einstein, and the Modernization of Higher Education in Turkey (1933-1945)," *Alpeh: Historical Studies in Science & Judaism* (2007), Arnold Reismann, "Modernization of Turkey's Architecture and Radiology by Austrian Refugees: 1933-1945," *Modern Austrian Literature- Journal of Modern Austrian literature and Culture Association* 41, no. 2 (2008), Arnold Reismann, "On a Taxonomy for the Literature of Migration," *International Migration* 47 (2009), Arnold Reismann, "Public Health Dentistry Pioneer: Alfred Kantorowicz in Exile from Nazi Rule," *Journal of the History of Dentistry* 55, no. 1 (2007), Arnold Reismann, "Rejection & Refuge: Four Luminary Intellectuals Saved by Turkey (1933- 1945)," *The International Journal of Independent Scholars- Journal International des Chercheurs Independent* 1, no. 1 (2007), Arnold Reismann, "The Story Behind the Story of Turkey's Modernization: Refugees from Nazism and Atatürk's Vision," review of Reviewed Item, *Voronezh, Online Journal of Turkish Studies*, no. (2007), Arnold Reismann, "Walter Gottschalk: A Pioneer of Modern Library Science and His Interactions with Albert Einstein During the Nazi Era," *Covenant, The Global Jewish Magazine* 2, no. 2 (2009), Arnold Reismann, "What a Freshly Discovered Einstein Letter Says About Turkey Today," review of Reviewed Item, *History News Network*, no. (2006), <http://hnn.us/articles/31946.html>.

⁶⁵ See: http://en.citizendium.org/wiki/Welcome_to_Citizendium

Jews, especially from France.⁶⁶ With his book - and plenty archival material to prove it - Shaw also refutes the argument of prevailing anti-Semitism on the part of the Turkish government by showing that the wealth tax (*Varlık Vergisi*) was not – as so often thought - directed against the Jews as part of rising anti-Semitism and that the Turkish government actively persecuted anti-Semitic sentiments or activities. Here, his use of American diplomatic reports and of Turkish official reports, newspaper articles or political speeches of the time, is elucidating.⁶⁷ Often discussed in this context, the *varlık vergisi* (wealth tax), for example, was not targeted towards Jews only, but towards all Turkish nationals who were able to provide ready cash and had the wealth to support the state and army in wartime.⁶⁸ Though valid in its direct sense, Shaw's argument has been one discussed frequently in Turkish historiography. Ayhan Aktar's book *Varlık Vergisi ve 'Türkleştirme' Politikaları* (Wealth Tax and Turcifying Politics), for example states that – though – the legal implications meant no discrimination against non-Muslim subject, in practice this was the case to give an advantage to Turkish business owners, who often acquired shops or manufactories from their non-Muslim equivalents for little money, after they had to sell them because they could not afford paying the wealth taxes.⁶⁹ One of the first books, that came out on the topic, is Ahmet Barutcu's book *Siyasi Anılar, 1939- 1954* (Political Memoirs, 1939- 1954) supports Aktar's argument from an autobiographical perspective. Here Barutcu, who was an official

⁶⁶ Stanford J. Shaw, *Turkey and the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 1993).

⁶⁷ Other books of Shaw include: Stanford J. Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic* (London: Macmillan, 1971), Stanford J. and Ezrel Shaw, Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

⁶⁸ See for a discussion about the *varlık vergisi*: Shaw, *Turkey and the Holocaust*, 39ff.

⁶⁹ Ayhan Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi Ve 'Türkleştirme' Politikaları, Tarih- Politika Dizisi* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, 2000).

involved in the wealth tax legislation of the time, argues that, especially, in practice the tax led to a turkification of businesses, trade and manufacturing in Turkey and that therefore one can say that the tax was in a way directed towards non- Muslim businesses.⁷⁰

It is true, however, when Shaw describes that once on Turkish soil these individuals were saved and protected by Turkish law, and contrary to some assumptions that the Turkish state showed anti- Semitic tendencies during the thirties. In overall, we see that it was neither the Turkish state nor the Turkish government that showed such tendencies but certain parts of the population. Turkish officials, especially during the 1930s before the outbreak of WWII were speaking out against the Nazi- propaganda gaining a foothold in some areas of Turkey. An incident where local Jewish people were forced out of the border areas, between Turkey and Greece, known as Thrace, resulted in a stern persecution of the anti- Semitic and Nazi- inspired actions and a strong official statement on the part of Prime Minister Ismet İnönü:

I am obliged to discuss a recent regrettable incident. I have learned that a number of Jewish citizens in Thrace (...) have been obliged to leave their homes and that many of them have taken refuge in Istanbul. In Turkey every individual is under the protection of the laws of the Republic. Anti - Semitism is neither a Turkish product nor part of the Turkish mind (...)⁷¹

The media also took a strong pro- Jewish stance, for example, Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, editor of the daily newspaper *Sabah*, for example, said:

To start with, we can say at once that there is no problem at all regarding Jews who are Turkish citizens. The Constitution of the Turkish Republic gives full political rights for Jews who have been living and working in Turkey for centuries (...) As to the Jews of foreign nationality (...) we view the Jewish problem in the world from a humanitarian point of view. The fact that among the foreign

⁷⁰ Ahmet Barutcu, *Siyasi Anılar, 1939- 1954* (Istanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1977).

⁷¹ Ibid., 15.

professors hired by the University, several are Jewish, shows that the frontiers of Turkey are not closed as a hostile barrier to the Jewish race. Seeing that Jewish professors invited to Turkey consider our country as their second homeland, that they combine honesty and devotion in their efforts to develop the minds of Turkish youths and contribute to progress of science, inspires us with a sentiment of gratitude for their great character and sincerity.⁷²

Supporting this argument, we can read in the memoirs of the German Ambassador to Turkey of the time (1939-1944) Franz von Papen, that: “The Nazi campaign against the Jews caused me further difficulties. Hitler ordered me to withdraw passports from all the German émigrés in Turkey and deprive them of German citizenship. I resisted this order and (...) [n]ot a single émigré was molested in any way.” He goes on by saying:

I was able to render another service to the victims of Hitler's anti-Semitic campaign. I learnt through one of the German émigré professors that the secretary of the Jewish agency had asked me to intervene in the matter of the threatened deportation to camps in Poland of 10,000 Jews living in southern France. Most of them were former Turkish citizens of Levantine origin. I promised my help and discussed the matter with M. Menemenciooglu. There was no legal basis to warrant any official action on his part, but he authorized me to inform Hitler that the deportation of these former Turkish citizens would cause a sensation in Turkey and endanger friendly relations between the two countries. This démarche succeeded in quashing the whole affair. I mention these incidents only to demonstrate that it was possible, even in the final stages of the régime of terror in Germany, for a person in my position to exercise normal human instincts and refuse to obey such unprincipled orders.⁷³

Supporting Shaw's thesis and definitely delivering a very interesting account of Turkey-(Nazi) Germany relations, von Papen's memoirs are both fascinating and at the same time questionable in regards to their historical validity.

⁷² Ibid., 26-27.

⁷³ Papen, *Memoirs*, 521- 22.

In general, we can probably say that first - hand accounts, like von Papen's memoirs, should not be taken at face value because they are, after all, personal narratives and not scholarly works. In any case, these narratives are definitely worth reading because they give us an idea of the atmosphere of the time and the feelings those who actually experienced this chapter of our histories first-hand. There are three more personal narratives, this time from the emigrants themselves that I would like to introduce.

The first is Fritz Neumark's (1900- 1991) autobiographical book, *Zuflucht am Bosphorus- Deutsche Gelehrte, Politiker und Künstler in der Emigration*. (Refuge on the Bosphorus- German Scholars, Politicians, and Artists in the Emigration).⁷⁴ It is by far the most widely known personal account of the German emigration to Turkey, and incidentally also the book that introduced the subject to me and my family and - I am sure - to many individuals or whole families. Without a bibliography but with a name glossary in the back of the book, it is more an informative first-hand account than a scholarly work. Covering subjects from the circumstances that led to the emigration, from their contracts to their first lessons at the newly founded faculties, from pressures on the parts of Nazi government to their lives in their new home Turkey, the book is helpful in getting an overview of the emigration, in general, and the first-hand experiences of Fritz Neumark and his family and friends, in particular.

Covering not quite as many subject areas and not as well-known as Neumark's book are the autobiographies by Rudolf Nissen (1996 - 1981), *Helle Blätter- Dunkle*

⁷⁴ Fritz Neumark, *Zuflucht Am Bosphorus: Deutsche Gelehrte, Politiker Und Künstler in Der Emigration 1933- 1953* (Frankfurt am Man: Verlag Josef Knecht, 1980).

Blätter (Light Pages- Dark Pages),⁷⁵ and by Ernst Hirsch (1902 - 1985), *Aus des Kaisers Zeiten durch die Weimarer Republik in das Land Atatürks* (From the Emperor's Times, through the Weimar Republic into the Land of Atatürk).⁷⁶ Rudolf Nissen came to fill the position of head of the first Surgical Clinic at Istanbul University and Ernst E. Hirsch followed to become Professor of Trade Law in the Faculty of Law also at Istanbul University.

And especially Nissen's account of how he came to Turkey is especially fascinating and proves once more that 'Exile Turkey' was not on the minds of those who had to flee, but was more a product of an historical coincidence. He recounts:

Our Plan was to get to England and reach the boat to America from Southampton. But it came differently. The departure from Paris was planned for the morning of the 14 July. The night before the fete nationale, we spent mirthfully on the streets of Paris (...) and overslept the time of departure. At nine o'clock we were woken by a telegram of my mother, that instructed me to call a number in Zurich. When I reached Zurich, Phillip Schwartz answered and asked me to come to Zurich straight away, in order to negotiate the offer of a chair of surgery at Istanbul University (...).⁷⁷

Another contemporary report, very different from the ones described above, is the

⁷⁵ Rudolf Nissen, *Helle Blätter- Dunkle Blätter, Erinnerungen Eines Chirurgen* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1969), 191.

⁷⁶ Ernst Hirsch, *Anılarım : Kayzer Dönemi Weimar Cumhuriyeti Atatürk Ülkesi (Aus Des Kaisers Zeiten Durch Die Weimarer Republik in Das Land Atatürks)* (Istanbul: Tübitak Popüler Bilim Kitaplari, 2000).

⁷⁷ Unser Plan ging dahin, nach England überzusetzen und in Southampton das Schiff nach Amerika zu erreichen. Es kam aber anders, Die Abreise von Paris war für den Morgen des 14. Juli festgesetzt. Die Nacht vor der fete nationale brachten wir im vergnügten Treiben auf den Strassen Paris zu, (...) und verschliefen den Abreisetermin. Um 9 Uhr wurden wir durch ein Telegram meiner Mutter geweckt, das mir angab eine Zürcher Nummer anzurufen. Als ich Zürich erreicht hatte, meldete sich am anderen Ende Phillip Schwartz (...) der mich bat, sofort nach Zürich zu kommen, um wegen der Übernahme des Istanbul Lehrstuhles der Chirurgie zu verhandeln (...), in Nissen, *Helle Blätter- Dunkle Blätter, Erinnerungen Eines Chirurgen*, 191.

infamous *Scurla Bericht*.⁷⁸ Herbert Scurla, an official (*Oberregierungsrat*) from the German Ministry of Education (*Reichsministerium für Erziehung*), was sent in 1939 to Istanbul and Ankara to report on the activities of the German émigrés and force their surrender to the German authorities through the Turkish government. Though, he did not succeed in doing so, he made detailed notes about nearly all of the German emigrants who held academic position which makes his report possibly one of the most important historical document of the time.

Another set of publications is the aforementioned academic essays on certain groups of so-called ‘academic émigrés’. The first essay entitled, “German Librarians in Exile in Turkey”, by Hildegard Müller, writes about the Atatürk Education Reform and the important contributions made by German professors such as Hellmut Ritter and Joseph Stummvoll, and especially by the three senior librarians Max Pfannenstiel, Sonja Tiedecke and Walter Gottschalk and their junior staff.⁷⁹ The second essay deals with another group of important émigrés: the Philologists, here especially Leo Spitzer and Erich Auerbach. In her essay, “Jewish - German Philologists in Turkish Exile: Leo Spitzer and Erich Auerbach,” Kader Konuk talks not only about the émigré philologists in general but raises the important question of the conceptualization of exile that links with the treatment and evaluation of Traugott Fuchs as my historical example. Her discussion of ‘being without a home’ or of ‘local knowledge production’ and of the ‘intellectual gain or loss’ in an exilic situation is especially laudatory because it is much

⁷⁸ Klaus- Detlev Grothusen, *Der Scurla- Bericht: Bericht Des Oberregierungsrates Dr. Rer. Pol. Herbert Scurla* (Frankfurt am Main: Dagyeli, 1987).

⁷⁹ Hildegard Müller, "German Librarians in Exile in Turkey," (1995).

forgotten elsewhere.⁸⁰ The third essay, in this context, also deals with the newly founded Germanistic faculty at Istanbul University, and therefore with Auerbach and Spitzer. Entitled “Die Deutsche Akademische Emigration von 1933 und ihre Rolle bei der Neugründung der Universität Istanbul sowie bei der Gründung der Germanistik” (The German Academic Emigration of 1933 and its Role in the Founding of Istanbul and in the Founding of the Germanistic Department), Nilüfer Kuruyazici’s essay looks at aspects of the emigration that have been written about in other works, and because she is writing the essay as part of a *festschrift* for the Turkish professor Sara Sahin, who incidentally was a student at the newly founded Germanistic faculty, the essay becomes interesting in its function as an homage not only to the German émigré professors but also to their Turkish students.⁸¹

The last publication I would like to mention in this context is a collection of essays edited by Faruk Birtek and Georg Staudt entitled: *Istanbul. Geistige Wanderungen aus der ‘Welt in Scherben’*. (Istanbul. Intellectual Migrations from a ‘World in Broken Pieces’). A collection of essays, the book deals with attempts to capture the realities, synthesis and fluidity of the concept of exile; mostly through the works and lives of well-known émigré intellectuals, such as Hellmut Ritter, Erich Auerbach and Leo Spitzer, but also through the life of relatively unknown émigré intellectual Traugott Fuchs, who is also the subject of this study. Georg Staudt and Faruk Birtek say in their introduction

⁸⁰ Kader Konuk, "Jewish- German Philologists in Turkish Exile: Leo Spitzer and Erich Auerbach," in *Exile and Otherness: New Approaches to the Experience of Nazi Refugees*, ed. Alexander Stephen (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2005).

⁸¹ Nilüfer Kuruyazici, "Die Deutsche Akademische Emigration Von 1933 und Ihre Rolle bei der Neugründung der Universität Istanbul Sowie Bei Der Gründung Der Germanistik," in *Interkulturelle Begegnungen: Festschrift Für Sara Sayin* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2004).

that:

“In the enlightenment inner idea of truth captured scholars, such as Fuchs, Auerbach, Ritter and Spitzer, did not only have to emigrate intellectually but also life determinedly, and discover -in the real sense of planning their lives - a new cultural world. We have to (...) remind ourselves, what this new cultural world was, it was not simply ‘the Orient’, and it was also Kemalism. Here was the bio-social-techno-Nazi culture giving the occidental- humanistic culture the last stab, there was the nationalistic and modernist Kemalism, wanting to transgress the Orient.”⁸²

With this, I want to conclude my analysis of the existing literature of not only the exile in Turkey, but also in the aforementioned countries, and on Traugott Fuchs (as mentioned in the Introduction), and continue my story on the life path of the latter, whose existence on the border line existence between Germany and Turkey, the Occident and Orient, between scholar and teacher, between man and human is one of the most capturing examples of the German exile in Turkey. Before I come to Fuchs’ story, however, I will describe the general historical context of both countries around 1933.

⁸² Die im inneren Wahrheitsbegriff der deutschen Aufklärung verhafteten Geisteswissenschaftler wie Fuchs, Auerbach, Ritter und Spitzer, die nicht nur geistig sondern auch tatsächlich lebensbestimmend emigrieren mussten, hatten sich in Istanbul auch im praktisch realen Sinne der Lebensgestaltung eine neue kulturelle Welt zu erschliessen. Man muss (...) sich daran erinnern, was diese neue kulturelle Welt war, es war eben nicht einfach der ›Orient‹, es war auch der Kemalismus. Hier gibt die bio-und sozial-technische Nazi-Kultur der untergehenden abendländisch-humanistischen Kultur den letzten Stoss, dort ist es der nationalistische und modernistische Kemalismus, der zugleich den ›Orient‹ überwinden will. In Birtek Faruk Staudt Georg, ed., *Istanbul. Geistige Wanderungen Aus Der 'Welt in Scherben'* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2007), 11.

CHAPTER 3: EXILE TURKEY- THE LOCAL CONTEXT

Germany and the Nazis 1933- 1945:

A wave of nationalism and anti - Semitism swept Germany as early as 1932 and brought a surge of electoral votes in favour of the NSDAP making it the largest party in the *Reichstag* and Adolf Hitler a potential candidate for chancellorship.⁸³ While there were still hopes in 1932 that the Nazis were a passing episode, Hitler's appointment on January 30, 1933 smashed these hopes with full force and brought about one of the darkest chapters of German History.

The origins of Nazism is a much-debated subject with a plethora of explanations

⁸³ For a discussion about Hitler's political rise see: *Forging the Collective Memory- Government and International Historians through Two World Wars*, ed. Keith Wilson (Providence: Berg Hahn Books, 1996), 281, David F. Linefeed, "Causality, Chaos Theory, and the End of the Weimar Republic: A Commentary on Henry Turner's Hitler's Thirty Days to Power," *History and Theory* 38, no. 3 (1999): 281. For a discussion about the wave of anti-Semitism prior to Hitler's seizure of power, see for example: Joan Evans, "Stravinsky's Music in Hitler's Germany," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56, no. 3 (2003).

- some people go as far as the Battle of the Teutoburger Wald 9 A.D. in their attempts at explaining the inevitability of Hitler and his NS - Regime. As Detlev Junger rightly says:

(...) Without much effort, a long list of continuities can be found that are supposed to have been significant in some way for leading to the National Socialist 'seizure of power.' Finally, one seems to be on solid ground when analyzing the structural weaknesses of the Weimar Regime against the backdrop of the failed revolution of 1918-19, hyperinflation, and the Great Depression. (...) ⁸⁴

Whatever the explanation for his rise to power, when Hitler was made chancellor on January 30, 1933, Germany was immediately transformed into a regime of terror to those who were included in the black list and an apparent heaven for those who complied with the Nazi Regime without questioning its racist ideology. ⁸⁵ An American spectator and visitor to Nazi- Germany write in a letter to his friend as early as Summer 1933:

(...) I can't talk of political realities, I know little or nothing of them, and only that Hitlerism does nothing to the surface of life as far as I can make it out. I hear the good things he has done and they are good – outside of the Jewish Question, which of course is tragic. I know nothing – that is not a help – the lower classes are for him of course because he feeds them – have met some of the upper class very upper class – and they are thankful because he has saved the state from

⁸⁴ Eberhard Kolb. "Was Hitler's Seizure of Power on January 30, 1933, Inevitable." In *Publications of the German Historical Institute*, ed Detlev Junger. (Place Published: German Historical Institute, 1997), <http://www.ghi-dc.org/publications/ghipubs/op/op18.pdf> (accessed 25.08.2009). 7.

⁸⁵ As David F Lindenfeld says in his essay "Causality, Chaos Theory and the End of the Weimar Republic: A Commentary on Henry Turner's 'Hitler's 30 Days to Power': "The origins of Nazism and its attendant horrors have been attributed to a great many things on a variety of levels, from the microscopic to the macroscopic. The plethora of explanations (...) have ranged from the events of 1933, on the one hand (...) to the entire sweep of German History, nay even History of the Western Christendom on the other (...)." See Lindenfeld, "Causality, Chaos Theory, and the End of the Weimar Republic: A Commentary on Henry Turner's Hitler's Thirty Days to Power."

bolshevism (...) I am extremely interested – want to know all but it is to soon and until I can get in touch with some intellectuals (...) I cannot hear the real truth (...)⁸⁶

What this American visitor did not know was that most of these intellectuals would have to flee to other countries to save their lives and continue their work in the search for truth, which now meant to find an answer to the question from where Nazism originated and whether it was purely a German phenomenon.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Max Weinreich, *Hitler's Professors: The Part of Scholarship in Germany's Crime against the Jewish People* (New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute, 1946), 46.

⁸⁷ Most exile literature is dealing with this question in a way or another. See for example Hermann Hesse's poem "Leb Wohl Frau Welt":

Leb wohl, Frau Welt
Es liegt die Welt in Scherben,
Einst liebten wir sie sehr,
Nun hat für uns das Sterben
Nicht viele Schrecken mehr.

Man soll die Welt nicht schmähen,
Sie ist so bunt und wild,
Uralte Zauber wehen
Noch immer um ihr Bild.

(Good Bye, Mother World
The world lays in pieces
Once we loved her much
Now she has except of dying
Not many horrors more

One should not vilify the world
She is so colourful and wild
Age-old magic is drifting
Around her image
...)

Or the writings of the Frankfurt School. Here a few examples: Theodor W. Adorno, "Wagner, Hitler, and Nietzsche," *Kenyon Review* VII, no. I (1947), Erich Fromm, *Fear of Freedom* (London: Routledge, 1941), Leo Löwenthal, *Falsche Propheten. Studien Zum Autoritarismus*, 5 vols., vol. 3, *Schriften in Fünf Bänden* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1980- 1987), Leo Löwenthal, *Literatur Und Massenkultur*, 5 vols., vol. 1, *Schriften in Fünf Bänden* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1980- 1987), Leo Löwenthal, *Mitmachen Wollte Ich Nie. Ein Autobiographisches Gespräch Mit Helmut Dubiel* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1980),

When Hitler passed the *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsamtentum* (The Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service), on April 7, 1933, thousands of teachers, professors, judges or other government officials were removed from their jobs for being of “non- Aryan descent”, not “ possessing the required or customary educational background or other qualifications” or for political activities which “afford no assurance that they will at all times give their fullest support to the national state.”⁸⁸

Among those who had lost their jobs due to the ‘Law of the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service’ were some of the most illustrious names of German art, science and *Wissenschaft* . Where did our teachers go? - This is a question a whole generation of German students, their parents and grand parents should have asked, but didn’t – rendering German education a tool of “social control.”⁸⁹ As “[t]he Nazi leaders from the beginning were cognizant of the fact that primary importance of education in popularizing the new state and in creating habits, knowledge and attitudes conducive of loyalty to the state (...) [and that] the whole function of education is to create a Nazi.”^{90 91} A large number if them, more than 1,000 individuals, most of them scholars,

Horkheimer. Max, *Dämmerung* (Zürich: Oprecht und Hebling, 1934), Franz Neumann, *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism, 1933- 1944* (New York: Harper, 1944).

⁸⁸ *Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service, April 7, 1933* ([cited 24.08.2009); available from http://www1.yadvashem.org/about_holocaust/documents/part1/doc10.html. See § 3, 4, 5 respectively.

⁸⁹ *Forging the Collective Memory- Government and International Historians through Two World Wars*, Edward J. Kunzer, "'Education' under Hitler," *Journal of Educational Sociology* 13, no. 3 (1939): 140.

⁹⁰ *Forging the Collective Memory- Government and International Historians through Two World Wars*, Kunzer, "'Education' under Hitler," 141.

⁹¹ Also see: "Hitler and Liberal Education," *Hispania* 27, no. 1 (1944), "Science Failed Hitler,"

academics and scientists fled to Turkey – invited by the Turkish state founder and leader of the time: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

Turkey and Kemal Mustafa Atatürk (1923- 1938):

Not more than two months after Adolf Hitler passed the “Law for Restoration of the Civil Service” on April 7th, 1933, and with this marking the first stage of anti-Semitic policies, Kemal Mustafa Atatürk, Turkey’s state founder and leader at the time, announced a state-wide Education Reform, on May 31st, 1933, which would soon encompass all areas of education in the young republic. Until then the Turkish people had been led by Kemal Mustafa Atatürk at break- neck speed away from the century- old and old-fashioned Ottoman cultural and social fabric into the loosely- woven net of democratic and republic ideas.⁹² Such a systematic westernization and secularization project, naturally created the need for a new education system that could stimulate a modernization and secularization of the newly founded Turkish state from within; thus

The Science News- Letter 50, no. 8 (1946), Weinreich, *Hitler's Professors: The Part of Scholarship in Germany's Crime against the Jewish People*.

⁹² Atatürk’s vision of a complete transformation of the Turkish state was achieved by the means of radical reforms. These reforms included: the creation of a new constitution with a distinct separation of religion and politics (laïcité), European inspired laws and jurisdiction, the adoption of a new Turkish alphabet replacing the old Arabic script, the establishment of a state-wide primary education system, the opening of people houses (promoting the new Kemalist ideas and reforms), the introduction of economic reforms (and creation of state- owned companies such as the Turkish Railroad) and finally by a university reform. For further reading see: Regine Erichsen, "Scientific Research and Science Policy in Turkey," review of Reviewed Item, *Cemoti*, no. 25 (2003), <http://cemoti.revues.org/document61.html>, Patrick Kinross, *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1993), Reismann, "A Tribute to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and to One of His Many Visions.", Reismann, "The Story Behind the Story of Turkey's Modernization: Refugees from Nazism and Atatürk's Vision," review of Reviewed Item, no, Reismann, *Turkey's Modernization: Refugees from Nazism and Atatürk's Vision, The Political Structure of Turkey*, (Directorate General of Press and Information), V. Volkan and N. Itzkowitz, *The Immortal Atatürk- a Psychobiography* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), Widman, *Atatürk Üniversite Reformu*, Eric J. Zürcher, *Turkey, a Modern History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004).

riding itself from century-old Ottoman heritage and any linkage or loyalty Turkish people could still savour with this heritage.⁹³

To date, the republic had a few hundred *medresses* and one institution of higher learning, the *Dar ul- Funun* in Istanbul but nothing was close to providing a secular education to the –now- secular society. So, on May 31, 1933, by the highest orders of government, and after years of planning and consultations with John Dewey, an American educator and philosopher, in 1924, Atatürk followed through his vision of an educational reform by inviting European scientists to work in Turkey as the nucleus of his reform. A conversation with Albert Malche, a professor of educational science at the University of Geneva and a prominent member of the city council of Geneva, followed up on Atatürk's wish to reform the Turkish university system with the help of European academics, and asked Albert Malche to make proposals to the how and what of these educational reforms.⁹⁴ Through a coincidence, Albert Malche was acquainted with Prof. Phillip Schwartz who was exiled from Germany on accounts of supposed communist activities, and started with him the *Notgemeinschaft deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland* (The Emergency Organization of German Academics), a society that helped to match the position openings at the newly founded faculties of Istanbul University and then at the University in Ankara with the job- and exile seeking academics and professionals from Germany. For the first successful placement of German academics, Philip Schwartz travelled twice to Turkey: On his first trip from the 5 - 7 July, 1933, he

⁹³ Like in the case of Nazi Germany, we have to ask here, also, whether education served as a tool to make 'Kemalists.' For a discussion about the argument in case of Nazi Germany see: Kunzer, "'Education' under Hitler." I am looking forward to reading the PhD thesis of my friend Stephan Ehring 'on the fascistic tendencies of the Atatürk regime' which will be completed 2010.

⁹⁴ Fritz Neumark, *Zuflucht Am Bosphorus- Deutsche Gelehrte, Politiker Und Künstler in Der Emigration 1933- 1953* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Josef Knecht, 1980), 13 ff.

convinced the Turkish government of the necessity of employing and the good fortune of being able to employ some of the most notable academics from Germany. On his second trip from 27 July to the beginning of August, Schwartz matched the names of the exiled émigré professors with the open positions at Istanbul University. He recounts:

Dr. Reshid Galip received me with friendly practicality and opened a memorable session. Next to him, who presided, on the left Prof. Malche was sitting and then me; on the other side Salih Zeki Bey and Rüshtü Bey were sitting. The long table was surrounded by members of the Reform Commission and by officials of the Education Ministry, who eagerly wrote down each word. The negotiations were done in French. ‘Could you recommend a professor for...?’ I had the rolodex of the ‘Emergency Organization’ written into *Kürschner’s Gelehrtenkalender*⁹⁵: in that way I could –without hesitating- give a choice of three professors. I read their CV’s, mentioned their work experience and about two candidates I could give my personal impression; they had visited me in Zürich. I recommended, that we put all three on the list and make the final choice later. ‘Could you recommend a professor for...?’ This question was posed to me, on this afternoon, 30 times and answered with growing anticipation. I, and all the others present, forgot about the time, complications, and obstacles. I knew, that the disgraceful expulsion from Germany got his seminal meaning in these hours. (...) At last, we talked about salaries and the general conditions of the contracts. In an intermission of the regular negotiations the result was documented. We gathered again, and sat down. The document was read slowly and confirmed sentence for sentence. The minister stood up: ‘Today is an exceptional day, on which were able to do an exemplary deed. When nearly 500 years ago, Constantinople fell, the Greek scholars decided to leave the lands. One could not prevent them. Many of them went to Italy. The Renaissance was the result. Today we prepared ourselves to receive a gift from Europe. We hope for an enrichment, for a renewal of a nation. Bring your knowledge, bring your method, and show our youth the way to progress. We extend our gratitude and admiration [to you].’ He signed and my signature followed (...).⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Note: *Kürschner’s Gelehrtenkalender* can be described as a yearly up-dated encyclopedia of August Angermann, *Was Für Männer Gab Das Evangelische Pfarrhaus Dem Deutschen Volke*, 2 ed. (Ellen: Lichtweg Verlag, 1939). Scholars

⁹⁶ Dr Reshid Galip empfing mich mit freundlicher Sachlichkeit und eröffnete die denkwürdige Sitzung. Neben ihm, der präsierte, zur linken saß Prof. Malche, dann folgte ich; auf der anderen Seite saßen Salih Zeki Bey und Rüshtü Bey. Der lange Tisch war umringt von Mitgliedern der Reformkommission und Beamten des Unterrichtsministeriums, die eifrig jedes Wort mitschrieben. Die Verhandlungen wurden französisch geführt. ‘Können Sie uns einen Professor für (...) empfehlen?’ Ich hatte die Kartothek der Notgemeinschaft in Kürschners Gelehrtenkalender eingetragten; so konnte ich ohne zu zögern drei Professoren zur Auswahl stellen. Ich las ihren Lebenslauf vor, erwähnte ihre bisherige Tätigkeit und

Even though, he had not planned to emigrate to Turkey at the beginning, Philip Schwartz decided to leave the organization in the hands of a –as can be seen in its further development- capable successor, Fritz Demuth, and left Switzerland to come to Istanbul as the new head of the Pathological Institute at Istanbul University. Before he left, he once again summarized the mission of the *Notgemeinschaft*:

Great need caused us to form an organization. Thereby it does not involve the attempt to find positions, which will help us to secure salaries. We closed our ranks, to prevent degradation of the spirit, which helped us to develop our faculties, and to which service we were born. Today, nearly 6 months after the disgusting scenes of expulsion, we don't stand alone anymore. We can look calmly, if not proudly, into the future: Each, who as a teacher or scholar dedicates himself to science, will be able to continue his work and even if he needs to prove his capabilities another time or another ten-times.⁹⁷

konnnte über zwei Kandidaten meinen persönlichen Eindruck berichten; sie hatten mich in Zürich aufgesucht. Ich empfahl, daß wir alle drei auf die Liste setzen und die endgültige Wahl später vornehmen. 'Können sie uns einen Professor für (...) vorschlagen?' Diese Frage wurde im Lauf des Nachmittags 30 mal gestellt und unter zunehmender Spannung beantwortet. Ich und alle Anwesenden vergaßen Zeit, Komplikationen und Widerstände. Ich wusste, dass die schmachvolle Vertreibung aus Deutschland in diesen Stunden einen schöpferischen Sinn erhielt. (...) Zum Schluß haben wir uns über Gehälter und allgemeine Vertragsbedingungen geeinigt. In einer Unterbrechung der regulären Verhandlungen wurde das Ergebnis urkundlich festgehalten. Wir versammelten uns wieder und nahmen unsere Plätze ein. Das Dokument wurde langsam verlesen und Satz für Satz bestätigt. Der Minister erhob sich: 'Es ist ein außergewöhnlicher Tag, an welchem wir eine beispiellose Tat vollbringen durften. Als vor fast 500 Jahren Konstantinopel fiel beschlossen die Griechischen Gelehrten, das Land zu verlassen. Man konnte sie nicht zurückhalten. Viele von ihnen gingen nach Italien. Die Renaissance war das Ergebnis. Heute haben wir uns vorbereitet, von Europa eine Gegengabe zu empfangen. Wir erhoffen eine Bereicherung, ja eine Erneuerung unserer Nation. Bringen Sie uns ihr Wissen und ihre Methoden, zeigen Sie unserer Jugend den Weg zum Fortschritt. Wir bieten unsere Dankbarkeit und unsere Verehrung an.' Er unterschrieb und meine Unterschrift folgte (...). See: Philipp Schwartz, *Notgemeinschaft. Zur Emigration Deutscher Wissenschaftler Nach 1933 in Die Türkei*, ed. Helge Peukert (Marburg: Metropolis, 1995).. 23ff

⁹⁷ "Grosse Not hat uns veranlasst, eine Gemeinschaft zu bilden. Es handelte sich dabei nicht um den Versuch, Stellen zu finden, die uns zu einem gesicherten Einkommen verhelfen. Wir schlossen unsere Reihen, um eine Degradierung jenes Geistes zu verhüten, der uns zur Entwicklung unserer Fähigkeiten verhalf und in dessen Dienst zu stehen wir geboren wurden. Heute, kaum 6 Monate nach den abscheulichen Szenen der Vertreibung, stehen

With these words Schwartz left Switzerland to join the other 37 foreign and 27 Turkish professors and academics to celebrate opening of the newly founded Istanbul University on August 1, 1933.

German Émigrés in Turkey

In his memoirs “Zuflucht am Bosphorus,” Neumark tells us that most of the émigrés did not really know the country they were fleeing to. He says:

We knew at best, that there was no sultan or caliph anymore, that the Ottoman Empire after countless wars, in which it participated, and in which –except of in the War of Independence- it always was on the loser’s side, was transformed through Kemal Pasha - but that was all we knew.

On 10 November, the new and youthful Minister of Education Hikmet Bey, former General Secretary of the President, inaugurated the first academic year of [Istanbul] University with a speech (...) the same number of men and women filled the room, the stairwells, the galleries, and another 3000 were surrounding the building, which doors were wide-opened. The minister introduced his professors- foreign and local- one after the other and each was welcomed joyfully, even [some] with jubilations. And then the crowd scattered to the [individual] institutes. There was a feverish construction and reconstruction still everywhere. In improvised lecture halls, often on tables, standing or sitting on a box, we started to lecture. A Turkish assistant translated sentence for sentence. And admittedly excellent! Because the serious faces were suddenly shining, a happy relaxation was invigorating them: the strange man, who has the reputation of a great scholar, was making a joke and was understood. They understand us! We will be friends!⁹⁸

wir nicht mehr allein. Wir können beruhigt, ja, stolz, in die Zukunft schauen: Jeder, der sich als Lehrer und Forscher der Wissenschaft widmet, wird seine Arbeit weiterführen können und wenn er dabei seine Eignung vielleicht noch einmal oder zehnmal wird von neuem beweisen müssen.” 25ff

⁹⁸ “Wir wussten allenfalls, daß es keinen Sultan und keinen Kalifen mehr dort gab, daß das alte Osmanische Reich nach den zahllosen Kriegen, an denen es sich beteiligt hatte und in denen es, bis auf den letzten Unabhängigkeitskrieg, immer auf der Verliererseite gestanden hatte, durch

With three or five year contracts in their hands, Turkish assistants on their sides, and knowledge- hungry students in front of them, most German émigré professors threw themselves into work and teaching, as was expected of them. The general conditions of their contract asked them to learn Turkish as quick as possible and then to write textbooks in their respective fields. Their salaries were generous, and as Neumark remembers, three or four-times as large as the ones of the local professors. With 38 foreign and 27 local professors, Istanbul University soon became the center for interdisciplinary research and maybe ‘the best German university’ if not the ‘best of the world’ of its time.

Phillip Schwartz describes:

The University Istanbul was after 1933- next to Ankara- probably the biggest émigré university that ever existed. In the city, that joins Asia and Europe on the Golden Horn (...), scholars and artists, and also politicians, like the subsequent major of Berlin Ernst Reuter [came] (...). To them, also, belonged humanists like Auerbach or Rohde, the orientalist Hellmut Ritter, the mathematician von Mises, the scientists Kosswig, Heilbronn or Reichenbach, doctors such as Nissen,

Kemal Pascha zu einer Republik umgestaltet worden war – aber das waren auch so ziemlich unsere Kenntnisse.⁸Am 10. November eröffnet der neu ernannte, jugendliche Unterrichtsminister, Hikmet Bey, vorher Generalsekretär des Präsidenten, mit einer Ansprache das erset Unterrichtsjahr der Universität (...) ebenso viele Männer und Frauen füllten nun den Raum, Treppen und Gallerien, und andere 3000 umdrangen das Gebäude, dessen riesige Tore weit offen standen. Der Minister stellte seine Professoren- ausländische und einheimische- einen nach dem anderen vor, jeder freudig oder gar jubelnd empfangen. Und dann verteilte sich die Menge in die Institute. Aufbau und Umbau waren überall noch fieberhaft im Gange. In improvisierten Hörsälen, oft auf Tischen, auf einer Kiste stehend oder sitzend, begannen wir zu lehren. Ein türkischer Mitarbeiter übersetzte Satz für Satz. Und zwar ausgezeichnet! Denn die ernstesten, befangen aufmerksamen Gesichter hellten sich plötzlich auf, eine lustige Entspannung belebte sie: der fremde Mann, der den Ruf eines grossen Gelehrten hat, fügte eine scherzende Wendung ein uns sie wurde richtig aufgenommen. Man versteht uns! Wir werden Freunde!” Neumark, *Zuflucht Am Bosphorus- Deutsche Gelehrte, Politiker Und Künstler in Der Emigration 1933- 1953*, 56.b

Dessauer and also Schwartz, or economists like Neumark, Rüstow and Röpke.⁹⁹

As probably the largest émigré universities in the world ever, Istanbul University and then later Ankara University were to make a major impact on science and the academic field. How come then, that when people are talking or writing about the Holocaust, the Shoa, or about the Refugees from Nazi Germany we seldomly hear of Turkey as one of the major host countries?

While it is true, that the German emigrants to Turkey might –statistically - represent only a small proportion of the whole *Holocaust Diaspora*, it is not true in regards to an ‘intellectual’ or ‘academic’ emigration. Here, we see that Turkey was a major player in the global context. In the years 1933- 1934, more than 1200 scholars, scientists and academia were dismissed from German University on the grounds of the afore- mentioned *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsamtentums* (Law for the Restoration of the Civil Service), around 650 emigrated - 190 to Turkey. This means that 29% of those who chose emigration chose Turkey as a host country.¹⁰⁰

I have already pointed out that a unique situation presented itself to the

⁹⁹ “Die Universität Istanbul war nach 1933 – neben Ankara- die wohl größte Immigrantuniversität, die es je gab. In der Stadt, die am Goldenen Horn Europa und Asien verbindet (...) fanden neben Gelehrten und Künstler auch Politiker wie der spätere (...) Berliner Oberbürgermeister Ernst Reuter Zuflucht. Zu Ihnen gehörten Geisteswissenschaftler wie Auerbach oder Rohde, der Orientalist Hellmut Ritter, der Mathematiker von Mises, Naturwissenschaftler wie Kosswig, Heilbronn oder Reichenbach, Mediziner wie Nissen, Dessauer und auch Schwartz und Nationalökonomien wie Neumark Rüstow und Röpke.” See: schwartz, Philipp Schwartz, *Notgemeinschaft. Zur Emigration Deutscher Wissenschaftler Nach 1933 in Die Türkei*, ed. Helge Peukert (Marburg: Metropolis, 1995), 17.

¹⁰⁰ Arnold Reismann, "Turkey's Invitations to Nazi- Persecuted Intellectuals Circa 1933: A Bibliographic Essay on History's Blind spot," *Covenant, The Global Jewish Magazine* 3, no. 1 (2009): 1.

emigrants in Turkey. Other than in France or in Great Britain, or even in the U.S., the emigrants to Turkey were 'invited' Kemal Mustafa Atatürk had started guests who were historically needed to complete what as the republican reforms. Whereas the emigrants to, for example, the United States suffered under age and race discrimination, that is certain immigration quotas, and hardly got any employment at higher learning institutions before 1938, Turkey was welcoming professional emigrants, regardless of age and race, with open arms and even intervened on their accounts. The American Ambassador to Turkey of the time, Robert Skinner, describes the situation to the American Secretary of State and Nobel Peace Price Laureate, Cordell Hull, as followed:

The far-reaching effect of the expulsion from Germany under the Hitler regime cannot actually be measured as yet, but it (...) is likely to turn out advantageously for countries like Turkey which are endeavouring to make intellectual progress along western lines. According to my information, 35 newly employ foreign professors have been taken into the University of Istanbul, of whom 30 are understood to have arrived and all of whom, with the exception of one Austrian and one Swiss, are German Jews who were either expelled or who left Germany on account of the recent political troubles. All of these professors are recommended to Professor Malche, who is at the head of the university reform movement here, by a certain Professor Schwarz [Schwartz], the Secretary of an organization with its seat in Zurich, and which endeavours to find employment for German intellectuals who were obliged to leave that country for political and racial reasons. Professor Schwarz, himself now figures among the professors employed by the Istanbul University. At Ankara two German Jews have been employed recently (...) [and] there are also four German doctors of medicine engaged to work (...).¹⁰¹

According to official German sources 65 professors, 17 lecturers or assistant professors in the social sciences and humanities, 50 medical or technical assistants came to

¹⁰¹ Letter from Robert Skinner, American Ambassador to Turkey, on November 10, 1933, to American Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, cited in: Reismann, *Turkey's Modernization: Refugees from Nazism and Atatürk's Vision*, 12-13.

Istanbul during the years 1933- 1945 and 25 musicians, composers, music professors, 22 professors (mostly Medicine and Agrarian studies) and 10 medical and technical assistants came to Ankara. That makes 189 officially employed German émigrés. In total 1060 people of German origin¹⁰², nearly all of them fleeing from the Nazi regime, emigrated to Turkey during the years 1933- 1945. Comparing the total number of German émigrés to the number of the officially employed German émigrés, we can say the vast majority (nearly 90%!) of German émigrés that came to Turkey were neither invited nor necessarily beneficial to their host country in an official sense, that is within their envisioned modernist project.¹⁰³

It is easy to attach a humanistic value to Turkey's invitations and intervention on behalf of these Jewish, or non- Jewish but politically persecuted, Germans. Though true, that more than thousand people were saved by Turkey from persecutions in Nazi Germany, we should not forget that Turkey, also, invited some of the most illustrious names of German academia. Like Great Britain, Turkey followed a clear agenda in inviting the best of the best, filling up positions that needed to be filled up, but as opposed to England we see that it did not refuse and close its borders to others.¹⁰⁴

These illustrious names of German academia are then also the protagonists of the official – idealized- story line of the German emigration to Turkey. Often forgotten and somewhat in the fringes of history are the assistants, the medical and technical staff and the non- academic émigrés (who were around 90 % of the total number of German émigrés to Turkey!). The above- described historical context has helped us to view the present topic

¹⁰² In this number I have not included the group of Austrians that came after the *Anschluss* 1938, one émigré from Czechoslovakia and one from France.

¹⁰³ See Appendix 1 for a complete list of German émigrés to Turkey. This list was provided to me by former Consul General Rainer Möckelmann.

¹⁰⁴ For discussion see section 'Britain' in Chapter 2 of this study.

“Exile: Turkey” on a local level. The following chapter will tell the story of German emigration to Turkey, on a more personal level, ‘through the lenses’ of Traugott Fuchs’ life, who came as a young man to Istanbul and decided to stay for the rest his life.

CHAPTER 4: TURKEY, AN EXILE FOR GERMAN PAINTER AND POET

TRAUGOTT FUCHS- THE PERSONAL CONTEXT

Growing up and Studying in Germany: 1906-1933

Born on November 23 1906, Traugott Fuchs was the fourth child of the Evangelic pastor Karl Fuchs and his wife Marie Adelheid, born Krencker. After a happy childhood in the Alsatian village Lohr, the family moved to Karlsruhe during the First World War and then to Metz/Lorraine. In one of his autobiographical essays, Fuchs tells about his childhood:

I attended schools wherever my family moved, when my father was transferred to a new post. First we went to Karlsruhe, Baden. With the beginning of the First World War, the sudden air raids were my first contact with the horrors of modern war by air and its cruel results –for example in a full circus- deep shock, frightened puzzlement, Panic, fear, not understanding... In strict patriotism we were educated against ‘the enemies’, instilled with absolute love for God and the Kaiser Wilhelm II. Hindenburg and their allies. Every night I prayed for these people whose colourful Pictures were hanging above my bed, naively (...)

Then we moved to Metz in Lorraine. Alsace and Lorraine were father's and mother's home country. Mother was from an old Alsatian family of farmers and pastors. Father was born in Lorraine, brought up in Strasbourg, where he studied. He saw in the room of his fellow student, my other uncle, the picture of his friend's sister- fell in love immediately and exclaimed: 'This one and no one else!' And it was for good... So it was a big joy for my parents to come back to the country to which they were so much attached. War continued and became even more intense... I loved Metz: (...) my charming Lothringian classmates with their musical French- German accent; and my father's school, the old 'lyzeum' on the shore of the Moselle – and very much more- I would write a hymn if I could! However, here happened something, which was, in a small dimension, like a prediction or anticipation of later grave and decisive events: encounter with the Nazi- nature of human kind. (...) a group of rude youngsters brutally attacked the primus of our class, a tiny, meagre and pale Jewish boy (...) 'He is innocent!' I cried, 'He hasn't done anything; he is innocent!' and firmly decided to protect him (...) I had acted spontaneously, straightforwardly, according to my very pronounced instinct against injustice and stupidity (...)

When the war was over, Alsace- Lorraine, our home country, became French. Although our mother and we, children, had the right to stay and become French, we had to follow our strictly Prussian- minded father (...) Our return to Germany was like an immigration; in our deeply regretting hearts, we cherished the loss of a home feeling (...)

I was unhappy at school where natural sciences were held in high esteem and no classical languages were included in the program (...) and with the people, unlike the people of Lorraine, the feeling of being a stranger, never getting really close to them, never really being accepted... But, at times, I dreamt in colours and painted it afterwards (..)¹⁰⁵

At first experienced as exile, Schmalkalden soon became the permanent home of the family. Following his Abitur, "on the advice of his teachers" Fuchs went to Berlin, Heidelberg, Marburg and Cologne to study German and French Philology, 'Germanistic' and 'Romanistic' and History of Art. His academic instructors were the philosopher Karl Jaspers, the educationalist Eduard Spranger, the literary scholar and Hölderlin expert Friedrich Gundolf, and above all, the Romanist Leo Spitzer. He tells

¹⁰⁵ Traugott Fuchs, "Short Story of My Life," (Traugott Fuchs Cultural and Historical Heritage Archive, 1986), 7-8. Archive Reference No.: E.I.s.0003 (Bogazici University, BAP No. 06B901)

us:

In Marburg I was, with a certain success ‘discovered’, so-to-say, and officially appreciated, and surprisingly, for the first time, in the seminar of Leo Spitzer, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures. This decided the course of my life. Now I belonged to the select circle and followed him when he came to Cologne. Here I was one of his assistants until the Nazis seized power, when being a Jew, he had to go (...)

I invited our students by letters to sign a short but impressive socratic text prepared by his closest friends, in favour of our professor, asking to have him back, and to return the signed text immediately. (...) The positive answers arrived quickly and the list was nearly complete (...) But suddenly the SA in uniform emerged – my poor students of the summer course! And asked for the list with the signatures. (...) I did not give it, hiding it on my breast, they became aggressive, and we quarrelled and fought hither and thither. As, we our family, had a very old genealogy tree of nothing but Alsatian Aryans, in spite of my ‘Jewishly’ infected brain, with these inferior people I was rather audacious and arrogant (...)¹⁰⁶

While Spitzer ‘found refuge in Istanbul’, Fuchs was one of the few students –back in Germany- who were openly protesting against the Nazi regime. In a *Bericht über die Zustände im Romanischen Seminar* (Report about the State of Affairs in the Romanistic Seminar), the so-called ‘*Leiter der Romanisten*’ (‘Manager of the Romanists), Sepp Thomer reports, on 19 July 1933:

We, National- Socialists protest against the damaging anti- Nazi activities of the suspended Prof. Spitzer

1. Frl Buckart (...)
2. Frau Dr. Eberwein
3. Trauthold Fuchs [Traugott Fuchs], Assistant at the Romanistic Seminary
 - a. On 22 April, birthday of our *Führer* Adolf Hitler, Fuchs led a manifestation for the Jewish Prof. Spitzer; this led to a great outrage among the Nazis. Witnesses: Münchhalf, Walraff, Diefenbach, Piert.
 - b. On the same day, Fuchs spoke damaging about the movement and our *Führer*.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 11.

Witnesses: Thomer, Elste

- c. In the workshop during the Easter holidays, Fuchs attempted to interpret the German Prayer in an erotic way. Witnesses: Thomer, Piert. (...) ¹⁰⁷

Fuchs struggled in vain to defend his beloved professor and mentor Leo Spitzer. After he initiated the signature petition against Spitzer's shameful dismissal, the Nazi-infested student body and faculty completely turned against him. „Total isolation and exclusion,“ he writes later, „were the consequences.“ ¹⁰⁸ His life in Cologne, however, was interrupted for one year when he went to Caen, Normandie (Calvados) on a one year German lectorship which passed –as he describes it “in a mutual mood of warmest friendship and sympathy, with many promenades in the beautiful country.” ¹⁰⁹ When he came back, Fuchs was asked many awkward questions by his “newly Nazi-minded old friends” and so it was no surprise that when he “was invited to join [Spitzer] by a phone call made by Professor Erich Auerbach, the author of *Mimesis* and [Spitzer's] successor in Marburg and later on in Istanbul” he accepted without hesitation and as he said “with great enthusiasm, feeling this was a real chance for liberation –no compromises with the Nazis (...).” ¹¹⁰

Emigration to Istanbul: 1934

He came here

¹⁰⁷ Thomer, Sepp, “Bericht über die Zustände im Romanischen Seminar” (Report about the State of Affairs in the Romance Faculty, Archive of Cologne), 19.07.1933. This important letter was found by Prof. emeritus Dr. Gerald Wiemers in the Archive of Cologne, which has agreed to give a copy of this letter to the Traugott Fuchs Cultural and Historical Heritage Archive. Archive Reference No.: I. I. 0001

¹⁰⁸ Traugott Fuchs, "Mein Besuch Bei Hermann Hesse," (Traugott Fuchs Cultural and Historical Heritage Archive), 2. Archive Reference No.: A.I.a.0004

¹⁰⁹ Fuchs, "Short Story of My Life."

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 12.

A suitcase in each hand
February 1934
Following a Jewish Professor
Joining an émigré circle
Whose labour was welcome at the time.
(...) and the poems
neatly catalogued unbound
diligently hidden, but at the last unburned
flimsy sheets struck
by the heavy keys of a typewriter
so poignantly of its time (...)¹¹¹

Traugott Fuchs left Germany at the end of February in 1934 „with two simple suitcases“ and followed his professor to Istanbul, in his opinion- „ one of the most beautiful cities in the world.“¹¹² He writes later:

I emigrated at that time because of my personal convictions and as well as out of solidarity towards my Jewish teacher, the Romanist Leo Spitzer to Turkey. In this way, he saved me from the evil fate of my misguided motherland (...) To begin with, he (Spitzer) in order to provide me with livelihood, appointed me as an instructor of French at the School for Foreign Languages at Istanbul University. Subsequently, I was provisionally assigned by Spitzer to teach German literature and language in order to fill up the vacancy left by the absence of a professor in the field. In this way, Spitzer founded the Department of German Language and Literature in the Faculty of Philosophy at Istanbul University. Thus, for ten years I was entrusted with the teaching of German language and literature and, in fact, studied the subject thoroughly, which I did with great pleasure.¹¹³

He, also, tells us that:

¹¹¹ This is the motto of Vialon's essay in Staath/Birtek (2007). The poem was dedicated – according to Vialon- to Suheyla Artemel and Martin Vialon as those who were engaged into rescuing Fuchs' Heritage in turkey. Fiona Tomkinson, "Traugott Fuchs," *The Dirty Goat* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004).

¹¹² Fuchs, "Short Story of My Life.", 13.

¹¹³ Ibid.

During the first years, together with the ‘big shots’, the famous professors, we, die ‘kleinen Würstchen’ (‘small sausages’), to use Hellmut Ritter’s¹¹⁴ humoristic idiom that meant people of very much less importance, shared here in modern Turkey a Renaissance- like joy of a return to the conditions that existed in pre-Nazi Germany in certain highly intellectual circles, both academically and culturally as well as socially. We felt the grateful happiness of being in one of the most beautiful cities and in one of the most interesting and fascinating countries of the world - Anatolia – and to be in the south (...)

After Leo Spitzer accepted an invitation from the Johns-Hopkins University in Baltimore and left Turkey in 1936, Erich Auerbach succeeded him in Istanbul as he had done in Marburg. Auerbach, too, had left Germany owing to the racist policies adopted by the state. Away from home and alone in the big city of Istanbul, Fuchs turns to Auerbach and his wife Marie for solace in times of self- doubt and desperation. Like Spitzer, Auerbach helps the young Fuchs to come to terms with his self-inflicted exile; the loss of *heimat*, the spatial and psychological break with his family.¹¹⁵ On 22nd October 1938, Erich Auerbach writes to Fuchs: ‘ (...) we have to and we will act correctly when the time comes – until then we have to wait, search and be ready (...).’¹¹⁶ Meanwhile Marie, Auerbach’s wife becomes an important motherly figure Fuchs- caring for his general well-being and giving him the strength and means to continue his life in war-time Turkey. Also caring for Fuchs in daily and economic terms, Erich Auerbach soon found Fuchs a second teaching job at the American college, Robert Kolej. Fuchs recounts:

“At that time [1943] I also taught German, out of economic necessity, at the

¹¹⁴ Hellmut Ritter (1892- 1971), German Orientalist. In the year 1925, removed from his position at the University of Hamburg on the grounds of § 175 (Homosexuality) and sentenced to prison. 1926, emigration to Turkey.

¹¹⁵ For Photographs of the young Fuchs in Istanbul, see Appendix B.

¹¹⁶ Erich Auerbach, Letter, 22.10.1938 1938. Archive Reference No.: I.IV.b.0002

American Robert College up above Bebek on the Bosphorus through some string-pulling (,torpil') by Auerbach. My classes were not found to be boring; on the contrary they were liked for being cheerful and lively – we also sang – and I was so full of life! This was much appreciated by the Americans.^{117 118}

Çorum, 1943-44

When in 1944, Turkey entered the war alliance against Germany, all German nationals and émigrés were interned in South- East Anatolia; along with others Fuchs was sent to town Çorum, a small town in the Blacksea region.

Fuchs writes:

During the years 1944-45, although I was a genuine immigrant, I was nonetheless interned in Çorum for thirteen months until Robert College for me to be called back- hence the Çorum pictures. But before my internment, with some other immigrant German young men I was urged to go back to Germany in order to join the army. The same doctor who had previously treated me several times and had declared that I was unfit for military service, now, under the control of to 'Funktionäre' (officials of the Nazi Party standing on his right and left sides) attested that I was good for reserve. But when the day came to take the train, I refused to fight for Hitler, that criminal man whom I hated so much, and who was the reason for my emigration, and, besides, I was in Robert College and lived on good terms with the Americans! Internment then was a good and wise solution- İnönü was truly a wise statesman!¹¹⁹

Away from academic teaching and learning for 13 uncertain months, Fuchs spent his time painting the rough, but beautiful Anatolian countryside, its colourful and simple people, sometimes telling us a lot about the local history of Çorum and its surroundings.

What should be later called the "Çorum Pictures," are in fact a collection of countless

¹¹⁷ Fuchs, "Mein Besuch Bei Hermann Hesse," 2.

¹¹⁸ For a copy of his work contract at Robert College, see Appendix C.

¹¹⁹ Fuchs, "Short Story of My Life," 13.

sketches and numerous oil paintings, painted under the most difficult conditions, that bear testimony to the difficult but also wonderful times Fuchs spent in Çorum and portray the timeless beauty of the Anatolian landscape and the simple, yet honest, life styles of its people.^{120 121}

In a letter exchange between Fuchs and Auerbach, we can read that Auerbach was instrumental in securing Fuchs livelihood in Çorum and his return to Istanbul. On 10 September, 1944, Auerbach writes to Fuchs in Çorum:

Dear Fuchs,

(...) I hope both of your lives [Fuchs and Hans Marchand¹²²] are tolerable. We try –with the Dean and Rector– to secure your return. (...) Yesterday, I found out from Rüstow¹²³, that he is about to send money from a relief organization to Kirsehir and Yozgat¹²⁴ (...). I asked him, why Çorum is not considered, he said that he does not have a spokesman there. Instantly, I proposed Mr. Blümel¹²⁵, Rüstow agreed, I ask you to let this man [Blümel] prepare a report about the conditions there [in Çorum] (...).¹²⁶

¹²⁰ Fuchs actually applied for and was granted by Chief of Police an official permission to paint in and around Çorum. See official document of *Çorum Emniyet Müdürlüğü* (Corum Police Station), 4.4.1945, Archive Reference No.: I.IV.a.0012

¹²¹ For some example of his paintings please refer to Appendix E.

¹²² Hans Marchand, emigrant and assistant at the Language Institute (Istanbul University), interned with Traugott Fuchs in Çorum 1944- 1945.

¹²³ Alexander Rüstow (1885- 1963), German economist and sociologist, key person in distributing aid from various relief organizations among the German émigré community and in sending money to the interned German nationals in Kirsehir, Yozgat and later Çorum.

¹²⁴ Apart from Çorum, Kirsehir and Yozgat were the other two cities, in which German nationals were interned during the years 1944-1945

¹²⁵ Willi Blümel, emigrant and German national, interned in Çorum during the years 1944-1945. Later spokesman –as Auerbach suggested– for relief organization and spokesman for the emigrants in Çorum. Blümel was well- liked by the people of Çorum and helped constructing and repairing various buildings, machines, roads etc. there. Interview with Irfan Yigit, head archivist of the City Archive in Çorum, 29.09.2007. Also see: Documentary film by Kaltenböck Christoph and Kalayci Suzan, "Çorum - Oral History Project," (2007).

¹²⁶ "Lieber Fuchs, (..) ich hoffe es geht Ihnen beiden erträglich. Wir versuchen hier durch

In an autobiographical essay entitled “Aus alten Papieren zu Çorum 42/43” (From old Papers, Çorum 42/43), Fuchs writes that the emigrants, such as the Auerbachs, did not forget those –like him- who were interned:

The emigrants who remained in Istanbul remembered us faithfully (...) and collected -in long winter evenings- books and sent [them to us]: partly cheap war editions, but of high quality (...). I read (...) Jean Paul and I was probably the only one who was sensitive towards (...) these intellectual treasures.¹²⁷

In one letter to Marie Auerbach, Fuchs thanks her for the Christmas package she sent:

I was especially moved by the Christmas package, complete with a little twig and candles (...) and well- known delectables and a beautiful Christmas letter (...). I was touched (...).¹²⁸

Also, Walter Kranz, who took over Fuchs classes back in Istanbul, did not forget about Fuchs and writes on 27 November 1944 with great sentiments:

Dear Mr. Fuchs,

We think of you with concern and nostalgia, especially me, who had to take over the chair position at the Germanistic Faculty [for you]. The dean takes great

Dekan und Rektor Ihre Rückkehr zu betreiben (...) Gestern habe ich von Rüstow erfahren, dass er im Begriff steht Geldbeträge zu schicken um dort Notleidenden zu Hilfe zu kommen. (...) Auf meine Frage hin, warum Çorum nicht berücksichtigt wird, sagte er, er habe dort keinen Vertrauensmann (...). Ich schlug sogleich Herrn Blümel vor; R. war einverstanden; ich bitte Sie also diesen Herrn sogleich zu veranlassen (...) einen Bericht über die dortige Situation zu schicken.” Erich Auerbach, 10.09.1944 1944. Archive Reference No.: I.IV.b.0011

¹²⁷ Traugott Fuchs, "Aus Alten Papieren Zu Çorum, 42/43 - (Das Rebhühnchen U.A.)," 4. Archive Reference No.: I.IV.a.0015 also see Traugott Fuchs, "Deutsche Lektüre in Çorum," (Traugott Fuchs Cultural and Historical Heritage Archive, 1944). A booklet made and written by Fuchs telling us about the kind of books he read in Çorum. Archive Reference No.:I.IV.a.0013

¹²⁸ “ Vorallem innig bewegte mich das Weihnachtsschächtelchen, Zweiglein und (...) Kerzen mitsamt den wohlbekannten Leckeren und dem schooner Weihnachtsbrief (...)! Ich war direkt berührt (...). Traugott Fuchs, 25.1.1945 1944. Archive Reference No.: I.IV.a.0002

pains to attain your return (...).¹²⁹

Fuchs writes back on 25 January 1944:

Dearest, admired Mr Kranz!

May I thank you for your heartfelt and cordial lines (...)! The decision to retain us has been taken by the authorities, so it would be foolish to resist. It is a shame that I and some other lecturers have missed the Winter Semester. [But] I have no doubt that the students will lag behind. On the contrary (...)¹³⁰

Surviving in his *Landscape of Fate* Istanbul: 1945- 1997

In the autumn of 1945, Fuchs, with the other interned Germans, returns to Istanbul. In his diary he writes years later:

I boarded the ship (...) fully spellbound in all the Bosphorus' beauty, up to the bridge, knowing, it became the landscape of my fate, with the harshness of autumn, with its sweetness, fully renouncing and with bitter-sweet longing – but abundantly in the personally awe-inspiring sense of my self (...).¹³¹

In this moment, Fuchs must have decided to stay in Turkey- when Fuchs had realized that Istanbul had become the “landscape of his fate”, his *Wahlheimat*- his chosen home. Still, settling in Istanbul after the 13 months absence was not as easy, especially because Fuchs had lost all possessions to a house fire, which burnt down his flat in Ayazpasa.

¹²⁹ “Lieber Herr Fuchs, wir gedenken Ihrer alle in Teilnahme und Sehnsucht, vor allem ich, der ich vertretungsweise die Leitung der germanistischen Abteilung habe übernehmen müssen. Der Dekan gibt sich die grösste Mühe ihre Rückkehr zu erreichen (...)” Walter Kranz, 27.11.44 1944. Archive Reference No. I.IV.a.0003

¹³⁰ “Sehr geehrter lieber Herr Kranz! Darf ich Ihnen für Ihre so herzlichen [und] mitfühlenden Zeilen (...) danken! Doss wir hier bleiben, ist ja inzwischen von hoher Seite aus entschieden und noch immer dagegen anzukämpfen, scheint wohl törricht, das Winterschuljahr ist eben nun mal für uns (...) internierten Lektoren verloren. Aber im Übrigen Sorge ich mich nicht um die Schüler, dass sie verkommen. Im Gegenteil (...)” Fuchs. Archive Reference No.: I.IV.a.0004

¹³¹ Traugott Fuchs, "Diary," (Traugott Fuchs Cultural and Historical Heritage Archive, 1959). Archive Reference No.: E.II.c.0004

Arriving in Istanbul, he tells us:

For me unforgettable is, how I came (1945) after 13 months of internment in Çorum, after one year of salary loss, shortly before I was burnt down in Ayazpasa as shining *Habenichts* [someone who does not possess anything] and without flat, I returned from there- but where to? Professor [Hellmut] Ritter simply took my hand at the *Iskele* [port] in Rumelihisari and said: 'Come with me, I have a room for you in my house in Bebek.' I lived –then- one year in this beautiful and old house in Bebek (Insirah Sokak).¹³²

Fuchs continued teaching German Philology at Istanbul University (until 1978) and French and German at Robert Kolej, the American college (until 1971), where he started living after his one- year stay at Ritter's house. The Robert Kolej campus soon became Fuchs' permanent and intellectual home, here he met all the other fellow émigrés and professors from the United States or Great Britain for deep discussions about literature, philosophy and politics, here he socialized, played chamber music with his colleagues, painted and wrote his poetry. Of this time, he says:

I had a beautiful big room in Hamlin Hall. The Master Godfrey Goodwin, gave me room No. 13 – it was my lucky number- and he also named my cat 'Traugotta' – my lovely feline friend. I lived there with full maintenance, with a gorgeous view of the valley of Kücüksu, in the good brotherly proximity of a wonderful cedar, under the prominent personal protection of Atatürk, so to say: his bust stood under my middle window, surrounded by luxurious wisterias. Certainly, it was one of the happiest periods of my life!^{133 134}

The campus life of Robert Kolej was full of activities for the young Fuchs, who was not only a gifted painter, but also a passionate musician. So it comes as no surprise that Fuchs was actively involved in numerous classical music clubs and in organizing concert.

It is to his credit that, for example, the famous German pianist Karl Delseit came to

¹³² Traugott Fuchs, "A Short Story of My Life," in *Corum and Anatolian Pictures, Cultural Heritage Museum Publications I* (Istanbul: Bogazici University, 1986).

¹³³ Fuchs, "Short Story of My Life," 13.

¹³⁴ See photographs of him of the time, his room in Hamlin Hall and him and his cat 'Traugotta' in his room at Hamlin Hall Appendix D.

play at the Robert Kolej Campus (5 January 1961)¹³⁵ or that the Turkish pianist Idil Biret gave a concert in the same location (14 April 1964)¹³⁶. Especially liked, however, was Fuchs among the foreign émigré and expat wives. Hellmut Ritter jokingly says in one of his letters to Fuchs:

After you have recovered, and after you have –again– taken up your relations with the ‘Bebek women circle’ to the fullest extent: could I maybe hope of having the pleasure [end of sentence?]¹³⁷

Being good- looking, cultured, sensitive and very accustomed to hearing about women’s problem through his very close relationship with his sisters Herrad, Ilse and Gertrude, Fuchs was in high demand among the wives of colleagues, fellow emigrants and superiors. Often invited for food, *Kaffeeklatsch* (chats over coffee), this was not only beneficial for the women but also for Fuchs, who appeared to be well fed and cared for. In times of depression, his very close female friends, like Marie Auerbach, gave him strength and good advice.¹³⁸ In one instant of severe depression and footlessness, Marie Auerbach gives Fuchs the advice to write to Hermann Hesse. After initial doubts, Fuchs writes to Hesse and soon enough receives an answer; a handwritten copy of the former’s most famous poem of the time “Leb wohl, Frau Welt” (Good bye, Mother World). A gesture and beginning of a friendship between these two unlikely men that was cherished by Fuchs throughout his life. Fuchs’ answer to his first letter by Hesse mirrors back hopes

¹³⁵ Campus Life, Piano Concert Karl Delseit, 0.01.1961. Archive Reference No.: B.III.g.0056

¹³⁶ Campus Life, Piano Concert Idil Biret, 14.04. 1964. Archive Reference No.: B.III.g.0049

¹³⁷ Hellmut Ritter, 30.3.1947 1947.

¹³⁸ On a quantitative basis: Alone with Marie Auerbach, Erich Auerbach’s wife, Fuchs exchanged 579 letters, with Ursula Häusler (later von Graevenitz) more than 300 letters, Irmgard Fricke, wife of philologist Gerhard Fricke, nearly 100 letters, with Lieselotte Dieckmann, Germanist and wife of historian Herbert Diekmann, more than 50 letters, and the list goes on and on.

and despair.

(...) When I wept and mourned, it was always a masked cry for love, a crying for the double good- night kiss from the mother, and my (also early) longing for death, deep ardent burning for intensive true life. The world is wide, still unknown, intact and beautiful, not all is in shambles. In this big, wild world, one can still find new and binding magic. ¹³⁹

Important in this response is that Fuchs understands Hesse's poem "Leb Wohl, Frau Welt" as a parable to his self- doubt and suicidal thoughts, which actually was not a longing for death but [one] for more love. Connecting this to the historical reality Fuchs was living in, far from his homelands, which he understands as where his mother belongs, we then know we know that his "crying for the double good- night kiss from the mother" is actually a crying for somewhere he can call home. Struck in exile, not willing and not really having the qualifications to go anywhere else, Fuchs had the choice to remain in Turkey or return to Germany to start up a new life there. He chose the former. He had left his country not because of imminent racism or a direct chance of being thrown into a concentration camp, but because of his personal convictions that home cannot be far from the mind.

Hermann Hesse was his link to Germany, like a father that assures only with his presence, Hesse assured Fuchs with only his presence through letters. While Hesse provided the missing link to the homelands, Fuchs' friendship to another man provided him with a justification of existence: His friendship to the great Orientalist of the time-

¹³⁹ "Wenn ich je klagte, mich beklagte, so war es stets ein kaum verkappter Schrei nach Liebe, ein Weinen nach dem doppelten Gutenachtkuss der Mutter, und meine (ebenfalls frühe) Todessüchtigkeit: zutiefst inbrünstige Sehnsucht nach intensivem wahrerem Leben. (...) Die Welt ist weit, viel ist noch unbekannt, intakt und schön, nicht alles liegt in Scherben. In dieser großen wilden Welt kannst du noch neue, dich bindene Zauber finden." Fuchs, "Mein Besuch Bei Hermann Hesse," 13.

Hellmut Ritter. When Fuchs came to Istanbul in 1934, he immediately became involved with the emigrant group around Spitzer, then Auerbach, and Ritter. After coming back 'penniless' from his internment in Corum, Fuchs -as mentioned earlier, stayed with Ritter for one year. This is probably when their friendship started.

And indeed, years later Ritter writes Fuchs a letter asking him whether he remembers the time he stayed with after "dschorum" as a "wonderful" or "disgusting" time. And asks why he, himself, never fell in love with Fuchs but misses him when he is not around.¹⁴⁰ We know from orally transmitted statements of Fuchs that he admired Ritter as scientific spirit and that he was emotionally attached to him, and that he was both nurtured and tortured by their friendship – a friendship that lasted over four decades. Both a mentor and friend, Ritter – being much older than Fuchs and representing a man of high honours and achievements – was potentially a father-like figure. As to his real father, Fuchs was aware that he father – if he knew – would never accept his erotic desires, as the father was of conservative morality and, as orthodox Prussian protestant, particularly against any sensual "exaggeration", and even against any romantic and vague feelings. Traugott had a deep desire to find his fathers understanding and knew that it was impossible to get it. Just his sister Gertrud, also in conflict with her parents, understood that his depressions were not the side effects of 'mental illness' but of unsatisfied erotic desires. Exiled, so to speak, from the norms of German majority society, feeling alone because of his phantasies, Fuchs suffered and never really adapted to the regular life style of his family and friends. Still, the family being loved by him and in continuous close connection, his solution was to represent

¹⁴⁰ Hellmut Ritter, 01.06. 1957. Archive Reference No.: I.II.a.0040

the romantic outsider and sensitive artist. The first person to give him the sense of a fully valuable person was Leo Spitzer, the man who around 1929 took him into his academic circle and his family and thus – as he says – ‘changed the course of his life’. Later, Spitzer plainly told him to stop treating his desires as an illness and to accept them as they are but adds: “Of course, dear Fuchs, you have it more difficult to combine the ‘for- the- world’ and ‘not- in- this world’ (...).”¹⁴¹ Spitzer understood Fuchs on both the intellectual as on the emotional level, being himself very excitable. But it was Ritter who gave the example of a non-bourgeois and still intellectually and academically prosperous life. The start of the friendship with Ritter , with Fuchs return from Corum late fall 1945, was only one year after he had learned about the death of his father on 30 July 1944. But it was in the fifties only that the letters and the friendship of Hermann Hesse provided Fuchs with a father figure, sort of reconciliation of father and son, between inner emigration and erotic desires, Turkey serving as home and bridge for both. Being much older than Fuchs and representing a man of high honours and achievements, Hellmut Ritter provided Fuchs with a much- needed link to his father (-land). The start of their friendship, with Fuchs arrival from Corum in the late summer of 1944, strangely coincided with the death of his own father who died on 30 July 1944. On a speculative level, maybe their -then beginning- friendship provided a basis for the reconciliation of father and son, between personal exile and sexual orientation. Turkey serving as home and bridge for both.

¹⁴¹ “Ja gewiss, Fuchs, Sie haben es schwerer, das Für-die-Welt und Nich-in-der-Welt zu vereinen (...).” Leo Spitzer, 3. October, 1956. Archive Reference No.: I.III.a.0027

Hocalarin Hocasi- Fuchs' Legacy as a Teacher 1934- ?

When the last of the émigrés, like his beloved Auerbachs, left Turkey in 1947 to go to the United States, other emigration countries or back to Germany, Fuchs stayed in Turkey and continued his life path as a teacher- teaching German Literature and Culture and the Romance languages to countless Turkish students. And guiding generations of Turkish students through their academic careers and introducing German culture and language to them, and with this building an everlasting bridge between the cultures- never letting go of the German ideal of *Bildung* (education) and the German culture of his memories.

Fuchs writes that in 1961 he became an „Assistant Professor“ at Robert College and continued to work in this capacity at its successor Boğaziçi University and was promoted to the rank of fulltime teaching member of the academic faculty (Docent) in 1978. He says:

In 1971 when Robert College was transformed into Botanic University, I continued teaching courses on modern German literature there and moved to a private flat in Rumeli Hisari. I remained in this position until my retirement with a Turkish pension in 1983. So it came about that, often hating school when I was young in Germany, I taught myself for forty- nice years until I became old!

Fuchs was a much liked and very respected teacher. Called *hocalarin hocasi*, the teacher of the teachers, Traugott Fuchs truly deserved this title. As he writes in a letter to a friend: Being a teacher is not necessarily being a teacher per se, but being a humble and honest human, being able to stand up for one's ideals and convictions.¹⁴² One of his poems, also, bears witness to this conviction:

¹⁴² Fuchs.

Teaching

(...) to do as good a human
as one could- without cunning!-
on your honour!
You have to swear!
So that he walks upright with every step-
And also is a little happy¹⁴³

How much people appreciated Fuchs' teachings, his honesty, generosity and humbleness, we can see in the countless letters of students and colleagues. Looking at his tediously and lovingly prepared lecture notes and lecture material¹⁴⁴, we understand once more why Fuchs was such a great teacher and role model. Always reading, ordering books from Germany, finding new interpretations and new material for his students, Fuchs, himself, was an ageless student who could be as fascinated by a Kafka novel as he could be by an old Germanic text.¹⁴⁵ Looking at Fuchs' references for his students¹⁴⁶, his attempt at changing the structure of how German classes are taught at Robert

¹⁴³ "Lehren-
(...) Menschen soviel Gutes tun
als irgend möglich- ohne Hinterlist!-
Auf deine Ehre!
Schwör du mit!
Damit er aufrecht geht im Schritt
-und auch ein wenig glücklich ist"

Traugott Fuchs, "Poetry- Blue Series," (Traugott Fuchs Cultural and Historical Heritage Archive). Archive Reference No.: A.II.a.0010

¹⁴⁴ For lecture notes and material see Archive Reference No.: B.III.o.0001-0144

¹⁴⁵ Fuchs' book collection is intact and under the custody of the Traugott Fuchs Cultural and Historical Heritage Archive. From over 2000 books, 623 books have remarks and notes in them. Through these notes and remarks, we learn of Fuchs' deep understanding of his reading and his yearning of an intellectual discourse through books. Being away from a German- speaking environment, living in a foreign country with an more foreign language (though Fuchs learned Turkish very quickly!), reading and writing becomes his intellectual outlet of exchange.

¹⁴⁶ See 'Student Reference's under Archive Reference No.: B.II.t.0001-0020.

College¹⁴⁷, his amazing reputation among colleagues¹⁴⁸, his active involvement in the campus life of Robert Kolej and his deep friendship with many of his colleagues or superiors, here especially his friendship to Evelyn Scott, the wife of late Rector John Scott Everton and his lifelong friendship with the educator family Mac Neal¹⁴⁹, we can see that Fuchs' life and passion was teaching.

And still he sneaks around the Campus like an old cat around his old home, un-hated, kindly supported and tolerated.¹⁵⁰

After teaching more than 60 years in Turkey, after educating generations of Turkish students, Fuchs died in the Austrian Hospital, in Beyoğlu/Istanbul 1997.

Even on his deathbed he could not part with the city that welcomed him so many years ago as a young man of 28 years without hopes or open vistas for his future. The city that enriched and complicated his life, the city that brought him so many opportunities and failures, the city that gave him new life when he thought he lost his old- this then was also the city that brought him, more than 60 years later, his eternal peace. According to his last wishes, Fuchs was buried in Istanbul and all of his belongings, writings, correspondence, and music collection were given into the custody of Boğaziçi University.

His house is fading in the fog

¹⁴⁷ 'Proposal to change the Structure of German Classes', in a letter to fellow colleague and émigré Hans Marchand, see Archive Reference No.: B.III.h.0001

¹⁴⁸ 'Letters of Colleagues'. See Archive Reference No.: B. III.i.0001-0097

¹⁴⁹ See both at Archive Reference No.: B.III.g.0001-0057

¹⁵⁰ Fuchs, "Short Story of My Life," 13.

I, he and it-soon it will be over¹⁵¹

CHAPTER 5: EXILIC MOMENTS OF BEING HAYMATLOS- THE INTELLECTUAL PERSPECTIVE

Fuchs - an Elitist?

We have seen in the previous chapters that exile, whether in Turkey or on a global level, provided both a disruption and reconciliation for the ones that had been displaced. My aim in this study was foremost to capture the reality of the historical feeling of these and to describe ‘what is most fleeting and evanescent in exile’, or what is defined by Edward Said as an “exilic moment”.¹⁵² In the previous chapter, we have had a glimpse at his life, learned about his childhood and student years until and during the Nazi period and his consequent emigration to Turkey. In this chapter, I will introduce one of his major (sadly still unpublished) works to further understand his haymatlos existence within the

¹⁵¹ Haiku from Fuchs, "Poetry- Blue Series."

¹⁵² For a long discussion of what I mean by an ‘exilic moment’ or ‘exilic space’ and how I incorporate the concept *haymatlos* within this framework, please refer to the section ‘Conceptualization’ in my introduction.

burgeoning web of intellectual desires, convictions and life realities.

I have chosen Traugott Fuchs as the subject of my inquiry, partly because he is not one of the grand names of the German emigration to Turkey. In the prevalent literature of our topic the focus has been on these grand names of emigration and despite the fact that I strongly contest the notions of ‘most illustrious’ or ‘most famous’ or ‘elites’ and would propose to use more relational terms and social concepts such as ‘networks’, ‘status’, and ‘profession’ to analyze the ‘who’s’ of ‘who’ of the German emigration to Turkey, I still make use of this ‘elitist’ approach to locate Traugott Fuchs within or at the boundaries of their realms. Traugott Fuchs –as we have seen- cannot be considered to be one of those ‘famous Jewish scholars’, because of the simple facts that he was of Aryan descent and that he arrived as not so famous third assistant of Leo Spitzer, who definitely would be considered to be part of ‘bright Jewish scholar nobility’. On a smaller scale, one could argue that Fuchs can be considered ‘of the elite’ because of his high level of education, his correspondences with men like Hermann Hesse, Erich Auerbach, Leo Spitzer or Hellmut Ritter and because of his idealistic humanist life style which evolved around writing poetry, listening and playing (classical) music and painting.¹⁵³

Maybe one of what Fritz Ringer has termed the last German mandarin scholars, Fuchs’ entry ticket to the life he chose was the academy.¹⁵⁴ Coming from a family

¹⁵³ Still: Poetry, in my historical understanding, was not just a practice among elites, and there are too many counter-examples to cite here. Let us just say that the circulation of the press was sufficiently widespread to bring many genres of writing to many people in different social classes. The German socialist movement had its poets, obscure and sentimental, but they were there. As long as we avoid a pointless and strict definition between high and low culture, poetry is very useful to analyze many social formations, in particular in their adolescent forms

¹⁵⁴ Ringer defines “the mandarins simply as a social and cultural elite, which owes its status primarily to educational qualifications rather than to hereditary rights or wealth.” See Fritz

strongly rooted within the German *Bildungsbürgertum* (the educated middle class).

Fuchs' life path and *Bildungsweg* (path of education) was predominantly defined by the German idealistic and humanistic tradition and the importance it put on classical education.

Beginning around 1800, Fritz Ringer tells us in his exemplary book *Max Weber's*

Methodology. The Unification of the Cultural and Social Sciences:

“[t]he radical renovation of the universities in Prussia and other German states (...) assigned an especially important place to the faculties of arts and sciences, or of ‘philosophy’. The reform movement was inspired by the German Idealist philosophy, but also (...) by the ideal of *Bildung* meaning education in the sense of cultivation or personal development. While the concept of *Bildung* was of course subject to change over time, it came to represent a fairly stable view of education, and to inform the ideology of the German *Bildungsbürgertum* (...).”¹⁵⁵

Fuchs being part or coming from this educated middle class background, but nonetheless defying or maybe even affirming it by his decision of exile, presents to us a immediate subject and object of a cultural tradition that was in the end first manipulated and then destroyed by the National- Socialist hell.¹⁵⁶ With music like Wagners, reiterating the ideal of creation, or the ideal of a nation strongly rooted in the Romantic emphasis of pastoral themes and homelands, and with its blood and soil ideology and here also making use of the *Heimat* idiom, as discussed in my introduction, the Nazi ideology initially affirmed but at the same time destroyed the German idealist tradition, of which Fuchs and other Weimar intellectuals were the product of. Choosing exile as an escape from the Hitler horrors and ideology, Fuchs broke with his homelands and seemingly

Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community: 1890-1933*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 5.

¹⁵⁵ Ringer, 8.

¹⁵⁶ Edward Said, in his essay “Reflections on Exile”, poses the question “whether Nazism derived logically from its core, or whether it was an aberration” (p.582)

with its traditions rendering, himself, 'haymatlos' and hereby continuing a tradition not confined to a state but to a history, or as Heinrich Böll, Günther Grass, and Norbet Blüm called something that is "only available to the memory."¹⁵⁷ The Weimar *Kulturstaat* (cultural state) in exile or in memoria? Fuchs, like the other who left or had to leave Germany, in a way continued a tradition that championed humanist values inspired by antique Greece and redefined by the German Idealist philosophers, like Kant, Fichte or Schelling and finally Hegel and a culture that was of a Germany long passed while its remaining traces were quickly gulped up by the rascist and nationalistic machinery of the Nazi Ideology. By emigrating and freeing themselves from the confines of a distorted cultural state and dangerously exaggerated nationalism or definition of *Heimat*, the German émigrés, like Fuchs, turned their backs to a history of the German people that would be later called the 'darkest chapter of European history' and continued their lives on the basis of 'nothingness' (see my discussion on p. 10ff) within the freedom of what Edward Said has called the 'exilic space' thus redefining their own personal histories while adding an antidote of transnational character to their own national history, that was waning in the horrors of Hitler Germany but reproducing in exile.¹⁵⁸

In this context, also, we have to understand the rawness and vulnerability of Fuchs' character and his rejection of middle-class values and of the cultural profanity exhibited by the late Weimar bourgeoisie (seen in his critique of their attitude towards

¹⁵⁷ Applegate, 5.

¹⁵⁸ Note: Edward Said is somewhat also a product of this phenomenon of 'Weimar Culture's continuation in exile' being deeply influenced by Erich Auerbach's writings, for example. Prof. Selcuk Esenbel has argued that one can see a 'soft spot' of Said in his treatment of the German Orientalists in his book *Orientalism*. Discussion with Prof. Selcuk Esenbel on 17 October, 2009, at Bogazici University.

literature, music and art) which shows him 'stripped naked' from his social and cultural nurturing and clashes with his own *bildungsweg* (path of education), but at the same time we see a different Fuchs - as a scholar: a Fuchs reluctant to leave the soft cocoon of German *bildung* to an ever- burgeoning web of intellectual life. In other respects, his attitudes and ambivalence seem like an endless soliloquy that reminds of the inexhaustible murmur of the Bosphorus, marking the border between East and West. Fuchs talks –in his diaries- about his own borderline existence between nurture and nature. Only through the contact to two men, the shadowy existence of Fuchs' inner discourse and a glimpse at Fuchs' inner self is revealed: Hermann Hesse, a distant but essential friend, and Hellmut Ritter a close but ever- distant lover. Fuchs' friendship with both of these men signifies all of this inner questioning: here we see a dialectic between home and exile, between Diaspora and emotional conflict, between self-realization and self- alienation, between the cultic obsession of death and an humanistic affirmation of life. Letters served as a semi-anonymous medium, which allowed Fuchs to express his most personal feelings and thoughts, while keeping a much-needed spatial distance.

This inner dialectic of his reasoning makes him an eminently critical subject of his time, society, and changing life situations and therefore a wonderful object of historical inquiry. The great problem of locating intellectuals within the class from which they come and in the milieux in which they live is not so easily resolved, then or now. It is not my impression to go back to an older *Geistesgeschichte* (intellectual history) in which writers are the spirit of an age. Intellectuals describe pathways many other people took, but their social situation is always complex and usually

uncomfortable, at war with the self-deceptions of their times.

Reconciliation with Time and Eros- Traces in Fuchs' Essay on the Etymological Origins of Humankind¹⁵⁹

In Fuchs' essay "Mensch, lebenswichtige Etymologien" (Etymological Origins of Humankind), we see this, his, struggle of being somewhat connected to the spirit of time but at the same time wanting to serve the role of a spectator or commentator. Fuchs starting point is to look for the roots of the German word *mensch* in the Indo-Germanic language. He explains that its origins can be found in the Indo-Germanic language and that rather than going back to a male figure, such as Adam in the biblical story, *mensch* is gender-neutral and connects the human with his or hers essential characteristics through its root *men* which means as much as thinking or pondering? which means as much as thinking or pondering, maybe with a connotation of 'minne' (love). Here I concentrate on one aspect of Fuchs complex considerations:¹⁶⁰ Contrary to the Jewish and Christian patriarchal interpretation of the origin of (the word) humankind, Fuchs says:

We can call it the Indo-Germanic way, which phenomenal beauty (...) connects with the unique Mediterranean-Greek culture and which crosses with crossroads of the cross (...) 'the language explains the human' (...)¹⁶¹

He goes further on by saying that:

¹⁵⁹ In the context of recent gender studies discussions, one could replace the word "humankind" with the word/ concept wo/man. Though this change in the title would not benefit Fuchs' style of writing, it might tie in with his discussion of lifting gender boundaries which will be discussed below.

¹⁶⁰ Traugott Fuchs, "Mensch, Lebenswichtige Etymologien," 1-5. Archive Reference No.: A.I.a.0010

¹⁶¹ "Wir können ihn den 'indogermanischen Weg' nennen, dessen phänomenale Schönheit (...) der einmalig glückhaften mittelmeerisch-griechischen Kultur vermittelt, der dann den Kreuzweg des Kreuzes kreuzt (...)." Ibid., 5.

(...) as much people [try to] make a sexual, martial or historical difference: the original essence of being human always comes up –through the basis of the Indo-Germanic language- as something primarily higher than the earthly banal biological limitations of man and woman, and relies on the (...) act of the creational union, and where can this be than in love?¹⁶²

In the essay, Fuchs then goes through the concepts of (sexual) love in philosophy and literature, even in religion, starting with Plato up to the present time, with the greatest weight on writers of Romantics and there extensively on Franz von Baader (1765 – 1841), and then on Balsacs novel “Seraphita”. The adjective ‘lebenswichtig’ (live-saving) in the title shows that the matter for Fuchs was of existential importance. One may conclude on Fuchs life-long and uncompromised search for ‘das Ganzheitliche’ (the holistic), the simultaneous unification on the sexual, erotic, and spiritual level.

His last sentence “and where can this be than in love” reminds us of Max Rychner’s sentence “demgegenüber es keine Freiheit gibt als die Liebe” (‘whereas there is no love but in freedom’) which expresses the fear that by being ‘haymatlos’, without a home, one might be deprived of the most essential ‘possession’ in life: freedom.¹⁶³ As I have argued before, Rychner answers his fears by making a move to a more metaphysical definition of freedom. He says that –maybe- only through love can we achieve freedom, and that maybe only love is able to give us the space we need to project our own personal understanding of freedom. For Fuchs, however, the subject of love is a difficult one. Though he thinks and writes that: “only love makes liberal [in the sense of freedom

¹⁶² “So sehr auch immer geschlechtlich, oder kriegerisch oder sonstwie geschichtlich idg. Unterschieden mag-: das beiden gleichermassen wesentlich innewohnende Menschliche taucht vom Ur-Idg. her als Basis immer wieder auf und vermag in seiner primär- höheren geistigen Bedeutung die irdisch alzubekante (...) banalen biologischen Bregrenzungen als Mann und Frau, kommt es darauf an in einem (...) Akt schöpferischer All- Einigung wieder in sich verschlingen- Wo anders wird das je möglich sein als- in der Liebe? Ibid., 16.

¹⁶³ See discussion in my Introduction p. 10ff

or liberty],” we see that in his life –here especially remembering my discussion of Fuchs’ friendship to both Hermann Hesse and Hellmut Ritter, love is the reason for his self-doubt and self-inflicted personal exile and alienation. A letter of his teacher and confidante Leo Spitzer to Fuchs confirms these, our, speculations:

Well: you don’t have to confess to me, because you have not sinned- even though you cannot get rid of the feeling of sin. But please, let’s understand clearly: you are born with an unusual [sexual] urge – but why make yourself responsible for it? (...) Additionally you are born, by sheer accident, into a civilization in which your [sexual] urge is not acceptable you know, in [antique]Greece it would have been regarded as normal. (...) We might say that our civilization is guilty that you became narzisstic (...) ¹⁶⁴

So how then does Fuchs dissolve the dilemma of wanting to be free, of wanting to be loved [and love] and his fear of missing his ‘ganzheitliche’ (holistic) love, because of social conventions or of being abnormal and his guilt of having a sexual orientation that was, but is not anymore, accepted by society? Fuchs quest for love is similar to Parsifal’s search for the holy grail (see Wagner Opera with the same title) and the never-question of *wo wirret ihr* (where do you tumble to?) becomes in Fuchs case the question of where to find love and how to define it? ¹⁶⁵

Fuchs writes:

(...) Not only does one get to know one’s friend and lover in need, but friendship

¹⁶⁴ “Also: Sie haben keine Sünden mir zu beichten, weil Sie nichts gesündigt haben- auch wenn Sie das Sündengefühl nicht loswerden. Aber bitte, wollen wir da ganz klar sehen: Sie sind mit einem etwas abschweifenden Trieb geboren – was können sie dafür? (...) Noch dazu is in Ihrem Falle die Lage die, daß ihre Veranlagung, nur zufällig sozusagen, mit der restlichen Zivilisation, in der sie geboren sind, in Widerspruch gerät, daß Sie, wie sie wissen, in Griechenland als normal angesehen würden (...)” Leo Spitzer, 26.02 1956. Archive Reference No.: I.III.a.0023. See also Martin Vialon’s discussion of this letter in Staudt (2007).

¹⁶⁵ The mentioning of the Parsifal question in this context was inspired by Fuchs’ own reference of this question in the discussed essay “Mensch” and in his reply to the above-mentioned Spitzer letter (1956). It was, also, discussed and used in a different context by Martin Vialon (2007) in his own discussion of the Parsifal question as a framework of Fuchs’ reconciliation between *kunstwollen* (drive of producing art) and self-doubts.

and love will only root in unpleasantness and need (...) and even if the plant blossoms without tears it will not root without its mist.”¹⁶⁶

Does Fuchs refer, here, to exile as the “unpleasantness and need” and to the many friends he met while in exile? The collection of nearly 5000 letters from the years 1934-1997, in his archive, bear witness to the fact that most of Fuchs’ friendships were rooted in the ‘mist of exile’.

But still: how does he reconcile his sexual orientation and his feeling of sin in the discussion or quest of love and fundamentally of freedom? How does he define love, if not for a greater good that transcends all gender differences, all biological singularities constructed by society- for power?

He writes in his essay:

Who does not see [in this] the most sublime powers of the human culture, as opposed to the animal kind (...), in the be and should of the human history, that man [is woman] is human?¹⁶⁷

If being human is being above all biological genderization, or accepting that gender, if at all, is a fluid concept that defines the need of unification.

He writes:

A wonderfully sweet feeling filled with specially strange gratitude asks: Is it true? Are the boundaries of the sexes finally lifted up? While the impact [of meeting] pronounced manly or female types is an accusation for the less ‘decided’ [type]- a goal, a future hangs [in the air]. And if [really] it is like this, then rely on the romantic, or platonic ideal: it is older, is grounded on a higher intellectual niveau und intends a freer, [and] at the same time tighter and more elastic human form with an endless perspective. Is sex the principle of the world? Is there nothing biologically higher, more inclusive for the form of the human being than the

¹⁶⁶ “Nicht nur lernt man in der Not den Freund und Geliebten kennen, sondern Freundschaft und Liebe wurzeln erst in Widerwärtigkeit und Not (...) und wenn die Planze der Liebe auch ohne tränen aufgeht, so wurzelt sie doch nicht ohne diesen Tau.

¹⁶⁷ “Wer sieht nicht sofort (...) die edelsten Kräfte der menschlichen Kultur im Gegensatz zum tierischen Sein (...) allein schon im Sein und Soll der menschlichen Geschichte (...) dass Mann in erster Linie Mensch ist (...).”Fuchs, "Mensch, Lebenswichtige Etymologien," 5.

confused animal? - Intellectually there is one – (wo)man as Androgyne.¹⁶⁸

“Androgyne as the essential code of an erotically reconciled humanity?”^{169 170}

Unification not on biological grounds but in mental spheres- is what Fuchs suggests and it directs us towards Plato’s discussion of love which is mirrored back in his *Symposium* and here especially in the figure of (lesbian) Diotima, who says that the unification of two bodies not in a sexual but in an intellectual facon gives way to a reproduction of the highest idea, meaning that only through love, humankind can get a glimpse at eternity. Whereas the biological reproduction of male and female praised by the biblical and Judaic traditions and indeed by many other religious traditions, culminates in the birth of children, that is new humans, the intellectual reproduction of two human minds essentially climaxes in the birth of the original idea (see Plato’s definition).

With this Fuchs reconciles himself and praises his existence in exile, through which he was able to find not only true friendship but also true love. Being *haymatlos*, alienated from the homeland and its traditions and demands on one’s self to conform, Fuchs is able to make use of the space exile granted him and blossom deeply, though grounded in the “unpleasantness” of exile. The disruption of his life gave him as a possibility to unify mind and body and to reconcile. Freed from his personal, self- inflicted exile, he found

¹⁶⁸ “Ein mit einer besonderen, eigentümlichen Dankbarkeit erfüllendes beinah süßes Gefühl fragt: Ist es wahr? Sind die grausamen Grenzen des Geschlechts einmal aufgehoben? (...) Während der Anprall mit prononciert männlichen oder weibliche Typen (...) ‘ein ewiger Vorwurf’ ist und Ziel, für die Zukunft bildend, geistig anregend voranschwebt. Wenn wem so ist, der halte sich an das romantische, bezw. Platonische Ideal hier: Es ist älter, steht auf einem geistig höheren Nivea und indendiert eine vollkommeneren, freiere, gleichzeitig elsatiscere und straffere menschliche Form mit unendlicher Perspektive. Ist das Geschlecht Weltprinzip? Gibt es keine biologisch höhere einheitlichere Form für den Menschen als das zwiegespaltene Tier? Eine geistige gibt es_ der Mensch als Androgyne.” Ibid., 57.

¹⁶⁹ “Androgyne wird zur integralen chiffre erotisch versöhnter Humanität” Ibid., 51.

¹⁷⁰ Fuchs’ discussion of androgyny as a reconciliation of humanity is essentially grounded in the philosophy of Franz Xaver von Baader (1765- 1841). Fuchs gives various references of Baader’s book *The Philosophy of Love* throughout the text.

the landscape of his reconciliation in Turkey – both home and exile, never though his original *Heimat*.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

ISTANBUL AS THE ENDLESS BRIDGE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

There are many questions that have been touched, and not touched, by this study. Overall, I have attempted to look at the particularities of the ‘exilic situation’ and what it means to be *haymatlos* in the global, local, personal and intellectual context of Traugott Fuchs’ life. In the previous chapter, we have seen Fuchs struggling with the dilemma of freedom and love. Being alienated from his homeland, gave Fuchs the space, Edward Said calls the ‘space of exile’, to blossom with the “tears” of the “need and unpleasantness” of exile and root himself amidst its “mist”. Neither part of the ‘Jewish Scholar Nobility’ nor of a particular academic status Fuchs –nevertheless- becomes a man of great status and honor in Turkey. Fuchs’ way to his own personal ‘well being’ was the academia and he used his chance. Even today, Fuchs’ name uttered anywhere around and about Istanbul immediately eludes the picture of a man, who was known not only for his high reading, wonderful teaching but most of all for his kindness. His students, friends and colleagues gave him the title of titles, the title only the most

revered teachers would be given: *hocalarin hocasi*; and truly he was the teacher of teachers. And Istanbul, his exile and the city of all cities was his home. Even on his deathbed, he could not part with the city that had welcomed him so many years ago as a young man of 27 years. Confused, haymatlos, without hopes Istanbul seems to have matched his complicated, at times, tortured soul. It became the city that brought him sadness and happiness, essentially it was the city that gave him new life and a home when he thought he lost his old. According to his last wishes, it then also became the city of his eternal peace; Fuchs was buried in Istanbul at the Feriye Cemetery on 3 August, 1997...

When Fuchs died, it seemed like an era ended. An era of Turkey and Germany benefiting from the cultural exchange that started when the first of the German professors came- full of anticipation and gratitude of having escaped the horrors of the Nazi Regime. The minister of education of the time, Reshid Galip, calls the day, when the Turkish government decided taking the first émigré professors under contract: “an exceptional day, on which we're able to do an exemplary deed.” And says further:

When nearly 500 years ago, Constantinople fell, the Greek scholars decided to leave the lands. One could not prevent them. Many of them went to Italy. The Renaissance was the result. Today we prepared ourselves to receive a gift from Europe. We hope for enrichment, for a renewal of a nation. Bring your knowledge, bring your method, and show our youth the way to progress.^{171 172}

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¹⁷² I have cited this passage before in Chapter 4 of this study. Reading speeches from Turkish officials of the time and comparing them with contemporary speeches, one feels like there are worlds between them. The apparent education level and the diplomatic finesse of Education minister Reshid Galip remains unmatched comparing it to contemporary politicians. Here, we have to ask ourselves whether the modernity project of Atatürk's government of the time might have failed in bringing Turkey on a path of progress, democracy and open society... and whether the German émigrés had enough impact on the education system of Modern Turkey to really make a lasting impression.

At first burdened by orientalist notions and prejudices, most émigrés soon found Turkey a fascinating place to live, work and teach. And as Resid Galip had predicted Istanbul (and Ankara) brought together East and West once more- this time in a fascinating, cross- border, transnational intellectual discourse. But did they have a lasting influence on the academic discourse and future of Turkey? In the case of Fuchs, we have seen his lasting influence on generations of students, nearly all of them achieving high positions in the academic, political or economic sphere. Fuchs, however, stayed in Turkey for his whole life. How was it with the other academics and scientists, who only stayed for a short period of time? Did they have a lasting influence on Turkey's academic and intellectual traditions? Are they still remembered by their students as Fuchs is? In my introduction, I have argued that the impact of the German émigrés to Turkey has been pertinent in a way that Atatürk's educational reform could have not carried out without them, I have, also, argued that their rescue was part of a greater Machiavellian scheme and that the Turkish state and government had their rescue on their minds when saving them, but more their individual worth. When Phillip Malche traveled to Turkey to meet with the officials of the Turkish Ministry of Education to match refugee professors with open positions at the newly established universities in Istanbul and Ankara, we see that the matching of the positions was on the Turkish officials minds not the horrible situation the émigrés were in. In the life-changing decision of whether to live and work for another state, or to be gased or worked to death in the concentration camps, the émigrés did not hesitate either. Whether Turkey was inviting them out of humanistic convictions or because it

desperately needed them to follow through with their modernization project, was definitely not a question on their minds either. Whether Turkey showed quasi- fascist tendencies or not, was also not a question that was given a lot of consideration. Either way, more than 1000 German refugees were welcomed in Turkey. Comparing their situation in a global perspective we cannot but remark that Turkey has a host country has procured for their German émigrés' wellbeing more than most other host countries had done. My literature review of other countries such as France, Great Britain, the U.S., Brazil, Palestine and Japan had brought forward a number of questions that helped us to put the Turkish experience, and therefore Traugott Fuchs experience, into a global and more general context. Questions on the community sense of emigrants among each other, their reception by the host country's local population, especially in years of war and hardship, was answered by Fuchs' warm and loving contact to the expat wives (here especially Marie Auerbach), his good relations to his colleagues, émigré (for example Erich Auerbach, Hellmut Ritter and Walter Kranz) and non- émigré (for example with the master Godfrey Goodwin, his colleague and life-long friend Süheyla Artemel, or his former students Nedret Kuran- Burcoglu and Ayse Soysal), his appreciation of Turkey and the Turkish people (for example of Anantolian countryside). Questions of the anti- semitic tendencies within Turkish government or society have been discussed in the light of the *varlık vergisi* and showed that – though – the Turkish government per se did not show such tendencies, parts of the Turkish society did – be it out of financial consideration or out of racial sentiments.

Rather than trying to capture the émigrés experience in a descriptive manner, I have attempted to use the different layers of my argument, as layers of a narrative that is

grounded in the rootless and fleeting conceptual framework of the word *haymatlos*. In 'einem Zirkel des Verstehens' (in a circle of understanding), I have followed the *haymatlos* experience from its tentative definition in the introduction of this study, to its historical reality in a global context, to a contextualization in the realms of German and Turkish political localities, to its direct effect on the personal and public life of Traugott Fuchs, and then back to more solidified intellectual definition within the work and thoughts of the latter. What I hoped to show with this is that the so-called exile or emigration of the German, was one that affected their mentalities and sentiments the most. Moving around and living in different localities, staying, as Fuchs, in one of the same country, returning or not returning to Germany after the war is not what makes their experience *is* their experience. The underlying feeling, in my study the underlying *haymatlos* feeling, that carries all of them is in the end what makes their experience to a historic one, because as an antidote to history, they stand in the streams of history as reminders that to be free is in yourself, and therefore to be just is too.

APPENDIX A

List of German Émigrés to Turkey during the Years 1933- 1945