

INTRODUCTION

Donald Lateiner

A. E. ‘Toni’ Raubitschek (4 December 1912–7 May 1999), an Austrian scholar who emigrated to the United States in 1938, was a refugee from Hitler’s expanding Third Reich with its racist, eventually murderous, anti-Jewish policies. Welcomed quayside by his friend Ben Meritt, he worked productively at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton, which welcomed many such researchers, including Albert Einstein. AER taught Classics in three distinguished American Classics departments. Naturalized as an American citizen, he continued to write, in German and English, scholarship of lasting value in the fields of Greek epigraphy and history and Classical literature.¹ His former students and academic connections are found throughout the Western academic world.²

In 1980, the editor by letter asked AER if he would write an account of his eventful academic life in Vienna, Athens, and the United States.³ AER returned an installment about his education and years in Europe before the arrival of Hitler in Austria. He wrote this first segment by hand (of course) in July 1980 in a Stanford examination-response ‘blue book’. This choice of writing surface seems significant; more than an ordinary letter, less than a formal statement of self. His inimitably

¹ *Inter alia et ab initio*, he wrote thirty-three articles for the Pauly–Wissowa–Kroll *Real-Encyclopädie* published between 1937 and 1942. Twenty-five entries begin with the Greek letter Φ, the others Ο.

² The editor has compiled an incomplete list of AER-directed Ph.D. dissertations at Stanford and elsewhere. See Appendix 1.

³ He was the editor’s mentor, friend and teacher, from September 1967 until August 1972 and epistolary correspondent and (external) inner voice from then until AER’s death in May 1999.

tidy, nearly *stoichedon* handwriting is a joy to observe in itself.⁴ He did not ask the editor what his plan was for the manuscript, and indeed the editor did not have one. Nor was the result what the editor would have predicted, but that was to be expected with ‘Toni’.⁵ Soon after, in April 1981, a second installment arrived. This surveyed the years at Princeton (at the Institute for Advanced Studies (1938–42), two stints at Yale (1942–7), and again in Princeton, as faculty at Princeton University (1947–63), the quarter-century between the epochs experienced in Europe and California. The third installment required a longer wait. Raubitschek wrote the editor about the Stanford years (1963–) in December 1991. At Stanford, AER received two teaching awards. Although AER officially retired in 1978, he continued to teach courses frequently and at many levels (including adult education) for many years. He explains in the opening note to Part III addressed to me why he did not postpone these last recollections. The student examination books (8, 14, and 8 pages lined) measure 7 inches by 8.5 (height). The first has had its cover removed; the second is missing one page.⁶

⁴ AER did not underline (italicise) book titles and foreign phrases in this informal project, and the editor has not ‘corrected’ the way he wrote in the following transcription. See Figure 1. There are no spaces between paragraphs.

⁵ As the reader will discover below, AER produced at least three handwritten autobiographies, thus the absence of the definite article in the title. Prof. E. C. Courtney (formerly at Stanford) received the third version that I know of, not transcribed here, with more details on the Stanford years

⁶ The editor hopes to deposit securely these three ‘blue books’ and associated materials in an archive. Most of AER’s personal papers were apparently destroyed by his heirs (see below); his will [*non vidi*] directed that his collection of other scholars’ offprints be sent to the University of Vienna. Michael Jameson (1924–2004), the editor’s colleague at the University of Pennsylvania and AER’s successor at

Other historians of classical scholarship can annotate more fully than this editor AER's references to scholars on the continent, alive or dead. European scholars who fled to America and elsewhere, almost all of them Jews or from traditionally Jewish families, improved study in many, if not all, academic and research fields, certainly in the Classics. The Nazi regime's so-called 'cleansing' of the universities of Jewish students and professors and of those who might be considered Jews by family origin is now well known.⁷ The central European refugees' scholarly contributions to American humanistic research remain less familiar to the general public than their work in the sciences, e.g., nuclear physics, for obvious reasons, but the names of Werner Jaeger, Herman Fränkel, Friedrich Solmsen,

Stanford, recorded two audiotapes of AER recollecting in 1995. The editor has a copy kindly furnished by Prof. Mark Edwards, AER's long-time colleague and friend.

⁷ William Calder, 'The Refugee Classical Scholars in the USA: an Evaluation of their Contributions', *ICS* 17 (1992) 153–73, for similarly endangered but subsequently employed Classicists in particular; Lewis Coser, *Refugee Scholars in America: Their Impact and Their Experiences* (New Haven 1984) for scholars in all academic fields, although Coser includes little about Classical Philology. Professor Calder hoped to engage with AER's papers but did not obtain the opportunity. The Austrian government in 1999 bestowed the Golden Cross of Honor for Science and Art on AER, for his achievement in scholarship. Two other Austrian nationals of Jewish ancestry, who fled the Nazi puppet-state, eventually came to America, and contributed to the study of Ancient History—Ernst Badian, and Erich Gruen—also received this recognition. (My great-aunt, Lena Gitter, who also was forced (and lucky) to leave Vienna in 1938, received the (ironically named) medal for her work in Montessori education in Austria and the United States and in healing the rifts caused by World War II.)

and Margaret Bieber, *inter alios*, remain legendary and influential in American classical scholarship.⁸

The editor decided, after some hesitation,⁹ that he had better publish now this informal memoir without the full appa-

⁸ The editor was also a Greek student of the New York state native Harry Caplan of Cornell University (1896–1980), the first Jew to receive tenure in Classics in the prestigious American ‘Ivy League’. Professor Caplan never discussed these personal personnel matters with me. The notorious if well-meant note of 1919 written to him by his Cornell chairman, the Latin grammarian C. E. Bennett, and kept in his desk throughout his long and successful Cornell career, candidly attests to the discouraging and hardly disguised hostility in genteel America to Jews in academe. This important note was bravely published in the *Cornell Alumni News* after Caplan’s death (July, 1981, p. 7). For the faculty’s memorial minute, see http://ecommons.library.cornell.edu/bitstream/1813/18066/2/Caplan_Harry_1980.pdf.

This prejudice and policy prevented Jews from teaching Classics at nearly all Universities—or even being admitted as undergraduate students facing a *numerus clausus*. The prejudice continued well into the twentieth century, as the case of the Ohioan James Loeb (1867–1933) attests. The founder of the Loeb Classical Library and a funder of the American School of Classical Studies’ purchase of Athenian Agora land) went to Germany to escape American anti-Semitism. Alfred Gudeman, born in Atlanta, migrated to Germany for study and a career, and died in the Nazi concentration camp at Theresienstadt (1862–1942; see Donna Hurley, ‘Alfred Gudeman, Atlanta, Georgia, 1862–Theresienstadt, 1942’, *TAPA* 120 (1990) 355–381). The acts of Hitler made anti-Semitism shameful in the American academy, including Classics—but not obsolete. Here, the editor notes that the Rumanian born, British trained, Israeli Roman historian Zvi Yavetz also taught him at Cornell as a visiting professor (1966–7). Yavetz’s entire family (except for himself and two cousins), then living in Czernowitz, once the *Ostmark* of German *Kultur* in the Austro-Hungarian empire, was murdered by the Nazi regime. Czernowitz in the Bukovina (now Chernivtsi in the Ukraine), mentioned below by AER, coincidentally was the home of one branch of the editor’s Viennese Lateiner forbears.

ratus that a scholar better informed about the Central European epigraphers of the mid-third twentieth century could provide. Some colleagues and students who knew this remarkable friend and fierce lover of antiquity are still alive to appreciate his ‘voice’,¹⁰ but naturally their number daily dwindles. Many topics that one might expect to find here are not mentioned,¹¹ and some topics, whose inclusion will surprise readers, receive extended attention. Indeed, for whatever reason, one enthusiastic German scholar (an old acquaintance of AER’s) attempted to walk away with the evidence ‘to protect’ the original ‘blue books’ themselves, when they were exhibited at a Stanford sponsored memorial reception in Raubitschek’s honor at the annual meeting of the American Philological Association (Dallas, Texas; December 1999). The thief was luckily apprehended and the plunder recovered from her voluminous handbag by your editor. Personal papers and correspondence may have been destroyed; at least their current fate or where-

⁹ A full set of *Neue Deutsche Biographie* or *Kürschners deutscher Gelehrten-Kalender* from at least the early ’twenties is helpful in looking up details of the many Classical scholars that AER names. Prof. Dr. Wilt Aden Schröder of the Institut für Griechische und Lateinische Philologie, Universität Hamburg, kindly supplied me with many of the basic details for the Central Europeans found below.

¹⁰ No one who spoke with him will forget his dramatic voice and style of delivery: the pitch would rise and fall in his intense conversational interchanges. Delivering his ironic questions, his voice usually rose an octave.

¹¹ AER only alludes to his beautifully written masterwork, the *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* (1949; repr. 1999) and to his substantial revisions of a completely revised edition of Ernst Nachmanson, *Historische attische Inschriften*² (Berlin 1931), a work that he never brought to conclusion, although he used a draft in epigraphy seminars [information from Philip Stadter].

abouts is unknown.¹² Prof. Peter Siewert of Vienna reports that AER left ‘zahlreichen Sonderdrucke und wissenschaftliche Papiere seiner Bibliothek’ to his motherland’s Wiener Institut für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik. A partial *Nachlass* of AER’s voluminous correspondence was reported in Professor Peter Siewert’s 1999 *Nekrologie* in the University of Vienna’s journal *Tyche*.¹³

The document transcribed and annotated below offers an accessible, if slightly opaque, window into the life of an elusive personality, a remarkable teacher and formidable scholar.¹⁴ It

¹² Inquiries concerning AER’s correspondence and papers, sent by others and myself requesting help from his children, were regrettably not answered.

¹³ Dr. William Beck of Hamburg, Director of the *LfgRE*, brought this notice to my attention. (Beck was another of many American beneficiaries of AER’s transatlantic connections.) AER sent twenty cartons of material to his home city and university in Vienna shortly before his death. The catalogue of these papers (largely off-prints furnished by AER’s colleagues) occupies 82 pages. Prof. Siewert kindly supplied a copy to me.

¹⁴ The editor was encouraged and aided in this unexpectedly arduous labor of love by many AER acquaintances. These include his fellow Stanford students Larry Bliquez and William Beck, Judith Perlzweig Binder (long-time resident of Athens and an archaeologist who knew AER at Yale and in Athens), Mark Edwards, Edward Courtney (whose Latin epitaph for AER appears in *CJ* 95.1 (1999) 64), and Michael Jameson (who wrote the best known obituary for the *AJA*; see list of obituaries, Appendix 2, below), Peter Siewert (who came to Stanford to work on the ‘oath of Plataea’ with AER for an academic term), Philip Stadter (his student at Princeton), and Professor Wilt Schröder of Hamburg. I thank them all. I extend apologies, especially to my impatient friend Judith Binder (now deceased), for the long delay in publication. It is not clear what AER expected to come of his handwritten *commentariū* or memoir, but he certainly never indicated that he did not want this decorous docu-

is followed by a second autobiography, provided to the editor by Mark Edwards in 2006. Much of its information does not repeat, but rather fills out, the data that AER provided to the editor. He has appended it rather than clumsily interleaved it. The different emphases and developments remind us that writers/singers produce for specific audiences and will present material to one that they do not share with another,¹⁵ as those listeners vary in circumstances and time, and as the performer's memory and opinions vacillate.¹⁶

ment (and its congeners: see below) published. I believe he would welcome its post-mortem appearance.

¹⁵ Ted Courtney recalled for me in 2007 an anecdote that I too had heard from Toni: 'In one of Rademacher's classes Toni wrote a paper which Rademacher handed back to him with a suggestion, regarded as rather pointless by Tony, for following up one item. Came the end of term and the time for handing out certificates of work done during the term, Everyone in the class had his name called out, and Tony's came last. When he went up, Rademacher said to him "I see Mr Raubitschek, that you have not followed up the suggestion which I made to you", to which Tony's imprudent response was "Sir, I thought that that was a joke." Thereupon R. drew himself up to his full height, said "Mr. R., classical scholars do not make jokes", and tore up the certificate, so that Tony lost credit for that term.'

¹⁶ The editor has further autobiographical materials in AER's hand provided by E. C. Courtney and two audio tapes (thanks to Prof. Edwards) from an interview of AER conducted at his home by Michael Jameson in June and July 1995.

Appendix 1: Dissertations Directed by AER

Stanford Dissertations

1. Richard Alan McNeal: 'The First Peloponnesian War' (1968)
2. John Shelton: 'Some Greek Documentary Papyri from the Michigan Collection: Roman and Byzantine Texts' (1968)
3. David Dunn Mulroy: 'Prepositions in Thucydides' (1971)
4. Donald Lateiner: 'Lysias and Athenian Politics' (1971)
5. Thomas William Mackay: 'A Critical Edition of Bede's *Vita Felicis*' (1971)
6. Virginia Lynne Snyder Abel: '*Prokrisis*' (1974)
7. Peter Schuyler Mellon: 'The Ending of Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* and its Relation to Sophocles' *Antigone* and Euripides' *Phoenissae*' (1974)
8. Frank E. Romer: 'G. and L. Caesar in the East' (1974)
9. David Russell Cole: '*Asty* and *Polis*: "City" in Early Greek' (1976)
10. Philip Gordon Holt: 'The Imagery of Sophokles' *Trachiniai*' (1976)
11. Joseph William Day: 'The *Panathenaicus* of Aelius Aristides: A Study in the Popular Tradition' (1978)
12. David Andrew Luper: 'Persuasion and Politics in Euripides' (1979)

Direction of dissertations other than at Stanford include, at Princeton, David M. Lewis (1928–1994) 1952 and Father Edward Bodnar (1920–2011), 1958; at Munich, but while visiting Stanford, Peter Siewert, 1970).

The aid of Professors Susan Stephens and Mark Edwards at Stanford was indispensable, but the California earthquake of 1985 destroyed or led to the dispersal of many records in the Stanford Classics department that could lengthen the

following list. AER's perceived authoritarian demeanour (and frequent sarcasm) scared away some potential doctoral candidates from working with him.

Further information extending this list of AER's doctoral students will be appreciated and acknowledged.

Appendix 2

The following AERocentric items will reward readers of his autobiography, although many repetitions naturally appear in these texts:

- Bliquez, Larry, AER Obituary in the *Association of Ancient Historians Newsletter* 79 (2000) 5.
- Jameson, Michael, ed. *The Greek Historians: Literature and History. Papers Presented to A. E. Raubitschek* (Saratoga, Calif. 1985), with a biographical preface by Jameson, a portrait at age 70, and a bibliography covering 1935–83.
- Jameson, Michael, AER Obituary in *AJA* 103 (1999) 697–98.
- Miller, M. J., “Dedication”, in *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis = Supplementum Inscriptionum Atticarum VII*, ed. AER “with the collaborations of L.H. Jeffery” (1949; reprint Chicago: Ares 1999) 2 pp.
- Obbink, Dirk and Paul A. Vander Waerdt, edd. *The School of Hellas: Essays {written by AER} on Greek History, Archaeology, and Literature* (New York and Oxford, 1991) with a portrait and an introductory note by AER (xi–xv) and his bibliography, 1935–1991.
- Siewert, Peter, AER Obituary in *Tyche* 14 (1999) 1–2.
- Stephens, Susan, ed., AER Memorial Resolution and eight tributes/reminiscences, *The Stanford Classicist* 20 (2000) 11–18, with two portraits at age 87.¹⁷

¹⁷ AER was photogenic: a lively face accompanied by rich postures and gestures in dialogue. Somewhat Socratic in body-type as well as in character, friends were reminded, for better and worse, of Alcibiades’ comments about his mentor in Plato’s *Symposium* (215a4ff.).