CHAPTER TEN

LEIDEN, *UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK* (UNIVERSITY LIBRARY), *BIBLIOTHECA PUBLICA LATINA*

The collection contains Western manuscripts with texts in various languages. Although the occurrence of Turkish texts in it is rare, there are a few items which document aspects of the history of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic. Among them, notably, is BPL 238 I–II, which contains autograph manuscripts in Dutch by Herman van der Horst, Protestant minister of the Dutch community of Izmir between 1718 and 1727; I, contains a diary of his boat journey between Amsterdam (Texel) and Izmir in 1717–1718, a description of a journey in the surroundings of Izmir in 1719 and notes on a trip to Ephesus in 1720 (123 folios); II has fragments describing boat journeys between Izmir and Istanbul in 1726 and 1727 (6 folios). The contents are described in Jan Schmidt, “The Travel Notes of a Dutch Pastor in Anatolia 1717–1727”, in: Çiğdem Balım-Harding & Colin Imber, eds., *The Balance of Truth. Essays in Honour of Professor Geoffrey Lewis* (Istanbul 1999), pp. 309–330. The collection also comprises a large collection of letters, among them from and to Dutch orientalists like Jacob Golius, Jan Jacob Schultens and Joannes Willmet, manuscript collectors mentioned in other chapters. There is also one letter (in French), BPL 221 c f 1, from the first Dutch envoy to the Porte, Cornelis Haga (1587–1654, cf. Amsterdam, UB Hs. Diederichs 9 U, above) to the Protestant minister, André Rivet (dated 1634), and one (in Italian) addressed to him (BPL 1886) by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyrillus Lucaris (dated 1617). A remarkable item is also BPL 3273, described below.

BPL 3273

The Kraus archive

The archive is of some importance for the history of Turkey during the 1930s and 1940s, even more so for that of scholarship related to the ancient Middle East, and the exile of German academics in Turkey—they found a welcome in Turkey thanks to a reform programme of Turkish higher education implemented in the early 1930s which cost the job to 240 staff members of Istanbul University alone. The archive mostly consists of letters

written and received by Fritz Rudolf Kraus (1910–1991) in German, Turkish, and some other languages. The archive is accessible through the website of the University library.

Born in Spremberg (Brandenburg, Prussia)—his father, Siegfried Kraus (1870–1937), was a textile manufacturer of Viennese-Jewish origin—Kraus studied Semitic and Oriental languages at the Universities of Munich and Leipzig (1928–1935) much against the wish of his father; among the languages he learnt was also Turkish. Impossible to find an academic job in Nazi Germany as a ‘half Jew’, he decided to migrate to Turkey in June 1937. Thanks to the mediation of one of his former teachers in Leipzig, Professor Benno Landsberger (1890–1968), who, being of Jewish origin, had preceded Kraus to Turkey in 1935, Kraus was appointed conservator (*tablet mütehas-sisi*) at the Department of the Ancient East (*Eski Şark*) of the Archeological Museum in Istanbul. His main task was cataloguing its enormous collection of over 70,000 clay tablets, found in Mesopotamia and Anatolia. From 1940 onwards, he had two assistants, Muazzez İlmiye İtil (later, after marriage, Çığ) and Hatice Kızılyay, who were students of Landsberger in Ankara and with whom he later corresponded (see below). In 1942, Kraus was also appointed assistant lecturer (*ilmî yardımı*) in Ancient Mesopotamic History and Assyriology at Istanbul University. In 1946, he married a local Greek woman, Chariklia Anastasiadis—she died in 1988. In 1949 Kraus moved to Vienna, where he was appointed ‘extraordinary’ professor of Ancient Semitic Philology and Oriental Archeology; at the same time he obtained Austrian citizenship. In 1953 he was appointed professor of Languages and History of Babylonia and Assyria at Leiden University. He retired in 1980. The University Library acquired his archive in parts between 1990 and 1994.

Outstanding in the archive, both in quantity—there are about 600 letters—and from a literary point of view, is Kraus’ correspondence with his younger brother Werner, an entrepreneur who remained in Germany all his life. The letters of the 1930s and 1940s (Nos. 1–154) in this file (sub 3) document in an impressive way the daily life of an academic exile in Turkey during the eventful and tragic 1930s and 1940s. I will give an impression of their contents in what follows below. The letters written by his brother Werner (sub 4) covering the same period (Nos. 1–209) should, for a better understanding, be read alongside them. I also describe their contents briefly below. Their historical value lies in the detailed documentation they provide on day-to-day life in Nazi Germany and, later, in the occupied Soviet zone and the German Democratic Republic. Additional details on Kraus’ life in Istanbul are found in the correspondence in sub-files 1 (letters addressed to Kraus) and 2 (letters from Kraus), but they primar-

ily document Kraus' work, academic activities, scholarly interests, and the exchange of ideas. Important for the period under discussion is the correspondence with teachers and colleagues Benno Landsberger, Hans Gustav Güterbock (1908–2000), Theo Bauer (1896–1957), Martin David (1898–1986), Hans Ehelolf, (1891–1939), Johannes Friedrich (1893–1972), Paul Koschaker (1879–1951), and Johann Jakob Stamm (1910–1993). Of primary scholarly interest are letters exchanged with many other colleagues, not further referred to here. The letters under discussion here are all in German, but with a few correspondents, whom Kraus came to know in Istanbul, letters in Turkish were exchanged: Muazzez Çığ and Hatice Kızılyay (44 typed letters to Kraus and 38 carbon copies of letters from Kraus, dated 1950–1967); Kemal Balkan (a former student and later lecturer in Ankara, 35 and 22 handwritten and typed items, dated 1949–1951); Emin Bilgiç (a former student, 4 and 2 items, dated 1943–1949); Kadriye Tanzuğ (a former student, 2 handwritten letters to Kraus, dated 1949); Mebrure Tosun (a former student, one handwritten letter to Kraus, dated 1975); Mustafa Kalaç (a former student, a handwritten postcard to Kraus, dated 1954); and Bahadır Alkım (a student, one typed letter to Kraus, dated 1975). Copies of three petitions in Turkish, concerning emoluments for a book published in commission of the Ministry of Education in Ankara, from Kraus to Dr Hamid Zübeyr Koşay (cf. below), are found under 'Ankara' (in sub-file 2). The quality of the paper and carbon copies of the letters is unequal. The carbon copies of Kraus' letters produced during the war are of poor quality, and the text partly illegible because they were, clearly in order to save paper, used on both sides. The content of the letters was influenced by the existence of censorship in Nazi Germany, eastern Germany under the Soviets and in (occupied) Austria before 1953.

Fritz Rudolf Kraus in Istanbul

Kraus' life in exile is best and most entertainingly described in his letters to his younger brother Werner, occasionally also his mother Ilse Kraus-Karge (1886–1945)—numbers within brackets used below refer to the sequential numbers in pencil found on them. The letters to Werner and his mother were primarily meant to entertain. Kraus compared himself in this respect to the 19th-century author of a description of Turkey, Helmuth von Moltke [1800–1891] (66). Kraus' literary talent—clearly much greater than any of his correspondents with the exception of Landsberger—and his keen eye for bizarre details, ranging from descriptions of Turkish cuisine to the curious behaviour of himself and the people he met, with, often ironic, comments—there are also lengthy but lively descriptions of Istanbul and

Ankara—make all his more personal letters immensely readable. Thus he described the ancient monuments of the Turkish capital to Stamm on 4 December 1937: *Man muß allerdings alle deutsche Begriffe von Altertümern hinter sich lassen, wenn man die reste früherer Zeiten hier genießen will. Ruinen werden hier nicht zärtlich gepflegt wie bei uns, sondern zeigen sich in trostloser Verwüstung. In den verfallenen Medressen, deren einzelne Zellen, den Karthäuserklöstern nicht unähnlich, um einen Brunnengeschmückten Hof liegen, siedelt elendes Volk barfuß und in Lumpen; die Vorhöfe auch der großen, viel besuchten Moscheen sind verwahrlost, die Friedhöfe verfallen. Müllabladeplätze dehnen sich an der Stadtmauer, die im übrigen ein durchaus ländliches, mit Gärten und einzelnen Häusern bedecktes gebiet umzirken ...* (3). But by early 1944, Kraus had to confess that he had become tired of this type of correspondence, and particularly of the fact that he could only produce 'sketches' to his brother and could not say what was on his mind (105): *Schon seit Jahren verfasse ich im Schweiß meines Angesichtes (dies allerdings in etwa die Hälfte der Fälle wegen der Sommerhitze) so eine Art Feuilletons und Ihr habt sogar die Güte, diese Art von Hervorbringungen amüsant zu finden ... Aber richtige Briefe sind es doch nicht. Was ich gern wollte, mich einmal richtig auszusprechen über das, was einen wirklich angeht und bewegt, das kann man ja im Briefe schon längst nicht mehr ... Na, und bei dem schrecklichen Ernst der Zeit hatte ich nun einfach von dieser Art Schriftstellerei die Nase voll ...*

This is not to say that the letters completely lack references to actual events; thus Kraus mentioned the decline and death of Atatürk (without mentioning his name however) in 1938 (18, 19, 20). On 11 October 1938, he wrote: *... heute morgen ist der Staatspräsident gestorben. Es wurde mittags mit einem Schlage bekannt gegeben und in einer halben Stunde war die Stadt ganz halbmast beflaggt ... Abends sind alle Kaffees, Bars, Kinos geschlossen, alle Schaufenster dunkel oder meistens mit eisernen Vorhängen bedeckt, sogar alle Kinoreklamen abgenommen ...* Some time later, Kraus tried to pay his respects to the bier on which the mortal remains were lying in state in the Dolmabahçe Palace, but this turned out to be practically impossible; great crowds fought their way through the gates, whereby, it later turned out, eleven persons were trampled to death (20). Atatürk, as a staunch nationalist, had been an important supporter of the study of ancient history, particularly that of Anatolia, and on the occasion of the official change of the placename Diyarbakir into, more Turkish, 'Diyarbakır', Kraus was instructed to investigate whether the town had perhaps already been known as 'Copper Town' in ancient times. It had not (letters to Landsberger, 9, 10). Kraus also refers to the murder of the German Embassy Secretary [Ernst-Eduard vom Rath] in Paris (which led to the 'Crystal Night' in Germany) in the

same year (19)—the following *antisemitische Welle* and the burning of synagogues made him extremely worried about his family both in Spremberg and Vienna (letters to Landsberger, 11, 32, 38). In other letters Kraus mentioned the occupation of Albania in 1939 and the threat of Turkey becoming involved in the following [as it turned out Second World] war (24); the outbreak of that war (on 10 October 1939 he wrote: *Hier verfolgt man mit Spannung die Weltlage, wie sie sich in den Zeitungs- und Radioberichten spiegelt ... Bei Kriegsausbruch hat man schon im Museum Luftschutzmaßnahmen getroffen, die weiter durchgeführt werden ...*); the military campaign in France (35); the continuous uncertainty of the political situation in the Balkans in the Summer of 1940 (37), followed by the first serious war measures taken in Turkey like a (temporary) general black-out and the ban on the private use of cars (42); and military exercises (*Luftschutzübungen erinnern uns dann rechtzeitig sowohl an den Krieg als auch zum Glück daran, daß dieses schöne Land noch von ihm verschont ist ...* 46). To Landberger Kraus reported: “*Als die Nachricht vom Kriegsausbruch eintraf, dachte ich natürlich auch zunächst sehnsüchtig an Ankara. Einzelne Juden unter meinen Bekannten, die sich kein Nest in Ankara wissen, dachten an Konzentrationslager und packten sich neugekaufte Rucksäcke mit Wollsachen, Verbandzeug und ich weiß nicht was. Ich tue das nicht ...*” (80). He also referred, albeit surreptitiously, to the distortionate ‘capital tax’ (*varlık vergisi*), 55 % of which had to be paid by the small minorities who still inhabited Turkey—Kraus’ friend and later spouse of Greek origin, Chariklia, a simple ex-office-worker, had to cough up the equivalent of 1000 Marks, which would ruin her (and him), but fortunately, after nine months of ‘trembling’, she was exempted in September 1943 (100). Bitterly commenting on Werner’s protest against the destruction of cultural monuments by bombing, Kraus replied that it had been Ludendorf himself who had proposed the indiscriminate use of bombs in his book *Der totale Krieg*, and continued: *Manchmal werde ich ja traurig, wenn ich denke, daß der Mensch alle wilden Tiere und fast alle Naturgewalten zweckdienlich bezwungen und sich unterworfen hat, um sich dann höchstselbst mit größtem Raffinement auszurotten. Wozu dann erst die ganze schmerzliche Entwicklung vom Höhlen-menschen bis zum—Luftschutzkellergast 1943?* (24 August 1943, 99). On 13 February 1944, despairing of the future, he wrote: [Wir] ... *starren bange und mit dem Gefühl der Lahmung in den trüben, blutigen Nebel, der uns die Zukunft verhüllt ...* (105). Beside man-made disasters, there were also natural ones like the regularly returning phenomena of earthquakes and tremors (reported in 33, 78, 105) and a typhus epidemic (in the Summer of 1943, 95, 97). One of the recurring themes (36 ff.), directly related to the war situation, was the continual

Figure 36. Fritz Rudolf Kraus at the entrance of the Department of the Ancient Near East of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, with Hittite lion statues (undated photograph, NINO Archive)

rise of prices, hardly compensated by small and rare salary rises. This soon reduced Kraus to the status of *Kleinbürger mit proletarischem Lebensstandard*” (109). By the end of the war, almost all he earned was spent on primary necessities like food, firewood and coal—if available at all (cf. 71, 73)—gas and electricity, and housing, clothes and shoes, and he could hardly afford the purchase of furniture or other luxuries. Cigarettes remained relatively cheap and Kraus soon came into the habit of smoking some twenty per day. On 1 May 1943, he wrote: *Für Gas und Elektrizität habe ich im April 38.24 RM bezahlt und dabei sitzen wir abends bei einer einzigen vierkerzigen Birne alle zusammen ... Würde ich ein Hiesiger, so würde ich sagen “Gott ist gross”, Allah büyük. Damit können sich die Leutenchen irgendwie trösten. Wohl ihnen.* (93) In the harsh winter of 1941–1942, Kraus was forced to spend his evenings in coffee houses. All along during Kraus’ stay in Turkey, he had to be content with the clothes, shoes and hats, time and again repaired by Chariklia, which he had brought from Germany. The impossibility to import foreign goods even forced the cable tram in Galata (*Tünel*) temporarily out of service in 1941 (61, 68), but also the normal tram services often broke down owing to a lack of spare parts and horse-drawn coaches appeared on the streets because of a lack of petrol (63). Bread was rationed from January 1942 (71); the daily ration was 300 grammes for an adult, and the quality was often dubious (58, 65, 74). Food prices soared and by April 1942 Kraus reported home: *Ich habe eine neue Krankheit ... beim Essen beginne ich unwillkürlich auszurechnen, für wieviel Piaster Essen ich eben im Munde habe ...* (76) Razor-blades, matches, rubber shoes, coffee and pastry disappeared all together (61, 67, 71, 73, 92, 95).

The letters indeed make it perfectly clear that Kraus’ life in Istanbul was difficult and a painful experience throughout; dominant themes are those of financial insecurity and poverty made worse by his low and uncertain status as a foreign employee (who could not be promoted or publish any work without the express permission of the state). Despite repeated attempts by Werner and his lawyer in Spremberg, it also proved impossible to transfer money from Germany—Kraus’ share of the family capital (of 165,366 Marks, cf. 81) remained frozen on a bank account (*Sperrkonto*) of the *Dresdner Bank*. The insecurity became worse with the outbreak of the war and Turkey’s challenged neutrality: once the country would become involved in it on the side of the Allies, Kraus was surely to be dismissed and imprisoned. This threat was never completely absent, and almost became a fact in 1944.

After the rupture of diplomatic ties with Germany in the Summer of that year, a policeman presented himself at Kraus’ door—this was at the end of August—informing him that he had to move to Anatolia. At Haydarpaşa

Figure 37. Fritz Rudolf Kraus and Hariklia Anastasiadis in Istanbul (undated photograph, NINO Archive)

Figure 38. Fritz Rudolf Kraus on a ferry in the Bosphorus (undated photograph, NINO Archive)

Station, where he was to board a special train, he soon heard that he was exempted from internment on orders of the provincial governor and was allowed, thanks to pressure exerted by the Dean of the Literary Faculty, to return home (109). Most other compatriots were not so lucky: *die Abtransportierten, wahllos Nazis, Nichtnazis und Zufallsdeutsche fremder Zungen durcheinander, blieben 1½ Jahr im Landesinnern* (letter to Bauer, 4). Then there was the continual worry, made worse by the irregular and often severed mail connections, about his brother and widowed mother in Spremberg (his father had died soon after he had departed for Turkey), particularly after war had broken out—connections were completely cut off between August 1944 and April 1946. Her health declined steadily, as was clear from Werner's letters, until she died soon after hostilities had ended in 1945 as Kraus only learned in the early summer of 1946.

Kraus often suffered from homesickness—it soon became clear to him that travel to Germany was impossible for both bureaucratic—passes of 'non-Aryans' reportedly were confiscated on crossing the German border—and financial reasons (a ticket of the Orient Express cost more than a month's salary)—which became particularly felt during the period of Pentecost, when he reminisced the wonderful trips he used to make in Germany prior to his exile (cf. 15, 77). He in fact never disengaged himself from his fatherland, and remained a German at heart, albeit not of the *Hurrah, Wellfleischessen und Antisemitismus* type (111). Neither did Germany forget

him completely. Ironically he noted how he was called up for a medical examination in the German Hospital in March 1942 (75); in September he was informed that he was fit for military service and incorporated into the Second *Ersatz-Reserve* (83).

One of the problems encountered by Kraus—it was directly related to his poverty—was housing. When he arrived in Istanbul, he first rented rooms in an (expensive) German pension, ‘Hella’, in Taksim (*eine Oase der Sauberkeit und bescheiden Europäiziteit inmitten der sonstigen Stadt* [letter to Landsberger, 1] but *Essen in der Pension besteht hauptsächlich aus Huhn und Apfelkompott*, 5), but later he moved in with a German family in Beyoğlu: *Ich bin jetzt wieder “möblierter Herr” bei einer anständigen kleinen deutschen Familie, mit zwei grossen, nicht sehr hellen und fast kahlen Zimmern in einem Einfamilienhause inmitten der alten Botschaftsgebäude und nahe dem Zentrum der Stadt ...* (October 1938, 18). A year later he moved to rooms in Cihangir (29)—where one day he found his landlady dead in the bathtub (40)—and had to move to a hotel, soon afterwards to a room in Çarşıkapı (42), back to Beyoğlu (48), back again to Çarşıkapı (*so eine Art Zeltlager aus Beton*; the landlord was a Czech Jew from Egypt, called Hersch, married to a Viennese woman) (48; letters to Landsberger, 80, 92)—and again back to Beyoğlu (61) and Galata (64). There he was thrown out of his rooms after the government had forbidden non-Turks to let apartments (September 1942). After a tiring six-week search, Kraus, Chariklia and her mother were able to rent a flat on the third floor of a newly built housing estate in Feriköy opposite an Armenian church. Among the neighbours were Armenians, Greeks, Germans and a Turk (82). Apart from the inconvenience caused by noise (yelling children and radio music—*einheimische sogenannte Musik, markerschütternder Zeuge einer gottverlassenen völligen künstlerischen Unfähigkeit, die die Leuten aber nicht müde werden täglich in die Welt zu schreien ...*, 96), particularly in summer—how did he long for the quiet garden in Spremberg where he had written his thesis in the Summer of 1933! (126)—there was the increased distance from work: it took a 70-minute walk to reach the old town-centre and the tram-journey was a harrowing experience, due to constant over-crowding.

Apart from occasional German lessons he gave to private persons, Kraus was employed by the Archeological Museum; his appointment had been arranged at the Turkish Embassy in Berlin. Upon arrival from Germany, he was introduced to the staff (as he wrote Ehelolf on 12 August 1937): *Dor-thin ging ich gleich mit Landsberger und ließ mich Haydar, meinem unmittelbaren Chef, und [Ahmed] Aziz [Ogan] vorstellen. Alles war eitel Freude,*

nur erklärte man, gar nichts von mir zu wissen. Man müsse erst nach Ankara telegraphieren und fragen, was mit mir geschehen solle; dieses Telegramm ist angeblich am 29.VII. an Hamit [the Director of Antiquities and Museums at the Ministry of Education in Ankara, Dr Hamit Zübeyr Koşay] abgegangen, dann hat Landsb. selbst geschrieben und dann ich noch an Hamit nach Alaca Hüyük. Bis jetzt ist die Antwort noch nicht da, Geld auch nicht, ich lebe von Geborgtem und von Schulden. Man sagte so allgemein, es würde drei Monate dauern ... Man ist eben hier Ankara-feindlich und reaktionär, wie Sie mir ja auch schon sagten, außerdem will man hier nicht aus seiner Ruhe aufgestört werden durch einen, der immerfort arbeitet und vor dem man sich dazu blamiert, weil er Sachen versteht, von denen man keine Ahnung hat, obgleich sie einem in sein Ressort gehören. Aber man hat noch mehr gegen mich: man hält mich für Landsbergers "jungen Mann", der hier für Landsb. das wissenschaftliche Fett abschöpfen soll, was man selbst aber von den Türken gemacht haben möchte, welche aus Ankara und aus Europa als gelehrte junge Männer hervorgehen werden ... This uneasiness and uncertainty was never to go away. Kraus' task was to look through the enormous, but still largely unexplored, collection of cuneiform tablets. After the initial bureaucratic problems had been solved, Kraus was employed by the Museum, but only on and off because appointments had to be renewed every year—sometimes for even shorter periods—because tenure was not given to foreigners. Every appointment required confirmation from the government in Ankara, and this often took some weeks, sometimes even months. Thereupon Kraus had to sign contracts at a notary's office (for which he had to pay a stiff fee). The same problems were encountered after he had been appointed lecturer at the university. While renewal was still unconfirmed, Kraus did not receive any pay and often had to borrow money to breach the void. Once Kraus was unemployed for fourteen months (June 1940—August 1941). This, according to Kraus, was a consequence of a temporary anti-German policy following the Spring Campaign of 1940 (letter to Stamm, 9) and cost him savings worth 6000 Marks (75). His uncertain status led to endless worries about money and his residence permit, and obliged him to repeated, fortnightly, visits to police stations—on one occasion Kraus had to repeat the visit when it appeared that his file had been lost (letters to Landsberger, 64, 72). Only after thirteen weeks did he receive a permanent residence permit. Problems had been caused by the fact that Kraus was not able to produce evidence of his status as 'Aryan'; *ich hatte keine geringe Mühe, nachdem ich als "Deutscher" entlassen worden war, als "Nichtarier" privatim bleiben zu dürfen* (Letter to Stamm, 9). During his enforced idleness, he tried to get support from the *Notgemeinschaft Deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland*, which sup-

ported the emigration of many German academics to Turkey since 1933, and spoke to the pathologist Philipp Schwartz, an exile himself and one of its leading figures. The latter offered him a job as porter at his Institute for Pathological Anatomy. Kraus declined (letter to Landsberger, 67). Kraus also approached the Romanist Erich Auerbach, formerly professor in Marburg, author of the famous study on realism in Western literature, *Mimesis*, and head of the School of Foreign Languages of Istanbul University, but he was not able to help him to a job (letter to Landsberger, 70). The school did employ a few orientalisists, among whom the turcologists Andreas Tietze, only superficially known by Kraus, and Robert Anhegger; both taught German (letters to Landsberger, 134, 137). Desperate, Kraus mused that he could always try to become German broadcaster of Radio Istanbul (letter to Landsberger 72). To market himself as a teacher of German or Latin proved to be impossible by that time—for this he needed a permit issued by the state. Kraus characterized his plight to Landsberger on 29 November 1940 thus: *So spiele ich hier möglichst leger die Rolle des nicht pressanten Bittstellers, obgleich ich auf meiner offenen Bude jämmerlich friere und mich unregelmäßig und unzweckmäßig ernähre ...* (82). The latter, with whom he finally went to live in the summer of 1941 in order to cut costs supported him during the crisis, as he had done before and was to do again in the future; he was in fact the most important patron throughout his, Kraus', career, lending him money when necessary, and solving bureaucratic problems in Ankara. He also arranged Kraus' final escape from Turkey by sponsoring his appointment at Vienna University in 1949.

The work in the museum was often tedious—also because there was no good reference library available (he had to look up things at home in the few books he had brought with him from Germany or could occasionally be sent from there by Werner). Kraus had, a fifteen-day holiday excepted, to be in the museum every working-day during office hours, including Saturday morning. The work was quite a change from what he had experienced in Germany so far: *Es ist eine große Veränderung zu konstatieren zwischen dem Schreibtischdasein im Leipziger Institut und dem hiesigen Kampf mit den Originalen ...* (letter to Bauer, 1). The museum management was, apart from bureaucratic, often, as was the case with the technical staff who had to take care of the cleaning and conservation of the clay tablets, clearly incompetent, and Kraus repeatedly complained about this in his letters (15, 16). Landsberger did his utmost to hold Kraus' irascible temperament in check; on the very first day Kraus came into conflict, later regretted as a *Fehler [meines] Preußentums*, with the director, Aziz Bey, who told him, clearly contrary to the contract, that the cataloguing job should be finished within

five months (letters to Landsberger, 1, 65). A recurring irritant was in particular the, in Kraus' eyes, laziness and incompetence of the chemist Nurettin [Akbulut], who had to prepare the tablets prior to labelling and cataloguing, and about whom he endlessly complained in letters to Landsberger. To Koschaker, Kraus sketched the situation: *Mein augenblickliches Arbeitsfeld ist die Nippursammlung, welcher hier an Größe nur die aus Lagaš vielleicht gleichkommt; genaue Daten über den Umfang der Sammlungen fehlen allerdings ganz. Nippur ist nun ein reiches Feld für den Juristen, wir schwimmen in Texten der dritten Dynastie von Ur, und zwar die kleinen ... aus Kontrakten der Larsa- und Babylon-Dynastie, gar nicht zu sprechen von den Kassiten-texten privatwirtschaftlicher und administrativer Natur. Dazu kommen dann noch die neubabylonischen Texte und die aus der Perserzeit ... Auch unter den 500 Assurtexten, die ich anfangs durchgesehen habe, war der überwiegende Teil juristisch ... Was das reguläre Arbeiten hier angeht, so muß man ein viel größerer Diplomat sein, als ich es leider bin, um hier etwas zu leisten ohne anzustoßen. Man muß sich zunächst an Mentalität und Tempo gewöhnen. Es geht verzweiflungsvoll langsam, von Ankara kommt kein Geld, wenn es da ist, bleibt es lange liegen, dann hat man weiter auf die Fertigstellung der in Auftrag gegebenen Sachen (wie Kartotheksztettel, Kästchen für die Tontafel, Schränke etc. etc.) zu warten. Das Laboratorium arbeitet mit einem einzigen Mann, der sich ein Universalgenie dünkt, und mit ungenügender Apparatur, hat aber neben der Tontafelbrennerei noch die Konservierung sämtlicher in den Ausgrabungen gemachten Funde zu erledigen mit dem Erfolg, daß so gut wie nichts fertig wird ... (1).* In other letters, Kraus described in detail the clash of cultures which made his life and that of Germans in general often a trial: *Die deutsche Zucht, welche bei mir als einem Zögling des ehemals Königlich preussischen Joachimstalschen Gymnasiums eine speziell preussische Ausprägung hat, ist für die Deutschen warscheinlich das größte Hindernis, wenn sie im Ausland etwas leisten wollen ... Dinge wie Pflichtgefühl, kategorischer Imperativ und dergleichen Hochbegriffe tut man gut, hier nur für den Privatgebrauch zu reservieren und nicht hervorzukehren wie ich es leider getan habe. Zur Erläuterung darf ich ein aktuelles Beispiel anführen: wir haben heute den 14. Tag des Ramazan [20 November 1937], der in dem altmodischen Istanbul noch weitgehend als Fastenmonat eingehalten wird. Die Leute essen also von früh um 6 bis nachmittags um 5 etwa nichts und müssen morgens schon vor 5 aufstehen, um ihr nächtliches Frühstück zu nehmen. Da der Islam nicht mehr Staatsreligion ist und auf die Fastenden offiziell keine Rücksicht mehr genommen wird, sie also arbeiten müssen, sind sie nicht nur verhungert, sondern auch müde. Der Anblick der Essenden, welche es auch unter den Muslimen zahlreich gibt heutzutage, macht sie noch nervöser: sie werden von Tag zu Tag*

ungenießbarer. Der regelrechte Streik eines Dieners im Museum veranlasste mich zu einer Nachforschung, welche ergab, daß das gesamte Museum sich in heller Entrüstung gegen mich befindet. Mein alter Diener (der mich nebenbei überwachen soll) wohnt mindestens eine halbe Stunde zu Fuß vom Museum und muß laufen, da er kein Geld für die Trambahn hat. Da die offizielle Arbeitszeit bis 5 ist, kommt er fast eine Stunde nach Ende der Fastenzeit nach Hause und muß auf diese Weise eine Stunde länger fasten, was dem älteren Manne beschwerlich fällt. Man erwartet nun von mir, daß ich das Museum so zeitlich verlasse, daß er beim Kanonschuß, welcher das Ende des Tagfastens bezeichnet, mit speisen beginnen [kann] ... Ich fragte nun einen der deutschsprechenden türkischen Herren: wie kann ich denn um 4 Uhr weggehen, wo mir der Direktor doch gesagt hat am Anfang, mein Dienst dauerte bis 5 Uhr? Antwort: das macht nichts, da findet niemand was dabei. Nun gut, sagte ich, warum hat mir kein Mensch gesagt, ich solle vorher weggehen? Antwort: so etwas verbietet die türkische Höflichkeit (welche aber nicht verbietet den ahnungsloser Ausländer unschuldig Fehler begehen zu lassen und dann dafür zu hassen). Ich: dann werde ich also sofort den Direktor Erlaubnis bitten, früher gehen zu dürfen. Antwort: wenn Sie das tun, muß er Ihnen laut Gesetz sagen, daß Sie bis 5 Uhr zu bleiben haben. Dann ist eben außer der Dienerschaft und den unteren Beamten, auch der Dir. wütend, daß sie ihnen so verfügbliche Fragen stellen. Also ist es hier wieder die Frage der Verantwortlichkeit welche keiner hier haben will: ich soll sie auf mich nehmen, indem ich nach dem Wunsch der Diener gegen die amtliche Verfügung früher schließe. (letter to Friedrich, 2). To his mother he wrote on 9 October 1937 that he was sitting während des ganzen lieben Tages in meinem Dépôt und lasse mich von den Mücken auffressen. Am immer offenen Fenster tront der alte Diener auf einer Kiste, welche mit jahrtausendealten Gegenständen gefüllt ist—man hat seit 50 Jahren noch nicht die Zeit gefunden sie auszupacken—und liest solange halblaut in seinem Koran, bis ihn die Müdigkeit überwältigt; dann rückt er seinen Stuhl in einen Winkel und nickt eine halbe Stunde. Ich habe es nicht so gut, obgleich ich auch oft schwer gegen das Einschlafen kämpfen muß. Meine Arbeit könnte interessant sein, aber da die Bücherei weit entfernt ist und auch wenige Bücher enthält, kann ich aus meinen Tontafeln nicht das herholen was ich gern möchte ... (4) His cataloguing work made him so eine Art Trüffelhund, der die herrlichen Pilze zwar aufspüren muß, aber nicht frißt ... (65) This was not completely true, eventually, but only after 1945 Kraus was able to publish on the collection and some of its items. Nor was he always alone at his job; sometimes he taught students—in June 1938, four students, Kemal [Balkan], Emin [Bilgiç], Osman and Neriman (she died early in December 1939), arrived from Ankara (15, 17)—showed visitors around—as he did the

German Ambassador Franz von Papen in December 1941 (67)—and during the final years he was assisted by two female students, the aforementioned Muazzez Çiğ and Hatice Kızılyay (73). As seen above, Kraus remained in contact with his former students even after he had left Istanbul. Sometimes colleagues came and stayed to work for some weeks, among them particularly Güterbock and Landsberger from Ankara. In the end Kraus realized that he had contributed little to the cataloguing, and that it would have been a much better idea to photograph the whole collection—there was already a collection of photographs in the museum—instead of laboriously copy every single item by hand—as was mostly done by the two assistants—so that international scholarship could use the collection (cf. letter to Landsberger, 148).

From January 1941, Kraus was also lecturer at Istanbul University and was allowed by the museum to teach a few hours every week during term-time and assist at the examinations in June. At first Kraus spoke in German, as he reported to Werner in February: *die Vorlesungen halte ich auf deutsch mit Dometscher, denn türkisch zu lesen getraue ich mich noch nicht, obgleich ich seit meiner Rückkehr [aus Ankara] nach Istanbul ziemliche Fortschritte gemacht habe und jetzt schon ganz munter plaudern kann ...* (73), but in later years he did without an interpreter—from the beginning of his sojourn in Turkey, he had done his best to increase his fluency in Turkish (3) and had taken lessons from one of Landsberger's students, Mustafa Kalaç (letter to Landsberger, 2)—but progress was slow. In December 1938 he wrote to Theo Bauer: *... mein Türkisch ist fast noch ebenso primitiv wie am ersten Tage, da man es in dieser polyglotten Stadt tatsächlich nur mit den Primitiven zu sprechen braucht, können doch sogar alle Straßenbahnschaffner wenigstens deutsch oder französisch zählen ...* (2). He certainly did not attempt to use the difficult literary Turkish, which he used to read in newspapers (84) but which, to make things even more complicated, was being in a process of reform. Although he sometimes read the (official) *Ulus*, he mostly restricted himself to the lecture of a local French paper (*Wurstblättchen*), that is, if he could afford the price. *Solange ich meine Sätze hübsch zu Ende haspele, geht alles gut, nur wenn ich etwa mitten im Satze stecken bleibe, dann liegen sie auch ratlos auf der Strecke und können aus Eigenem den Satz in ihren Heften nicht zu Ende bringen. Aber letztlich verstehen wir uns doch immer, glaube ich ...*, he wrote to Werner on 27 November 1942. Classes—mostly history courses and only occasionally philological exercises—were held in the Dolmabahçe Palace—*wenig Dekane der Welt werden ein so fürstliches Arbeitszimmer haben ... mit einem so schönen Blick ...*—(until the autumn of 1943) after a fire had destroyed the faculty buildings in the old town.

Ich hatte etwas dreißig Hörer, Kraus wrote to Werner on 12 March 1942, wenn ich recht gezählt habe, eine ganz stattliche Anzahl, die Mehrzahl weiblich. Ich sage einen Satz, der Übersetzer, ein junger Türke, der in Leipzig in Geschichte doktoriert hat, den ich aber dort nicht kennen gelernt habe, übersetzt und alle Federn rascheln über das Papier. Die jüngeren schreiben Lateinschrift, die älteren arabisch, aber sie schreiben jedes Wort des Übersetzers. Das ist alte Sitte hier, die Studenten haben ja keine Bücher ... Die arabische Schrift ist übrigens fast wie Stenographie, man kann sie erstaunlich schnell schreiben ... (74) Sometimes there occurred hilarious misunderstandings; *Manchmal laufen mir unfreiwillige Witze im türkischen unter, so endlich, als ich, indem ich in einem Worte ein g ausließ, statt "zahllose [sayısız] Ruinenhügel"—"respektlose [saygisız]" Ruinenhügel sagte, was die Studenten höchlichst erheiterte ...* (it was rather the other way round: he erroneously added a 'g' instead of omitting one.)

Kraus had only a few close friends in Istanbul, and soon upon his arrival in Istanbul he realized that relations with the opposite sex were not easy: *... die Hoffnung hier ein Mädchen zu finden habe ich vorsichtshalber schon aufgegeben ... alle sind hier eisern keusch*, he reported home on 24 August 1937 (2). He also quickly discovered that visiting night-clubs was an expensive hobby, which he soon had to give up (7, 26). Occasionally, but not often, he visited a cinema (cf. 88, 105). After a brief engagement with an Italian Jewess and daughter of a Levantine merchant called Elsa Franco in 1938 (9, 16) he wrote in despair to Werner: *Auf dem erotischen Kriegsschauplatz nichts neues, ich werde täglich immer elender und verzweifelter ...* (17). He made the acquaintance of his future wife, Chariklia, with whom he was able to communicate in a mixture of French (*das mehr oder weniger scheußliche Levante Französisch*, cf. letter to Stamm, 10) and Turkish, in August 1940 (37). This provided him with homely pleasures, particularly after their move to Feriköy, if not, for the coming years, healthy sex—although he married her civilly in April 1946—it was impossible to do this earlier because the Nuremberg Laws, which forbade sexual relations between 'Aryans' and Jews, had been recognized by Turkey (cf. letter to Bauer, 4)—Chariklia did not regard herself really married until the bond had been consecrated by a pope—but a church wedding was an expensive affair and was postponed until shortly before their departure from Turkey in 1949. By then they had begun sleeping in the same room (from November 1946, 114).

Kraus' work at the museum and for the university did not alter much in his relative social isolation; although there was a substantial community of German academics, mostly political refugees and Jews, with only a few of them he became intimate; he particularly missed friends of his own age

(cf. letter to Bauer, 2). Landsberger, although he was in Ankara most of the time, was perhaps his most important contact during these years. The latter suffered even more from his forced exile than Kraus himself: *[er ist] tief verdrossen, müde und sorgengequält; es ist traurig zu sehen, wie diese Exiljahre an ihm zehren, der für Leipzig und für den Leipzig geschaffen schien. Wenn man sich so fünf Tage lang Stunden und Stunden lang mit ihm über Gott und die Welt unterhält, fühlt man wieder den Reiz und die tiefe Wirkung seiner ungewöhnlichen Persönlichkeit. Ich neige jetzt [December 1939] zur Skepsis gegen unsere (vorhitlerische) Kultur, aber ein Mann wie Landsberger zeigt durch seine Werke und seine Person, daß diese Skepsis doch nur teilweise berechtigt ist.* (letter to Stamm, 8). In the museum there was, furthermore, the numismatician Clemens (Emin) Bosch; in 1938 he was appointed professor at the university. Another German colleague was the archeologist Hellmuth Bossert, famous for his later finds at Karatepe, who taught at the university between 1933–1934 and 1961, but whom Kraus unreservedly loathed as a *Gewissenloser Opportunist*, particularly after Kraus realized that he, Bossert, did his utmost to block his appointment at the university (letters to Landsberger, 64, 68; letter to Bauer, 17). (He was characterized as *der Nazi* by Schwartz; according to Kraus, *hat er hier ... systematisch alle Emigranten und auch andere Deutschen beim Nazikonsulat denunziert*, letter to Bauer 17; to Kemal Balkan Kraus characterized him (in Turkish) as: *şu no (İngilizce) boss ne de sert olan Bossert herif*, 11) Kraus was also acquainted with the Iranist Hellmut Ritter, a strange fellow known for his homosexuality, but the latter made it clear that he did not wish to continue the contact (letter to Bauer, 19). In 1944, the Arabist Oskar Rescher became librarian at the museum; he had been teacher of German at the Military Academy in Istanbul from 1925 (letters to Landsberger, 105; letter to David, 1). He was not, as Kraus remarked, the conventional *Schreibtischarabist*, but had for years been reading texts with local scholars, and was busy translating Arabic poetry (letter to Bauer, 19). A central figure for the German emigrants was the astronomer Professor Hans Rosenberg, formerly professor in Kiel; but the man, who was like a father to Kraus, died already in July 1940 (cf. letter to Landsberger, 70, to whom he wrote *Für mich ist die aus der Weltlage und meiner Situation sich ergebende Beklemmung erschwert durch den plötzlichen Tod von Professor Rosenberg, den ich hoch schätzte und dessen Haus mein geometrischer Ort in der hiesigen "Gesellschaft" und eine nie versagte und nie versagende Zuflucht für mich war*). A few times Kraus was invited to visit his direct chief, the Second Director (not mentioned by name, but probably identical with Aziz Bey's secretary, Selim Bey), who owned a magnificent *yalı* on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus

(38, 76, 100). On 24 September 1943, he wrote to Werner: *Dank dem Professor [Landsberger] partizipierte ich am letzten Samstag an der Essenseinladung zu unserem zweiten Direktor, welcher sich bisher mir gegenüber höchst zurückhaltend gezeigt hatte. Dieser Mann, fünf Jahre älter als ich, ist als Enkel eines Paschas und Sohn eines vermögenden Mannes deutsch erzogen worden, hat in Berlin studiert und spricht fließend deutsch. Als Erbe besitzt er ein altmodisches Haus in einem nahen Vorort und eine Besitzung am Bosporus, auf seinem asiatischen Ufer, wo er mit Mutter und Schwester, welche Witwe oder wenigstens dauernde Strohwitwe zu sein scheint, nebst seinem kleinen Neffen im Sommer wohnt. Man fährt mit dem Dampfer hinaus. Der einst ruhige Ort hat jetzt, wie zwei Flügelmänner zu beiden Seiten, rechts eine Alkoholfabrik der Monopolverwaltung, links eine Flaschenfabrik des Staates, ist aber im Innern wenig verändert. Das besondere an der Besetzung [?] ist ihr parkähnlicher großer Garten zwischen Straße und Wasser, an den sich, jenseits der Straße, ein großer Wein- und Baumgarten anschließt. Das einfache, etwas ungepflegte Haus steht ganz nahe dem Wasser auf einer sandigen Terrasse über eine Steinkai nahe bei einem kleinen ummauerten Bootshafen mit Bootshaus ... Tritt man ins Haus, so befindet man sich in der hier üblichen riesigen Halle. Das Eßzimmer typisch altmodischer, europäisierender türkischer Stil, sehr komisch die seinerzeit sicher sensationellen beiden Marmorwaschbecken mit fließendem Wasser an der Wand. Man wäscht sich hier nach dem Essen— die Zeiten sind wohl noch nicht lange vorbei, wo man mit den Händen aß. Als Zeichen der modernisierung ein Eisschrank an der Wand. Wir speisen zu vier, der Gastgeber und sein schweigsamer kleiner Neffe, der Professor und ich, höchst aufmerksam bedient von einer alten Dienerin und in keiner vornehmen Familie fehlenden freundlichen Negerin. Die Schwester des Direktors, als Hausfrau, saß zwar bei Tisch, aß aber wegen des Fastenmonats nichts. Auch hier sind die Frauen noch frommer im Allgemeinen als die Männer. Das türkisch-europäische, etwas schablonmäßige, aber sehr gute Essen bestand aus Fisch am Grill, eine zarteste Bosporusspezialität, welche ich deutsch nicht zu benennen weiß, dann Lammbraten (aus dem Backofen) mit Röstkartoffeln, Auberginen gefüllt, Pilav, die nationale Mehlspeise Muhallebi aus Milch, Reismehl und Zucker und herrliche eisgekühlte Birnen nebst Feigen, und dazu Tomatensalat mit eingelegten Oliven und Flaschenbier. Der Kaffee wird im Salon genommen, dessen altmodische Ungeschicklichkeit durch gerahmte, kunstvoll aus Bein gearbeitete Koransprüche etwas ins Orientalische gewandelt ist. Unter den Manifestationen der sprichwörtlichen türkischen Gastfreundlichkeit, die sich hier über den, dem sie zuteil wird, reichlich ergießt, aber nicht so leicht angeboten wird, verbrachten wir wirklich sehr angenehmen Stunden reinsten Friedens und vollen Wohlseins.* Once Kraus attended a

tea party (*Tanztee*) organized by students, during which rather bombastic nationalistic poems were recited and folkdances, among them a sword-dance, were performed (106).

Most of the time Kraus stayed at home, and during the summer he used to spend Saturday afternoons and Sundays walking or visiting Büyük Ada in order to swim. Travel in Istanbul and surroundings was restricted—*Man ist hier gefangen, überall verbotene Zonen für die Ausländer, und Geld und Zeit habe ich auch nicht*, he reported home (15), and when one abandoned the usual foot-paths, one was arrested (73); the reportedly fabulous Black Sea beaches were also military territory and out of bounds (102). The Yıldız Park was opened to the public in September 1943, offering an alternative outing for the wary city-wellers (*... vor einem renovierten schlichten Pavillon (türkisch Köşk ...), in dem das städtische Kasino eine Filiale eröffnet hat, sitzt man auf einer Terrasse und blickt über eine Art Wiese ... auf den Bosphorus hinab und auf Skutari, während eine rumänische Zigeunerkapelle hinter einem lärmt und man Mittelfinger-große belegte Brötchen ißt, eine langentbehrter Genuß. Preis pro Stück RM 1.–. So leben wir, so leben wir—aber durchaus nicht alle Tage*, 101). On a few occasions Kraus travelled in Anatolia: in September 1938 he made a thirteen-day (first-class) train journey—3000 kms, of which 1000 in the Taurus Express, for 170 Marks—visiting Konya, Sivas, Adana, Malatya, and Bursa (18, 23; letter to Bauer, 2; most details are found in a letter to Friedrich, 3), which quite impressed him: *die Berührung mit den ersten Vorposten des immernoch leidlich erhaltenen Orients ist für einen Orientalisten schlechterdings ein großes Erlebnis* (letter to Bauer, 2). To Stamm he wrote: *Mitte September war ich dann 13 Tage in Anatolien ... Ich kam bis nach Malatya, in Sicht des Eufrat ... überschreiten darf ihn ein Ausländer nicht, nur mit spezieller Genehmigung, die einzuholen ich nicht erst versucht hatte. Ich bin geneigt, diese kurze Reise auf einigen der Haupteisenbahnlinien des Landes für die schönste meines Lebens zu halten. Landschaft, Antiken, Berührung mit dem Orient waren die drei aufregenden Elemente einer teilweise märchenhaften Fahrt. Da sehen sie die Patriarchen auf ihren Eselhengsten reiten, da hocken die Kurdenfrauen vor dem Balkenzaun des Gefängnishofes und schreien zu ihren eingesperrten Männern hinüber, da schlafen die Menschen in Teppiche gewickelt auf den flachen Dächern der Häuser aus Lehm und Häcksel ... Würde dieses Land einmal touristisch ausgeschlachtet, etwa von Cook nach Muster Ägypten—und die Regierung will mit Gewalt den Tourismus—, dann muß ich stark für die Schweiz fürchten: was für grandiose Gebirge gibt es hier!* (5).

Kraus also visited Ankara several times; he sojourned there for a long period in 1941 during his forced idleness (30, 31, 53). In June 1941, he joined

Güterbock and a group of students on a trip by *kaptukaçtı* to Kızılcahamam (55); afterwards the party drank beer on a terrace on the Gazi Boulevard. Another week was spent in the capital on the occasion of the Third History Congress organised by the *Türk Tarih Kurumu* in November 1943 (103). He was invited by Landsberger, and was lodged in the luxurious Anatolia Club. All costs were met by the Foundation, and participants were even given pocket money (from which Kraus was able to save 50 Marks, most welcome to the restricted household budget). Most time was spent translating his German paper on the museum collection, to be presented on the last day, into Turkish—no other language was permitted—with the help of the daughter of the museum director.

The letters of the post-war period covering the years 1946 to 1950, show much the same themes as those of the previous period. Apart from occasional comments on the depressing and continuing war-mongering and spreading of propagandistic lies which accompanied the emerging Cold War (125), Kraus time and again reported on his financial insecurity caused by repeated waiting *mit Heulen und Zähneklappern* (116) for contracts to be renewed, and his relentlessly increasing poverty (which contrasted sharply with the few, black-market tycoons and others, who profited from the economic situation). To Theo Bauer he wrote in 1948: *Neulich hatte ich plötzlich das Gefühl, wenn ich in Chiton oder Toga mit Sandalen herumliefe, würde ich mich kaum weniger deplaciert finden als mit meinem 515 Lira Monatsgehalt zwischen den Luxusautomobilen, goldbeladenen Weibern und geldtrotzenden Kerlen unserer Hauptstrasse ...* (11). The continuing economic difficulties in Turkey led to a marked increase in xenophobia, Kraus noted in the Summer of 1948 (139). Half a year later he remarked: *Hier wird es an den Universitäten immer unangenehmer. Ein wüster nationalistischer Rummel hat eingesetzt, dem sich kein Türke zu widersetzen wagt ...* (146). Despite his poor circumstances, Kraus, alarmed by Werner's letters from occupied Germany, decided to send packets with food and other necessities to Spremberg. They included lots of cigarettes, as long as those were allowed (until December 1947, 130), and, surprisingly, also bacon and pork fat, obtained, mostly, from Polonezköy (cf. 132)—only indigenous products except textile could be sent. This became impossible in October 1948, after prices had dramatically risen—bread, sugar and fuel even by 50 %—and Kraus could no longer postpone buying new shoes (141). The situation in eastern Germany did not look too bright, Kraus noted to his dismay, particularly after his brother's firm in Spremberg [Pagel & Kraus] was expropriated at the end of 1948; *Wir gehen weiter herrlichen Zeiten entgegen. Und zwar sind sie so beglückend, daß die Menschheit jedes Jahr noch um 15 oder 20 Millionen Personen*

wächst, welche offenbar so begierig sind, an unseren Massenstaat- und Atomglück teilzuhaben ... (145). Living conditions in Germany were not dissimilar from those in Turkey, Kraus noted, but one could at least do without the state in many spheres of life and always try to bribe officials (149). Another 20% rise in food prices followed in April 1949; in the same month Kraus received his first money since four months, of which, after deduction of his debts, only 11 Lira remained (148).

The end of the war had also brought the first re-emigrations: by June 1946 most exiled Jews had already left to the USA, a minority to Palestine (110). Kraus registered as a candidate for repatriation at the US Consulate (and had to fill in a form with '200 questions' which drove him mad, 110). A return to Germany was, for the time being, impossible because of the ruinous state of the country and the formerly magnificent network of universities and academic institutes; the occupation—Kraus hated uniforms—lack of vacancies—chairs in the West were still occupied by former Nazis—and the unimpressive number of his publications (111). In the USA, where the post-war period saw a flourishing of the more materialistic studies, the situation was also difficult. After another interruption of his income in early 1948, he mused: *Das Leben wird immer teurer und man wäre gern anderswo—aber wo? Es ist überall mies, nur Australien soll in Aufschwung begriffen sein. Aber dort ist für Assyriologen nichts zu machen.* (132) Güterbock and Landsberger, after they had been forced to resign from their Ankara posts, left Turkey in September 1948, the first to Uppsala, the latter to Chicago (141). Kraus by then desperately wanted to leave too, particularly after it had become clear that the *Tarih Kurumu* kept postponing publication of his work on the museum collection which was already for years gathering dust in some office drawer.

The post-war period finally did offer, however, possibilities to boost his academic reputation and to publish articles; although, thanks to Hitler, there was no embassy to support him (*Was hier imponiert ist Macht*, 116), but pressure of Landsberger on the Turkish authorities helped (110). To his satisfaction, Kraus also noted the re-emergence and development of his academic contacts through a rising number of academics visiting the museum and a, consequently, flourishing correspondence (112). An impressive occasion was his meeting with the famous British archeologist [Charles Leonard] Woolley [1880–1960] in June 1947: *Er kam hierher, um nach gewissen Antiken zu sehen, welche er 1914 in Karkemiş ausgegraben hatte (damals zusammen mit dem berühmten nachmaligen Lawrence of Arabia). Als ich hörte er sei in Begleitung unseres Direktors in unserem Museum, stürmte ich los, um den berühmten Mann wenigstens mit Augen zu sehen. Ich wurde ihm vorgestellt,*

konnte einige Auskünfte über die gesuchten Antiken geben (deren größten Teil während des ersten Weltkrieges verloren gegangen zu sein scheint) und wurde vom Direktor beauftragt, Woolley unser Museumslaboratorium zu zeigen. The next day he came again, and after five o'clock, Kraus accompanied him to his hotel. Woolley invited Kraus to drink coffee with him. The latter only left at eleven nach fast 8-stündiger ununterbrochener Unterhaltung, die mir wie ein Märchen vorkam, um mich des alten, aber treffenden Ausdrucks zu bedienen. Beim Abendessen sprachen wir von Kriegszerstörungen in England, Deutschland, Italien, die er als Denkmalsschutzkommandant hinter der englischen Armee her bereist hatte, von der englischen Moral während des Krieges, der Laborparty, dem Königshause und anderem. W. ist nach seiner eigenen Angabe 67 Jahre alt und will künftig nicht mehr graben, man hält ihn aber für viel junger ... Man merkt ihm seine große Energie an, so hat er heuer die Ausgrabung von 250 Arbeitern vollkommen allein begleitet ... Als ungewöhnlichen Charakterzug, der ihn besonders sympatisch macht, habe ich seine Art empfunden, Fragen zu beantworten und auf den Gedankengang des Anderen einzugehen ... (letter to Stamm, 11).

Thanks to the exertions of, again, Landsberger, it appeared in July 1949 that there was a way out of his misery after all. Befriended with his, Kraus', former teacher of Turkish in Vienna and Dean of the Oriental Institute, the turkologist Herbert Wilhelm Duda, Landsberger had suggested to him when the latter visited the USA to ask Kraus to fill a vacancy at the Institute (after an Assyriologist and SS-officer, Viktor Christian, had been forced to resign). After some writing to and fro, Kraus was appointed extraordinary professor at Vienna in October 1949 (152, 153). Among the formalities to comply with he had to fill in all kinds of forms, one of which, Kraus noted ironically, asked him to declare whether he had been member of the Nazi Party, NSDAP (letter to Landsberger, 144; letter from Duda, 1; letter to Duda, 3). The advantages of the Viennese appointment were: escape from Turkey and Austrian citizenship—Kraus had lost his German passport, if not his German citizenship, during the war (cf. letter to Bauer, 4). Disadvantages were the extremely low salary (150): only 1314.50 Shilling (219 DM) per month, and the difficult housing situation. After endless bureaucratic complications (and *wahnsinnige Laufereien*), and scraping together just enough money for the journey (partly from Kemal Balkan whose thesis he agreed to translate into German for 350 Turkish Lira, and partly from the royalties, *te'lif hakkı*, amounting to 600 lira of his book entitled *Nippur ve İsin, Eski Babil vesikalarına göre*, based on transcriptions made by his two assistants (cf. letter to Bauer, 12), which the *Türk Tarih Kurumu* had agreed to publish; the remaining part, 270 Lira, was with some difficulty cashed by Emin Bilgiç

from Hamit Bey in December 1949, see the correspondence with him, letters to Kemal Balkan, 3, 5–8, and under ‘Ankara’), Kraus, together with his wife, boarded a Swedish aeroplane on 5 January 1950 destined for Rome, where, before settling in their furnished room on Rudolf von Altplatz 7 (and worrying about how to survive there), they had a pleasant holiday, enjoying the sun, the low prices, richly furnished shops, busy traffic, and local wines (154).

Werner Kraus writing from Germany

The letters sent by Werner to his elder brother discuss a wide range of subjects, but are particularly informative about family affairs—a dominant theme is the declining health of their mother who, suffering from an incurable disease of the nervous system (probably Multiple Sclerosis), spent long periods in sanatoriums and hospitals—financial matters, the development of the family business, and the family home in Spremberg (situated on Drebkauerstrasse). Whereas, owing to the strict censorship—traces of the censors are visible in the form of stamps and pencil lines after 1939—the letters are rather short and superficial up to the end of the war, they became much more detailed and longer after April 1946 when the postal connection with Istanbul had been restored; the first letters sent after this date also give an abundance of lively details of events which took place before May 1945, the description of which had been distorted or suppressed in the earlier letters. (Kraus wrote Landsberger in 1940 that the letters he received from home occasionally contained *nationalsozialistische Reflexionen über die militärische und politische Lage gespickt, krampfhaft den Ton schönsten Optimismus und schildern eitel Friedensidyll*, 72.)

The first letter, sent on 10 August 1937, informed Kraus of the demise of his father, who died of the consequences of a stroke in a hospital in Cottbus. He had been born in Vienna, and had been proud of the fact; the family had lived in the Taborstrasse, in the second *Bezirk*, as Kraus would write to Landsberger (137). This left his mother and Werner with a capital of RM 320,000, invested in the textile factory of Michelsohn & Ascher, where Werner worked as technician and sales manager—the firm had agents in Berlin, Munich and other German towns (29)—other associates in the firm were Mr Bernfeld, and father and son Max and Kurt Michelsohn, all Jews. Kraus inherited a further RM 255,000, frozen, however, in an account of the Dresdner Bank (cf. above—he was never to see a penny of it). The family also owned two cars.

The year 1938 saw increased measures by the Nazi regime against the Jewish population. Werner reported in January that a boycott against Jew-

ish businesses had been announced by the Association on German-Aryan Manufacturers (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutsch-Arischer Fabrikanten*), which would bring a 40% loss in production and income (14). Later, after the 'Crystal Night' (9 November 1938), it appeared that the factory was to be forcibly liquidated and taken over by non-Jewish owners ('aryanized', 17 ff.). (As Werner explained after the war, the liquidation was primarily inspired by two local competitors who maintained good relations with the Cottbus *Handels- und Industriekammer*. After Crystal Night, Werner was refused further entrance to the factory, and the black-guard *Treuhänder*, Rudolf Bär, forced the owners to pay him a fee of RM 40,000 for his unwanted services. The owners received only a third of the real value of the property, cf. 158.) The spinning-mill was to be turned into a workshop for educational purposes (*Lehrwerkstatt*, 31). The take-over was completed in May 1939 (40). This left mother and Werner with a somewhat reduced capital, which was partly reinvested in other companies. It also left Werner without a job, and it soon appeared that he, being classified as a 'half Jew', and therefore discriminated against by the German Labour Front (*Deutsche Arbeitsfront*) of which he was forced to be a member (although it tried to oust him because of his criminal association with [full] Jews), could not get another job, despite the upswing of the economy caused by a booming rearmament industry. Owing to his poor health, the threat of having to serve in the army proved unfounded (48). In May 1940, finally and after about thirty vain attempts, Werned was accepted in the badly paid, lowly and exhausting job of warehouse assistant (*Lagerist*) in a textile trading firm in Cottbus (58). Almost his whole income was spent on travel: a complicated and long journey by bus and train, and on foot. Only in May 1942, Werner was able to quit and accept a job as accountant and salesman in a small metal factory in Spremberg (99). In February 1943 he succeeded in buying an engine factory with foundry at Schlottwitz in the Erz Mountains south of Dresden, which was renamed Kraus & Co., but nominally under the direction of a Mr. Schreiber (117, 125), an entrepreneur working for the war industry (but at the same time involved in active sabotage of the production), whom Werner had met by chance and whom he had helped out with loans. Werned acted as sales manager and spent lengthy periods travelling in Germany—which by that time meant sitting or standing in overcrowded trains and waiting for long hours, sometimes days, at railway stations (or in anti-aircraft shelters, cf. 130) for erratic connections. Production increased rapidly towards the end of the war, when the work-force was increased to 65 persons and night-shifts were introduced (134). By then the factory mainly produced condensing engines used in the building of tunnels and roads (154).

Details about daily life and historical events are scattered throughout Werner's letters. He referred to the breathtaking events leading up to the Second World War, like the annexation of Austria (March 1938, 18) and the occupation of Czechoslovakia a year later. When that happened he was spending a skiing holiday in Spindelmühle, Bohemia. On 15 and 16 March (1939) telephones fell dead and when *am Donnerstag früh der Brünner und der Prager Sender mit "Heil Hitler" grüßten und sich großdeutsche Rundfunk nannten, wußten wir Bescheid. Es gab erst eine Weile großes Gelächter. Einige Stunden später flogen auch die ersten Flugzeug-geschwader über uns hinweg nach Richtung Prag.* The border at Hohenelbe was closed *und die tschechischen Grenzbeamten liefen schon ohne Waffen herum ...* (37). The military campaign in the west is mentioned—nephew Horst died at Sedan in June 1940 (59)—and added triumphantly—this was clearly meant for the eyes of the censor, and did not fail to irritate Kraus—that *nach unseren großartigen Erfolgen müssten die Engländer und Franzosen doch bald die Nase vollhaben ... die eingeschlossene Truppe in Flandern [ist] ja so gut wie erledigt. In den letzten Tagen sind weit über 60 Truppentransportschiffe, die die englischen Armee aus Flandern nach England zurückschaffen wollten, versenkt worden ...* (59). At the end of the same month, he added in the same vein: *Wir leben wohl doch eine der größten geschichtlichen Umwälzungen, die es in Europa je gegeben hat. Auf die entgeltliche Landkarte bin ich ja gespannt!* Life continued as usual, except for the rationing of food and clothes, and a general black-out. There were also many soldiers and prisoners of war about: *Was ich so jeden Tag auf der Bahn an Gefangenen sehe, ist kaum zu beschreiben. Alle Hautfarben sind vertreten, von weißen Engländern, Franzosen und natürlich auch Polen an über Inder, Mohammedaner, Neger und sonstige Mischungen aller Schattierungen. Die Franzosen haben wohl restlos ihre Kolonien ausgemistet, um in Berlin einmarschieren zu können. Na, das tun sie ja nun zum Teil auch, aber etwas anders, als sie dachten ...* (61). Further topics were the occupation of Belgrade (April 1941, 78); Allied bombs (in August 1943 he wrote: *Wir haben 2 Bombengeschädigte zur Aufnahme bei uns zugeteilt gekommen ... So etwas von Zerstörungswut ist eine solche Kultur schande, daß man es überhaupt nicht verstehen kann ...*, 129—it led to the angry reaction by Kraus quoted above). Werner agreed with his brother's opinion that war is always useless, but added that once one was involved, one should do one's duty and finish the job as soon as possible (131).

Occasionally Werner mentions the impact of the war on the economy. Thus he notes the almost complete disappearance of coffee (78, 126); the use of wood for shoe soles (78); the lack of wine, spirits—*Betrunkene sind ja hier verschwunden, nachdem es Schnaps, und Wein nicht mehr gibt, und das*

Bier ist der Gesundheit sehr förderlich, aber nicht geeignet sich zu besaufen ... (131)—and cigarettes—a *Raucherkarte* was introduced in February 1942 (93); exorbitant black market prices (99); the rationing of potatoes (May 1942, 99); the special allowances necessary for petrol and train journeys (102); the appearance of foreign labourers and domestic servants (104, 113, 118)—Werner himself employed (forced) Polish and other east-European workers in Schlottwitz from February 1943—a barrack was built near the factory to house them (118, 126)—first came nine Polish ladies, but *diese mussten wir allerdings selbst entlausen! Aber da ist so eine alte Aufwartefrau, die greift sich die Maruschkas jeden Sonnabend, und dann werden sie unter lautem Protest ihrerseits abgeschrubbt ...* (118). At the same time all female citizens under 45 years of age and men without a ‘useful’ occupation were obliged to work (from March 1943) and shops selling luxury goods such as radios, gramophones, pianos and cars, were closed down, as were restaurants and bars (119).

The correspondence petered down in 1944—by then it consisted only of postcards with a few lines—and stopped completely in August of that year. Apart from two Red Cross messages sent in December 1944 and May 1945, it was resumed in April 1946. The first letter (of 11 April, 154, with supplementary data in 157, 158, 160)—the first in which Werner could freely speak his mind in nine years—contains the hair-raising tale of what happened to him and his mother after August 1944. After the attempt to murder Hitler on 20 July 1944, Himmler ordered that ‘half Jews’ had to be moved to special camps in order to be kept ready for construction work under the *Organisation Todt*. Werner decided to escape and travelled to Strasbourg, officially as a commissioner for the *Rüstungskommando*, charged with rescuing machinery from capture by the approaching Allies, but was arrested by the police after three weeks. Soon afterwards he was able to flee to Prague where he, provided with a false pass, could stay with Czech acquaintances of his friend Uhrig. Worrying about his mother, he went to Spremberg after another three weeks, but was soon arrested. In December, despite the fact that he was declared medically unfit, he was sent to Suhl, Thüringen, by the local *Kreisleiter* who thought it a bloody shame that Werner, a *dreckiger Judenummel*, was still living in a villa with telephone, and that he was still around in the first place. In Suhl Werner was lodged in barracks behind barbed wire with sixty other *Mischlinge* and had to work in a tunnel, unprotected by any safety measures (and saw a number of his fellow-prisoners fall victim to dynamite explosions). Thanks to his poor health, he was reluctantly released in January 1945, and put at the disposal of the Gestapo in Spremberg (who wished to charge him with

the collection of rubbish in the town). With the help of Schreiber, he could semi-clandestinely work as a metal worker in the latter's workshop; during weekends he secretly travelled to Schlottwitz to see to his factory. In February 1945, while the Soviet troops were approaching, Spremberg was turned into a reinforced bastion and the remaining men forcibly enrolled in the militia (*Volkssturm*). Bombing and shooting planes flew over the town and Werner decided to evacuate his mother, accompanied by a nurse, to Schlottwitz. Papers, jewelry and other important belongings were also moved there. Chaos reigned, worsened by a stream of refugees from the east. The populace lived off dead horses and army supplies. The battle of the Oder-Neisse began on 16 April and the Russians attacked in the early morning. A heavy bombardment burst forth at ten o'clock. Werner fled to the cellar when the first window panes broke. In the evening the town was burning and on the 17th Werner and his former camp companion, Pagel, fled with a wheel-barrow loaded with some essential necessities to the nearby Teschnitzer Forest. Most inhabitants and soldiers had left the town and were fleeing towards the west. Pagel had heard that the SS had decided to kill off the remaining 'half Jews' in a *Wehrwolf* action and they decided to try to move to Schlottwitz. At 3 o'clock in the morning of 18 April they departed and after an exhausting and difficult journey on foot, in cars and by train, sleeping rough every night, and on one occasion almost overtaken by the Russians near Klettwitz, arrived on the 24th. Production in the factory came to a halt, also because of a lack of electricity. The authorities had fled and by 7 May the Soviet troops had reached Dresden. Meanwhile the last demoralised German soldiers passed through (*Bei uns kam ab und zu noch ein vollkommen besoffener SS-Hengst und wollte verteidigen und kämpfen, bis man ihm die Jacke vollhaute ...*) After the capitulation, in the night of 8 to 9 May, the first Soviet *Panzer* appeared in Schlottwitz. At the end of the month production in the factory started again on a small scale, but soon, on 4 August, the Red Army removed all machinery destined for war reparations, as it did in all factories in the occupied Soviet zone. Mother died on 12 June.

Later that month, Werner returned to Spremberg which looked desolate—the central (Wilhelm) square and main streets had been destroyed by fire—and was populated by thousands of displaced Italians and Poles but largely abandoned by its former inhabitants. The house in Drebkauerstrasse had been turned into a field hospital by the Soviet Army, as were the other houses in the street. (It was later used by the police, and definitely confiscated by the Soviet Army to house the local *Ortskommandantur* in June 1948, after Werner had lived there only for a short while again from 1947, cf. 188;

he moved to another house in Berlinerstrasse.) The former Michelsohn & Ascher factory was in ruins. Werner was registered as inhabitant No. 1234, obtained a ration of bread and carrots, and found lodgings with his old associate Bernfeld who had also survived the camp at Suhl. Not only did the family lose one factory and the working contents of another, it also lost its capital: all bank deposits and outstanding loans (but not the debts!) existing on 8 May 1945 in the eastern Zone were frozen. Werner was thus left with RM 1,500 in cash which he had by chance in his pocket and a few pieces of furniture, paintings and porcelain not yet robbed from the house. He also regained ownership of—the ruin of—Michelsohn & Ascher (soon to be let) and was entitled to rent from the family home on Drebkauerstrasse. (He estimated his capital to be worth again RM 82,000 in April 1947, cf. 186.) In order to survive, Werner and Pagel, who had become friends, decided to start a repair shop and after many troubles—there was a lack of everything, particularly raw materials and electricity—they were able to make ends meet from the proceeds. By July the shop had grown into a factory, Pagel & Kraus *Giesserei und Gerätebau*, which employed 40 workmen (158). Kraus & Co. in Schlottwitz started again on 6 November 1945, but under difficult circumstances, particularly the energy problem halted productivity (162). Nevertheless life adopted more regular patterns, albeit on quite a reduced scale and with far less comfort. Werner went to parties, visited the cinema now and then—they only showed German and Soviet films (162)—and became befriended with a young lady called Charlotte who worked on a farm near Schlottwitz (163—she later became his wife). Food was scarce and the daily ration had a nutritional value of not more than 1200 calories, although Werner was privileged as an officially recognized ‘victim of Fascism’ (which meant paying less tax, cf. 186). Werner was able to increase the meager rations with vegetables, tobacco (cigarettes were hard to find) and fruit which he had begun to grow in the garden during the war. Transport largely depended on an old, highly untrustworthy, motorcycle; lorries were patched together from odds and ends out of the wreckage of military vehicles lying around everywhere. Petrol, however, was rare, new tires non-existent (171).

After the harsh winter of 1946–1947, when the populace had to subsist on a diet of potatoes, bread and cabbage (165–166), coal was scarce (168), and much time was spent on endless journeys in unheated trains (165), things began to look better although life for independent entrepreneurs was made extremely difficult. Not long after the war land, big firms, Nazi businesses and utility enterprises, like gas and electricity works, were confiscated by the state (171), and there was an appalling expansion of red tape, which

forced the still active private entrepreneurs to keep up a minimum standard of production (174), write monthly reports, ask permission for every transaction and so forth (161, 202)—to bribe officials was hardly an option—as well as continual tax increases (167). Imports from the west became scarce (187), and later almost impossible, particularly after the currency reform of July 1948 which saw the introduction of a separate, worthless, new Mark in the eastern Zone (189, 190, 191, 192). In January Pagel & Kraus was turned into ‘people’s property’ (*Volkseigentum*) with a loss of at least DM 20,000, but the measure was soon again suspended (196, 198); Werner commented that the *Planungswirtschaft* had clearly become a *Planungschaos* (198). By then Werner had withdrawn from the firm and started (in December 1948) a cylinder grindery (*Zylinderschleiferei*) for cars (195), but permission to make it operative only came in August 1949 (203). In October 1949, Werner noted that the eastern Zone had obtained its own government—this in fact referred to the founding of the German Democratic Republic (*DDR*)—and expressed his hope that economic life would become better once regular trade agreements had been concluded with the western zones of the country (205).

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