

*‘Humanitas et Ratio - Reflections of  
Ludwig Edelstein’s life and work in his  
extant epistolary network’*

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## Abstract

This thesis produces an in-depth study of Ludwig Edelstein's life and work enabled by the use of his correspondence read in the light of his ample scholarly output. Ludwig Edelstein (1902-1965) was an important scholar in the fields of the history of ancient medicine and science, classics, and philosophy, yet his life has not been accorded the interest it merits. This thesis will be the first extensive exploration of the entanglement of Edelstein's *bion* and *ergon*. It will demonstrate the importance of considering life and work within the same sphere. Furthermore, it will underline the value of using correspondence for historiography and the richness of information a biographical study can provide, strengthening the case for more investigations of this kind. The thesis adopts a thematic approach and each chapter will explore Edelstein in a different role; as a dissenter, friend, collaborator, scholar, and teacher. The combined study of Edelstein's correspondence alongside his published work allows for a more complete understanding of Edelstein's legacy than has been available thus far. However, Edelstein's life cannot be separated from its context, and so the thesis will also provide valuable information on a number of other areas including, but not limited to, the history of the disciplines he worked in, the intellectual milieu he was a part of, the 'red scare' at American universities, humanist ideals of education, and, via the first portrayal of his wife ever written, the position of female scholars in the first half of the twentieth century.

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# Chapter 1. Introduction

‘It may be said that everybody reveals his own soul in his letters’<sup>1</sup>

## 1.1 Thesis and Limitations

Ludwig Edelstein (1902-1965) was born the son of an affluent Jewish businessman – Isidor Edelstein, and his wife Mathilde (née Adler),<sup>2</sup> in the city of Berlin; by the time of his death he was a renowned scholar in the fields of the history of ancient medicine and science, classics, and philosophy residing a world away from his homeland, across the Atlantic, in New York City. He was part of a generation who witnessed some of the most destructive and epoch-altering events mankind has ever known, yet, throughout his life and the tragedies and upheaval he faced when, due to the Nazi takeover, he was forced out of his beloved Germany and post at the University of Berlin in 1933, he remained passionately devoted to scholarship. During his time in exile in Italy in 1933-34 he continued to work until he was able to take the life-altering decision to immigrate to the United States, a country in which he was able to find a home once more. Throughout the rest of his life, Edelstein would work in a number of different institutions spread throughout this country: The Johns Hopkins University, The University of Washington, The University of California, the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, and the Rockefeller Institute (later University), as well as spending a year in England as a Fulbright scholar at the University of Oxford. He would make contributions to scholarship which would lead to him being described in such terms as ‘the distinguished Berlin philologist’,<sup>3</sup> ‘the scholar who has contributed most to the modern understanding of the Hippocratic tradition’,<sup>4</sup> ‘one of the most distinguished recent historians of ancient medicine and science’,<sup>5</sup> even, ‘the leading medical historian of the 1930s’.<sup>6</sup> A number of his works would remain the fundamental treatments of the subject for many years, such as the two volume work on Asclepius co-authored with his wife Emma.<sup>7</sup> Other examples of highly regarded works from his œuvre include his book *Peri aerōn und die Sammlung der*

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<sup>1</sup> Demetrius, *On Style* trans. by W. R. Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), IV. 227.

<sup>2</sup> Ludwig Edelstein Personal File [Heidelberg: H-IV-757/24]. See Appendix C, Figure 2 for a photograph of Edelstein.

<sup>3</sup> V. Nutton, ‘Healers and the Healing Act in Classical Greece’, *European Review*, 7, 1, (1999), 27-35, 28.

<sup>4</sup> R. M. Veatch, *Cross-Cultural Perspectives in Medical Ethics* (London: Jones and Bartlett, 2000), 3.

<sup>5</sup> C. B. Schmitt, ‘Ancient Medicine: Selected Papers of Ludwig Edelstein by O. Temkin and C. L. Temkin’, *American Scientist*, 56, 2, (1968), 185-186, 185.

<sup>6</sup> J. Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1992), 29.

<sup>7</sup> See ‘Edelstein as a Collaborator’ for an exploration of this work.

*hippokratischen Schriften* which has been classified as meaning ‘a revolution in our concepts of ancient medicine’,<sup>8</sup> and his book on *The Concept of Progress in Classical Antiquity*, identified by one reviewer as ‘a major contribution to the intellectual history of antiquity’.<sup>9</sup> He would also produce a number of significant articles contributing to the fields of the history of ancient medicine, science, and philosophy; for example, his paper on Posidonius, which has been described as ‘justly famous’.<sup>10</sup>

Adopting a thematic approach, this thesis will explore the life and work of Edelstein as mirrored in his correspondence. It will produce the most complete study of Edelstein’s life and work to date. However, it must also be noted that it cannot form a comprehensive intellectual biography due to the limitations of time and words involved in the production of a PhD thesis and the limitations of the available source material. Therefore, each chapter will form a window into one aspect of Edelstein. Each chapter will examine Edelstein in a different role, although they are conducted in slightly different ways. It will consider Edelstein as a dissenter, friend, collaborator, scholar, and finally, humanist and teacher. The first chapter takes one significant event in Edelstein’s career – the introduction of a loyalty oath at the University of California, as its focus, using this as a springboard to uncover more information about Edelstein. The next two chapters concentrate on Edelstein’s relationships with others and their significance for his life and work; first on his friendships, and then on his marriage. The final two chapters explore two of Edelstein’s academic roles; firstly as a scholar, and finally as a teacher.

It also seems appropriate to outline what this thesis is not. Although it will be the most complete study on Edelstein to date, it is not an exhaustive biography, rather, it focuses on correspondence as a source for providing information on Edelstein’s life and work. Its emphasis is on considering life and academic work in the same sphere, and thus reading the correspondence in the light of Edelstein’s scholarly output. It will consider how the events in Edelstein’s life and the relationships he formed effected his career and ideas, as well as exploring some of these ideas in greater detail, placing all this within a wider context, which

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<sup>8</sup> O. Temkin, ‘In Memory of Ludwig Edelstein’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 40, 1, (1966), 1-13, 2.

<sup>9</sup> G. W. Bowersock, ‘The Idea of Progress in Classical Antiquity by Ludwig Edelstein’, *The American Historical Review*, 74, 1, (1968), 119-120, 120.

<sup>10</sup> I. G. Kidd, ‘Preface to the First Edition’, in I. G. Kidd and L. Edelstein (eds.), *Posidonius*, Vol. I: *The Fragments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), xiii-xiv, xiii. This refers to L. Edelstein, ‘The Philosophical System of Posidonius’, *The American Journal of Philology*, 57, 3, (1936), 286-325. See the chapter on ‘Edelstein as a Scholar’ for an investigation of the impact, context, and reception of a number of pieces of Edelstein’s scholarship.



is vital for a proper understanding of Edelstein's work. However, it cannot consider Edelstein's work in its entirety. This would be an impossible task in the bounds of this study.

## 1.2 Previous Work

Following Edelstein's death a number of obituaries and tributes were published which offer some insight into the details of his life and work.<sup>11</sup> There have also been a number of short pieces written in conjunction with the publication and re-issuing of his work which provide more understanding of Edelstein.<sup>12</sup> Other areas of research which have produced some minor literature on Edelstein are studies of classical scholarship, and studies of émigré scholars. There are short biographical entries on Edelstein in various collections of scholars and emigrants' biographies;<sup>13</sup> however, these only provide very basic information such as the titles of his most important works and information on which institutions he worked at, or he is simply a name in a list, with little biographical detail.<sup>14</sup> Occasionally, Edelstein's name

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<sup>11</sup> G. Boas, 'Memorial Minutes: Ludwig Edelstein 1902-1965', *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association*, 38, (1964-65), 93; G. Boas, 'Ludwig Edelstein', *The Rockefeller University Review*, 3, (1965), 17-19; D. W. Bronk, 'In Memoriam Ludwig Edelstein, 1902-1965: Ludwig Edelstein, Colleague and Counsellor', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 21, 2, (1966), 179-181; H. Cherniss, 'Ludwig Edelstein (1902-1965)', *Yearbook of the American Philosophical Society*, (1965), 130-138; H. Diller, 'Ludwig Edelstein', *Gnomon*, 38, 4, (1966), 429-432; F. Kudlien, 'In Memoriam Ludwig Edelstein 1902-1965: Edelstein as Medical Historian', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 21, 2, (1966), 173-178; M. L. Peterson, 'Ludwig Edelstein 1902-1965', *Science and Citizen*, 8, 3, (1966), 7; J. Stannard, 'Eloge: Ludwig Edelstein (1902-1965)', *Isis*, 57, 3, (1966), 379-384; L. G. Stevenson, 'In Memoriam Ludwig Edelstein, 1902-1965: Ludwig Edelstein: A Personal Recollection', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 21, 2, (1966), 181-183; Temkin, 'In Memory of Ludwig Edelstein'.

<sup>12</sup> O. Temkin and C. L. Temkin, 'Editor's Introduction', in O. Temkin and C. L. Temkin (eds.), *Ancient Medicine: Selected papers of Ludwig Edelstein* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967), xi-xviii; L. Tarán, 'Introduction', in L. Edelstein, *Selected Philosophical Papers* ed. by L. Tarán (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc, 1987); G. B. Ferngren, 'Introduction, 1998', in E. J. Edelstein and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius: A collection and interpretation of the testimonies* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), xiii-xxii.

<sup>13</sup> H. W. Benario, 'German-Speaking Scholars in the United States and Canada from the 1930s', *Klio*, 83, 2, (2001), 451-472, 459; C. Epstein, *A Past Renewed: A catalog of German-speaking refugee historians in the United States after 1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 62-64; D. Fleming and B. Bailyn (eds.), *The Intellectual Migration: Europe and America, 1930-1960* (Cambridge, MA: The Bellknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969), 685; R. Heuer (ed.), *Lexikon deutsch-jüdischer Autoren*, Vol. VI: *Dore-Fein* (K. G. Saur: Munich, 1998), 68-69; S. Kaznelson (ed.), *Juden im Deutschen Kulturbereich: Ein Sammelwerk* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1959), 336; J. Scarborough, 'Ludwig Edelstein', in W. W. Briggs (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of North American Classicists* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994), 153-156; H. A. Strauss and W. Röder (eds.), *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933-1945*, Vol II. Part 1: *A-K The Arts, Sciences, and Literature* (München, New York, London, and Paris: K. G. Saur, 1983), 235-236; H. A. Strauss, T. Buddensieg, and K. Düwell (eds.), *Emigration. Deutsche Wissenschaftler nach 1933: Entlassung und Vertreibung* (Berlin: Technische Universität, 1987), 85; J. Walk, *Kurzbiographien zur Geschichte der Juden 1918 bis 1945* (München and New York: K. G. Saur, 1988), 73; W. Tetzlaff, *2000 Kurzbiographien bedeutender deutscher Juden des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Lindhorst: Askania, 1982), 63.

<sup>14</sup> L. Fermi, *Illustrious Immigrants: The intellectual migration from Europe 1930-41* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1971), 352; M. Hepp (ed.), *Die Ausbürgerung deutscher Staatsangehöriger, 1933-45 nach den im Reichsanzeiger veröffentlichten Listen*, Vol. I (München, New York, London, and Paris: K. G. Saur, 1985), 277; P. Kröner (ed.), *Vor fünfzig Jahren: Die Emigration deutschsprachiger Wissenschaftler 1933-*

also crops up in the recollections of his friends and acquaintances.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, none of these works are based on the in-depth study of archival materials, but on personal memories, anecdotes, or obituaries. The most important work which has been conducted on Edelstein is an article from 2006 by Thomas Rütten who took the first steps towards establishing Edelstein's intellectual biography through the use of Edelstein's correspondence found in archives across Europe and America.<sup>16</sup> This article provided the point of orientation for the thesis, which follows Rütten's methodology to analyse Edelstein's *bion* and *ergon* in conjunction.

Although there has only been a small amount of work produced on Edelstein thus far, the interest in, and importance of, investigating scholars like him can also be demonstrated by the scholarship on his contemporaries, friends, and colleagues. Furthermore, the value of their correspondence as a source has been recognised, and imperative work has been produced on their lives and letters. Of Edelstein's close acquaintances the scholar who has received the most attention is Henry Sigerist. Editions of his correspondence have been published in the most part by Marcel Bickel,<sup>17</sup> although other scholars have also been involved.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, there have been a number of studies conducted on various aspects of Sigerist's life and work.<sup>19</sup> Some attention has been given to Sigerist and Edelstein's colleague at the institute,

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1939 (Münster: Die Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 1983), 20; K. Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933-1945*, Vol. I (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1989), 397, 611.

<sup>15</sup> E. R. Dodds, *Missing Persons: An autobiography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 183, 187; T. Frazier with D. Frazier, *Between the Lines* (Oakland: Regent Press, 2001), 73-74, 387-388; F. Gilbert, *A European Past: Memoirs 1905-1945* (New York: Norton, 1988) 110-111; O. Temkin, 'The Double Face of Janus', in O. Temkin (ed.), *The Double Face of Janus and Other Essays in the History of Medicine* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 3-37, 18-19, 25-27, 29, 32.

<sup>16</sup> T. Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads of 1933: On the Inseparability of Life, Work and their Reverberations', *Early Science and Medicine*, 11, 1, (2006), 50-99, 50.

<sup>17</sup> M. H. Bickel, *Vier ausgewählte Briefwechsel mit Medizinhistorikern der Schweiz* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008); M. H. Bickel, *Henry E. Sigerist Correspondences with Welch, Cushing, Garrison, and Ackerknecht* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010); M. H. Bickel, 'The Letters of Henry-Sigerist (1891-1957) and Charles Joseph Singer (1876-1960)', *Medical History Supplement*, 30, (2011), ix-xvii, 1-249. Bickel has also produced a series of online editions of Sigerist's correspondence with John F. Fulton, Alan Gregg, Chauncey D. Leake, Adolf Meyer, Milton I. Roemer, Richard H. Shyrock, Owsei Temkin, and Gregory Zilboorg which can all be accessed through the University of Bern's Institut für Medizingeschichte, accessed on: [http://www.img.unibe.ch/content/online\\_publicationen/index\\_ger.html#e210421](http://www.img.unibe.ch/content/online_publicationen/index_ger.html#e210421) 23/10/2014. However, these volumes only present the letters and give the barest of information in the footnotes on the people, places, and events mentioned in the letters.

<sup>18</sup> Including: M. de Asúa, 'Henry Sigerist and the History of Medicine in Latin America: His Correspondence with Juan R. Beltrán', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 79, 1, (2005), 111-117; A. Viseltar, 'The George Rosen-Henry E. Sigerist Correspondence', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 33, 3, (1978), 281-313.

<sup>19</sup> Including those published shortly after his death, for example: L. A. Falk, 'Medical Sociology: The Contributions of Dr. Henry E. Sigerist', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 13, 2, (1958), 214-228; to more recent investigations: E. Fee and T. M. Brown (eds.), *Making Medical History: The life and times of Henry E. Sigerist* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

Owsei Temkin.<sup>20</sup> Another of Edelstein's friends whose life and letters have received considerable focus is the art historian Erwin Panofsky;<sup>21</sup> a generous selection of his correspondence has been published and edited by Dieter Wuttke,<sup>22</sup> and is rightly hailed as 'a treasure trove',<sup>23</sup> taking the place of the 'definitive' biography of him still lacking.<sup>24</sup> More contacts in Edelstein's epistolary network on whose life and letters scholars have conducted work include Eric Dodds,<sup>25</sup> Leo Strauss,<sup>26</sup> Karl Jaspers,<sup>27</sup> and Werner Jaeger.<sup>28</sup> These

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<sup>20</sup> G. H. Brieger, 'Temkin's Time and Ours: An Appreciation of Owsei Temkin', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 77, 1, (2003), 1-11; V. Nutton, 'Owsei Temkin 1902-2002', *Medical History*, 41, 1, (2003), 100-103. Not as much work has been conducted on his correspondence, bar the work in the footnote above, which is likely due to the much later date of his death, and thus issues with the access to archival material.

<sup>21</sup> See 'Edelstein as a Collaborator' for biographical detail.

<sup>22</sup> D. Wuttke (ed.), *Erwin Panofsky Korrespondenz 1910-1968 Eine kommentierte Auswahl in fünf Bänden* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001-2011). Some of his correspondence has also been published by others: V. Breidecker (ed.), *Siegfried Kracauer–Erwin Panofsky. Briefwechsel, 1941-1966* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996); R. Ludwig (ed.), *Dr. Panofsky and Mr Tarkington: An exchange of letters, 1938-1946* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974). This published correspondence has also formed the basis for a recent PhD thesis on Panofsky: D. Keenan, 'Kultur and Acculturation: Erwin Panofsky in the United States of America', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow (2014), accessed on: <http://theses.gla.ac.uk/5238/3/9/2014>.

<sup>23</sup> J. C. Smith, 'Erwin Panofsky Korrespondenz 1910 bis 1968: Eine kommentierte Auswahl in fünf Bänden', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 58, 2, (2005), 605-609, 606.

<sup>24</sup> J. Becker, 'Korrespondenz 1910-1936 by Erwin Panofsky; D. Wuttke', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 30, 1/2, (2003), 124-129, 128. Nevertheless, there have been a number of studies on Panofsky and his work, in fact too many to list here. They can be found listed in Keenan, 'Kultur and Acculturation', 304-310.

<sup>25</sup> Robert Todd has conducted a number of studies on Eric Dodds and his work including: R. Todd, 'E. R. Dodds: A Bibliography of his Publications', *Quaderni di Storia*, 48, (1998), 175-194; R. Todd, 'E. R. Dodds: The Dublin Years (1916-1919) with a Reprint of Two Early Articles by Dodds: "The Rediscovery of the Classics" and "The Renaissance of the Occult"', *Classics Ireland*, 6, (1999), 80-105, accessed on: <http://www.classicsireland.com/1999/todd.html> 12/11/2014; M. Nelson and R. Todd, 'E. R. Dodds: Two Unpublished Letters on Ancient "Irrationalism"', *Eikasmos*, 11, (2000), 401-408; R. Todd, "'His own Side-Show": E. R. Dodds and Neoplatonic Studies in Britain, 1835-1940', *Dionysius*, 23, (2005), 139-160. See also W. Hankey, 'Re-evaluating E. R. Dodds' Platonism', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 103, (2007), 499-541.

<sup>26</sup> There has been an abundance of literature produced on Leo Strauss, some of which is referenced in 'Edelstein as a Friend'. Relevant literature which publishes/makes use of his correspondence includes: P. Emberley and B. Cooper (eds.), *Faith and Political Philosophy: The correspondence between Leo Strauss and Eric Voegelin, 1934-1964* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1993); H. Meier, *Carl Schmitt and Leo Strauss: The hidden dialogue* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995); H. Meier, *Leo Strauss, Gesammelte Schriften Band 3: Hobbes' politische Wissenschaft und zugehörige Schriften – Briefe* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2001); T. Pangle, 'On the Epistolary Dialogue between Leo Strauss and Eric Voegelin', *The Review of Politics*, 53, 1, (1991), 100-125; L. Strauss, *On Tyranny: Corrected and expanded edition, including the Strauss-Kojève correspondence* ed. by V. Gourevitch and M. Roth (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013); L. Strauss and H-G. Gadamer, 'Correspondence Concerning Wahrheit und Methode', *Independent Journal of Philosophy*, 2, (1978), 5-12.

<sup>27</sup> There have been editions of Jaspers' correspondence published: W. Biemel and H. Saner (eds.), *Martin Heidegger/Karl Jaspers: Briefwechsel 1920-1963* (Munich: Piper, 1992); L. Köhler and H. Saner (eds.), *Hannah Arendt/Karl Jaspers correspondence, 1926-1969* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992) as well as biographical studies which use his correspondence as a source: S. Kirkbright, *Karl Jaspers. A Biography: Navigations in truth* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004).

<sup>28</sup> The scholar who has contributed most to our understanding of Werner Jaeger is William M. Calder III. He has produced a number of studies which publish Jaeger's correspondence and use it as source material in the exploration of the scholar and his work: W. M. Calder III, 'The Correspondence of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff with Werner Jaeger', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 82, (1978), 303-347; W. M. Calder III and M. Schrage, 'Der Briefwechsel Werner Jaegers mit Carl Heinrich Becker (1918-1932)', *Philologus*, 153,

examples demonstrate the interest in, and value of, exploring historians, classical scholars, and philosophers and the time in which they lived, particularly through the use of their correspondence. The correspondence can be a key for scholars seeking to unlock the history of classical scholarship, or the history of the history of medicine.

### 1.3 Edelstein's Epistolary Network and the Physicality of the Letters

This thesis uses correspondence to and from Edelstein which is housed in archival collections scattered across America and Europe as its main source material. Additionally, some correspondence between others in Edelstein's epistolary network which includes information about him has also been studied and employed. I have used the Edelstein correspondence from archival collections which were already known before this thesis.<sup>29</sup> I have also unearthed letters from a number of collections which have not been taken into consideration in the study of Edelstein before,<sup>30</sup> as well as notebooks of Edelstein's work,<sup>31</sup> and an audiotape of one of his lectures.<sup>32</sup> I have transcribed some 1087 letters for this study, which cover the time period of 1924-1969.<sup>33</sup> The letters to and from Edelstein cover a slightly smaller time period of 1931-1965. Edelstein's epistolary network as apparent from the materials used in this study comprises some seventy-four different correspondents, and includes a wide array of different people, ranging from fellow historians, philosophers, and classicists, to physicists, lawyers, civil rights activists, secretaries, and economists, amongst others.

The nature in which the Edelstein letters have survived does cause some problems. There is no complete collection of Edelstein's correspondence, the letters are a chance product of transmission. Therefore, on many occasions there is not a complete dialogue between the correspondents; sometimes there are only letters written by one of a pair of

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2, (2009), 310-348; Calder has also produced collections of correspondence by other classical scholars of Edelstein's and the previous generation of scholars, for example: W. M. Calder III and B. Huss, *The Wilamowitz in Me': 100 letters between Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Paul Friedländer (1904-1931)* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999).

<sup>29</sup> *Baltimore (1); Baltimore (2); Baltimore (3); Berkeley; Berlin; Cambridge; Chicago; Frankfurt a. M.; Heidelberg; Ingolstadt; Leipzig; Marbach; New Haven; New York (2); New York (3); Oxford; Philadelphia; Princeton; Sleepy Hollow (1); Sleepy Hollow (2); Washington D.C. (2)*. (For the full archival references see the list of archival abbreviations following the conclusion). See Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads'.

<sup>30</sup> *Haverford; New York (1); San Diego; Seattle; Stanford; Washington D.C. (1)*.

<sup>31</sup> Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Medical Archives, Owsei Temkin Collections, Copybook 433591611 Outline and notes Edelstein on Greek Medicine, Copybook 433591611 Galen and his time and after Galen.

<sup>32</sup> *Sleepy Hollow (3)*.

<sup>33</sup> The majority of the transcription was carried out by myself. However, in the case of some handwritten German letters between Edelstein and Leo Strauss and Edelstein and Henry Sigerist, I was helped with the transcription by Dr. Rüdiger Kinsky and Dr. Thomas Rütten. Dr. Rütten also aided me with the transcription of some handwritten German letters to Albrecht Goetze and one handwritten letter from Ludwig Curtius.

correspondents, or letters from a select time period. In the case of the letters written to and from Edelstein, most of the letters, around sixty-five percent, were written by Edelstein. Furthermore, in Edelstein's will he requested that his personal correspondence be destroyed,<sup>34</sup> and it could be questioned whether it is legitimate to use the letters which he had no control over for historiographical purposes. As Rütten highlights, biographical endeavours on the part of Edelstein may appear to be a 'flagrant disregard for discretion'.<sup>35</sup> However, Rütten also advances strong arguments as to why biographical undertakings devoted to Edelstein are vital, and legitimises the use of Edelstein's extant correspondence in a biographical study.<sup>36</sup> He avers that life and work are mutually dependent categories, and it is through the contextualisation of an author's work that we can adequately assess and appreciate it, and save it from 'ideologising and instrumentalising exploitation at the hands of subsequent generations'.<sup>37</sup> He also highlights that many of Edelstein's friends also thought that in Edelstein's case above all life and work were inextricably linked, and, moreover, when we examine the evidence more closely it appears that Edelstein did not believe in the strict separation of the two,<sup>38</sup> indeed, to Edelstein, 'life and work were well-nigh congruent with each other'.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, as Rütten details earlier in the article, amongst other reasons, it is also important to examine Edelstein's life in order to neutralise the effects of Nazi ostracism and their attempts to erase the personal histories of countless Jewish people,<sup>40</sup> to combat misrepresentation and distortions which arise when his story is only available in a fragmentary view,<sup>41</sup> and because his works have not received the historical and intra-disciplinary attention they deserve and his contributions are yet to be evaluated.<sup>42</sup>

Furthermore, although Edelstein requested that his personal papers be destroyed, bar anything ready for publication, he never made any attempt to eradicate his correspondence which had been sent to others and was kept by them.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, we do not know the reason why he requested his papers be destroyed. After his close friend Erich Frank's death Edelstein and his wife were given the responsibility of sorting out his manuscripts and

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<sup>34</sup> Harold Cherniss from Princeton to Paul Kristeller in New York 22 November 1965 [*New York* (3)].

<sup>35</sup> Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads', 92.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 92-96.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>38</sup> See the article and passage Rütten includes which Edelstein quoted to his friends for evidence of this in *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 95-96.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 79-83.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

papers.<sup>44</sup> This was a mammoth task which took up much of the couple's time and efforts. Thus, Edelstein was well aware of the burden the responsibility could cause and perhaps requested his papers be destroyed for the ease of the executor, rather than from any strong desire to keep any future scholars from examining them. He never made any explicit statement about any need to keep his correspondence private.

The correspondence from Edelstein is written in English and German; after his move to the US most of the letters are written in English, although with certain friends it seemed he preferred to continue to communicate in his native language, as was the case with Henry Sigerist.<sup>45</sup> Overall, however, around seventy percent of Edelstein's letters used in this study were written in English. Some of the letters also contain lines written in Latin and Ancient Greek, the latter of which is always written by hand. It is also interesting that there is a change in Edelstein's handwriting after his immigration to America in 1934. This is not only the case when he writes in English but also for the letters composed in German. The earlier handwriting is much harder to decipher,<sup>46</sup> the later handwriting is neater and more spaced out, making it clearer to read.<sup>47</sup>

Approximately fifty-nine percent of the letters I have transcribed by Edelstein were written by hand, and the rest on a typewriter. It seems Edelstein preferred to correspond with handwritten letters to his closer contacts such as Henry Sigerist, Roy Harvey Pearce, and Solomon Katz. Some of these handwritten letters were very long, there is a six page letter to Henry Sigerist,<sup>48</sup> and frequently three to four page long letters to him, and a thirteen page letter to Leo Strauss.<sup>49</sup> Typewritten letters are usually shorter and are used more often for people with whom he was not familiar, or for more business-like dialogues, for example in correspondence to his lawyer and men who worked for the Johns Hopkins University Press. The exception to this rule is his correspondence with Detlev Bronk in which Edelstein mainly uses a typewriter to compose his letters, some of which are long, reaching three to four pages. There is not a specific divide between what Edelstein discusses in the handwritten versus the typewritten letters, although when the matter is strictly business, for example, when writing

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<sup>44</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 10 July 1949 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410]. On Frank see 'Edelstein as a Friend'.

<sup>45</sup> For biographical information on Sigerist see 'Edelstein as a Friend'.

<sup>46</sup> See Appendix A for an example of a letter written in the earlier style.

<sup>47</sup> See Appendix B for an example of a later letter.

<sup>48</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 4 February 1949 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>49</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Leo Strauss 28-30 December 1944 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

to his lawyer or the Regents of a university, or to invite an academic to lecture at a university, the letters are typed. Furthermore, when the information is very personal, for example in the letters written following his wife's death, Edelstein did seem to prefer writing by hand. There are very few mistakes in the letters, it is rare that Edelstein crosses words out and they are generally neat, although the typewritten letters do contain more mistakes than the handwritten. This suggests that his correspondence was carefully thought out and composed, although one thing which Edelstein did do frequently was to add postscripts after he had signed the letter. Often, he underlined the titles of books and journals which were mentioned in the letters.

The letters written are almost always dated; at the top when they are typed, and the bottom when handwritten. In his correspondence Edelstein often used paper with a letterhead from the university at which he was working which would inform his correspondents where he was at that time. The exception to this is when he was at Oxford during 1953 when he always wrote on plain paper. This suggests he wrote much of his correspondence from university and not from home, as it is clear from his wife's letters that they had their own personal letter-writing stationery with their address at the top. His wife also used her own stationery with the letterhead 'Mrs Ludwig Edelstein' followed by their address, although Ludwig did not seem to have an equivalent to this. Alongside the letters a few cases of Christmas cards and postcards survive that were sent to the Edelsteins' friends. Many of the letters sent to and from Edelstein also included attachments, often reprints of articles and books, but also photographs, galley proofs, manuscripts, and Christmas and birthday packages.

#### **1.4 Letters as a Source Material in the Study of Edelstein**

According to Deborah Parker '[t]he importance of letters in writing a biography is a longstanding truism'.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, a study of Edelstein could have been conducted by different means, for example, by focusing on oral interviews with surviving contacts. However, it is my contention that the correspondence offers the finest means to understand Edelstein's life and work. Letters include emotions and perceptions, they reflect ideologies, and are always revealing about the time in which they were written and about the people who

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<sup>50</sup> D. Parker, 'The Role of Letters in Biographies of Michelangelo', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 58, 1, (2005), 91-126, 91.

wrote and read them.<sup>51</sup> They are recognised as ‘occupying a respectable position in the study of the past’,<sup>52</sup> and they have commonly been used as data for historical research.<sup>53</sup> A quick search in any library catalogue brings up scores of letter collections that have been published, or biographies enabled by the study of correspondence. The range of people whose letter collections have been published is boundless, and includes a host of figures such as Freud, Queen Victoria, Virginia Woolf, Beethoven, and Lenin.<sup>54</sup>

Nevertheless, it is also recognised that there can be problems in the use of letters as a source, and that writers could use letters to construct, rather than reconstruct, reality.<sup>55</sup> Recent articles and books have focused on the silences and deceptions within correspondence,<sup>56</sup> or the ways in which letters can be used to construct alternate selves.<sup>57</sup> However, although it is recognised that there can be problems, it cannot be denied that letters are still highly valuable as a source of information which is not accessible elsewhere. Furthermore, in the case of Edelstein, these issues are less significant. From my study of the correspondence there is no indication that Edelstein was anything but truthful, or that he tried to construct an alternate self in the letters. Indeed, I would argue that Edelstein’s correspondence is particularly conducive for a historical study because, as will be demonstrated throughout the thesis, Edelstein was a man of high moral stature and in both life and scholarship he valued the ‘truth’. Furthermore, this thesis has not only used the correspondence, but also wider source material including obituaries, personal files, newspaper articles, recollections from students, university course catalogues, and secondary source material in order to corroborate information. As far as could be checked, I have discovered no obvious lies within the correspondence. Additionally, the letters provide information on Edelstein’s values, aspirations, emotions, and work; his relationships with people, books, and academic topics which is not available in the same depth and detail from any other source. Moreover, it is still

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<sup>51</sup> R. Schulte and X. von Tippelskirch, ‘Introduction’, in R. Schulte and X. von Tippelskirch (eds.), *Reading, Interpreting, Historicizing: Letters as historical sources* (Florence: European University Institute, 2004), 5-9, 6, accessed on: <http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/2600/HEC04-02.pdf?sequence=1> 23/10/2014.

<sup>52</sup> R. Earle, ‘Introduction: Letters, Writers and the Historian’, in R. Earle (ed.), *Epistolary Selves: Letters and letter writers 1600-1945* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 1-12, 10.

<sup>53</sup> D. Barton and N. Hall, ‘Introduction’, in D. Barton and N. Hall (eds.), *Letter Writing as a Social Practice* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2000), 1-14, 9.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> T. Beebee, ‘Epistolary Selves: Letters and letter-writers, 1600-1945 (review)’, *Biography*, 24, 2, (2001), 472-474, 474.

<sup>56</sup> D. Gerber, ‘Acts of Deceiving and Withholding in Immigrant Letters: Personal Identity and Self-presentation in Personal Correspondence’, *Journal of Social History*, 39, 2, (2005), 315-330.

<sup>57</sup> K. Teltscher, ‘The Sentimental Ambassador: The Letters of George Bogle from Bengal, Bhutan and Tibet, 1770-1781’, in R. Earle (ed.), *Epistolary Selves: Letters and letter-writers, 1600-1945* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 79-94.



considered true by many that letters can be considered genuine expressions, allowing us to gain an accurate picture of the life and thought of a certain figure, and although modern historiography recognises that letter-writing is somewhat defined by social convention, and not all letters may reveal the truth, there has been an increased interest in epistolary exchange amongst historians of science and medicine,<sup>58</sup> and indeed, in wider academia.

The importance of letters and letter-writing has been recognised for earlier periods of history. However, for scholars like Edelstein living during the early-mid twentieth century, letter-writing was still the most important means of communication, bar face-to-face interaction and the telephone. It meant that these scattered academics formed a republic of letters; they could maintain their network despite the geographical distance which came to be placed between them. Letters were not just read privately, throughout the correspondence it is often mentioned how a letter was shown to another person, and Edelstein even requests that his letters be shown to others.<sup>59</sup> Ludwig and his wife Emma also read letters together, on occasion wrote letters together to mutual friends, and sometimes, Emma would write letters in Ludwig's stead when he was too busy or ill. Thus, letters were not just a means to communicate with one person, but also offered a chance to reach a wider network.

Although, to Edelstein, 'letters are a poor substitute for conversation', they were still 'a bit better than silence';<sup>60</sup> and they were the means for Edelstein to keep his connections alive. As Edelstein expressed to Solomon Katz in 1949<sup>61</sup>: 'thanks for your letters. They gave me the feeling that I am again in as close a contact with you as I wish to be'.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, sometimes Edelstein even used letters to express what he had found too difficult to say in person.<sup>63</sup> The writing of letters was a significant aspect of Edelstein and his network's daily lives. Letter-writing was part of Edelstein's everyday routine, and even when swamped with other work he wrote them in-between meetings,<sup>64</sup> or when ill health prevented him from writing, he dictated letters.<sup>65</sup> Nor did Edelstein use his holidays as a break from corresponding, but sent letters whilst on vacation and national holidays like Thanksgiving

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<sup>58</sup> H. Steinke, 'Why? What and How? Editing Early Modern Scientific Letters in the Twenty-first Century', *Gesnerus*, 61, (2004), 282-295, 282.

<sup>59</sup> As in the case of Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 30 November 1948 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein] in which he requests that Katz share the letter with William Stull Holt.

<sup>60</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Solomon Katz 3 August 1948 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>61</sup> For biographical information on Katz see 'Edelstein as a Collaborator'.

<sup>62</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 7 February 1949 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>63</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Solomon Katz 3 August 1948 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>64</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 4 March 1950 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>65</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Roy Harvey Pearce 6 December 1960 [*San Diego*].

and Christmas. Sometimes his letters were written in ‘great haste’,<sup>66</sup> but on other occasions they were written over a number of days.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, as with all his other commitments he did not always find the time to respond punctually, and often apologises for delays in responding and having to postpone his letter-writing due to other obligations or problems with health.

Letters were a source of comfort, sympathy, delight, and happiness; they reassured Edelstein about the wellbeing of his friends and provided him with news about their lives. Letters also played a crucial role in some of the key events in Edelstein’s life. During his time of peril in exile from Germany in 1933-4 it was through letters that Edelstein was able to communicate his quickly deteriorating situation to those who sought to help him, and it was through his epistolary network that he found a way out of his desperate situation, and was able to connect with those who offered the necessary financial and personal support needed for his immigration to America and appointment at Johns Hopkins.<sup>68</sup> Then, in turn, it was through corresponding to organisations such as the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign scholars that Edelstein also attempted to help his friends who remained in Germany. In these cases, letters were not just a quotidian activity, but a very means of survival, or the way in which to help another out of a perilous situation.

The correspondence to and from Edelstein deals with a myriad of topics. The letters discuss, amongst other subjects, teaching, news from a certain university and department, the correspondents’ and their families’ health, travels and vacations, future plans, appointments at universities, and communism and the universities. The letters are also used to send thanks, congratulations, and sympathy, or to ask for favours. It was through letters that scholars like Edelstein conducted university business, made recommendations of colleagues, applied for positions, invited academics to give lectures, discussed the publishing of books, and applied for research grants; they were a crucial means of the facilitation of scholarship. This could take up significant amounts of time, Edelstein reported to Solomon Katz how in trying to find

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<sup>66</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Oxford to Roy Harvey Pearce 16 November 1953 [*San Diego*].

<sup>67</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Solomon Katz 3 August 1948 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>68</sup> For example, Henry Sigerist wrote how ‘[d]uring the whole winter I tried to raise funds to support Dr. Edelstein’s work. I had an endless correspondence with the different committees in continental Europe, England, and this country’ in Henry Sigerist to Alan Chesney in Baltimore 13 March 1934 [*Baltimore (1)*: Institute of the History of Medicine; Folder 43].

a successor for Linforth at Berkeley ‘I lose one day after another writing letters or attending meetings.’<sup>69</sup>

Nancy Siraisi argues that the letters of physicians from the Renaissance are a document of the authors’ own understanding of their lives and times.<sup>70</sup> However, this statement can also be applied to the Edelstein letters, and to correspondence more generally. Furthermore, the correspondence not only reveals Edelstein’s thoughts, interests, and activities, but information on the wider world in which he lived. The letters inform the reader about a wide range of other topics including émigré scholars in the first half of the twentieth century, the wider intellectual milieu of scholars like Edelstein, the impact of McCarthyism on American universities, networks of academic correspondents, the status of the humanities, and much more. Therefore, although the focus of this thesis is on Edelstein’s life and work, much valuable information about the wider context of the times in which he lived can be discovered within it. A review of the collection of Erwin Panofsky’s collection of correspondence noted that beyond the biographical information his letters ‘offer a fascinating glimpse of the scholarly world in Germany, and, from 1933, in the United States’.<sup>71</sup> This is a statement which can be applied to Edelstein’s letters. Although this dissertation takes a different approach from the Panofsky collection, it will still reveal key information about the scholarly world surrounding Edelstein.

Throughout the thesis, one aim will be to use the correspondence alongside other evidence to explore whether the judgements that have been made about Edelstein thus far can be considered correct. One of these judgements casts Edelstein in the mould of a ‘dissenter’. He is considered to have diverged both from perceived knowledge and popular scholarly positions, and from certain roles which were ascribed to him. The thesis now will proceed with a case study which will look more carefully into Edelstein in this role, and one aspect it will assess is how far this judgement is correct in the context of the ‘California Oath Controversy’, and whether Edelstein was simply an obstinate non-conformist, or whether there were good and honourable reasons behind his stance in this dispute.

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<sup>69</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 2 April 1949 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>70</sup> N. Siraisi, *Communities of Learned Experience: Epistolary medicine in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 12.

<sup>71</sup> Smith, ‘Erwin Panofsky Korrespondenz’, 606.

## Chapter 2. Edelstein as a Dissenter

‘Boys must be cheated with cockal-bones, and men with oaths.’<sup>1</sup>

### 2.1 Introduction

In 1947 Edelstein resigned from Johns Hopkins and accepted a position at the University of Washington in Seattle.<sup>2</sup> The foremost reason for this move appears to have been his desire to return to working within a classics department. In a letter to Lewis Weed,<sup>3</sup> from 16 July 1947, Edelstein stated that it was imperative to his work to do so.<sup>4</sup> Weed’s opinion on the matter was akin to Edelstein’s – that this move was a great opportunity and would be beneficial for Edelstein’s work.<sup>5</sup> These, however, were not new ambitions, for it had been Edelstein’s aim from the beginning of his move to Baltimore to move onto classical philology after having taught the history of medicine.<sup>6</sup> Edelstein would find the separation from friends in Baltimore difficult, but the most important thing was for him to perform his work as he had planned.<sup>7</sup> A less than harmonious atmosphere at Baltimore was another contributing factor to Edelstein’s decision to leave. He was not happy with the actions of Isaiah Bowman (1878-1950), President of Johns Hopkins from 1933-1948,<sup>8</sup> and after his move to Seattle, in letters to Henry Sigerist,<sup>9</sup> Edelstein listed the fact that he no longer had contact with Bowman as one of the positive points about Washington.<sup>10</sup> Life was more

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<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Apophthegmata Laconica* in *Plutarch's Essays and Miscellanies Comprising all his Works Collected under the Title of "Morals"*, Vol. I trans. from the Greek by several hands. Corrected and revised by W. W. Goodwin (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1911), 229B.

<sup>2</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Lewis Weed 16 July 1947 [*Baltimore (1)*: Lewis Weed Papers, Folder 30].

<sup>3</sup> Lewis Hill Weed (1886-1952) met Edelstein in the latter’s first days at Johns Hopkins according to a letter from 16 October 1946 from Edelstein to Weed [*Baltimore (1)*: Lewis Weed Papers, Folder 30]. Weed was a graduate of the medical school and later Professor of Anatomy there. He was also Dean of the Johns Hopkins Medical Faculty and Director of the School of Medicine: J. Fulton, ‘Lewis Weed 1886-1952’, *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*, 25, 3, (1952), 214-217. For further biographical data on Weed, see H. Speert, ‘Memorable Medical Mentors: I. Lewis Hill Weed (1886-1952)’, *Obstetrical and Gynecological Survey*, 59, 61, (2004), 61-64.

<sup>4</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Lewis Weed 16 July 1947 [*Baltimore (1)*: Lewis Weed Papers, Folder 30].

<sup>5</sup> Lewis Weed to Ludwig Edelstein in Baltimore 18 July 1947 [*Baltimore (1)*: Lewis Weed Papers, Folder 30].

<sup>6</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Rome to Leo Strauss 4 April 1934 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>7</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Henry Sigerist in Pura 14 July 1947 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>8</sup> For biographical information on Bowman, see G. F. Carter, ‘Isaiah Bowman 1878-1950’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 40, 4, (1950), 335-350; J. Wright and G. F. Carter, *Isaiah Bowman, 1878-1950* (Washington D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1959); Gladys Wrigley, ‘Isaiah Bowman’, *Geographical Review*, 41, 1, (1951), 7-65.

<sup>9</sup> See ‘Edelstein as a Friend’ for information.

<sup>10</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Seattle to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 12 October 1947 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

comfortable without him, and although Washington had its own tensions Edelstein felt that these were honest as things were discussed and decided openly.<sup>11</sup>

However, despite the advantages of the University of Washington, and being offered a full Professorship in Classics within one year, Edelstein would not remain there. For around the same time as the Professorship from Washington was offered he also received an invitation to join the Classics Department at Berkeley, which he accepted.<sup>12</sup> Although he was fond of Seattle, with good friends and prospects, Edelstein opted for Berkeley as he felt that it offered 'almost unique facilities' for his research.<sup>13</sup> Another motive behind this move was that Ivan Linforth (1879-1976), chairman of the Classics Department in Berkeley at the time,<sup>14</sup> was due to retire in the next year, meaning Edelstein would be promoted to senior member of the Greek Department. Both Weed and Sigerist concurred about the superiority of a position at Berkeley, the latter stating that both the library and students were better there,<sup>15</sup> and the former that the opportunities for making an advance in knowledge at Berkeley were abundant.<sup>16</sup> The university also had high hopes for Edelstein. The report of the Faculty Promotion Committee at Berkeley described how:

Dr. Edelstein is a stimulating and vital person and teacher, and a man who is likely to be active... He has evidently adapted himself admirably to conditions in the universities of this country... He is a sound choice for a professorship in our Department of Classics.<sup>17</sup>

Unfortunately, Berkeley did not live up to these expectations, and Edelstein was unable to achieve his full potential there. For he had been in the department little over a year when the Regents of the university demanded the signing of a loyalty oath which required the faculty to swear they were not members of any party which advocated the overthrow of the United States Government. The demand of this oath would create a long and arduous struggle for

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<sup>11</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Seattle to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 25 December 1947 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>12</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Washington to Lewis Weed 21 May 1948 [*Baltimore (1)*: Lewis Weed Papers, Folder 30].

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> J. E. Fontenrose, 'Ivan Mortimer Linforth (1879-1976)', *The Classical Journal*, 73, 1, (1977), 50-55, 53. For more information on Linforth see 'Edelstein as a Collaborator'.

<sup>15</sup> Henry Sigerist from Pura to Ludwig Edelstein in Seattle 23 April 1948 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>16</sup> Lewis Weed to Ludwig Edelstein in Seattle 25 May 1948 [*Baltimore (1)*: Lewis Weed Papers, Folder 30].

<sup>17</sup> Committee on Privilege and Tenure (Northern Section), 'Report to the President of the University of California, June 13, 1950, Appendix Committee on Privilege and Tenure (Northern Section) Report to the President of the University of California In Pursuance of the Resolution of the Regents of the University of California adopted April 21, 1950', 10, accessed on: <http://content.cdlib.org/view?docId=hb0m3nb37s;NAAN=13030&doc.view=frames&chunk.id=div00010&toc.depth=1&toc.id=div00005&brand=lo&query=Ludwig%20Edelstein> 03/05/2012.

principles and academic freedom, and eventually result in Edelstein's dismissal from the university.

The main purpose of this chapter is to reflect upon how the oath influenced Edelstein's life, whilst also considering his role as a non-signer. To investigate this issue it will use Edelstein's correspondence as the primary source material, supplementing this with other sources including newspaper and magazine articles, pamphlets, and the secondary literature on the controversy. This chapter will study the course of events which led up to the proposal of the oath and the years of the controversy, and consider how they affected Edelstein both at the time and in subsequent years. First, I will examine how the oath materialised and the different stages of the 'California Oath Controversy', before considering the ensuing court case and trials. This will be followed by sections on the motives of the non-signers and the Regents in the controversy, and on hostility and support for the non-signers. Finally, I will examine the effects of the oath on Edelstein and those close to him. Through the use of Edelstein's correspondence, I will also question some of the current historiography on the oath controversy. Throughout the literature on the controversy there are only a few brief references to Edelstein and his part in it.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, this chapter will also provide valuable new information on this subject. I will argue that this episode was one of vital importance to Edelstein, which affected his life and work significantly.

## **2.2 The Adoption of the Loyalty Oath**

At the time of Edelstein's appointment at Berkeley it had been a number of years since Hitler's defeat. However, the US was now involved in a very different kind of conflict, the Cold War. Fascism was no longer the main concern; instead it was its alleged ideological opposite communism that was considered to be a deadly contagion which had to be unveiled and eradicated. A number of events related to this national concern pre-empted the proposal of the loyalty oath at the University of California. In January 1949, the Tenney Committee introduced a bill allowing the legislature, instead of the university's Board of Regents, power to evaluate the loyalty of the university's employees.<sup>19</sup> This bill together with other

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<sup>18</sup> B. Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism: To sign or not to sign California's loyalty oath* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 147, 153, 203, 207-208, 216, 138-139; D. P. Gardner, *The California Oath Controversy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 208, 252, 265, 267; N. K. Innis, 'Lessons from the Controversy over the Loyalty Oath at the University of California', *Minerva*, 30, 3, (1992), 337-365, 357, 359; J. D. Jackson, 'Panofsky Agonistes: The 1950 Loyalty Oath at Berkeley', *Physics Today*, 62, 1, (2009) 41-47, 44-45.

<sup>19</sup> K. Schuparra, *Triumph of the Right: The rise of the California conservative movement, 1945-1966* (London and New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1998), 12.

significant events led to the instigation of the oath.<sup>20</sup> One of these events was the appearance of Herbert Philips,<sup>21</sup> recently dismissed from the University of Washington due to membership in the Communist Party, on the Los Angeles campus of the University of California.<sup>22</sup> Only graduate students and faculty were allowed to attend his debate, causing protest.<sup>23</sup> The second was the withdrawal of an invitation to Harold Laski,<sup>24</sup> member of the British Labour Party and past admirer of the Soviet Union,<sup>25</sup> to deliver lectures on campus, which made front page news in the national press.<sup>26</sup> Both these events and their coverage in the press alarmed the Regents, and they were discussed in their meeting of 25 March 1949.

It was in this meeting that the loyalty oath was first proposed. It was physically produced by the university's comptroller James Corley, before being presented by the university's President,<sup>27</sup> Robert Gordon Sproul.<sup>28</sup> The Regents were receptive towards the oath,<sup>29</sup> and it was passed unanimously.<sup>30</sup> The timing of these events was significant – the oath was not proposed while the press were present, only Sproul, the Regents, and the Secretary of the Regents were in the room at the time.<sup>31</sup> The faculty did not hear anything about the decisions made at this meeting until a notice appeared in the May faculty bulletin, which announced that acceptance letters for 1949-50 would also contain a new oath which had to be signed in order for salary cheques to be released.<sup>32</sup> Hence, by the time the wording of the oath was made public it was the end of the academic year, causing some to believe it had been

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<sup>20</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 10.

<sup>21</sup> There is little biographical information available on Philips, save he had worked at the University of Washington for twenty years and was Assistant Professor of Philosophy with tenure at the time he was fired. See N. Wick, 'Fifty Years Ago, a Hearing on "Un-American" Activities Tore the UW Campus Apart, Setting a Precedent for Faculty Firings across Academe', accessed on: <https://www.washington.edu/alumni/columns/dec97/red1.html> 17/5/14.

<sup>22</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 21.

<sup>23</sup> V. A. Stadtman, *The University of California, 1868-1968: A centennial publication of the University of California* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), 323.

<sup>24</sup> For biographical information, see G. D. Best, *Harold Laski and American Liberalism* (New Brunswick: Transaction Press, 2005); I. Kramnick and B. Sheerman, *Harold Laski: A life on the left* (Allen Lane: Penguin Press, 1993); M. Newman, *Harold Laski: A political biography* (London: Macmillan, 1993).

<sup>25</sup> Innis, 'Lessons from the Controversy', 338.

<sup>26</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 61.

<sup>27</sup> C. Kerr, *The Gold and the Blue: A personal memoir of the University of California, 1949-1967*, Vol. II: *Political Turmoil* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 30.

<sup>28</sup> Robert Gordon Sproul (1891-1975) was the eleventh President of the University of California, and held this position for twenty eight years: W. D. Hand, 'Robert Gordon Sproul (1891-1975)', *Western Folklore*, 35, 1, (1976), 46. For further biographical information, see G. Pettitt, *Twenty-eight Years in the Life of a University President* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

<sup>29</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 27.

<sup>30</sup> Kerr, *Gold and the Blue*, Vol. II, 30.

<sup>31</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 24-27.

<sup>32</sup> G. Stewart, *The Year of the Oath* (New York: Doubleday and Company Inc, 1950), 28.

orchestrated in this manner to minimize faculty resistance, causing bitterness and distrust.<sup>33</sup> The poor timing of the Regents' decisions would be a recurring event throughout the controversy, and Edelstein would later curse their delay with decision making as a 'devilish trick'.<sup>34</sup> However, Sproul did not realise the importance of this first misjudged timing, nor did he even consider the harmfulness of the oath itself. David Gardner contends that Sproul thought that the oath would solve several issues, and did not contemplate that it would actually cause much greater difficulties.<sup>35</sup> This was a tactical decision aimed at confirming public confidence in the university during a period of insecurity about communism, and alleviating internal tensions.<sup>36</sup> It was also supposed that the oath would help prevent outside interference into the university's business. As David Cate depicts it, it was the inoculation principle – a small dose of the germ in order to avoid the greater disease.<sup>37</sup> However, the prediction of the oath's ability to lessen strains turned out to be misguided, and the oath created greater tension than had existed before. The events which made up 'The California Oath Controversy' must now be examined in order to determine how a supposedly innocuous oath created such a colossal struggle between the non-signers and those who proposed it. The events must first be known before Edelstein's role in them can be understood.

### 2.3 The Oath Controversy at the University of California

There is no need to tread in minute detail the well-worn path of the chronology of events which constituted 'The California Oath Controversy'. Sufficient narrative has already been provided; particularly in the two major works on the oath, David Gardner's *The California Oath Controversy*, and Bob Blauner's *Resisting McCarthyism*. These scholars had connections with the University of California; the former obtained two graduate degrees and served on the faculty and the administration on the Santa Barbara Campus,<sup>38</sup> and the latter was a graduate student there before later obtaining a teaching position.<sup>39</sup> Despite this similarity, these two works take very different approaches to the controversy. Gardner's bias

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<sup>33</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 30.

<sup>34</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Eric Dodds 29 May 1950 [*Oxford: Dodds Papers*].

<sup>35</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 29.

<sup>36</sup> D. P. Gardner, 'By Oath and Association: The California Folly', *The Journal of Higher Education*, 40, 2, (1969), 122-134, 128.

<sup>37</sup> D. Cate, *The Great Fear: The anti-Communist purge under Truman and Eisenhower* (London: Secker and Warburg: 1978), 422.

<sup>38</sup> C. Bell, 'The California Oath Controversy by David P. Gardner', *The Western Political Quarterly*, 20, 4, (1967), 994-995, 994.

<sup>39</sup> G. Glendzel, 'Resisting McCarthyism: To Sign or to not Sign California's loyalty oath by Bob Blauner', *California Legal History*, 2, (2010), 349-358, 352.



is apparent throughout his work, leading to a negative and partisan view of the time.<sup>40</sup> Blauner, although at times over-dramatizing events, adds zest to the factual record through his use of wider source material such as oral histories and letters, and gives a more balanced view. However, although both these works provide detail on the events, a brief summary must still be given here in order to engender subsequent insight on the controversy and to benefit those unfamiliar with the literature.

Following the announcement of the oath, meetings of the Northern and Southern Academic Senate of the University of California were arranged to discuss the issue. Although some signed the oath without qualms, others like Edelstein were more cautious. It was at a special meeting of the Academic Senate at Berkeley on the 14 June 1949 that Edward Chace Tolman (1886-1959), Professor of Psychology, who had been at the university since 1918,<sup>41</sup> and Ernst Kantorowicz (1895-1963), an outstanding intellectual and medieval historian,<sup>42</sup> first rose in opposition to the oath. Kantorowicz was a friend of the Edelsteins and also a key figure amongst the non-signers from the very beginning; he even published a short text on the controversy in the heat of the dispute entitled, *The Fundamental Issue*.<sup>43</sup> In this work, Kantorowicz aimed to highlight the main aspects and problems of the controversy. The text also contained his speech from the meeting of the 14 June.<sup>44</sup> It was in this same meeting that Tolman made a speech in which he proposed that the oath be deleted.<sup>45</sup> However, his motion failed to gain full support, and only after a lengthy debate was a compromise reached wherein the Senate decided to make the ambiguous request of either deletion or amendment of the oath.<sup>46</sup> On 24 June 1949 the Board of Regents did vote to modify the oath, however, this

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<sup>40</sup> V. Bullough, 'The California Oath Controversy by David Gardner', *Pacific Historical Review*, 37, 1, (1968), 114-116, 114.

<sup>41</sup> On Tolman, see R. Crutchfield, D. Krech, and R. Tryon, 'Edward Chace Tolman: A Life of Scientific and Social Purpose', *Science*, N.S., 131, 3402, (1960), 714-716, 714.

<sup>42</sup> For biographical data on Ernst Kantorowicz, see R. L. Benson and J. Fried (eds.), *Ernst Kantorowicz: Erträge der Doppeltagung/ Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton; Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt*, Frankfurtische Historische Abhandlungen 39 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997); A. Boureau, *Kantorowicz: Stories of a historian* trans. by S. Nichols and G. Spiegel (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); A. R. Evans, *On Four Modern Humanists: Hofmannsthal, Gundolf, Curtius, Kantorowicz* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 156-192. One of Kantorowicz's most renowned works was *The King's Two Bodies: A study in mediaeval political theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957). Other highly important works include *Frederick the Second, 1194-1250* (New York: Ungar Pub.Co, 1931) and *Laudes Regiae: A study in liturgical acclamations and mediaeval ruler worship* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1946). A full list of publications can be found on R. E. Giesey, 'Ernst H. Kantorowicz Bibliography of Writings', accessed on: <http://www.regiesey.com/Ekaica/eka-bibliography.pdf> 17/05/2014.

<sup>43</sup> E. H. Kantorowicz, *The Fundamental Issue: Documents and marginal notes on the University of California loyalty oath* (San Francisco: Parker Printing Company, 1950).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, 4.

<sup>45</sup> Innis, 'Lessons from the Controversy', 339-340.

<sup>46</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 37.

change was far from positive; whereas previously the oath required the faculty to swear that they were not a member of any party or organisation which believed, advocated, or taught the overthrow of the United States government, the new oath contained an explicit prohibition of communist party membership.<sup>47</sup> Tolman and his supporters agreed that this oath was even more atrocious than the original,<sup>48</sup> and at this stage Edelstein could still speak of the opposition as being ‘strong and outspoken’.<sup>49</sup> The oath was then mailed to staff in mid-July with instructions that it must be signed, notarized, and returned by 1 October.<sup>50</sup>

The next major event occurred at a meeting of the Academic Senate on the 10 October 1949 when a resolution from Jacobus tenBroek was announced,<sup>51</sup> which, in effect, affirmed the right of the faculty to govern itself.<sup>52</sup> Although not initially passed on this date, it was accepted in November 1949.<sup>53</sup> The resolution was particularly important as it directly challenged the Regents’ authority over academic staff,<sup>54</sup> and upset those who had previously voted the resolution down.<sup>55</sup> The next step for the faculty was the organisation of the Davisson-Grant committee, which tried to work with Regent John Francis Neylan,<sup>56</sup> in December 1949.<sup>57</sup> Regent Neylan was the oath’s strongest proponent – Edelstein described him as ‘our main enemy’<sup>58</sup> – and his steadfast refusal to back down was one reason why the controversy took so long to resolve. Therefore, by attempting to work with him, the committee aimed to come to a compromise and settle the matter. However, they achieved very little, and so the battle continued.

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<sup>47</sup> Stewart, *Year of the Oath*, 28-30.

<sup>48</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 79.

<sup>49</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 13 July 1949 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>50</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 52.

<sup>51</sup> Not only did Jacobus tenBroek (1911-1968) found the National Federation of the Blind in 1940, but he was also a scholar of constitutional law, a civil rights activist, and a leader in social welfare reform. At the time of the controversy tenBroek was Assistant Professor in the Speech Department at the University of California. See L. Blake, ‘Who was Jacobus tenBroek?’, *Braille Monitor*, 54, 7, (2011), accessed on: <http://www.nfb.org/Images/nfb/Publications/bm/bm11/bm1107/bm110703.htm> 09/10/2012. See also F. Matson, *Blind Justice: Jacobus tenBroek and the vision of equality* (Washington DC: Library of Congress, 2005).

<sup>52</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 91-92.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>54</sup> Innis, ‘Lessons from the Controversy’, 343.

<sup>55</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 92.

<sup>56</sup> John Francis Neylan (1885-1960) was a lawyer, journalist, and political and educational figure who worked as counsel and general advisor for the Hearst chain of newspapers in California. He was appointed to the Board of Regents in 1928 and served for twenty-seven years; during the time of the controversy he was a central figure: The Regents of the University of California, ‘Finding Aid to the John Francis Neylan Papers, circa 1911-1960’, accessed on: <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf0q2n97zs/admin/#bioghist-1.3.4> 09/10/2012.

<sup>57</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 95.

<sup>58</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Eric Dodds 6 August 1950 [*Oxford*: Dodds Papers].

The 24 February 1950 became one of the most significant dates of the controversy when the Regents, by a vote of twelve to six, passed what would later be termed the ‘sign-or-get-out ultimatum’. This move, proposed by Neylan, ordered that any individual who had not signed the oath by 30 April 1950 would be terminated from the university at the end of the academic year.<sup>59</sup> Unsurprisingly, faculty members were outraged by this decision, and a committee of seven was set up in February 1950 to oppose the board’s position.<sup>60</sup> This committee also conducted a mail ballot in which it was revealed that the majority of UC faculty opposed the employment of communists by the university.<sup>61</sup> The difference in opinion in this matter only intensified tensions which had developed within the faculty by this stage, and Edelstein noted that these differences contributed to the failure of the faculty to resolve the situation.<sup>62</sup> However, the committee did little in the way of actually solving the problem. The Regents still did not withdraw the oath, causing a loss of faith in the committee, and meaning it was down to the Alumni Association to step in and devise a compromise for the Regents.<sup>63</sup> The Association met with various Regents, faculty, alumni, and Sproul in order to work out a viable agreement.<sup>64</sup> On 21 April 1950, the Regents did accept the compromise which the Association proposed. However, in reality this meant very little, for although the Regents rescinded the special oath the words were simply transferred to the annual contract.<sup>65</sup> Edelstein recognised the insignificance of this move, as for him there was no difference between swearing against communism in a special declaration or in an annual contract.<sup>66</sup> The compromise did have another result, however, for in lieu of signing it allowed the non-signers to submit to a hearing before the Committee on Privilege and Tenure, subsequent to review by the President and Board of Regents.<sup>67</sup> For although by this date the vast majority of the faculty had signed the oath,<sup>68</sup> Edelstein and a number of others still refused.

From the 16 May to the 9 June the Committee held these hearings,<sup>69</sup> and as a result only six employees did not get a recommendation to be retained.<sup>70</sup> The group interviewed

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<sup>59</sup> Innis, ‘Lessons from the Controversy’, 344.

<sup>60</sup> Kerr, *Gold and the Blue*, Vol. II, 32.

<sup>61</sup> S. Finacom, ‘Timeline: Summary of events of the Loyalty Oath Controversy 1949-54’, accessed on: [http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/uchistory/archives\\_exhibits/loyaltyoath/symposium/timeline/short.html](http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/uchistory/archives_exhibits/loyaltyoath/symposium/timeline/short.html) 20/08/2012.

<sup>62</sup> Ludwig Edelstein [from Berkeley] to Eric Dodds 6 April 1950 [*Oxford: Dodds Papers*].

<sup>63</sup> Kerr, *Gold and the Blue*, Vol. II, 32.

<sup>64</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 123.

<sup>65</sup> Stewart, *Year of the Oath*, 131.

<sup>66</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Eric Dodds 29 May 1950 [*Oxford: Dodds Papers*].

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 122.

<sup>69</sup> Committee on Privilege and Tenure (Northern Section), ‘Report to the President of the University dated June 15, 1950 University of California, Berkeley for the Information of the Faculty Part I’, 2, accessed on:

included a range of people from twenty seven areas of instruction with an average age of forty-three point two years, which Edelstein was above at forty-eight years old.<sup>71</sup> His own hearing was on the 17 May and lasted for fifty minutes; the Committee tried to make him admit he was not a communist, but instead he discussed why signing the oath was completely incompatible with his role as a teacher and scholar.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, he convinced the Committee that he was not a member of the Communist Party and was completely sincere in his devotion to democratic principles; therefore, they recommended the continuation of his employment.<sup>73</sup> The Regents were not happy with the results of these hearings, however, as they were concerned about the large numbers recommended to stay on, feeling that this could encourage others not to sign in following years.<sup>74</sup>

The outbreak of war in Korea on the 25 June then aggravated the situation as it narrowed public tolerance of political dissent and communism further,<sup>75</sup> placing more pressure on the Regents, and diminishing support for the non-signers. Blauner reports that subsequent to this event those holding out were subjected to insults which painted them as unpatriotic and disloyal.<sup>76</sup> Regardless, a group of non-signers remained determined, and although they had been meeting on a less formal basis since June 1949,<sup>77</sup> on the 6 July 1950 they formally organized the Group for Academic Freedom in order to strengthen their position.<sup>78</sup> This group was formed to provide employment and financial assistance to the non-signers, to promote their cause outside of the university, and to work with other groups with similar objectives.<sup>79</sup> Edelstein was a member of this group, and later Vice-Chairman.<sup>80</sup>

Although the Regents had been concerned about the report of the Committee on Privilege and Tenure, initially, in the meeting of the 21 July, the reports were accepted.<sup>81</sup>

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[http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb3r29p2kr/?query=committee of privilege and tenure&brand=calisphere](http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb3r29p2kr/?query=committee%20of%20privilege%20and%20tenure&brand=calisphere)  
24/10/2012.

<sup>70</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Eric Dodds 6 August 1950 [*Oxford: Dodds Papers*].

<sup>71</sup> Committee on Privilege and Tenure (Northern Section), 'Report to the President of the University of California, June 13, 1950', 3.

<sup>72</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Eric Dodds 29 May 1950 [*Oxford: Dodds Papers*].

<sup>73</sup> Committee on Privilege and Tenure (Northern Section) 'Report to the President of the University of California, June 13, 1950', 11.

<sup>74</sup> Stadtman, *University of California*, 334.

<sup>75</sup> R. M. Fried, *Nightmare in Red: The McCarthy era in perspective* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 113.

<sup>76</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 169-170.

<sup>77</sup> Innis, 'Lessons from the Controversy', 342.

<sup>78</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 171.

<sup>79</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 183.

<sup>80</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Wendell Stanley in Berkeley 16 April 1951, accessed on: <http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb2z09p1dp/?&query=Ludwig%20Edelstein/&query-join=or&brand=lo> 03/05/2012.

<sup>81</sup> Kerr, *Gold and the Blue*, Vol. II, 33.

However, in a tactical move Regent Neylan changed his vote, which led to reconsideration in the next meeting in August in which the motion was reversed, and by a vote of twelve to ten it was decided that all remaining thirty one non-signers were to be dismissed.<sup>82</sup> Edelstein later reported to Sigerist how the Tenure Committee had first recommended him before he was later dismissed for insubordination.<sup>83</sup> Sigerist was disgusted at this ‘primitive’ cause for dismissal but commended Edelstein for his part in the defence of academic freedom.<sup>84</sup> Edelstein and Sigerist understood the real reason for the former’s dismissal; it was not because they believed him to be a communist, but because he refused to obey the Regents’ order. After months of failed compromises and attempts at a resolution, Edelstein and the other non-signers had finally lost their battle with the worst possible outcome. However, they were not willing to succumb easily, and so they pursued legal action.

#### **2.4 Academic Freedom on Trial: The Lecturers Litigate**

Edelstein and the Group for Academic Freedom organized legal support for the non-signers. Such assistance was not easy to obtain as few firms were sympathetic to the cause.<sup>85</sup> Nevertheless, they eventually found a lawyer willing to help. This was Stanley Weigel (1905-1999), who was educated at Stanford University and Law School and had practiced law for two years before becoming a partner in the firm of Landels, Weigel & Ripley.<sup>86</sup> Still, despite Weigel’s willingness to take on the non-signers’ case, he had to do so as an individual as his firm would not support it.<sup>87</sup> Blauner also expresses surprise at Weigel’s acceptance of the case, as in the beginning he held a pessimistic view of the outcome,<sup>88</sup> stating that the chance of winning was less than one in three.<sup>89</sup> Nonetheless, he worked hard on the case. Nancy Innis argues that the success of the non-signers was greatly due to Weigel and his skill and intelligence in the court room.<sup>90</sup> For their defence the Regents hired the firm Pillsbury, Madison, and Sutro as special counsel, and acted through the lawyer Gene Prince.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist in Pura 29 October 1950 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>84</sup> Henry Sigerist from Pura to Ludwig Edelstein 13 November 1950 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>85</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 184.

<sup>86</sup> S. A. Weigel, *Litigator and Federal Judge*, Interview conducted by William Fletcher in 1989 ed. by the Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library (Berkeley: University of California, 2000), iv-v.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>88</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 171.

<sup>89</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 191.

<sup>90</sup> Innis, ‘Lessons from the Oath Controversy’, 350.

<sup>91</sup> Weigel, *Litigator and Federal Judge*, 52.

On the 31 August 1950, Weigel filed a petition with the Third District Court of Appeal.<sup>92</sup> Then, on the 6 April 1951, the court handed down a unanimous decision in favour of the non-signers.<sup>93</sup> The basis for this decision was that members of the faculty could not be subject to any narrower test of loyalty than that already prescribed by the state-wide constitutional oath, and so the Regents were ordered to issue letters of appointment to the non-signers for the next academic year.<sup>94</sup> Although the non-signers celebrated this decision with Edelstein hailing ‘a country where such a decision is still possible’,<sup>95</sup> this was not to be the end of the matter. The Regents were unwilling to accept the decision and so brought the case to the California Supreme Court. This was not done by the board as a whole who voted eleven to ten not to take the case to the Supreme Court, but by individual Regents determined to see the case through.<sup>96</sup> However, this still meant that the decision of the District Court of Appeal was no longer relevant. The Regents did not have to reappoint the non-signers, and indeed they did not.<sup>97</sup> Nevertheless, ultimately this move proved futile, as on the 17 October 1952, the Supreme Court handed down its decision also in support of the non-signers.<sup>98</sup> However, this decision was not based on principles of academic tenure and freedom, or the wrong-doing of the Regents, but on the fact that the new state wide Levering Oath now superseded the Regents’ one.<sup>99</sup> Weigel had actually used the argument that the oath infringed the non-signers’ legal rights as his main argument, and although he spoke of academic freedom and injustice,<sup>100</sup> he also focused on the oath as a violation of the constitution of California throughout the various court cases.<sup>101</sup> Later, he would also lament to Edelstein that the principles which had underlain the non-signers’ fight had not been fully vindicated.<sup>102</sup>

This result still did not end the trouble, however, for the issue of severance pay needed to be resolved. After this final victory the Regents had been ordered to reinstate the professors, but five, including Edelstein, resigned instead and so were entitled to a year’s

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<sup>92</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 204.

<sup>93</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 202.

<sup>94</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 230.

<sup>95</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 203.

<sup>96</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 232.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 214.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> E. C. Tolman, S. A. Weigel et al., *In the District Court of Appeal, State of California, Third Appellate District: Edward C. Tolman, et al., petitioners, vs. Robert M. Underhill, as secretary and treasurer of the Regents of the University of California, et al., respondents: petitioners' reply brief, November 10, 1950* (San Francisco: Parker Printing Company, 1950), Appendix A, 1.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>102</sup> Stanley Weigel from San Francisco to Ludwig Edelstein in Oxford 29 June 1953 [*Berkeley*: Tolman Collection, C.B 1036, Box 1, Folder Weigel Stanley].

severance pay as promised by the Regents.<sup>103</sup> However, by the 25 June 1953, Edelstein had still not received this money,<sup>104</sup> and so he and his fellow resigners joined the other sixteen who were reinstated but still owed back pay, in filing suits against the Regents in the Sacramento Superior Court on the 25 February 1954.<sup>105</sup> Weigel also hoped that along with obtaining their money, this case would offer the non-signers another opportunity to gain public understanding of their cause and the inroads which they believed were being made into academic freedom.<sup>106</sup>

The failure of the Regents to honour their promise caused Edelstein concern, as he needed to pay back the money he had borrowed in 1950/1 to cover his lack of salary, and also required funds to resettle.<sup>107</sup> However, in December 1954 a settlement was actually worked out by the Regents for the five non-signers now teaching at other universities, and so their court case was dropped.<sup>108</sup> Edelstein received \$8,186.39 in severance pay, the second highest amount after Kantorowicz.<sup>109</sup> The cases of those who remained at the University of California however, remained pending. Finally, in March 1956, after a long battle a settlement was reached wherein the other sixteen non-signers received credit towards sabbatical leave and pension rights, and a financial settlement for their interrupted salaries.<sup>110</sup> What started out as a risky venture for Weigel became a defining public event for him,<sup>111</sup> no doubt helping to propel his career and contributing to his later success.

Edelstein's battle against the oath consumed five years of his life, a significant period. At the beginning he had to battle with the Regents against the oath, and when this was lost continue the fight in the court room. Despite Weigel and the non-signers' concerns that they had not been able to fully translate their fight for academic freedom, they did eventually succeed against the oath. This oath, which Sproul had considered completely harmless, had ballooned into a mammoth controversy and monopolized the lives of those involved. The

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<sup>103</sup> Newspaper Statement 14 December 1954 [*Berkeley*: Tolman Collection, C.B 1036, Box 1, Folder Weigel Stanley].

<sup>104</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Oxford to Stanley Weigel in San Francisco 25 June 1953 [*Berkeley*: Tolman Collection, C.B 1036, Box 1, Folder Edelstein Ludwig].

<sup>105</sup> Newspaper Statement 14 December 1954 [*Berkeley*: Tolman Collection, C.B 1036, Box 1, Folder Weigel Stanley].

<sup>106</sup> Stanley Weigel from San Francisco to Ludwig Edelstein in Oxford 29 June 1953 [*Berkeley*: Tolman Collection, C.B 1036, Box 1, Folder Weigel Stanley].

<sup>107</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Oxford to Stanley Weigel in San Francisco 25 June 1953 [*Berkeley*: Tolman Collection, C.B 1036, Box 1, Folder Edelstein Ludwig].

<sup>108</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 217.

<sup>109</sup> Newspaper Statement, 14 December 1954 [*Berkeley*: Tolman Collection, C.B 1036, Box 1, Folder Weigel Stanley].

<sup>110</sup> Stadtman, *University of California*, 337-338.

<sup>111</sup> Weigel, *Litigator and Federal Judge*, v.

fight of the non-signers was no easy task, taking up time, financial resources, and physical and emotional strength. The easy option on both sides would have been to back down, therefore, the motives behind the non-signers' and the Regents' decision to keep fighting must have been of the greatest importance to them. I will now examine what Edelstein's motives were, and how these aligned with the drives of the other figures involved in the controversy.

## 2.5 Edelstein, the Non-Signers, and the Regents' Motives

The most vital reason Edelstein had for refusing to sign the oath was his view that it constituted a political test which was irreconcilable with his obligations as a teacher and scholar.<sup>112</sup> This was further stated in a letter to Sigerist, wherein Edelstein commented that he could not teach if it was suspected that the knowledge he was imparting was given as a condition of his employment,<sup>113</sup> and also in a conversation with Sproul in which he related how he would be dishonoured in his students' eyes if he signed, that it was his duty to his students not to compromise his freedom.<sup>114</sup> To have signed the oath would have meant going against one of Edelstein's most important moral commitments: the search for veracity. Edelstein informed Sigerist that '[w]hat I tell my students, is the truth according to my best knowledge and conscience, and to tell them the truth is my only obligation'.<sup>115</sup> Connected to these reasons were his thoughts that the oath was out of place in academic life. Edelstein informed the Committee on Privilege and Tenure that the effectiveness of his teaching on subjects such as the current Marxist interpretations of Aristotle and Plato and the history of science in ancient Greece,<sup>116</sup> would be lost if he subscribed to the oath for the sake of salary and position.<sup>117</sup> Furthermore, he felt signing would contribute to the cynicism of students who believed teaching was 'nothing but indoctrination',<sup>118</sup> a cynicism which he aimed to combat. Edelstein was not just fighting for himself but also for his students. His teaching was clearly vitally important to him for he was willing to risk everything for it. Other non-signers

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<sup>112</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Eric Dodds 29 May 1950 [*Oxford*: Dodds Papers].

<sup>113</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist in Pura 29 October 1950 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>114</sup> R. G. Sproul, 'Excerpts from the Loyalty Oath Memos of Robert G. Sproul, April 15-June 26 1950', 213, accessed on: <http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb2q2nb5q8/?&query=Ludwig%20Edelstein&query-join=or&brand=lo>, 03/05/2012.

<sup>115</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist in Pura 29 October 1950 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410] (Translated from German).

<sup>116</sup> It is likely that the interpretations of which Edelstein speaks were from B. Farrington, *Greek Science: Its meaning for us* (Hammondsworth: Penguin Books, 1949).

<sup>117</sup> Committee on Privilege and Tenure (Northern Section), 'Report to the President, June 13, 1950', 10.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*



also shared this view. In the pamphlet 'To Bring you the Facts' it is stated that signing would imperil a teacher's duties and cause the loss of students' faith.<sup>119</sup> Furthermore, some felt that they held a special position as professors in a university, now threatened by the oath. In his oral history, Charles Muscatine, who in 1949 was assistant professor in the English Department, claimed one reason he did not sign the oath was because he felt it to be unconstitutional and 'un-American', and also an insult to the gown.<sup>120</sup> This reflects the thoughts of Kantorowicz who felt insulted that the Regents implied scholars were simply a marketable labour force.<sup>121</sup> Kantorowicz's conviction and conscience refused to allow the buying and selling of academic positions and dignity.<sup>122</sup>

Edelstein's strong stance against the oath and his belief in not compromising his freedom could also have been related to his humanism.<sup>123</sup> As he wrote in his Phi Beta Kappa address, '[t]he ability to say *no* to the moment constitutes our humanity, and for the rationalist, it is the gift of reason.'<sup>124</sup> Edelstein was not willing to accept the maxim that events are inevitable, and was certain that 'we cannot escape our responsibility for the events that take place'.<sup>125</sup> It was his responsibility to say no to an oath which he considered to be illegitimate and dangerous. The German form of humanism which had descended from classical antiquity, and which Edelstein subscribed to, considered that since men were endowed with reason, they were able to act as individuals and demonstrate free and responsible conduct.<sup>126</sup> Therefore, even with pressure from others to sign Edelstein would not change his mind; he had a strong foundation of belief and had to act according to his principles.

Another important reason Edelstein had for refusing to sign was that due to his experiences under the Nazis, he could not sign an oath involving a political test.<sup>127</sup> Again, Edelstein was not alone in holding these views. In his speech given to the Academic Senate in June 1949, Kantorowicz alluded to how his experience in Nazi Germany may have caused

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<sup>119</sup> 'To Bring you the Facts' [*New York (1): Pamphlets Describing Oath at University and Controversy*, 1/16, 10-11].

<sup>120</sup> C. Muscatine, *The Loyalty Oath, the Free Speech Movement, and Education Reforms at the University of California, Berkeley*, Interview by Germaine LaBerge in 2000 ed. by the Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library (Berkeley: The University of California, 2004), 17.

<sup>121</sup> Kantorowicz, *Fundamental Issue*, 20.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>123</sup> For a fuller exploration of Edelstein and Humanism see 'Edelstein as a Humanist and Teacher'.

<sup>124</sup> L. Edelstein, 'Philosophy the Pilot of Life', *The Rockefeller University Review*, 3, (1965), 7-17, 12.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>126</sup> W. von Leyden, *Growing up in the Weimar Republic 1918-1933: Reflections on personal identity and the past* (New York: Vantage Press, 1984), 60.

<sup>127</sup> Sproul, 'Excerpts', 213.

a particular sensitivity for similar situations.<sup>128</sup> He felt that the imposition of the oath was akin to the control and oppression of the Nazi regime, and would not stand for it.<sup>129</sup> The oath had been a tool used by Hitler to secure loyalty to his regime. In his research on oaths throughout history, undertaken for his pamphlet on *The Fundamental Issue*, Kantorowicz noted the oaths introduced by Hitler after he became Chancellor, and after Hindenburg's death.<sup>130</sup> As well as introducing an oath for the army which required them to swear fealty to Hitler as commander-in-chief, an oath was also introduced for all officials, including university professors. It read:

Ich schwöre: Ich werde dem Führer des Deutschen Reiches und Volkes, Adolf Hitler, treu und gehorsam sein, die Gesetze beachten und meine Amtspflichten gewissenhaft erfüllen, so wahr mir Gott helfe.<sup>131</sup>

Oaths were not all innocuous and, as in Nazi Germany, could be used to control and persecute, and to excuse immoral behaviour. Edelstein and the other emigrants were fearful of any hint of this kind of persecution in their new found homes, and the oath constituted more than just a hint. Behind an oath which masqueraded itself as innocent those who had suffered through Nazi Germany could perceive a more sinister meaning, and this was one motive for not signing. An oath may start out as harmless but little by little transforms into an instrument of subjugation.<sup>132</sup> The emigrants from Germany had witnessed how seemingly inoffensive measures like oaths had then led to harsher and crueller methods. As Michael Burleigh states, '[t]he mass murder of the Jews evolved, not in a simple, linear way, but as a result of blockages and stoppages, options denied and opportunities seized upon'.<sup>133</sup> Here, we see that Edelstein's past experiences were still vital in his decision-making and values, and can help us to understand his strong position against the signing of the oath. Having been persecuted by the Nazis he was suspicious of the oath for the demands on his freedom which it had no right to make. Furthermore, it is likely that if this group had not been at California, resistance would not have been so strong. Blauner argues that these European emigrants formed a crucial part of the resistance group at Berkeley,<sup>134</sup> and Eric Dodds<sup>135</sup> also

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<sup>128</sup> Kantorowicz, *Fundamental Issue*, 1.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> [New York (1): Statements, Correspondence, Newsclippings RE: Oath Controversy 1949-51, Cal, 1/14].

<sup>131</sup> I swear: I will be faithful and obedient to the leader of the German Reich and people, observe the law, and perform my official duties assiduously, so help me God.

<sup>132</sup> Kantorowicz, *Fundamental Issue*, 5.

<sup>133</sup> M. Burleigh, *The Third Reich: A new history* (London: Pan Macmillan, 2000), 572.

<sup>134</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 141.

<sup>135</sup> Edelstein had met Dodds when the latter went to California to give the Sather lectures in autumn 1949: Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Eric Dodds 6 August 1950 [*Oxford*: Dodds papers]. The content of these

remembered how some of the most serious and moving voices in the group of non-signers were those like the one of his friend Edelstein, who ‘had not fled fascism in Europe to compromise with its American counterpart.’<sup>136</sup>

Academic tenure and freedom was another key issue for Edelstein. It was his opinion that principles of freedom must be defended passionately for oneself and for future generations.<sup>137</sup> In the German system, tenure was thought of as a chair, and a professor with a chair was situated at the height of society.<sup>138</sup> Therefore, German scholars like Edelstein may have found the situation at California even harder to accept, as not only was tenure in America just a permanence of appointment granted by a department,<sup>139</sup> but, at California, something which seemed to have no value or protection. However, the German scholars were not the only ones angered by these infringements on their rights. In *The Year of the Oath* it is claimed, rather intensely, that self-seeking careerists were ‘driving ruthlessly against academic freedom’, and the impression one gains from reading it is that for the writers of the book this really was the dominant issue.<sup>140</sup> In a letter to President Sproul from the 18 July 1950, Tolman also stated:

The one basic issue is and has always been academic freedom - freedom to teach the truth in good conscience and without fear.<sup>141</sup>

Academic freedom was clearly a matter of vital importance for Tolman, as it was for Edelstein, and this issue only intensified after the ‘sign-or-get-out’ ultimatum. If not before, it was now clear that principles of academic freedom and tenure were being violated, and this was something the non-signers would not accept.

It has been argued that as the controversy continued, the faculty became less concerned with principles, and more troubled about the governance of the university, that a power struggle became the main concern.<sup>142</sup> However, although this may have been the case for some of the non-signers, for Edelstein it genuinely does not appear to have been a vital

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lectures formed his work *The Greeks and the Irrational* which Edelstein aided in editing. See E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951), vii-ix. For biographical literature on Dodds see ‘Introduction’.

<sup>136</sup> Dodds, *Missing Persons*, 183.

<sup>137</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist in Pura 29 October 1950 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>138</sup> Boureau, *Kantorowicz*, 85.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>140</sup> Stewart, *Year of the Oath*, 54. Although this book was published under Stewart’s name it was actually written by a number of other scholars also.

<sup>141</sup> ‘To Bring you the Facts’ [*New York (1)*: Pamphlets Describing Oath at University and Controversy, 1/16], 9.

<sup>142</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 100; L. S. Lewis, *Cold War on Campus: A study of the politics of organizational control* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1988), 199; Gardner, *California Oath*, 1.

reason. Although he wished to fight for his principles, including that of academic freedom, his main reason for not signing did not arise from a desire to hold power over the governance in the university, but from a wish to teach his students fairly. Nevertheless, although this may not have been a central issue for Edelstein, power was important to some non-signers, and it most certainly was for a number of members on the Board of Regents.<sup>143</sup> Gardner argues it was these diverging views on the university's governance which surpassed the communist issue as the foremost inhibitor to a peaceful outcome of the situation.<sup>144</sup> Indeed, in a meeting of the Regents from August 1950 Regent Arthur J. McFadden expressed how 'it is not a question of communism...but one of discipline'.<sup>145</sup> A pamphlet by the Civil Liberties Union of Northern California also argued that the men dismissed were not charged with communism or even disloyalty, but that the real offence was 'disobedience' to a Regent order.<sup>146</sup> Communism was certainly no longer a vital issue for most of the Regents, and only one of them was known to be truly fanatic about it.<sup>147</sup>

However, this was not the only reason for the strong positions adopted by certain Regents. Outside concerns were also a central issue. During 1950 Governor Earl Warren, a member of the Board of Regents, was organizing his campaigns for re-election as the Governor of California. He was one of the Regents who supported the faculty, and the controversy became entangled in this election as one way in which his political opponents demonstrated their opposition was to take the other side and support those Regents who were against the non-signers.<sup>148</sup> Also, despite supporting the non-signers against their loyalty oath, on the 21 September 1950 Warren called a law-making body to create a similar oath for all state employees.<sup>149</sup> This peculiar move makes little sense unless seen as a political decision. At this point Warren needed to demonstrate he was actively combatting the communist issue and heightened Cold War pressures made assaults on communism more of a political necessity than ever before.<sup>150</sup> Edelstein recognised the significance of Warren's election campaign in affecting the university, and the thought that the university had yielded to

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<sup>143</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 108.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>145</sup> J. Caughey, 'A University in Jeopardy', *Harper's Magazine*, 201, 1206, (1950), 68-75, 68.

<sup>146</sup> Alexander Meiklejohn, *Crisis at the University of California II, A Further Statement to the People of California* (The American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California, 1950), which can be found in [*New York (1)*: Pamphlets Describing Oath at University and Controversy, 1/16, 1-2.]

<sup>147</sup> G. Chew, 'Academic Freedom on Trial at the University of California', *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 6, 2, (1950), 333-336, 335.

<sup>148</sup> Stewart, *Year of the Oath*, 54.

<sup>149</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 217.

<sup>150</sup> Schuparra, *Triumph of the Right*, 15.

political influence was a factor in his decision to resign.<sup>151</sup> Splits within the Regents also reflected both differences within Republican Party politics and geographical variances, with the northern Regents being more sympathetic to faculty causes.<sup>152</sup> Some of the southern Regents were also keen to make the Los Angeles branch of the university an entirely separate institution, and as the President was an obstacle to this, they took every opportunity to embarrass and argue against him.<sup>153</sup>

Personal animosities between the Regents and other figures involved in the issue also contributed to the difficulties. Speaking on the controversy, Stewart remarked that '[i]t developed into personal antipathies, some of which never died out'.<sup>154</sup> Hostilities between Sproul and Neylan were a contributing factor to their difference of opinion and steadfast refusal to compromise. In an oral history interview from 1976, Clark Kerr, who also wrote about the oath crisis in his interesting, although at times biased, personal memoirs,<sup>155</sup> stated that Neylan seized the oath controversy in order to command Sproul, and that the controversy cannot be understood without appreciating the conflict between Sproul and the southern Regents, particularly Neylan.<sup>156</sup> Furthermore, at the Loyalty Oath Symposium in 1999 Kerr advanced this view and stated that by the time of the oath Neylan had become a personal enemy of Sproul, and the two men hated one another.<sup>157</sup> Personal tensions also existed between the Regents and faculty. There were those among the Regents who felt the relationship between them and the faculty was one of management and labour,<sup>158</sup> a view which caused Kantorowicz much consternation and anger.<sup>159</sup> This view is not likely to have been welcomed among other faculty members either and may have been particularly insulting to those who had emigrated from central Europe, where the status of the Professoriate was

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<sup>151</sup> Ludwig Edelstein [from Berkeley] to Eric Dodds 6 April 1950 [*Oxford*: Dodds Papers].

<sup>152</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 10.

<sup>153</sup> Chew, 'Academic Freedom on Trial', 336.

<sup>154</sup> G. Stewart, *A Little of Myself*, Interview by Suzanne Riess 1971-1972 ed. by the Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library (Berkeley: University of California, 1972), 185.

<sup>155</sup> Kerr, *The Gold and the Blue*.

<sup>156</sup> C. Kerr, 'University of California Crises: Loyalty Oath and Free Speech Movement', Interview by Amelia Fry 1969, in Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library (ed.), *Earl Warren: Views and episodes: Oral history transcript/ and related material, 1969-1976* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 1-25, 2a.

<sup>157</sup> D. Hollinger, C. Kerr, D. Saxon and D. P. Gardner, 'Panel of UC Presidents, October 7 1999', accessed on: [sunsite.berkeley.edu/~ucalhist/archives\\_exhibits/loyaltyoath/symposium/panel\\_presidents.html](http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/~ucalhist/archives_exhibits/loyaltyoath/symposium/panel_presidents.html) 21/5/2012.

<sup>158</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 109.

<sup>159</sup> Kantorowicz, *Fundamental Issue*, 19-21.

much higher.<sup>160</sup> Blauner also highlights the resentment some faculty members must have felt receiving orders from men who were not scholars, scientists, or intellectuals.<sup>161</sup>

The Cold War provided the backdrop for this controversy, and although it did not materialize as the main focus of the struggle, the uneasiness of the times will have affected some Regents and faculty members.<sup>162</sup> Concern over communism reached its peak during 1949 and 1950, and the state of California was a particular hotbed for this anxiety with worries over communism both in Hollywood and within higher education.<sup>163</sup> 1950 witnessed the occurrence of a number of espionage cases which intensified the political climate in the US and the pressure to sign.<sup>164</sup> In this year a number of other critical events took place. According to Blauner, one of these, the outbreak of the war in Korea, 'changed everything'.<sup>165</sup> Indeed, in the weeks following the war's outbreak the number of non-signers declined rapidly.<sup>166</sup> Therefore, although ultimately communism was not the main concern for most, during the controversy it heightened tensions, made the faculty more willing to sign, and was used by the Regents as an excuse for their behaviour as well as a political tool.

There are a number of different explanations as to why both the Regents and non-signers held on to their positions on the oath. The reasons for not signing were multifaceted and deny one cohesive explanation. The secondary literature depicts a story of how an issue over communism gradually turned into an entirely different kind of problem, with those on both sides fighting over power in the university. Although Gardner mentions that a few people held onto their ideals, he strongly propagates the view that the conflict was really a power struggle, and the idea it concerned principles belongs in the realm of myth.<sup>167</sup> However, in choosing this argument Gardner depicts the conflict in an all too homogenous light. The controversy involved a wide range of people, and casting the struggle as one mainly of power denies the range of reasons people had for continuing in the battle. Although power was an issue for many of those involved, what Gardner and the secondary literature fails to promote adequately is that for some of the non-signers governance was not the greatest issue, and they were more genuinely concerned about protecting their profession and

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<sup>160</sup> L. A. Coser, *Refugee Scholars in America: Their impact and their experiences* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), 4.

<sup>161</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 8.

<sup>162</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 11.

<sup>163</sup> Kerr, *Gold and the Blue*, Vol. II, 27.

<sup>164</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 100.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

<sup>167</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 1.

standing up for their principles. Examining Edelstein's correspondence and his role within the controversy helps to substantiate this argument. At no point in his letters or in the evidence he presented to the Committee does his main concern appear to be the governance of the university, but instead doing what is right for the profession and for his students. Despite having noble reasons for refusing to sign the document however, Edelstein and the other non-signers were not always supported in the stance they took against the oath. I will now analyse examples of both antagonism towards, and support for, the non-signers in order to analyse how Edelstein's opinions on the oath were viewed by his contemporaries, Edelstein's reaction to this, and what aid was given to his cause.

## 2.6 Hostility and Help: Responses to the Actions of Edelstein and the Non-signers

Although Edelstein and the other non-signers did receive some support within the press, for example in student newspapers,<sup>168</sup> and in a feature from *Life Magazine*,<sup>169</sup> on the whole they had to endure a negative reaction. The papers in the area run by the Hearst press – *The San Francisco Examiner*, *The San Francisco Call-Bulletin*, and the *Oakland Post-Enquirer* – all supported the Regents and denounced the faculty as being communist inspired.<sup>170</sup> This is no surprise considering Neylan was a friend of publisher William Randolph Hearst (1863-1951) who ran this conservative chain.<sup>171</sup> The non-signers' version of events was never fully covered in the press,<sup>172</sup> which resulted in a lack of public support and empathy for their cause. Furthermore, they also had to suffer harsh criticism. An editorial from the *San Francisco Examiner* of the 1 August 1950 declared that while America's youth were being conscripted to die fighting 'Communitic barbarism in Korea', at the University of California it was being proposed to accord thirty-nine professors and assistant professors 'the privilege of defying a simple regulation to protect the institution which is engaged in research vital to national defense'.<sup>173</sup> The paper polarised the attitude of the defiant professors against America's war heroes in order to discredit their position and make their battle a triviality. The majority of the general public, therefore, was swept up in the red scare and misinformed by

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<sup>168</sup> In the student papers at Berkeley and UCLA: D. Wilner and F. Fearing, 'The Structure of Opinion: A "Loyalty Oath" Poll', *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 14, 4, (1950-1951), 729-743, and also in other universities' campus newspapers, for example: B. Keith, 'California's Loyalty Oath', *The Michigan Daily*, 14 January 1951, 4.

<sup>169</sup> Anonymous, 'The Regents vs. the Professors', *Life Magazine*, 2 October 1950, 43-46.

<sup>170</sup> S. Lipset, 'Opinion Formation in a Crisis Situation', *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 17, 1, (1953), 20-46, 28.

<sup>171</sup> Innis, 'Lessons from the Controversy', 346.

<sup>172</sup> Gardner, *The California Oath*, 127.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

the press, and so offered little sympathy for the non-signers' cause. This may have contributed to some faculty members giving up the fight.

Not only did the non-signers face criticism from the press, but also from within the university. Gardner's assessment is that by summer 1950 those who held onto their principles and refused to sign were isolated and begrudged by many of their colleagues.<sup>174</sup> He paints a very lonely picture of these academics, claiming that they ended up as objects of resentment and criticism.<sup>175</sup> He also quotes Tolman at a meeting of the non-signers uttering many of the same sentiments – of non-signers facing criticism from their colleagues, some of whom considered them 'stiff-necked malcontents'.<sup>176</sup> In a letter to Dodds, Edelstein also expressed his disappointment at the lack of support from fellow faculty members. He lamented on how 'lethargy is predominant, and people have only one wish, namely to forget the whole business'.<sup>177</sup> However, further insights gained from Edelstein's letters demonstrate that this was not just a time of hardship, but also of collegiality and friendship. In a letter to Tolman from the 28 December 1954, Edelstein voiced how it was a blessing to have been associated with him in the struggle, and despite all the hardship he still treasured the memory of those years, and Tolman's friendship.<sup>178</sup> This was written after the heat of the controversy when Edelstein perhaps had more time to reflect on some of the positives of the struggle, rather than being consumed with all the negativity. The high emotional intensity of their situation meant a close bond developed within the group of non-signers, which was further developed through the Group for Academic Freedom. Muscatine recalled how they all became 'wonderfully close to each other', and that Edelstein was an 'absolutely superb person'.<sup>179</sup>

The non-signers received support from each other, but outsiders also helped them in a variety of ways. Distinguished men expressed their support for the non-signers. The physicists Albert Einstein and Robert Oppenheimer were part of a group from the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton who, after hearing of the dismissal of the non-signers, wrote a letter to the Academic Senate of the University of California to encourage them to unite and

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<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 159. E. W. Schrecker also argues the non-signers were bitter and isolated in *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the universities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 121.

<sup>175</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 247.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., 183.

<sup>177</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Eric Dodds 6 August 1950 [*Oxford*: Dodds papers].

<sup>178</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Edward Tolman 28 December 1954 [*Berkeley*: Tolman Collection, C.B 1036, Box 1, Folder Edelstein Ludwig].

<sup>179</sup> Muscatine, *The Loyalty Oath*, 24.



defend their traditional policies and principles against encroachment.<sup>180</sup> The Chairman of the Classics Department at Berkeley, Louis Mackay (1901-1982), also wrote a letter of protest to Sproul over Edelstein's lack of appointment for 1950-51 wherein he expressed his anger and disbelief that the department may be deprived of one of the 'most esteemed and distinguished' members because of his 'unusually high regard for personal and professional integrity' and belief in 'impartial scholarship and free pursuit of truth'.<sup>181</sup> This demonstrates how valuable an asset Edelstein was to Berkeley, and also that not all those who signed were critical of the non-signers, but some understood the principles behind the decision. Literature was also produced to support the non-signers. Alongside Kantorowicz's pamphlet mentioned above there was a number of others,<sup>182</sup> including *The Year of the Oath*, published under George Stewart's name, which sought to provide a history of the story and explain the reasoning of the non-signers.<sup>183</sup>

Financial assistance was also donated to the non-signers through various faculty committees including that of Chicago, Columbia, Duke, Harvard, Northwestern, and Princeton.<sup>184</sup> Furthermore, such assistance was received from within the university; on the 26 September 1950 Berkeley's Academic Senate urged its members to contribute two per cent of their monthly pay cheques to the non-signers, of which seven hundred members eventually did.<sup>185</sup> Individuals like Dodds also offered contributions to the non-signers' fund.<sup>186</sup> Moreover, not only did Stewart's *The Year of the Oath* help people to understand the non-signers' decisions, but it also helped them financially, for the royalties from this work were given to the non-signers' cause.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> The Professors and Professors emeriti of the Institute for Advanced Study to the Academic Senate of the University of California 21 September 1950 [*New York (1)*: AR 7216, Box 7, Folder 1].

<sup>181</sup> Louis Mackay from Berkeley to Robert Sproul 1 August 1950 [*Berkeley*: UC. Office of the President, CU. 5 ser 4, Box 39, Folder 18].

<sup>182</sup> J. Caughey, *A Plea to the Regents of the University of California: Spoken at their meeting on July 21, 1950 when they were pondering the dismissal of forty professors certified as to loyalty and scholarly integrity by the faculty committee on privilege and tenure* (s.l.:s.n., 1950), accessed on: [http://www.oac.cdlib.org/view?docId=hb729010qm&brand=oac4&doc.view=entire\\_text](http://www.oac.cdlib.org/view?docId=hb729010qm&brand=oac4&doc.view=entire_text) 02/07/2014; Caughey, 'A University in Jeopardy'; J. Caughey, 'Trustees of Academic Freedom', *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, 37, 3, (1951), 427-441; Chew, 'Academic Freedom on Trial'; L. Harper, 'Shall the Professors Sign?', *The Pacific Spectator*, 4, 1, (1950), 21-29; Meiklejohn, *Crisis at the University*; 'To Bring you the Facts', [*New York (1)*]: Pamphlets Describing Oath at University and Controversy, 1/16].

<sup>183</sup> Stewart, *Year of the Oath*.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>185</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 196.

<sup>186</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Eric Dodds 28 October 1950 [*Oxford*: Dodds papers].

<sup>187</sup> R. A. Hart, *Concern for the Individual: The community YWCA and other Berkeley organizations*, Interview by Gabrielle Morris ed. by the Regional Oral History Office, Bancroft Library (Berkeley: The University of California, 1978), 97.

A number of groups including the American Historical Association, The American Psychological Association, and the American Philological Association also supported the non-signers, and recommended that their members should not accept positions at the University of California.<sup>188</sup> As a member of the Group for Academic Freedom, Edelstein was actually responsible for helping to drum up this kind of support and he took a trip east in order to gain faculty allies there. He was successful in receiving statements from Princeton, Columbia, Harvard, Yale, and Bryn Mawr, amongst others, to the Academic Senate in California asking them to defend academic freedom and the principles of tenure.<sup>189</sup> Edelstein believed that these declarations did have some effect on what happened, for the Senate condemned the Regental action taken on the 25 August.<sup>190</sup> However, his hope that the cases of the six who were not recommended would be re-opened and subsequently have a favourable outcome was not to materialize.

A number of Edelstein's friends within other universities worked to find him new positions away from California. When Dodds offered to help find him a position at an English university, Edelstein expressed his reluctance to leave a country which he and his wife had grown so fond of and considered home.<sup>191</sup> Edelstein had already had to flee his homeland once, and did not want to be uprooted again. Others, however, worked at finding him a post closer to home. Harold Cherniss<sup>192</sup> wished for Edelstein to go to Princeton to the Institute for Advanced Studies and requested a letter of recommendation from Dodds to have in support with his own proposal of appointment when the time arose, which he would show at Princeton and elsewhere.<sup>193</sup> Here, we have another example of a fellow scholar who appreciated Edelstein's courage in the oath matter as well as his great scholarly merits. Furthermore, Henry Sigerist also tried to help Edelstein at this stage by writing to Ernst Howald,<sup>194</sup> to see if he could offer any assistance in finding Edelstein a position.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> University of California, 'Interim Report of the Committee on Academic Freedom to the Academic Senate, Northern Section of the University of California, (February 1 1951)' 45-47, accessed on: <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb309nb4r1/?brand=oac4> 20/01/2015.

<sup>189</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Eric Dodds 28 October 1950 [*Oxford: Dodds papers*].

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Eric Dodds 6 August 1950 [*Oxford: Dodds papers*].

<sup>192</sup> For biographical information on Cherniss see 'Edelstein as a Collaborator'.

<sup>193</sup> Harold Cherniss from Princeton to Eric Dodds in Oxford 21 September 1950 [*Oxford: Dodds Papers*].

<sup>194</sup> Ernst Howald (1887-1967) was a classical scholar who worked at the University of Zurich from 1913-1940. See G. Baader, 'Howald, Ernst', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 9, (1972), 664-665, accessed on: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd11877512X.html> 29/10/2012.

<sup>195</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist in Pura 1 December 1950 [*New Haven: Box 11, Folder 410*].

Edelstein and his cause received support from a number of different avenues, but there were also those within the university who simply wanted to be rid of the whole business, as is clear from his letter to Dodds.<sup>196</sup> Despite the negative response from some avenues however, the non-signers as a group did also receive support through a variety of different channels. As an individual, Edelstein also had his own helpers. His strong friendships and professional reputation meant that he had a group dedicated to helping him in any way possible. Powerful ties also developed between Edelstein and the other non-signers, and even in 1952 Edelstein reflected upon how Berkeley was not easy to give up, for the battles of the last three years had created a strong bond.<sup>197</sup> Edelstein's relationships with those around him were affected by the controversy in different ways. However, it was not just his relationships which were influenced and transformed by the oath controversy, but many other aspects of his life.

## **2.7 Repercussions for Edelstein's Life and Work**

For Edelstein, the most significant way in which the oath was to transform his life was in the way it altered his career path. In the heat of the controversy, in April 1950, Edelstein was unsure of what the future of his academic career would be and what course of action to take. He considered applying for a Guggenheim fellowship to survive the next year, for he was concerned about finding a job because of the poor timing of events.<sup>198</sup> Unfortunately, this had already been distributed by the time he applied.<sup>199</sup> As in the rest of the controversy, the Regents' timing was crucial in how events played out. In August Edelstein was still considering staying on at the University of California, and in a letter to Dodds expressed how he was conflicted by this decision, how he was in a 'state of turmoil... torn between the most contradictory emotions'.<sup>200</sup> The difficulty of the decision was weighing heavily on Edelstein's mind and he was genuinely disturbed about what to do. It is unsurprising that Edelstein found the decision to leave California problematic. Edelstein had felt that Berkeley offered him the best environment to work within a classics department and it allowed him to return to teaching Greek. The decision to leave Berkeley, therefore, was not one which was taken lightly, but Edelstein's principles were too strong to allow him to remain in such an environment. By October 1950, Edelstein was secure in his decision to leave the University of California, feeling that even if he were re-instated too much tension would remain,

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<sup>196</sup> See footnote 177.

<sup>197</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Henry Sigerist in Pura 3 April 1952 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 411].

<sup>198</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Eric Dodds 6 April 1950 [*Oxford*: Dodds papers].

<sup>199</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Eric Dodds 29 May 1950 [*Oxford*: Dodds papers].

<sup>200</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Eric Dodds 6 August 1950 [*Oxford*: Dodds papers].

meaning it would be years before normal working conditions were re-established.<sup>201</sup> Despite this and help from friends, by the start of December Edelstein had still not found a secure position. However, although it took time and disquiet, Edelstein was eventually successful in gaining a position, and received a call on 5 April 1951 to go to Johns Hopkins University as a guest professor, the day before the oath was declared unconstitutional by the Third District Court of Appeal.<sup>202</sup> Although, after his troubles with Bowman, Edelstein had feared for Johns Hopkins and at one time described it as ‘dead’ – strong words considering his usual demeanour – by this stage Bowman had left and Edelstein was confident the university was returning to its old ethos.<sup>203</sup> Indeed, he was quite elated that now he could return to teaching.<sup>204</sup> After this post had finished Edelstein was then appointed as the first Professor of Humanistic Studies, with no set department and so the option to teach a variety of students. However, despite this positive outcome, at the time of the controversy Edelstein faced serious anxiety over his future career and a number of other issues.

One of Edelstein’s other apprehensions concerned his financial situation. Edelstein recounted the losses he had accrued over the years in a letter to Stanley Weigel, which included two trips across the continent, four years contributions to his retirement policy, an unfavourable difference in salary, and starting with house payments from scratch.<sup>205</sup> This was all in addition to the income he lost for his refusal to sign the oath. Furthermore, the prospect of having to pay attorney fees to Weigel for the court case involving the non-signers’ back pay also caused much difficulty and some animosity. The Faculty Fund Trustees and Tolman agreed that Weigel should be paid a twenty per cent contingency fee from the resigners.<sup>206</sup> Kantorowicz reported to Tolman that the paying of these fees would cause Edelstein true hardship, as he would have to incur new debts in order to do so.<sup>207</sup> This was because all the money Edelstein received from the back pay was swallowed up in repaying his debts to the Faculty Fund, the Group for Academic Freedom, and in taxes.<sup>208</sup> Edelstein was not only reluctant to pay because of financial troubles however, but he also felt it was wrong for a

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<sup>201</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Eric Dodds 28 October 1950 [*Oxford*: Dodds papers].

<sup>202</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist in Pura 7 April 1951 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 411].

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>205</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Stanley Weigel in San Francisco 23 March 1955 [*Berkeley*: Tolman Collection, C.B 1036, Box 1, Folder Edelstein Ludwig].

<sup>206</sup> Edward Tolman from Berkeley to Ludwig Edelstein in Baltimore 11 March 1955 [*Berkeley*: Tolman Collection, C.B 1036, Box 1, Folder Edelstein Ludwig].

<sup>207</sup> [Ernst Kantorowicz] from Princeton to Edward Tolman 23 March 1955 [*New York (1)*: Loyalty Oath Correspondence, Box 6, Folder 2].

<sup>208</sup> Ludwig Edelstein in Baltimore to Edward Tolman 28 December 1954 [*Berkeley*: Tolman Collection, C.B 1036, Box 1, Folder Edelstein Ludwig].

‘well-to-do lawyer’ to receive so much payment for a case which he took on as a matter of principle.<sup>209</sup> This proved an uncomfortable time for Edelstein, he disliked worrying Tolman about the matter, felt isolated from the others who had paid Weigel, and was concerned that the focus was shifting to fighting over money with the oath being forgotten.<sup>210</sup>

The correspondence reveals that this period of Edelstein’s life was also one of much mental strain and anxiety, and not just over financial concerns. In a letter to Dodds, Edelstein described the time as ‘these days of disappointment and disgust’, and after informing Dodds of events named it a ‘dismal story’.<sup>211</sup> He also described how it was a ‘continuous fight’ with the Regents,<sup>212</sup> and repeated in a letter to Sigerist how he was tired and demoralised from the fights at the university.<sup>213</sup> The oath affected his happiness and his health, for the controversy was tiring and wearing him down. He wrote of how ever since the Tenure Committee ‘I feel so exhausted that I am hardly able to keep up with my classes’.<sup>214</sup> This was clearly a very difficult time for Edelstein, in which the strain of the battle against the oath was causing him real suffering. However, not only did he have the strain of the controversy to deal with, he also had personal catastrophes. One of Edelstein’s close friends, Erich Frank,<sup>215</sup> had died in 1949 and as well as the emotional distress caused by this, Edelstein was also responsible for sorting out his estate that July.<sup>216</sup>

Other non-signers also faced emotional and physical distress. John Caughey reported on the exhaustion and distrust caused by the controversy,<sup>217</sup> and in his account Blauner also focuses on such issues claiming that the conflict prompted four deaths from heart attacks, one debilitating stroke and several nervous breakdowns.<sup>218</sup> During this time the oath was constantly on the minds of the non-signers,<sup>219</sup> and it was also in the thoughts of their friends and family. Edelstein’s wife Emma wrote in 1951 that the atmosphere in Berkeley was becoming stifling, and even if the court case was won she could not see how things would

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<sup>209</sup> Ludwig Edelstein in Baltimore to Edward Tolman 20 January 1955 [*Berkeley*: Tolman Collection, C.B 1036, Box 1, Folder Edelstein Ludwig].

<sup>210</sup> Ludwig Edelstein in Baltimore to Edward Tolman 24 March 1955 [*Berkeley*: Tolman Collection, C.B 1036, Box 1, Folder Edelstein Ludwig].

<sup>211</sup> Ludwig Edelstein [from Berkeley] to Eric Dodds 6 April 1950 [*Oxford*: Dodds Papers].

<sup>212</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Eric Dodds 29 May 1950 [*Oxford*: Dodds Papers].

<sup>213</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist in Pura 29 October 1950 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>214</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 20 May 1950 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>215</sup> See ‘Edelstein as a Friend’ and ‘Edelstein as a Collaborator’ for more information on Frank.

<sup>216</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 10 July 1949 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>217</sup> Caughey, ‘A University in Jeopardy’, 8.

<sup>218</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, xiii.

<sup>219</sup> Stewart, *Year of the Oath*, 9.

work out there.<sup>220</sup> Emma had to live through this troubled time alongside Ludwig but she was also a source of support; the spouses of the non-signers attended the meetings of the Group for Academic Freedom at the Shattuck Hotel in Berkeley,<sup>221</sup> and Emma also took on secretarial work for the group.<sup>222</sup>

During the controversy, Edelstein still had to persevere with his own research. In the summer of 1950, he was determined to begin work on Posidonius, on which he had been working sporadically for ten years.<sup>223</sup> By this stage he had already relinquished the idea of a commentary, and instead decided to produce the fragments followed by essays discussing numerous parts of Posidonius' philosophy.<sup>224</sup> Unfortunately, Edelstein's lifetime would not see the production of this work, and it was not until Ian Kidd, at the request of Cherniss, agreed to help complete the project that a collection of the fragments appeared in 1972,<sup>225</sup> followed by the commentary in 1988, and the translation of the fragments in 1999. It is hard to imagine that such an event as the oath controversy would not have affected Edelstein's work, and by August 1950 he reported that he was not working with the same energy and enthusiasm as he had been previously.<sup>226</sup> Edelstein had to live with this worry and the controversy also took up much valuable time through things like meetings of the Group for Academic Freedom, liaising with lawyers, following representations of the controversy in the media, and drumming up support for the non-signers' cause, time which could have been used for his research. However, it is difficult to assess the actual result of the controversy on Edelstein's work as many of his projects were long term ones, and we must bear in mind that his output is not the only gauge of his productivity. Therefore, although we know Edelstein produced only a number of reviews during his time at California, along with entries to *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, and one article,<sup>227</sup> it is also likely that he was working on a number of other projects at the same time.

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<sup>220</sup> Emma Edelstein from Berkeley to Sidney Hollander 18 January 1951 [*Baltimore (2)*: Ludwig Edelstein Renata].

<sup>221</sup> Edward Tolman as Chairman of the Group for Academic Freedom from Berkeley to Ernst Kantorowicz 21 August 1951 [*New York (1)*: Loyalty Oath Correspondence, Box 6, Folder 2].

<sup>222</sup> Edward Tolman to Ludwig Edelstein 31 May 1952, accessed on: <http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb1n39p08v/?&query=Ludwig%20Edelstein&query-join=or&brand=lo>, 03/05/2012.

<sup>223</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Eric Dodds 29 May 1950 [*Oxford*: Dodds papers].

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>225</sup> I.G. Kidd and L. Edelstein, *Posidonius*, Vol. I: *The Fragments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), xiii.

<sup>226</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Eric Dodds 6 August 1950 [*Oxford*: Dodds papers].

<sup>227</sup> L. Edelstein, 'Lukrez: Versuch einer Deutung by Marc Rozelaar', *The American Journal of Philology*, 70, 1, (1949), 95-96; L. Edelstein, 'Mimesis: Dargestellte Wirklichkeit in der abendländischen Literatur by Erich Auerbach', *Modern Language Notes*, 65, 6, (1950), 426-431; L. Edelstein, 'Die Stoa: Geschichte einer geistigen

## 2.8 Conclusion

Examining the role of Edelstein in the oath controversy enables us to gain a different and personalised perspective. Through his letters we discover that although at times Edelstein felt a lack of support from his fellow faculty at California, he also formed a very close bond with the other non-signers and received help from many others in a variety of ways. Gardner, however, had claimed the struggle to be ‘futile and mostly lonely’.<sup>228</sup> This demonstrates his lack of perception into the human side of the controversy as he fails to reveal these close relationships and the outside examples of support. By belittling the conflict as futile Gardner also makes the non-signers’ eventual victory a hollow one, and as one reviewer argues he seems ‘strangely insensitive’ to principles of academic freedom and tenure.<sup>229</sup> Although he does recognise that the university lost some important men and stature at the time, he denounces this as a futile episode in an otherwise highly productive community,<sup>230</sup> and the reader gains the impression that indeed the university was not really affected. However, the Edelstein correspondence sheds a different light on the matter and shows that at the time academics were outraged by the course of events at California. Dodds reported to Cherniss how the controversy had greatly shocked academic opinion in Oxford and that, if not rescinded, the oath would be a permanent disgrace to the university.<sup>231</sup> Also, in Sigerist’s opinion the University of California had been dishonoured for all eternity,<sup>232</sup> and the scandal had hurt it immensely.<sup>233</sup> The information in these letters aligns with those who recognise that the controversy did have an effect on the university.<sup>234</sup> These opinions are also reflected in the literature from the period; a pamphlet from The Civil Liberties Union reported that

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Bewegung by Max Pohlenz’, *The American Journal of Philology*, 72, 4, (1951), 426-432; Edelstein wrote entries on Asclepiades of Prusa, Athenaeus of Attaleia, Dentistry, Dietetics, Diocles of Carystus, Dioscorides Pedanius, Erasistratus of Ceos, Galen of Pergamum, Hippatrici, Herophilus of Chalecedon, Ointments, Ophthalmology, Philinus of Cos, Philistion of Locri, Physiognomonici, Praxagoras of Cos, Rufus of Ephesus, Soranus of Ephesus, Themison of Laodicea, and Thessalus of Tralles in M. Cary...[et al.] *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949); L. Edelstein, ‘The Function of the Myth in Plato’s Philosophy’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 10, 4, (1949), 463-481.

<sup>228</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 250.

<sup>229</sup> A. Morris, ‘The California Oath Controversy by David Gardner’, *The Journal of Higher Education*, 39, 5, (1968), 296-297, 297.

<sup>230</sup> Gardner, *California Oath*, 251.

<sup>231</sup> Eric Dodds from Oxford to Harold Cherniss [in Princeton] 25 September 1950 [*Oxford: Dodds papers*]. Harold Cherniss was no less appalled at the events happening in California. He wrote to the Board of Regents that as a former faculty member of the university he protested the demanding of a special oath for the faculty, and that the Regents had ‘made the university ridiculous throughout the country and covered its loyal alumni with shame’: Anonymous, ‘Prof. Cherniss of Princeton Institute Chides Regents’, *The San Francisco Chronicle*, 6 March 1950.

<sup>232</sup> Henry Sigerist from Pura to Ludwig Edelstein 13 November 1950 [*New Haven: Box 11, Folder 410*].

<sup>233</sup> Henry Sigerist from Pura to Ludwig Edelstein in Baltimore 13 January 1952 [*New Haven: Box 11, Folder 411*].

<sup>234</sup> Blauner, *Resisting McCarthyism*, 224; Cauter, *The Great Fear*, 423; Jackson, ‘Panofsky Agonistes’, 47.

serious damage had been done to the university which was now filled with distrust and had lost a number of great scholars through the non-signers, the resigners, and those who had declined offers at the university because of the controversy.<sup>235</sup> The Interim Report of the Committee of Academic Freedom also stated that to deny that the controversy would not destroy or was not currently destroying the university would be flight from fact, and the report goes on to detail fully the losses and disruption caused.<sup>236</sup> The Edelstein correspondence also demonstrates that it was not simply a power struggle for all those involved, but that for some doing the right thing for their students and protecting principles of academic freedom really was the main motivation behind not signing. Edelstein had solid moral reasoning for taking up the role of a dissenter.

As a non-signer and a member of the Group for Academic Freedom Edelstein was placed in the heat of the controversy, and took on an active role in helping to gain support for the non-signers and fighting for academic freedom. For this stance he paid a price; his career path was completely altered and he was forced out of a much desired position as a Professor of Greek in an institute with vital research resources for this role. However, although it may at first seem like this was a pyrrhic victory for Edelstein, despite all the hardship and trouble he had to go through, for him it was worth it for the cause he was defending. He had no compunctions about the path he had chosen, for as he wrote to Dodds in May 1950: ‘What else could I possibly do, if I wish to keep my self-respect?’<sup>237</sup>

The oath controversy affected both Edelstein’s life and work in considerable ways, causing him great stress and worry and affecting his wellbeing and happiness, which can be seen in the correspondence. It altered his relationships with those around him in both negative and positive ways. He was hurt by the lack of support shown by his fellow faculty members, however, this chapter identified that during the hardship Edelstein faced in the oath controversy, one positive which he took from the events was the connections he formed and the friendships which were strengthened throughout the ordeal. The next chapter will continue by exploring the role of such friendships in Edelstein’s life and work more generally, and in greater detail.

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<sup>235</sup> Meiklejohn, *Crisis at the University*, 7-8 [*New York (1)*: Pamphlets Describing Oath at University and Controversy, 1/16, 1-2.]

<sup>236</sup> University of California, ‘Interim Report’, 6.

<sup>237</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Eric Dodds 29 May 1950 [*Oxford*: Dodds papers].



## Chapter 3. Edelstein as a Friend

‘For without friends no one would choose to live, though he had all other goods’.<sup>1</sup>

### 3.1 Introduction; or, on Friendship

In his work on friendship, anthropologist Daniel Hruschka records an instance in Charles Darwin’s autobiography in which he stated how his friendship with Professor John Henslow, Darwin’s Cambridge mentor and fellow naturalist, was the circumstance which influenced his career more than any other.<sup>2</sup> This example expresses one of the reasons for examining Edelstein’s friendships within this thesis. However, it is not only important to examine Edelstein’s friendships for the effect they had on his career. Friendships are of great consequence to our lives more generally. They are some of the most important relationships we form, and our friends help shape who we are as persons.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, examining these relationships is integral to a study of Edelstein’s life. It is also important to examine these relationships because friendships were of the greatest significance and value to Edelstein. The supposed value of friends had been expressed from Plato, ‘I should greatly prefer a real friend to all the gold of Darius’,<sup>4</sup> to another of Edelstein’s favourite philosophers, William James, who wrote in his correspondence that ‘...friendship...is about the highest joy of earth’.<sup>5</sup> Edelstein was also of the opinion that ‘[f]riends are the best thing one can have in this world’.<sup>6</sup> Friendships were one of the very things that nurtured him and made life more enjoyable. He described his friendship with Peyton Rous as having ‘done so much to sustain me’,<sup>7</sup> and, after his wife Emma’s death, alongside the work he wished to complete he wrote of how ‘there is nothing for me to hope for or desire, except the affections of my friends’.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* in *The Works of Aristotle*, Vol. IX trans. by W. D. Ross (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925), VIII, 1.1.

<sup>2</sup> D. J. Hruschka, *Friendship: Development, ecology, and evolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 1.

<sup>3</sup> B. Helm, ‘Friendship’, in E. N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, (Fall 2013 Edition), accessed on: <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2013/entries/friendship> 7/7/2014.

<sup>4</sup> Plato, *Lysis* in *The Dialogues of Plato*, Vol. I trans. by B. Jowett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875), 211e3-4.

<sup>5</sup> R. B. Perry, *The Thought and Character of William James*, Vol. I (London: Humphrey Milford Oxford University Press, 1935), 514.

<sup>6</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 31 October 1951 [*San Diego*].

<sup>7</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Peyton Rous 11 June 1965 [*Philadelphia*]. (Francis) Peyton Rous (1879-1970) was the ‘father’ of viral oncology who worked at the Rockefeller Institute from 1909 where he later met Edelstein. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1966 for his discovery of tumour inducing viruses. See C. H. Andrewes, ‘Francis Peyton Rous, 1879–1970’, *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society*, 17, (1971), 643–662.

<sup>8</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 31 August 1958 [*San Diego*].

For Edelstein to live happily it was important to be close to friends. During his year in Oxford in 1953 he commented on the ‘concomitant sadness provoked by the separation from our friends’.<sup>9</sup> Edelstein built up strong relationships during his time in Baltimore, and although he knew it was the right thing to do for his career, he found the decision to move to the West Coast difficult. He wrote to Levi Arnold Post: ‘I hate to leave my friends in the East; having emigrated once, I am somewhat apprehensive of any new situation.’<sup>10</sup> Yet, this emigration may actually have been one of the reasons why these friendships were so important to Edelstein. Friendships were possibly of a higher significance to Edelstein because of his dislocation from his homeland and the connections he had there. Mark Peel states that friendship is particularly important for immigrants who rely upon the fact that friends, unlike kin, can be made again and again.<sup>11</sup> Hruschka concurs with this view, asserting that migrants may be more likely to rely on friendships in order to compensate for the relationships they left behind.<sup>12</sup> Friendships were crucial to US immigrants like Edelstein, as Peel argues, friends provided material and emotional resilience and helped people to negotiate, understand, and explore their new environment.<sup>13</sup> However, because of his academic career, it was not always possible for Edelstein to be close to his friends; the letter, therefore, was an important medium used by Edelstein to communicate with friends and through which to continue his friendships. Even though he found separation difficult, he knew that ‘leaving people does not mean losing [sic] them’.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, an examination of the correspondence is a crucial way in which to expose and understand these relationships. Edelstein did not merely express his friendship through words, however, but through actions, examples of which will also be explored further into the chapter.

The subject of friendship has been a topic deliberated on by philosophers since antiquity. Gadamer states that there is hardly a major ancient philosopher who did not leave behind teachings, lectures, or bibliographies about friendship.<sup>15</sup> In classical antiquity friendship was also revered as one of the utmost values and it occupies a prominent place in most accounts of what it means to live a good life.<sup>16</sup> It has been suggested that the first text

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<sup>9</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Oxford to Arthur Lovejoy in Baltimore 8 August 1953 [*Baltimore* (3)].

<sup>10</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Levi Arnold Post 16 July 1947 [*Haverford*: Box 1].

<sup>11</sup> M. Peel, ‘New Worlds of Friendship: The Early Twentieth Century’, in B. Caine (ed.), *Friendship: A history* (London and Oakville: Equinox, 2009), 279-316, 279.

<sup>12</sup> Hruschka, *Friendship*, 187.

<sup>13</sup> Peel, ‘New Worlds’, 294.

<sup>14</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Solomon Katz 3 August 1948 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>15</sup> H-G. Gadamer, ‘Friendship and Solidarity’, *Research in Phenomenology*, 39, 1 (2009), 3-12, 3.

<sup>16</sup> R. White, ‘Friendship and Commitment’, *The Journal of Value Inquiry*, 33, 1, (1999), 79-88, 79.

which addresses friendship as distinct from passionate love is Plato's *Lysis*.<sup>17</sup> In this dialogue, Socrates enquires into the question of 'what is a friend?', addressing such themes as the causes of friendship and the place of friendship in the lives of the good. However, it is characteristic of much of what is considered Plato's earlier work in that it is inconclusive, and the reader is left with much uncertainty.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, it is a point of departure and sets the scene for a genuine understanding.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps the more influential classical texts on friendship were composed by Plato's disciple Aristotle. These are his *Magna Moralia*, *Eudemian Ethics* and books eight and nine of his *Nicomachean Ethics*. In book eight of this latter text Aristotle defines three different types of friendship, those of utility, of pleasure, and of virtue. In his view the first two were imperfect, and only friendships of virtue were eternal and perfect, although these friendships were also infrequent.<sup>20</sup> Bad men could have friendships of pleasure and utility, but only the good could have the perfect type of friendship and be friends for their own sake.<sup>21</sup> However, perhaps the most influential idea in these texts is the idea of the friend as 'another self'. Grayling highlights this as being a key way of defining a friend in subsequent treatments of friendship.<sup>22</sup> It is argued by a number of scholars that Aristotle had the *Lysis* in mind in his own discussion of friendship,<sup>23</sup> however, in his work the discourse on friendship extends over a wider area.<sup>24</sup> Aristotle also rejects the view that the pursuit of self-sufficiency requires us to cultivate a solitary life, and argues social and political relations are parts of the human good life.<sup>25</sup>

Scholars have identified that there is a gulf between ancient and modern conceptions of friendship, and academics writing on Greek friendship have focused on the difference in meaning of the term *philia* to the modern 'friendship'.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, according to the philosopher Anthony Grayling, 'it might be said that until modern times everything thought or written about the subject not only did not but could not start anywhere other than with

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<sup>17</sup> A. C. Grayling, *Friendship* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), 6.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>19</sup> A. W. Price, *Love and Friendship in Plato and Aristotle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 14.

<sup>20</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, VIII, 3-4.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 4.

<sup>22</sup> Grayling, *Friendship*, 34-35.

<sup>23</sup> J. Annas, 'Plato and Aristotle on Friendship and Altruism', *Mind*, N.S., 86, 344, (1977), 532-554, 532.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 552.

<sup>25</sup> M. Nussbaum, *The Fragility of Goodness: Luck and ethics in Greek tragedy and philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 344.

<sup>26</sup> This chapter is not the place to investigate such complex linguistic arguments. Despite the problems, the works of Plato and Aristotle discussed are used frequently, and have been of great significance, in the more recent literature about friendship.

Aristotle'.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, it has also been recognised that there are points of similarity and a core set of meanings associated with friendship.<sup>28</sup> Thus, while it may be true that friendships do not exist in a bubble but are affected by the world around them, that they are built by persons acting in a societal context,<sup>29</sup> and not to argue that ancient and more modern conceptions of friendship are synonymous, it is still possible to identify a number of characteristics considered essential to friendships in the philosophical literature. In these discussions of friendship a number of core themes re-occur regularly: mutual caring, intimacy, shared activity and interests,<sup>30</sup> loyalty, support, and reciprocity.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, although Plato's problem that '[w]e have not yet been able to discover what a friend is',<sup>32</sup> will likely never be solved, and a fixed definition of 'friendship' is not possible, we are able to recognise the kinds of qualities which make someone a friend, and these qualities will be apparent in the relationships explored in this chapter.

One way Grayling has identified in which we can actually understand friendship better is by examining examples of it:

By drawing from discussions of friendship and cases of it one can illustrate its various aspects, and see how they reveal through the veil of differences one of the supremest of the values that make life worth living.<sup>33</sup>

Therefore, examining Edelstein's friendships will actually help us to understand friendship a little better. Exploring Edelstein's relationships will enable the identification of some of the key aspects of his friendships, and ascertain how he conducted them, what he considered important qualities of a friend, and what the consequences of these friendships were for his scholarly life, and vice versa. The focus is not on what friendship is, which may be impossible to define, but rather what Edelstein's friendships were, and what they meant to him.

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<sup>27</sup> Grayling, *Friendship*, 6. White also highlights Aristotle's account as being the paradigmatic theory of friendship. See R. White, 'Friendship Ancient and Modern', *International Philosophical Quarterly*, 39, (1999), 19-34, 22.

<sup>28</sup> White, 'Friendship Ancient and Modern', 21. David Konstan argues that although new emphases emerge there are commonplaces that persist over thousands of years. See D. Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 19.

<sup>29</sup> R. G. Adams and G. Allan, 'Contextualising Friendships', in R. G. Adams and G. Allen (eds.), *Placing Friendship in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1-18, 3-4.

<sup>30</sup> D. Annis, 'The Meaning, Value, and Duties of Friendship', *American Philosophical Quarterly*, 24, 4, (1987), 349-356, 350; N. Badhwar, 'Introduction: The Nature and Significance of Friendship', in N. Badhwar (ed.), *Friendship: A philosophical reader* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 1-36, 2-3; Helm, 'Friendship'.

<sup>31</sup> Grayling, *Friendship*, 172.

<sup>32</sup> Plato, *Lysis*, 223b7-8.

<sup>33</sup> Grayling, *Friendship*, 175.

From the correspondence it is clear that Edelstein had a number of people whom he considered to be good friends. However, due to the nature of the evidence, with the gaps in correspondence, some friendships cannot be examined. Furthermore, because of the scope of this chapter and restrictions on words, it is only possible to examine a select number of friendships. Therefore, the chapter will be composed of case studies of some of the most important friendships Edelstein held. It will first explore his relationship with Leo Strauss, followed by sections on his Baltimore colleagues Henry Sigerist and Owsei Temkin, then Roy Harvey Pearce, Sidney Hollander, and Detlev Bronk, culminating with a shorter case study on Heinrich Zimmer and Erich Frank. This chapter will further evidence statements made in the introduction about the importance of these friendships for Edelstein's life and career, however, it will also argue that he did not allow these friendships to compromise his scholarly judgement. It will demonstrate the ways in which Edelstein conducted his friendships, and argue that through exploring these friendships and the information contained about them in the correspondence we can discover more about Edelstein himself. Furthermore, it will also be maintained that in these friendships Edelstein displayed a number of different aspects of his character, acting as a teacher, a confidant, and a student.

### 3.2 Leo Strauss

Leo Strauss (1899-1973) was a central figure in the revival of the study of political philosophy; a contentious figure in his time, the controversy and debate surrounding his ideas has only developed further following his death.<sup>34</sup> At age twenty-two Strauss earned his PhD from Hamburg, and thereafter spent three years at Freiburg and Marburg.<sup>35</sup> In 1925 he began working at the German Academy of Jewish Research in Berlin, and in 1931 received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation in order to conduct work in France and England.<sup>36</sup> When this grant terminated he did not return to Germany, but headed to New York,<sup>37</sup> where he took up a position in the History Department at Columbia, before moving to the New School for

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<sup>34</sup> S. Smith, 'Introduction: Leo Strauss Today', in S. Smith (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Leo Strauss* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1-12, 1. This is partly related to his arguments about esotericism, see M. Zuckert and C. H. Zuckert, *The Truth about Leo Strauss* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 42. More recent controversy has emerged over his and his followers', the "Straussians", apparent influence in the American political scene, particularly on President Bush's domestic and foreign policy, and the war in Iraq. See A. Norton, *Leo Strauss and the Politics of American Empire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004); T. Pangle, *Leo Strauss: An introduction to his thought and intellectual legacy* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 1-2; N. Xenos, *Cloaked in Virtue: Unveiling Leo Strauss and the rhetoric of American foreign policy*, (New York: Routledge, 2008).

<sup>35</sup> Zuckert, *The Truth about Leo Strauss*, 27.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

Social Research a year later.<sup>38</sup> Strauss remained there until 1949, when he became a member of the faculty at the University of Chicago.<sup>39</sup> He formally retired in 1969 but continued to write and teach.<sup>40</sup>

Leo Strauss has been chosen as a case study for this chapter as he is an example of one of Edelstein's earlier friendships which began whilst he was living in Germany. Strauss was a similar age to Edelstein and was also from a Jewish background. He was not a colleague of Edelstein, but like him, Strauss was also an academic, a refugee from Nazi Germany, and an immigrant to the United States; additionally he shared a number of Edelstein's intellectual interests. These factors make this case study different from the others explored in the chapter. Furthermore, as will be revealed, theirs was a complex and challenging relationship which provides valuable insights into Edelstein; his feeling on emigration, his engagement with the scholarship produced by his friends, and the qualities he considered important in a friend. Moreover, despite the masses of literature on Strauss, in this literature there is no mention of Edelstein, and so an examination of this relationship is original. Unfortunately, however, the surviving correspondence concerning this relationship is mainly composed of letters written by Edelstein, with only a few composed by Strauss. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that for the most part this examination will be based on Edelstein's words and thoughts. Despite this, some of the letters are revealing about what Strauss had written to Edelstein, and information can also be gleaned from letters Strauss had written to others.

The friendship between Strauss and Edelstein began whilst the two men were working in Berlin, Edelstein at the University of Berlin, and Strauss at the Academy of Jewish Research. The surviving correspondence reveals that this friendship meant a great deal to Edelstein, and he held strong feelings towards Strauss. Indicative of this are Edelstein's frequent requests for communication with him. In his letters to Strauss Edelstein is almost fixated on urging Strauss to write to him.<sup>41</sup> In one letter his desire is even expressed as a need.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, Edelstein was saddened when Strauss did not communicate. After a period of silence Edelstein wrote of how 'it burdened me for a long time that I didn't hear

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<sup>38</sup> S. Smith, 'Leo Strauss – The Outlines of a Life', in S. Smith (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Leo Strauss* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 13-40, 24.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>41</sup> Out of the thirty-seven letters I have seen from Edelstein to Strauss, Edelstein urges Strauss to write to him or uses a similar expression in eighteen of them.

<sup>42</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berlin in Leo Strauss 14 December 1932 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

from you',<sup>43</sup> and in 1934 when Edelstein received a postcard stating that Strauss could not find time to write, Edelstein was hurt and found this difficult to accept.<sup>44</sup>

During the first half of the 1930s, Strauss seems to have been one of Edelstein's closest confidants; in 1932 Edelstein wrote of the 'openness which can be taken for granted among the two of us.'<sup>45</sup> The early 1930s were a difficult time for Edelstein, and he revealed to Strauss how important letters from friends were at this time, yet how few friends he had.<sup>46</sup> This helps to explain Edelstein's strong desire for correspondence with Strauss. He felt he had a limited number of friends, and so keeping in contact with those he was close to was vital. Furthermore, Edelstein found leaving his native Germany extremely difficult,<sup>47</sup> and it seems keeping in contact with Strauss, who had preceded him in leaving the country, also helped him to overcome his exile. He stated to Strauss that he should write to him, for 'human bonds provide the only feeling of Heimat which is available, one must preserve it.'<sup>48</sup> Edelstein had lost his homeland, but knew that the friendship he had formed with Strauss was a way in which to keep the connection alive, he could retain this part of himself through the relationship. Another indication of Edelstein's feelings for Strauss is his reaction to their parting in the early 1930s. Edelstein found the separation from Strauss hard; he expressed how he missed him or missed hearing from him,<sup>49</sup> and how the fact that Strauss could no longer call on him in the department in Berlin caused him some pain.<sup>50</sup> In a letter to Strauss from February 1933 Edelstein also asked him: 'Can you tell from my words how much I am attached to you?'<sup>51</sup> This was clearly a relationship which meant a great deal to Edelstein, particularly in a tumultuous period of his life which involved great change and adjustment, and communicating with Strauss diminished the feeling of loss connected to this change. Notwithstanding, the desire for communication did also continue after Edelstein became

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<sup>43</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berlin to Leo Strauss 13 February 1933 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12] (Translated from German).

<sup>44</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Rome to Leo Strauss 4 April 1934 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>45</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berlin to Leo Strauss 28 November 1932 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12] (Translated from German).

<sup>46</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berlin to Leo Strauss 13 February 1933 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>47</sup> Edelstein informed Strauss how difficult he found it to be away from the 'ideal' German university and from the country in which he learnt to work and think, and which he was attached to. Ludwig Edelstein from Rome to Leo Strauss 10 November 1933 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>48</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Rome to Leo Strauss 26 December 1933 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12] (Translated from German).

<sup>49</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Leo Strauss 13 August-15 December 1932; 20 February 1933 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>50</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Leo Strauss 20 February 1933 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* (Translated from German).

settled in America, and even in 1944 Edelstein wrote to Strauss that he needed the exchange with him and wished their relationship to be kept vivid.<sup>52</sup>

There was another reason for Edelstein's strong feelings towards Strauss, and this was his appreciation for his work. Edelstein was a keen supporter of Strauss, he related to Strauss how few were as gifted as he, and even that his responsibility before God and humans was great.<sup>53</sup> The two men also examined each other's work, and offered honest opinions on their thoughts about it. Preserved in letters from the 4 and the 28-30 December 1944 there are long discussions of four and thirteen pages respectively by Edelstein of work Strauss had sent him on Xenophon's *Hiero*. This work would form the basis of Strauss' 1948 paper *On Tyranny*.<sup>54</sup> In this analysis Edelstein offered his unabashed opinion and informed Strauss that 'I have no fear to state clearly that I disagree on a number of accounts';<sup>55</sup> he felt obliged to tell the – or his – truth, this was the most important thing to him. However, despite Edelstein's in depth analysis of this work, Strauss does not include any kind of acknowledgement for him in his book.

Strauss also gave his honest opinion to Edelstein, even if it did not align with his views. In 1962 Edelstein sent Strauss his review of 'Randall on Aristotle' and his article 'Platonic Anonymity'.<sup>56</sup> Strauss' reaction to this was that he was 'amazed to what extent we agree';<sup>57</sup> his surprise on the matter evidences that this had not always been the case. Furthermore, in the same letter, when he discussed the Plato article, Strauss stated that 'naturally I do not agree with you entirely' and that 'I do not have the slightest doubt that the Letters...are genuine'.<sup>58</sup> This establishes that Edelstein and Strauss were aware of their differences and divergent views, but they still valued each other's opinion and each sent their work to be scrutinised by the other. They valued friendship but also veracity, and perhaps it was the case that '[b]oth are dear to us, yet 'tis our duty to prefer the truth'.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Leo Strauss 8 October 1944 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> L. Strauss, *On Tyranny* (New York: Political Science Classics, 1948).

<sup>55</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Leo Strauss 28-30 December 1944 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12] (Translated from German).

<sup>56</sup> Leo Strauss to Ludwig Edelstein in Baltimore 6 August 1962 [*Chicago*: Box 4, Folder 7].

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. See 'Edelstein as a Scholar' for an investigation of Edelstein's work on the Platonic epistles.

<sup>59</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, I, 6.



Nevertheless, as could be expected, this desire for honesty in the discussion of work did at times cause animosity and conflict. In letters to Jacob Klein<sup>60</sup> from 1939, there is information on Edelstein's view of the work which would become Strauss' article 'The Spirit of Sparta or the Taste of Xenophon'.<sup>61</sup> In the first of these letters, Strauss asks Klein whether he remembers Edelstein's arguments against the piece because he wanted to think about the matter again before he decided to publish the article.<sup>62</sup> Strauss, therefore, must have considered Edelstein's opinions seriously, for they could have prevented him from publishing. Strauss did eventually publish the article, but in November 1939 still seemed troubled by Edelstein's opinions, relating to Klein how Edelstein did not hesitate to publish his 'devastating view' of it even though he had only listened to about half of it without notes, and with only a vague recollection of the text *Respublica Lacedaemoniorum*.<sup>63</sup> Strauss seemed very defensive against Edelstein's criticisms and stated to Klein that he would have to guard himself against all kinds of things.<sup>64</sup>

Further discontent is apparent in a letter from August 1946 in which Edelstein defended his criticism of Strauss, and claimed he was only critical as he thought Strauss was destined for the best.<sup>65</sup> Although, unfortunately, we do not have a record of the letter Strauss wrote to him before this, it seems clear that it must have included information which made Edelstein feel the need to defend himself and his opinions on Strauss' work. Edelstein's letter also informs us that Strauss had accused Edelstein of being 'indignant',<sup>66</sup> and there are additional signs of tension: Strauss had heard that Edelstein had called his move to the New School for Social Research 'a first class funeral'. In his letter Edelstein informed Strauss he did not recall saying this, but nevertheless told Strauss he did not think the New School was the place where he belonged.<sup>67</sup> A number of aspects of the New School seem compatible with

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<sup>60</sup> Jacob Klein (1899-1978) was a philosopher who studied under teachers such as Martin Heidegger and Edmund Husserl. Klein was a close friend of Strauss throughout his lifetime. See L. Strauss, 'An Unspoken Prologue to a Public Lecture at St. Johns', *Interpretation*, 7, 3, (1978), 1-3. Apparently, Klein wished to avoid any kind of academic fame, perhaps one reason why biographical information is difficult to find. Like Edelstein and Strauss, being a Jew, he emigrated from Germany in the 1930s, and taught at St. John's College in Annapolis from 1937 until his death. Again, like Edelstein, one of his main intellectual interests was Plato. See B. Hopkins, 'The Philosophical Achievement of Jacob Klein', accessed on: <https://www.seattleu.edu/WorkArea/DownloadAsset.aspx?id=59625> 01/08/2014.

<sup>61</sup> Leo Strauss to Jacob Klein 9 May 1939 and 28 November 1939 in Meier, *Leo Strauss*, 572, 585.

<sup>62</sup> Leo Strauss to Jacob Klein 9 May 1939 in *Ibid.*, 572.

<sup>63</sup> Leo Strauss to Jacob Klein 28 November 1939 in *Ibid.*, 585.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Leo Strauss 18 October 1946 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

Edelstein's thinking – its humanist educational setting, self-governed by the faculty,<sup>68</sup> and the way it welcomed and even sought out Germany's intellectual emigrants.<sup>69</sup> Thus Edelstein's negative view of Strauss' move may seem strange. However, when examined from a different perspective – that Edelstein's interpretation was related to the ambiguous position of the New School in American higher education at the time – it makes sense. Edelstein wanted Strauss to achieve academic greatness, and thus was likely concerned by his move to an institution which 'lived most of its history in an academic no-man's land, outcast because of its image as a subversive, unconventional, and radical, if not revolutionary, non-degree granting experimental institution.'<sup>70</sup> Edelstein was afraid the move would affect Strauss' career negatively, and he would not be able to achieve the eminence he was destined for.

Edelstein was also offended when Strauss did not find the time to examine his work. When Strauss told Edelstein he would write to him about his work on Asclepius 'if and when' he read it,<sup>71</sup> Edelstein seemed wounded and reprimanded Strauss, writing that if one had been working on a book for eight years, one expected his friends to read it.<sup>72</sup> Edelstein clearly valued Strauss' opinion on his work, but also felt it was Strauss' duty to read what had constituted such a large part of his life. His words suggest that Edelstein believed that showing an interest in and taking time to examine a friend's work was a crucial aspect of friendship, and a way in which to demonstrate your friendship to another person. Following this letter Strauss did read the work however,<sup>73</sup> and Edelstein felt better because Strauss had found it useful, again demonstrating the value Edelstein attached to Strauss and his views.

Thus, despite their closeness, the relationship between Strauss and Edelstein did not always run smoothly. As early as 1933 Edelstein would write to Strauss about the latter's egocentric nature which was 'almost insurmountable' when Strauss was away.<sup>74</sup> Although Edelstein often praised Strauss, he was also aware of his flaws. Another issue which caused some tension was Strauss' marriage. Edelstein's reaction to the impending marriage in 1932 was peculiar, although he stated that he was happy for Strauss, he continued that he would

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<sup>68</sup> R. Jackall, 'New School: A History of The New School for Social Research by Peter M. Rutkoff, William B. Scott', *Contemporary Sociology*, 16, 3, (1987), 276-278, 276.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 277.

<sup>70</sup> A. Vidich, 'New School: A History of The New School for Social Research by Peter M. Rutkoff; William B. Scott', *Contemporary Sociology*, 16, 3, (1987), 274-276, 274.

<sup>71</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Leo Strauss 10 October 1946 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Leo Strauss 19 October 1946 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>74</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berlin to Leo Strauss 20 February 1933 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

have to remain vague because he did not know the ‘human being’ Strauss was set to marry.<sup>75</sup> Instead of calling Strauss’ fiancé by name, or even woman, he used this impersonal term. Here, Edelstein seemed to be hurt that he had not met, or heard of, Strauss’ fiancé and perhaps used this term to emphasize his distance from and lack of knowledge about her. By January 1954, the relationship was at its nadir. Again, the tension was possibly related to their discussion of work as Edelstein asked: ‘[Y]ou won’t count the fact that I don’t agree with your interpretation of Plato and Xenophon as a fault?’<sup>76</sup> Edelstein, however, did not want this to be the end of their relationship. He reached out for reconciliation and claimed that Strauss’ disappearance had hurt him, that he missed news from old friends, and even though Strauss’ last letter was formal and cool it still made Edelstein much happier.<sup>77</sup>

This reconciliation did in fact occur, and the relationship was temporarily restored; a letter dated 12 March 1958 demonstrates that Strauss had visited Edelstein in hospital,<sup>78</sup> and one from the 4 April 1958, that Strauss and Edelstein had met again. Edelstein described this meeting as ‘one of the rare pleasures of life’.<sup>79</sup> Furthermore, when Edelstein wrote to Strauss to inform him of Emma’s death, he stated that the meeting was the last great pleasure for her, and that the reunion was made all the happier because they had been parted for so long.<sup>80</sup> After this reunion Strauss and Edelstein did keep in closer contact for some time. From a letter dated 17 October 1958 it is apparent that they had met again in Williamsburg, Virginia,<sup>81</sup> and Edelstein informed Strauss that he only went there in order to see him.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, in a letter from 1962, Strauss expressed his wish to see Edelstein again.<sup>83</sup> However, by 1964 Edelstein would lament the fact that he had not heard from Strauss for a very long time, though he admitted the fault was his.<sup>84</sup> Despite this, there were still hints of dissent. Edelstein had heard that Strauss had come out in favour of Goldwater,<sup>85</sup> but denied it

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<sup>75</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berlin to Leo Strauss 28 November 1932 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>76</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Leo Strauss 22 January 1954 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12] (Translated from German).

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> Leo Strauss to Ludwig Edelstein in Baltimore 12 March 1958 [*Chicago*: Box 4, Folder 7].

<sup>79</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Leo Strauss 4 April 1958 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12] (Translated from German).

<sup>80</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Leo Strauss 31 August 1958 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>81</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Leo Strauss 17 October 1958 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>82</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Williamsburg to Leo Strauss; undated [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>83</sup> Leo Strauss to Ludwig Edelstein in Baltimore 6 August 1962 [*Chicago*: Box 4, Folder 7].

<sup>84</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Leo Strauss 2 November 1964 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>85</sup> Barry Goldwater (1909-1998) was a five-term US senator from Arizona and an advocate of conservatism whose 1964 presidential candidacy launched a revolution within the Republican Party. At the time of this letter Goldwater was attacked by his opponents as being a right-wing extremist who would lead the US into nuclear war and eliminate civil rights progress. B. Barnes, ‘Barry Goldwater, GOP Hero, Dies’, *The Washington Post*, 30th May 1998, accessed on <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/daily/may98/goldwater30.htm> 04/02/2013.

for he could not ‘imagine that you would take such a stand in politics’.<sup>86</sup> In fact, Edelstein was incorrect in this denial, for Strauss did vote for Goldwater in 1964.<sup>87</sup> However, whether this indicates that he leant towards the far right is a matter of contention.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, it does evidence another area of difference between the friends.

As has been demonstrated, Edelstein and Strauss had a rather tempestuous relationship. Therefore, it is particularly interesting to examine it as it will become evident from the evidence surrounding Edelstein’s other friendships that such troubles are not apparent. One reason for this could have been strength of the relationship, where more feeling is involved there is a higher chance of these feelings being hurt. It could also be related to differences in values. Nevertheless, even though these differences became more apparent as time went on, Edelstein was still keen to keep the relationship alive. It is also interesting that much of the strife emanated from their discussion of each other’s work. This evidences the importance of intellectual debate and discussion to their relationship. Although, after Strauss left for Paris, they were parted geographically, they continued to discuss their work and share their ideas through letters. Furthermore, even after the strife connected to these discussions, they continued to send one another their work, demonstrating the high regard they had for each other’s opinions. This relationship was not constant but dynamic, it seemed particularly significant to Edelstein during the first years of his emigration from Germany, and although still important in later years, there were large periods where there was no contact between the two men and the relationship diminished. Its importance seems particularly related to Edelstein’s longing to hold on to a part of Germany and his life there, and his initial difficulties in adjusting to life outside of Germany, alongside the worries surrounding the continuation of his academic career. This chapter will now proceed in examining a very different kind of friendship with a man who was both Edelstein’s friend and colleague, Henry Sigerist.

### **3.3 Henry Sigerist**

Henry E. Sigerist (1891-1957) was born in Paris in 1891 and following schooling in Paris and Zurich he studied medicine in both Zurich and Munich.<sup>89</sup> However, his passion at this time was not for medicine, but the history of medicine, a passion which was nurtured by

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<sup>86</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Leo Strauss 2 November 1964 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>87</sup> P. Gottfried, *Leo Strauss and the Conservative Movement in America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 35n58.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> Bickel, ‘The Letters of Henry Sigerist’, ix.

Germany's first Professor of Medical History and head of the Institute for the History of Medicine in Leipzig, Karl Sudhoff (1853-1938).<sup>90</sup> Sigerist's studies and scholarly production became ever more orientated in the history of medicine, and a result of his connection with Sudhoff was the creation of an outpost of the Leipzig Institute at Zurich for Sigerist.<sup>91</sup> In 1925 Sigerist then succeeded Sudhoff as director of the Institute at Leipzig.<sup>92</sup> However, in following years, Sigerist's failure to gain the empty chair at Berlin, which instead went to Paul Diepgen,<sup>93</sup> and the increasing economic and political difficulties in Germany led him to become embittered with this position.<sup>94</sup> He wrote that '[t]he economic depression was in full swing, and the political sky was becoming visibly darker. I was seized by a great despair and lost all courage'.<sup>95</sup> Therefore, when, during a seven month lecture tour of the US in 1931-2, Sigerist was offered the directorship of the Institute of the History of Medicine at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, he accepted.<sup>96</sup> He was in deliberation over this choice, but the changed political situation upon his return to Germany – the power that the Nazis had achieved, convinced him that German Wissenschaft was in grave danger, and a move to America was its only salvation.<sup>97</sup>

During his time in Baltimore Sigerist re-organized teaching, increased the staff, secured the budget, and founded the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*.<sup>98</sup> He brought the high

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid. For the views of Edelstein's contemporaries on Sudhoff before the war see the collection of articles about him in the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* from 1934. For a more recent appraisal see T. Rütten, 'Karl Sudhoff and "the Fall" of German Medical History', in F. Huisman and J. H. Warner (eds.), *Locating Medical History: The stories and their meanings* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 95-114.

<sup>91</sup> M. H. Bickel, 'Family Background and Early Years in Paris and Zurich 1891-1925', in E. Fee and T. M. Brown (eds.), *Making Medical History: The life and times of Henry E. Sigerist* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 15-41, 29.

<sup>92</sup> T. M. Brown and E. Fee, 'Henry E. Sigerist: Medical Historian and Social Visionary', *American Journal of Public Health*, 93, 1, (2003), 60.

<sup>93</sup> Paul Diepgen (1878-1966) was a German medical historian. He was Professor of the History of Medicine at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Berlin from 1930-1947 and on retirement established the Institute of the History of Medizin at Mainz. See E. Long, 'Paul Diepgen, 1878-1966', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 21, 2, (1966), 189-190. Paul Diepgen was also a key figure in Edelstein's life. It was Diepgen who offered Edelstein his position at the Berlin Institute of the History of Medicine and Science, but the arrangement broke down and Edelstein was dismissed when Hitler came to power in 1933. See Temkin, 'In Memory of Ludwig Edelstein', 3. According to Thomas Rütten, literature on Diepgen has claimed that he was ashamed of these actions, and subsequently tried to help facilitate Edelstein's move abroad. However, as Rütten demonstrates, this was not the case; the correspondence does not prove that Diepgen made any efforts to assist Edelstein or provide him with hope in his hour of need – he only mentioned a co-operation once Edelstein had informed him about his appointment in Baltimore. See Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads', 84-87.

<sup>94</sup> I. Kästner, 'The Leipzig Period, 1925-1932', in E. Fee and T. M. Brown (eds.), *Making Medical History: The life and times of Henry E. Sigerist* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press), 42-62, 54.

<sup>95</sup> N. Sigerist Beeson (ed.), *Henry E. Sigerist: Autobiographical writings* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1966), 65.

<sup>96</sup> Kästner, 'The Leipzig Period', 56.

<sup>97</sup> Sigerist Beeson, *Henry E. Sigerist*, 80-81.

<sup>98</sup> Bickel, 'The Letters of Henry Sigerist', ix-xi.

standards of German scholarship to the institute, and revolutionized it into the National center for history of medicine in the United States.<sup>99</sup> On a personal level his interests progressively shifted towards the sociology and economics of medicine, and the organization of medical services and public health.<sup>100</sup> However, by 1943, Sigerist faced great pressures which drew him away from his research,<sup>101</sup> alongside declining health, and by mid November 1946 he had decided to leave Johns Hopkins, and indeed the US altogether, handing in his official resignation in January 1947.<sup>102</sup> Another contributing factor to this decision was the altered political climate, affected by the fear of communism, which did not look favourably upon his defence of Soviet medicine and the National Health Service. As early as 1940 Sigerist faced attacks in the newspapers, and complained of how ‘America has become the most intolerant country in the world’.<sup>103</sup> Although Sigerist stated that he did not leave America to escape, but rather to write his books,<sup>104</sup> the atmosphere of fear and suspicion, and the derision of some of his work, was no doubt a contributing factor.

Sigerist assumed a position as a research associate at Yale which allowed him to move back to Switzerland and carry out his research in the serenity of a small village, Pura. When he returned to Switzerland he also placed his focus on the history of medicine, on which he planned to write an eight volume work.<sup>105</sup> He had started the first volume whilst still in Baltimore;<sup>106</sup> however, it became his main project in Switzerland. Unfortunately, this would never see completion, partly due to various other commitments – he still continued to lecture and attend conferences for example, health problems,<sup>107</sup> and perhaps even due to the enormous scale of the project which was too great for any person’s lifetime.<sup>108</sup> By the end of

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<sup>99</sup> Brown and Fee, ‘Henry E. Sigerist: Medical Historian’, 60.

<sup>100</sup> Bickel, ‘The Letters of Henry Sigerist’, xi.

<sup>101</sup> His daughter writes: ‘The demands made on him in Baltimore as teacher, scholar, administrator, public speaker, counselor to American and foreign students, librarian, committee member, writer, organizer, initiator, government and international consultant, traveller, tea drinker, and hand-shaker became so strenuous that his main love – creative research and the writing of his own books – had to be relegated more and more to the background. See Sigerist Beeson, *Henry E. Sigerist*, 216.

<sup>102</sup> G. Miller, ‘A European Outpost in America: The Hopkins Institute, 1932-1947’, in E. Fee and T. M. Brown (eds.), *Making Medical History: The life and times of Henry E. Sigerist* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press), 63-80, 78.

<sup>103</sup> Sigerist Beeson, *Henry E. Sigerist*, 161.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 211.

<sup>105</sup> Bickel, ‘The Letters of Henry Sigerist’, xi.

<sup>106</sup> I. Kästner, ‘Two Institutions and Two Eras. Reflections on the Field of Medical History: An Interview: Owsei Temkin questioned by Gert Brieger’, *NTM Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Wissenschaften, Technik und Medizin*, 7, 1, (1999), 2-12, 10.

<sup>107</sup> Bickel, ‘The Letters of Henry Sigerist’, xi.

<sup>108</sup> E. Fee and T. M. Brown, ‘Intellectual Legacy and Political Quest: The Shaping of a Historical Ambition’, in E. Fee and T. M. Brown (eds.), *Making Medical History: The life and times of Henry E. Sigerist* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 179-193, 189.

his life, Sigerist had, nonetheless, produced 520 publications, the quality and thematic breadth of which earned him the position as the foremost historian of medicine of his generation.<sup>109</sup>

Sigerist was known for his outgoing personality, and his friendliness attracted a large number of devoted students.<sup>110</sup> According to his friend and colleague Owsei Temkin, whose relationship with Edelstein will be discussed in the next section, he was a man of great self-assurance, social assurance, and self-confidence; charming, warm, and unprejudiced.<sup>111</sup> Edelstein may not have shared Sigerist's extroverted and confident nature, but this did not stop them from building a friendship which lasted until the latter's death in 1957. Their first meeting occurred in Leipzig in 1930, and in later years Edelstein would describe this encounter as one of the happiest destinies of his life.<sup>112</sup> It is important to examine Edelstein's friendship with Sigerist because of the monumental role Sigerist played in his life; he was not just a friend, but also a crucial force in Edelstein's career, aiding him in his desperate state of exile in 1933 by securing him a position at the institute. Without the help of Sigerist, Edelstein may never have been able to continue his academic career, or, even more unthinkable, may never have been able to leave Germany, as Sigerist had obtained a stipend from Emanuel Libman that allowed Edelstein to go to Italy.<sup>113</sup> Sigerist's enabling of Edelstein's career in Baltimore had a mammoth effect on the latter's life and career, and this demonstrates the great importance of Edelstein's friends. Furthermore, Sigerist also attempted to provide such assistance again during the loyalty oath controversy at Berkeley,<sup>114</sup> and he remained a source of support in Edelstein's personal and work life until his own death.

In the early years of their relationship, Edelstein's gratitude to Sigerist for his assistance in raising funds and bringing Edelstein to the institute formed a crucial aspect of their friendship. Edelstein was indebted towards Sigerist for his actions. In his correspondence to Sigerist from the early 1930s Edelstein frequently terminated the letter by expressing his gratitude and devotion. To cite just a few examples – 'with best wishes your devoted and

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<sup>109</sup> M. H. Bickel, 'Henry E. Sigerist and Charles Singer', *Medical History Supplement*, 30, (2011), vii-viii, vii.

<sup>110</sup> J. Fulton, 'Introductory Remarks of the Toast Master', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 22, 2, (1948), 10-11.

<sup>111</sup> Kästner, 'Two Institutions', 3.

<sup>112</sup> Ludwig and Emma Edelstein from Baltimore to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 2 April 1951 [*New Haven*: Box 27, Folder 924].

<sup>113</sup> Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads', 57-63.

<sup>114</sup> See 'Edelstein as a Dissenter' for more information.

grateful’,<sup>115</sup> and, ‘I remain in unaltered gratefulness and devotion’.<sup>116</sup> Even in 1942 Edelstein remained, ‘always with the same gratitude and devotion’,<sup>117</sup> and in 1947 when Sigerist left for Switzerland, Edelstein informed him how he would always cherish the memory of the years he had the privilege to work with him with unchanging gratitude, and would never forget what he had done for him.<sup>118</sup> However, this gratitude was not completely one-sided. For Sigerist, the gain was mutual, as Edelstein had fertilized the institute richly.<sup>119</sup> At his farewell dinner in New York on the 9 May 1947, Sigerist expressed how he would never have been able to carry out the research and teaching program of the institute without the ‘active and enthusiastic cooperation of Temkin, Edelstein, Ackerknecht, Larkey, Genevieve Miller and a few others who stayed with us for a shorter while’.<sup>120</sup> Sigerist also stated at the dinner that although this group was now separating ‘wherever we happen to be, we shall remain united by a bond of friendship and shall continue to serve the same ideals’.<sup>121</sup>

Indeed, Edelstein and Sigerist did share a number of ideals and interests, which helped strengthen a bond formulated through mutual respect and gratitude. Although the pair had many different scholarly interests, like Edelstein, Sigerist was interested in the relationship of medical history to its economic, social, and intellectual backgrounds, and the mutual interaction of medicine and society.<sup>122</sup> In connection to this, both men seemed to have had very high regard for the historian Jacob Burckhardt.<sup>123</sup> Heinrich von Staden highlights how Burckhardt’s animated and multidimensional approach to history was transmitted to Sigerist through his teacher Otto Markwart, selecting a quote from one of Sigerist’s lectures in 1953 to demonstrate this: ‘If we wish to understand correctly a new scientific development, we

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<sup>115</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Rome to Henry Sigerist [in Baltimore] 23 October 1933 [*New Haven*: Box 5, Folder 169] (Translated from German).

<sup>116</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Rome to Henry Sigerist in Baltimore 4 April 1934 [*New Haven*: Box 5, Folder 169] (Translated from German).

<sup>117</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Gloucester, Mass. to Henry Sigerist in Baltimore 20 June 1942 [*New Haven*: Box 5, Folder 169].

<sup>118</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Henry Sigerist in Pura 14 July 1947 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>119</sup> Henry Sigerist from Pura to Ludwig and Emma Edelstein in Baltimore 12 October 1954 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 411].

<sup>120</sup> H. E. Sigerist, ‘Response’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 22, 2, (1948), 34-46, 40.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> R. H. Shyrock, ‘Henry E. Sigerist: His Influence upon Medical History in the United States’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 22, 2, (1948), 19-24, 23.

<sup>123</sup> Jacob Burckhardt (1918-1897) was a Swiss historian of art and culture, and the first professor of art history in Switzerland. Famous works include *Der Cicerone* and *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*. See L. Sorenson, ‘Burckhardt, Jacob’, *Dictionary of Art Historians*, (2002), accessed on: [www.dictionaryofarthistorians.org/burckhardtj.htm](http://www.dictionaryofarthistorians.org/burckhardtj.htm) 28/07/2014. He spent nearly all of his professional life as a teacher at his native university in Basel. Apparently free from academic ambition and vanity, and abstaining from political activity, he desired only to be an independent thinker and a good teacher. See A. Salomon, ‘Jacob Burckhardt: Transcending History’, *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, 6, 2, (1945), 225-269, 229.



must study it within the framework of the general civilization of the period, studying the civilization in all its aspects, economic, social, literary, artistic, etc'.<sup>124</sup> Von Staden claims this sounds with 'Burckhardtian tones', and that in much of Sigerist's scholarly production the legacy of Burckhardt and Markwart is visible.<sup>125</sup> In his commemoration of Edelstein, Temkin also wrote that Edelstein held an abiding admiration for Jacob Burckhardt,<sup>126</sup> and in the introduction to the collection of Edelstein's papers *Ancient Medicine*, he and his wife described how Burckhardt's *Griechische Kulturgeschichte* was Edelstein's venerated ideal.<sup>127</sup> Edelstein shared Sigerist's view that science and medicine had to be considered in a more general framework. He wrote to Sigerist of how nothing can be isolated, of how he had nowhere learned more of the significance of medicine than by reading and re-reading tragedies.<sup>128</sup>

Sigerist also shared Edelstein's opinion of the necessity of a collaboration between the sciences and humanities, more specifically medicine, and historical studies.<sup>129</sup> This had been the case from the beginning of his career. At his public inaugural lecture on the 26 November 1921 Sigerist emphasized medical history as a bridge between science and humanities, as a means to avoid the dangers of narrowness in medicine and the overestimation of science.<sup>130</sup> He continued to hold this view in later years; when discussing Detlev Bronk's new plans for the Rockefeller Institute,<sup>131</sup> Sigerist wrote that it was highly pleasing Bronk saw the need for physicians to have knowledge in both the natural sciences and the humanities.<sup>132</sup> Furthermore, according to a letter from Sigerist to Edelstein from 1947, both men also stood for humanism.<sup>133</sup> One aspect of this can be seen in their conduct towards their fellow man. Although he hailed from an aristocratic background, Sigerist was interested in the entirety of

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<sup>124</sup> H. von Staden, "Hard Realism" and "A Few Romantic Moves": Henry Sigerist's Versions of Ancient Greece', in E. Fee and T. M. Brown (eds.), *Making Medical History: The life and times of Henry E. Sigerist* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 136-161, 145-146.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 146-147.

<sup>126</sup> Temkin, 'In Memory of Ludwig Edelstein', 6.

<sup>127</sup> Temkin and Temkin, 'Editor's Introduction', xvi.

<sup>128</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Ester Park, Colorado, to Henry Sigerist [in Engandin] 24 July 1936 [*New Haven*: Box 5, Folder 169].

<sup>129</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Henry Sigerist in Pura 12 August 1955 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 411]. For more information on Edelstein's views on this matter see 'Edelstein as a Humanist and Teacher.'

<sup>130</sup> Bickel, 'Family Background and Early Years', 30-31.

<sup>131</sup> See 'Edelstein as a Humanist and Teacher' for information about Edelstein's work at the Rockefeller under Bronk.

<sup>132</sup> Henry Sigerist to Ludwig and Emma Edelstein in Baltimore 22 September 1955 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 411].

<sup>133</sup> [Henry Sigerist] from Pura to [Ludwig Edelstein] 30 July 1947 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410]. See 'Edelstein as a Humanist and Teacher' for more information on Edelstein's humanism.

society and apparently enjoyed communicating with people from all walks of life.<sup>134</sup> This was a characteristic shared by Edelstein; one of his students recalls how Edelstein always talked to the janitors and taxi drivers, and would quote them in class, of how he had the ‘common touch’.<sup>135</sup> Temkin also remembered that Edelstein was fond of engaging people from all walks of life in conversation.<sup>136</sup> Shared values like these are important in strengthening friendship.

When reflecting on his time at the Johns Hopkins Institute, Temkin recalled how Sigerist was a strong individualist, and built up a team of like-minded co-workers – himself, Edelstein, and Ackerknecht, allowing them to work on whatever they wished.<sup>137</sup> Nevertheless, in 1934 Edelstein related to Sigerist how he felt close to the plans and methods of him and those working in the institute.<sup>138</sup> Furthermore, despite the fact that they did not conduct ‘team-work’, Temkin stated that they formed a team,<sup>139</sup> and although they may have been working on different subjects, many an hour between them was no doubt spent in scholarly discussion. The fact that Sigerist was keen for the members of the institute to conduct their own work, however, and did encourage individuality, may have been particularly appealing to a young Edelstein whose work in Germany had caused quite a stir and received some criticism, partly due to its Promethean nature.<sup>140</sup> However, Sigerist encouraged Edelstein from the very beginning of their relationship. Edelstein wrote to Sigerist in 1931 that he knew what he had written seems alienating, but was glad Sigerist agreed with him on many points.<sup>141</sup> One of the reasons Edelstein was disturbed at the thought of Sigerist leaving the institute was because he would lose this support. He wrote to Levi Arnold Post about the event in 1947:

Apart from the uncertainty as to the successor and his plans for the Institute, Sigerist’s generosity in allowing me to do whatever I liked, and even encouraging me to do it, cannot be equaled [sic] by anyone else, for there is nobody who has an equal breadth of interest.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Bickel, ‘Family Background’, 19.

<sup>135</sup> Information provided by Lorna Green via e-mail 1/9/2013.

<sup>136</sup> Temkin, ‘In Memory of Ludwig Edelstein’, 8.

<sup>137</sup> Kästner, ‘Two Institutions’, 9.

<sup>138</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Rome to Henry Sigerist [in Baltimore] 26 March 1934 [*New Haven*: Box 5, Folder 169].

<sup>139</sup> Kästner, ‘Two Institutions’, 9.

<sup>140</sup> For further information on how this work was received see ‘Edelstein as a Scholar’.

<sup>141</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berlin to Henry Sigerist 14 February 1931 [*Leipzig*: 35b, Bl. 234].

<sup>142</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Levi Arnold Post 21 March 1947 [*Haverford*: Box 1].

After both their moves away from Johns Hopkins, Edelstein remained thankful for the interest Sigerist had in his life and work and wrote to Sigerist in 1951 that it had given him ‘much, very much’.<sup>143</sup>

It seems as though Sigerist also served as a form of role model for Edelstein, someone whose qualities and academic work he admired. He was eleven years older than Edelstein, already had a highly successful career when they first met, and, furthermore, encouraged Edelstein in his own academic work. By 1932 Sigerist had become famous from the publication of two highly successful books, *Einführung in die Medizin* and *Grosse Ärzte*,<sup>144</sup> and likely cut an impressive figure for the younger Edelstein. It was not only his scholarship which Edelstein admired, but also his personal qualities. In a letter to Sigerist on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday Edelstein related the qualities which in turn encouraged and motivated him – Sigerist’s defence of Edelstein’s thoughts, his tolerance for others, readiness to listen, and energy in securing a place for scholarship against the odds.<sup>145</sup> He also wrote of how Sigerist had always had the courage to remain true to himself and place a model and obligation in front of his friends.<sup>146</sup> These were qualities which Edelstein shared.

Despite their growing closeness over the years, whereas Sigerist would address Edelstein as ‘Dear colleague’ or ‘Dear friend’ in his epistles, in the German letters Edelstein almost always addressed Sigerist as ‘Verehrter Herr Professor’ – Honoured/Venerated Professor – and even in Edelstein’s English letters Sigerist was continuously addressed as Dr. Sigerist. This was different from the way in which Edelstein addressed his other friends who are explored in this chapter in the letters; for example, Leo Strauss was often addressed as ‘Dear Mr. Strauss’ or ‘Dear Strauss’, Roy Harvey Pearce as ‘Dear Roy’ and Sidney Hollander as ‘Dear Sidney’. Nor was this because of Sigerist’s position as head of the institute, as he continued to address him in this manner after Sigerist’s move to Pura. However, although not quite with the same veneration, Sigerist also admired Edelstein. In a diary entry from 1933 Sigerist noted that Edelstein was ‘undoubtedly one of the most talented younger philologists a very original thinker...full of plans which seem to me extremely important for the history of Greek science’.<sup>147</sup> In a letter of support for Edelstein’s application

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<sup>143</sup> Ludwig and Emma Edelstein from Baltimore to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 2 April 1951 [*New Haven*: Box 27, Folder 924] (Translated from German).

<sup>144</sup> Temkin, ‘The Double Face of Janus’, 12.

<sup>145</sup> Ludwig and Emma Edelstein from Baltimore to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 2 April 1951 [*New Haven*: Box 27, Folder 924].

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Henry Sigerist diary entry July 1933 [*New Haven*: Box 1, Folder 1].

for a commission in the Army of the United States during World War II, Sigerist wrote that he had known Edelstein intimately for over fifteen years and ‘[l]iving in daily contact with Mr. Edelstein, I have come to know him very well and can vouch for his character, integrity and loyalty’.<sup>148</sup> Sigerist was assured of Edelstein’s character, and, as was the case throughout their friendship, willing to assist him in any way possible.

Edelstein would keep Sigerist informed of his work and his teaching, and the discussion of current work forms a significant part of the correspondence. This is not to suggest, however, that their friendship was entirely based around academia. Nora Sigerist Beeson recalls how her father held some great cookouts with his colleagues from the institute – Edelstein, Temkin, Sanford Larkey, Genevieve Miller, and Hope Trebing.<sup>149</sup> Many other topics are also discussed in the letters including the wellbeing of their respective families, visits from family and friends, and their holidays.<sup>150</sup> Nevertheless, academic discussion, both in person and through letters, was an important connection between Edelstein and Sigerist, and a key aspect of their friendship. The two men would send each other work for their judgement. This was the case right from the beginning of their relationship,<sup>151</sup> through to Sigerist’s death. In 1952 Sigerist lamented on how he often wished they were under the same roof so that he could discuss problems with Edelstein.<sup>152</sup> They would also send reading suggestions. In a letter from 1948, for example, Sigerist asked Edelstein for recommendations on the geography and geographical pathology of Greece and Asia Minor during antiquity and the present, and anything new about Homeric medicine for his second *History of Medicine* volume.<sup>153</sup> Edelstein then replied to this letter with a list of titles, and expressed how glad he would be if he could help a little with Sigerist’s volume on Greece.<sup>154</sup> Whilst Sigerist was working on the second volume of his *History of Medicine*, Edelstein not only offered reading

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<sup>148</sup> Henry Sigerist to D. Fringer in Baltimore 29 June 1943 [*Baltimore (1)*: Institute of the History of Medicine, Edelstein, Ludwig & Renata, Folder 48].

<sup>149</sup> N. Sigerist Beeson, ‘My Father H. E. S: A Photo Essay’, in E. Fee and T. M. Brown (eds.), *Making Medical History: The life and times of Henry E. Sigerist* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 93-117, 111.

<sup>150</sup> Emma, for example, sent a postcard from herself and Ludwig during their trip to Maine in 1955. Emma Edelstein from Baltimore to the Sigerists in Pura 7 January 1955 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 411].

<sup>151</sup> In 1931 Edelstein stated that he was glad to hear Sigerist read his work and that he hoped to send him a copy of his article on ancient dietetics. Ludwig Edelstein from Berlin to Henry Sigerist 14 February 1931 [*Leipzig*: 35b, Bl. 234].

<sup>152</sup> Henry Sigerist from Pura to Ludwig Edelstein in Baltimore 13 January 1952 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 411].

<sup>153</sup> Henry Sigerist from Pura to Ludwig Edelstein in Berkeley 16 December 1948 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>154</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 4 February 1949 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

suggestions, but also to read parts of the manuscript.<sup>155</sup> Sigerist, however, did not complete this before he passed away, and so in a final act of devotion Edelstein assumed responsibility for the editing of the volume as a token of his ‘indebtedness to him as scholar and friend’.<sup>156</sup> Edelstein made a final demonstration of his friendship through an act of kindness and gratitude for Sigerist’s friendship and support throughout his lifetime. The assertions of friendship which Edelstein had voiced to Sigerist during his lifetime were then revealed through his actions after Sigerist’s death.

When, after Sigerist’s move to Pura, the two men could no longer discuss their life and work at the institute, the friendship was continued through letters, though Edelstein did visit Sigerist at his home in April 1953.<sup>157</sup> When discussing his plans to spend a year in Oxford in 1953 on the Fulbright fellowship in a letter to Sigerist, Edelstein informed him that the most promising aspect of the plan was to see him again.<sup>158</sup> After the visit he wrote to Sigerist of how comforting it had been to see him and his wife again, to enjoy their friendship, and feel as much at home as before, of how ‘[t]hese were truly unforgettable days’.<sup>159</sup> Sigerist was no less pleased, and after the event wrote to Temkin that he had ‘greatly enjoyed their visit’.<sup>160</sup> Emma also accompanied Edelstein on this visit, and from her subsequent letter to the Sigerists it is clear that she was also close to them. She informed Sigerist: ‘[W]e have enjoyed the time in your house infinitely...your company was so familiar, homely, and harmonic. How many of the most serene memories appeared, how many jointly lived experiences came to life again...’<sup>161</sup>

The correspondence demonstrates a relationship which, at first, was dominated by Edelstein’s gratitude to, and admiration of, Sigerist. However, in following years this gratitude would become mutual when the two men became colleagues and Edelstein produced vital work for the institute. The two men were not only colleagues; the ties between

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<sup>155</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 10 July 1949 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>156</sup> H. E. Sigerist, *A History of Medicine*, Vol. II: *Early Greek, Hindu, and Persian medicine* ed. by Ludwig Edelstein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), viii.

<sup>157</sup> Emma Edelstein from Oxford to Eva and Henry Sigerist in Pura 6 May 1953 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 411].

<sup>158</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist in Pura 2 August 1952 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 411].

<sup>159</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Oxford to Henry Sigerist in Pura 8 June 1953 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 411] (Translated from German).

<sup>160</sup> M. H. Bickel, *Correspondence Henry E. Sigerist - Owsei Temkin (1931-1956)* (Bern, 2012), 157, accessed on:

[http://www.img.unibe.ch/unibe/medizin/mhi/content/e85995/e210421/files210430/CorrespondenceHenryE.Sigerist-OwseiTemkin\\_ger.pdf](http://www.img.unibe.ch/unibe/medizin/mhi/content/e85995/e210421/files210430/CorrespondenceHenryE.Sigerist-OwseiTemkin_ger.pdf) 31/07/14.

<sup>161</sup> Emma Edelstein from Oxford to Eva and Henry Sigerist in Pura 6 May 1953 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 411] (Translated from German).

them grew into a warm friendship, in which the men corresponded about important aspects of their daily lives. They shared a number of traits and ideals, nevertheless, they did not simply agree with everything the other said, and did not let friendship compromise scholarly judgement. Edelstein wrote his article on ‘Platonism or Aristotelianism?’ because he felt he had to argue against a weak article Sigerist had produced on the subject.<sup>162</sup>

For Edelstein, Sigerist’s departure from Baltimore left a void. In 1956 when Sigerist was living in Pura, Edelstein wrote that he and his wife missed Sigerist, and that Baltimore was no longer what it used to be when he was there.<sup>163</sup> Sigerist’s death was an even greater blow. In a commemoration of Sigerist delivered at a meeting of the Johns Hopkins Medical History Club and later printed in the *Bulletin*, Edelstein stated that ‘[w]e mourn the loss of an outstanding scholar; we also deplore the loss of a true friend and a good companion.’<sup>164</sup> Sigerist had been a crucial figure in Edelstein’s life, as a supporter, colleague, figure of respect; but, most importantly, as a friend. The chapter will now proceed in examining Edelstein’s relationship with another of his friends from the institute, Owsei Temkin.

### 3.4 Owsei Temkin

Owsei Temkin (1902-2002) was born in Minsk, Russia, but moved to Germany with his parents in 1905.<sup>165</sup> In 1922 he began medical studies at the University of Leipzig,<sup>166</sup> and in 1925 attended Henry Sigerist’s lectures in the history of medicine which inspired him to write his thesis on Hippocratic concepts of disease under Sigerist’s guidance.<sup>167</sup> He received his M.D degree in 1927, and was offered a residency in a residential home in Leipzig; however, fate intervened and the municipal authorities rejected his application, most likely because he was not a German citizen.<sup>168</sup> Instead, Temkin was employed as Sigerist’s assistant at Leipzig,<sup>169</sup> and so began his career in the history of medicine. This career would prove to be a highly productive and successful one, causing Temkin to be regarded as one of the leading medical historians of the past century.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> See ‘Edelstein as a Scholar’ for information on Edelstein’s article.

<sup>163</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Henry Sigerist in Pura [April 1956] [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 411].

<sup>164</sup> O. Temkin, R. Shyrock, S. Larkey and L. Edelstein, ‘In Memory of Henry E. Sigerist’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 31, 4, (1957), 295-308, 308.

<sup>165</sup> C. Rosenberg, ‘Eloge: Owsei Temkin 1902-2002’, *Isis*, 95, 3, (2004), 451-453, 451.

<sup>166</sup> G. H. Brieger, ‘Owsei Temkin, 6 October 1902 – 18 July 2002’, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 148, 4, (2004), 539-545, 540.

<sup>167</sup> Nutton, ‘Owsei Temkin’, 101.

<sup>168</sup> Temkin, ‘The Double Face of Janus’, 11.

<sup>169</sup> Nutton, ‘Owsei Temkin’, 101.

<sup>170</sup> Rosenberg, ‘Owsei Temkin’, 451.

Sigerist was to prove highly influential in Temkin's career again when he brought him to Baltimore and the Johns Hopkins in 1932.<sup>171</sup> Temkin would remain there for the rest of his career, as Associate, Associate Professor, and finally Professor of the History of Medicine.<sup>172</sup> Furthermore, he would serve as director of the institute from 1958 to 1968, and edit the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* for twenty years.<sup>173</sup> Gert Brieger argues that from 1945-1980 it was Temkin who sustained the scholarly reputation of the institute, through both his own work and the improvement in the quality of the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, and that he played a key role in the professionalization of the history of medicine as a discipline.<sup>174</sup> Even in his retirement, Temkin continued to make important contributions towards the historiography of medicine, publishing four books and a revision of his study on the history of epilepsy.<sup>175</sup>

Temkin's scholarly interests were wide ranging though they mainly included the understanding of ancient medicine along with its influence on western medicine;<sup>176</sup> exploring the meanings of an idea, concept, or disease and how it was interpreted at various points in history,<sup>177</sup> and also moral issues in medicine – Brieger calls him an early historian of bioethics.<sup>178</sup> Additionally, another main aspect of Temkin's work was his conviction that ideas should make a difference to the medical profession and the way it behaved, and so his essays reached out to medics, teaching them about the past to help them reflect upon their present situation.<sup>179</sup> This was, no doubt, related to his background as a physician. Temkin stated that 'the feeling of obligation to medicine never left me throughout my career as an active member of a medical faculty'.<sup>180</sup>

Edelstein's friendship with Temkin has been chosen for a case study because, unlike the other friendships of this chapter, which are largely analysed on the basis of Edelstein's letters, this case study can build on pronouncement of either side. Temkin's own testimony in various published works is a valuable resource, providing insight into his own views on his friendship with Edelstein. It is also interesting to reflect upon this companionship as it

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<sup>171</sup> Nutton, 'Owsei Temkin', 101.

<sup>172</sup> Brieger, 'Owsei Temkin', 541.

<sup>173</sup> Nutton, 'Owsei Temkin', 102.

<sup>174</sup> Brieger, 'Temkin's Time and Ours', 7.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Nutton, 'Owsei Temkin', 102.

<sup>177</sup> Brieger, 'Owsei Temkin', 543.

<sup>178</sup> Brieger, 'Temkin's Time and Ours', 8.

<sup>179</sup> Nutton, 'Owsei Temkin', 103.

<sup>180</sup> Temkin, 'The Double Face of Janus', 20.

provides an example of a friendship with someone who was also a colleague for much of Edelstein's career, and who shared similar intellectual interests. Temkin was born in the same year as Edelstein, and was also a deracinated scholar from Germany who moved to Baltimore, and so they had a connection through their similar experiences.

Temkin dated the beginning of his friendship with Edelstein very specifically to the 15 January 1930, a date on which Edelstein lectured to the Leipzig Institute on the Hippocratic problem.<sup>181</sup> Temkin claimed that the evening heralded the beginning of a friendship which lasted until Edelstein's death in 1965 and to 'which I owe much'.<sup>182</sup> This relationship was then further strengthened in Baltimore when for many years Edelstein's and Temkin's offices were located side by side, which allowed the regular exchange of both ideas and the day's news.<sup>183</sup> It is clear from Temkin's words that Edelstein had a vital impact on him from their very first meeting. Indeed, Temkin described Edelstein as one of the two men to have had a decisive influence on his career, the other being Henry Sigerist.<sup>184</sup> It was Edelstein, he claimed, who taught him the art of interpreting a text.<sup>185</sup> Moreover, Temkin even stated that for many years 'Edelstein's view of ancient medicine became largely my own'.<sup>186</sup> This demonstrates just how influential his friendship with Edelstein was on Temkin. Edelstein's role as a friend was far-reaching, and he acted as a kind of mentor *in rebus classicis* to Temkin as well as being his colleague. Yet, this was a multi-faceted relationship, and Temkin would also offer contributions to Edelstein's work.<sup>187</sup> Furthermore, Temkin was also vitally important in helping Edelstein's career, for it was he who first informed Sigerist of Edelstein's troubles in Germany,<sup>188</sup> leading to Sigerist's actions on this problem.

Edelstein and Temkin not only helped with each other's individual work, but also worked together on a group project. This was the translation of the gynaecological work of Soranus alongside Nicholas Eastman and Alan Guttmacher.<sup>189</sup> The group would meet once or twice a week in Temkin's office to review Temkin's translation in which, Temkin claimed,

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<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., 18-19.

<sup>183</sup> O. Temkin, 'On Second Thought', in O. Temkin (ed.), "*On Second Thought*" and Other Essays in the History of Science and Medicine (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 1-18, 2.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

<sup>188</sup> Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads', 56-57.

<sup>189</sup> Temkin, 'The Double Face of Janus', 26.



Edelstein proved particularly helpful.<sup>190</sup> As with a number of his other projects, Edelstein accepted this task out of a sense of duty and friendship,<sup>191</sup> again demonstrating his commitment through the undertaking of scholarly projects. After Edelstein's death Temkin would get a chance to repay him for his help and for the work he had conducted on Soranus' gynaecology, for it was Owsei alongside his wife Lilian who was responsible for editing and getting Edelstein's collection of essays on ancient medicine published. Edelstein had planned to publish this collection a few years before his death, and had been in contact with Lilian about the translation of the German essays into English. Edelstein had helped produce volumes of his friends' work a number of times, and now the same was done for him by Temkin. This illustrates that Temkin was a devoted and loyal friend, who was also willing to give his time and hard work to help his friend's legacy live on and his work become more widely and conveniently distributed.

Temkin's early appreciation and respect for Edelstein's arguments can be seen within his own work. In an article from 1953 he described Edelstein's work as having provided a 'new basis for our understanding of Greek medicine'.<sup>192</sup> In the same article he also stated that Edelstein's *Asclepius* had enabled a better understanding of the relationship of Rationalism to religion, and mentioned his work on the rise of dietetic medicine which Edelstein had 'so well described'.<sup>193</sup> In his 'Essay on the Usefulness of Medical History for Medicine', Temkin also thanked Edelstein for the benefits he received from frequent conversations on topics related to the essay,<sup>194</sup> indicating how exchanges with Edelstein also helped him to develop ideas and arguments in his work.

Nonetheless, as time went on Temkin's position would grow ever detached from Edelstein's,<sup>195</sup> and he developed 'second thoughts about his approach to ancient medicine'.<sup>196</sup> This distance reached its pinnacle with Temkin's interpretation of the Hippocratic Oath.<sup>197</sup> Here he diverged from Edelstein's hypothesis that the Oath must be read against the backdrop of neo-Pythagorean teachings, therefore designating it as a post- or pseudo-Hippocratic and

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<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 26-27.

<sup>192</sup> O. Temkin, 'Greek Medicine as Science and Craft', *Isis*, 44, 3, (1953), 213-225, 218.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 221.

<sup>194</sup> O. Temkin, 'An Essay on the Usefulness of Medical History for Medicine', in O. Temkin (ed.), *The Double Face of Janus and Other Essays in the History of Medicine* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 68-100, 68.

<sup>195</sup> Temkin, 'On Second Thought', 2.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., 3.

esoteric text.<sup>198</sup> Temkin argued that the text was not explicit on whether there was a religious creed, philosophical belief, or social understanding which demanded this kind of oath from its followers and that the Oath remained a ‘puzzling document’.<sup>199</sup> Temkin further differed from Edelstein in his attention to modern medicine, as he stated that Edelstein had little interest in actual medicine, and even less medical knowledge.<sup>200</sup>

However, Temkin’s opinion of Edelstein as a friend remained unchanged and can best be described in his own words:

...to his friends he has left the memory of a man gentle when they suffered, helpful when they needed help, and generously loyal to all he deemed good in them.<sup>201</sup>

This quote demonstrates the value Temkin placed on Edelstein as a friend and his high opinion of him. Indeed, particularly in earlier years, Temkin does seem to have revered Edelstein. This was partly based on his great respect and admiration for Edelstein’s work. Even though in later years his own views diverged from Edelstein’s, Temkin still recognised how influential Edelstein had been in his life. As had been the case with Strauss and Sigerist, scholarship and academic interchange was a key part of their relationship and provided the foundations for their friendship. As well as being friends and colleagues, the two men also took on the role of teachers and greatly helped each other with work, not only through the production of texts in which they are both listed as an author, like the work on Soranus, but also through the constant scholarly conversation and exchange of ideas. Edelstein did not just have friendships with those working in his area however, but with a range of academics. One of these friendships, with a man who was based in the English department, will now be considered.

### 3.5 Roy Harvey Pearce

Roy Harvey Pearce (1919-2012) was a renowned scholar of American literature who worked at Berkeley, Johns Hopkins, and the Claremont Graduate School before moving to the San Diego division of the University of California, where he helped develop the

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<sup>198</sup> T. Rütten, “‘On Second Thought’ and Other Essays in the History of Medicine and Science by Owsei Temkin”, *Isis*, 93, 4, (2002) 684-685, 685. For more information on Edelstein’s interpretation of the Oath see ‘Edelstein as a Scholar’.

<sup>199</sup> O. Temkin, ‘What does the Hippocratic Oath Say?’, in O. Temkin (ed.), “*On Second Thought and Other Essays in the History of Science and Medicine* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 21-28, 27.

<sup>200</sup> Temkin, ‘On Second Thought’, 12.

<sup>201</sup> Temkin, ‘In Memory of Ludwig Edelstein’, 9.

university's humanities program, and became the first chair of the Literature Department.<sup>202</sup> Central to his work was a commitment to the historical study of literature, and his first book *Savagism and Civilization* constitutes one of the earliest studies of the ideological representation of Native Americans in both western thought and American literature.<sup>203</sup> Pearce was also a member of the board of directors of several academic associations, served as Associate Dean of Graduate Studies at San Diego, and in the mid-1980s worked to create a single PhD in literature rather than separate ones for each national literature.<sup>204</sup>

Edelstein first came into contact with Pearce during the summer of 1944, when it seems Pearce approached Edelstein about his course on the history of philosophy at Johns Hopkins.<sup>205</sup> The development of a long and close friendship followed this interaction, which would continue despite the geographical distance that later divided them. Throughout time this friendship also extended to both their wives, Emma and Marie, and Ludwig wrote that 'I rejoice in having your friendship and Marie's.'<sup>206</sup> Emma also corresponded with both Roy and Marie and her letters demonstrate a close relationship; she was delighted by their news of a baby,<sup>207</sup> and expressed her joy at the prospect of being able to see them.<sup>208</sup> Emma clearly held a special place in Roy's life also, since he dedicated his article on 'Historicism Once More' to her memory.<sup>209</sup> Edelstein was deeply moved by this gesture and greatly appreciated what his friend had done as it allowed Emma's name to live on with the paper.<sup>210</sup>

One of the reasons why this friendship is used as a case study in this chapter is because it provides an example of a friendship with a younger academic from a different discipline and background. Despite a lack of correspondence from Pearce to Edelstein, the information we do have is valuable for informing us about this relationship. It can be deduced that one result of this type of friendship is that, although Pearce came from a different discipline, he seemed to look upon Edelstein as a kind of mentor. He described how an evening with Edelstein in Baltimore was one of the great events in his life as a teacher and scholar for

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<sup>202</sup> Anonymous, 'Roy Harvey Pearce 1919-2012 In Memoriam', accessed on: <http://literature.ucsd.edu/people/faculty/memoriam/rhpearce.html> 03/01/2013.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

<sup>205</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Roy Harvey Pearce 28 August 1945 [*San Diego*].

<sup>206</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 31 December 1958 [*San Diego*].

<sup>207</sup> Emma Edelstein from Berkeley to Roy Harvey and Marie Pearce 29 November 1950 [*San Diego*].

<sup>208</sup> Emma Edelstein from Berkeley to Marie and Roy Harvey Pearce 15 August 1951 [*San Diego*]; Emma Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey and Marie Pearce 10 January 1955 [*San Diego*].

<sup>209</sup> R. H. Pearce, 'Historicism Once More', *The Kenyon Review*, 20, 4, (1958), 554-591, 554.

<sup>210</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 31 December 1958 [*San Diego*].

‘Edelstein made me understand that a humanist’s could be an authentic vocation’.<sup>211</sup> Pearce also showed his gratitude and veneration for Edelstein when he acknowledged him in his work *The Continuity of American Poetry* wherein he listed Edelstein as being ‘chief among those who have taught me to read and write’.<sup>212</sup> Edelstein was touched by this and expressed to Pearce that ‘you could not have given me more than you did’.<sup>213</sup> Pearce also dedicated his edition of Walt Whitman’s *Leaves of Grass* to Edelstein. The introduction reads ‘for Ludwig Edelstein “Was der Mensch sei, sagt ihm nur seine Geschichte.”’<sup>214</sup>

Further revealing of his admiration and respect for Edelstein is that Pearce was planning to ask the Bollingen Foundation for travel and maintenance funds for spring 1960 so that he could go to be ‘tutored’ by Edelstein in Baltimore.<sup>215</sup> Although he did not get to do so at this date, in May 1960 Pearce still hoped to be able to go and work with Edelstein in the next year.<sup>216</sup> However, by August 1960, Edelstein no longer felt he could honour this arrangement because he had taken on new teaching hours in Baltimore in order to rescue the teaching of Greek philosophy from being cancelled.<sup>217</sup> This was a difficult decision for Edelstein, but he wished to devote the rest of his time to the investigations he started with Emma.<sup>218</sup> Finally, Edelstein also talked to Detlev Bronk about getting Pearce to go to the Rockefeller for a short period,<sup>219</sup> although unfortunately, as with their other plans, this did not materialise.

As was the case with the friendships considered thus far, Edelstein showed a deep and sustained interest in Pearce’s work, and Pearce was also concerned with Edelstein’s. The two sent each other copies of their work, Edelstein even joked to Pearce that ‘[i]t would make me uncomfortable if I did not inflict my works on you.’<sup>220</sup> Again, although Edelstein offered praise for Pearce’s work, he was not afraid to criticise it and suggest improvements. For example, Edelstein explained to Pearce that in his article on Hawthorne, the nervousness and

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<sup>211</sup> D. Kettler, *The Liquidation of Exile: Studies in the intellectual emigration of the 1930s* (London: Anthem Press, 2011), 93.

<sup>212</sup> R. H. Pearce, *The Continuity of American Poetry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), viii.

<sup>213</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Roy Harvey Pearce 24 November 1961 [*San Diego*].

<sup>214</sup> W. Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*, Facsimile Edition of the 1860 text with an introduction by Roy Harvey Pearce (Ithaca: Great Seal Books, 1961), vii. This can be translated as ‘What the human being is, is only revealed to him by his history’ and is a quote from Wilhelm Dilthey’s ‘The Dream’.

<sup>215</sup> Kettler, *The Liquidation of Exile*, 93.

<sup>216</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 15 May 1960 [*San Diego*].

<sup>217</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 18 August 1960 [*San Diego*].

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>219</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Roy Harvey Pearce 10 July 1962 [*San Diego*].

<sup>220</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Roy Harvey Pearce 23 October 1949 [*San Diego*].

abruptness of his style did not allow for the tranquillity of mind that the reader needed.<sup>221</sup> Furthermore, when he discussed Pearce's work on *Savagism and Civilisation*, he offered high praise, but also criticisms.<sup>222</sup> He did not let his friendship with Pearce interfere with his scholarly integrity. Edelstein and Pearce also worked together when they had the opportunity, reading books and discussing topics of common interest.<sup>223</sup> This intellectual interaction was a salient facet of their relationship. Moreover, they planned to produce a translation of Dilthey alongside Emma,<sup>224</sup> however, this never saw fruition. Therefore, despite hailing from different disciplines the two men still shared common academic interests, took great concern in each other's work, and indeed, Edelstein even assisted Pearce with this work.

Another way in which Edelstein supported Pearce was through kind words in times of trouble. When Pearce was feeling low Edelstein attempted to quell his worries and self-doubts, reassuring him about his intellectual gifts, his blessed family life, and that 'you are alright. The world would be a better place to live in, if there were more people like you.'<sup>225</sup> When Pearce seemed dissatisfied and despondent, Edelstein tried to convince him to be more positive in himself, and about his work, informing him that he was a scholar whom Edelstein was sure would keep producing better and better work.<sup>226</sup> Again, this highlights the mentor student aspect of their relationship, with Edelstein reassuring and supporting his younger friend.

Pearce was not the only one to gain something from this association however. Edelstein was also thankful for his relationship with the younger Pearce, for he felt 'it was good, and gratifying beyond what I can express in words, to gain contact with younger people of my calling'.<sup>227</sup> Edelstein also enjoyed being exposed to a different discipline through his friendship with Pearce. He claimed he needed his 'educational influence as far as my knowledge of English and American Literature is concerned',<sup>228</sup> and that Pearce's work triggered him to read American poetry and novels.<sup>229</sup> Pearce was also keen to support Edelstein's career. Before they arrived in Berkeley, Emma wrote to Pearce who was already there and stated that 'it is nice to know that you contributed so generously in bringing this

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<sup>221</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 8 February 1955 [*San Diego*].

<sup>222</sup> Ludwig and Emma Edelstein from Berkeley to Roy Harvey Pearce 24 August 1953 [*San Diego*].

<sup>223</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Oxford to Roy Harvey Pearce 16 November 1953 [*San Diego*].

<sup>224</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Roy Harvey Pearce in Columbus 30 June 1961 [*San Diego*].

<sup>225</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 20 July 1955 [*San Diego*].

<sup>226</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 6 July 1956 [*San Diego*].

<sup>227</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Roy Harvey Pearce 28 August 1945 [*San Diego*].

<sup>228</sup> Ibid.

<sup>229</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Roy Harvey Pearce 10 July 1962 [*San Diego*].

about'.<sup>230</sup> Although it is unclear how exactly Pearce helped in this matter, it is likely that he somehow vocalised his support for Edelstein's appointment there. Pearce also helped to facilitate the Edelsteins' move to Berkeley by providing help with accommodation.<sup>231</sup> Moreover, although Pearce had left Berkeley before the loyalty oath struggle, he still supported Edelstein in his stance against the oath by refusing to teach the summer school there in 1951, for which Edelstein was deeply thankful.<sup>232</sup> In later years, Pearce also invited Edelstein to lecture in Ohio under his sponsorship, however, Edelstein was unable to commit to this request.<sup>233</sup> Therefore, although as part of their relationship Edelstein did seem to fulfil the role of a teacher, he also received help and support from Pearce. An element of reciprocity characterised this friendship, as the previous ones so far analysed. It is also clear from the correspondence that Edelstein and Pearce had a very warm relationship. When Pearce left Berkeley Edelstein wrote that it did not feel the same without him, and expressed how he and Emma missed both Roy and Marie.<sup>234</sup> Throughout the correspondence, Edelstein often expressed how he missed the Pearces when they were living elsewhere, how he hoped to see them soon, and he also urged Roy to write and send news.<sup>235</sup>

The two men were also connected through their friendships with Arthur Lovejoy,<sup>236</sup> who was also a topic of discussion in their correspondence.<sup>237</sup> Edelstein was a member of Lovejoy's History of Ideas Club and his respect for him is clear from the obituary he presented to the club following Lovejoy's death.<sup>238</sup> Along with George Boas Edelstein also made the arrangements for the printing of Lovejoy's *Essays in the History of Ideas*,<sup>239</sup> and planned to publish a collection of Lovejoy's essays after his death.<sup>240</sup> Lovejoy was highly influential in Pearce's work; Pearce stated that another great moment in his life as a scholar and teacher was when Lovejoy, after receiving one of his term papers, wrote him a seventeen

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<sup>230</sup> Emma Edelstein from Seattle to Roy Harvey Pearce 29 April 1948 [*San Diego*].

<sup>231</sup> Ibid.

<sup>232</sup> Ludwig Edelstein [from Berkeley] to Roy Harvey Pearce 29 October 1950 [*San Diego*].

<sup>233</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 20 July 1955 [*San Diego*].

<sup>234</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Roy Harvey Pearce 6 February 1950 [*San Diego*].

<sup>235</sup> For example in Ludwig Edelstein [from Berkeley] to Roy Harvey Pearce 29 October 1950 [*San Diego*]. 'Let me hear from you again... We are thinking of you very often, miss you constantly, and hope to see you again in the near future.'

<sup>236</sup> Arthur O. Lovejoy (1873-1962) was a philosopher and intellectual historian, and head of the Philosophy Department at Johns Hopkins from 1910-1938 where he met Edelstein. He founded the *Journal of the History of Ideas* in 1940 and his most well-known work is *The Great Chain of Being*. See P. Wiener, 'Towards Commemorating the Centenary of Arthur O. Lovejoy's Birthday (October 10, 1873)', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 34, 4, (1973), 591-598.

<sup>237</sup> As in Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 17 June 1954 [*San Diego*].

<sup>238</sup> L. Edelstein, 'In Memory of A. O. Lovejoy', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 24, 4, (1963), 451-456.

<sup>239</sup> A. O. Lovejoy, *Essays in the History of Ideas* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1948), vii.

<sup>240</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Roy Harvey Pearce 4 June 1963 [*San Diego*].

page reply and invited him to dinner.<sup>241</sup> Furthermore, Pearce also placed his works *The Savages of America* and *The Continuity of American Poetry* in line with Lovejoy's history of ideas.<sup>242</sup> Pearce was even urged by Edelstein to write a book about Lovejoy in the future which could 'be a real contribution'.<sup>243</sup> Despite their different disciplines, their shared appreciation for Lovejoy and his methods proved another strengthening bond in their relationship. Edelstein's friendship with Pearce provides another example of an academic friendship, but Edelstein's friendships were not completely limited and he also had a close relationship with a man who was not a scholar. This relationship will now be examined.

### 3.6 Sidney Hollander

Sidney Hollander (1881-1972) was a Baltimore civic leader who, although a pharmacist by trade, and President of the Maryland Pharmaceutical Company 1900-1956, devoted his life to, and is most known for, his dedication to fighting racial injustices and discrimination.<sup>244</sup> Hollander's work in this field included raising money to hire Baltimore's first two black recreation leaders, and picketing Ford's Theater for unequal racial practices.<sup>245</sup> Hollander was also a member of a number of boards and executive committees including the National Urban League and the American Jewish Committee.<sup>246</sup> Furthermore, he was also President of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds 1939-1946, President of the National Social Welfare Assembly 1955-56, a founder of the national Americans for Democratic Action, and a former head of the Baltimore American Jewish Congress.<sup>247</sup>

Unfortunately, there is little background information in the correspondence on the friendship between Hollander and Edelstein, and details are lacking concerning when and how they met and became friends. It is clear, however, that Edelstein must have met Hollander soon after his arrival in Baltimore in the early 1930s, as in 1936 Hollander was corresponding with Alexander Levy, Emma's brother.<sup>248</sup> It could also be possible that they met through Arthur Lovejoy, as he is mentioned as a common contact in the letters. However,

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<sup>241</sup> D. Kettler, 'The Symbolic Uses of Exile: Erich Kahler at Ohio State', in A. Stephan (ed.), *Exile and Otherness: New approaches to the experience of the Nazi refugees* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005), 269-310, 288.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid.

<sup>243</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Roy Harvey Pearce 13 May 1963 [*San Diego*].

<sup>244</sup> M. Hodge, 'Sidney Hollander, 90, Fought Racial Injustice 7 Decades', *The Washington Post*, 25 February 1972, 10.

<sup>245</sup> Anonymous, 'Sidney Hollander, 90, dies', *The Baltimore Sun*, 24 February 1972, 20.

<sup>246</sup> Anonymous, 'Sidney Hollander Dead at 90; Long Active in Social Welfare', *The New York Times*, 24 February 1972, 42.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid.

<sup>248</sup> Alexander and Charlotte Levy from Berlin to Sidney Hollander 19 November 1936 [*Baltimore* (2): Box 31, Alexander Levy Eleanor Levy]. See 'Edelstein as a Collaborator' for more information on Levy.

despite this lack of information, this friendship can still be explored thanks to the surviving correspondence between Hollander and Edelstein and his family. In Edelstein's other friendships discussion of work and ideas was a major component. Much of the correspondence was built around this, and it seemed to strengthen these relationships. Although Edelstein did occasionally send his work and the work of others on topics of interest to Hollander,<sup>249</sup> from the existing correspondence it appears that intellectual debate was not as large a component in their relationship as it was with Edelstein's colleagues and fellow academics. Indeed, when Edelstein sent Hollander a copy of the 'Journal' on the philosophic approach to philanthropy, Hollander admitted that although he could comprehend some of it, as he read further he was 'way over my depth'.<sup>250</sup> This asymmetry, however, did not stop a close bond from forming – Edelstein stated that he was deeply grateful to Hollander for his friendship,<sup>251</sup> and he described him as possessing 'good sense' and a 'good heart'.<sup>252</sup>

The friendship could also have been strengthened early on by Hollander's aid to the Edelsteins. In a letter from 1964 Edelstein thanked him for his help which allowed them to 'have houses of our own...when really we should have been living in a backstairs apartment'.<sup>253</sup> This likely refers to when Hollander had given the Edelsteins financial aid in the 1950s,<sup>254</sup> which perhaps enabled them to purchase a house. In 1964 Edelstein was finally able to repay him through a gift of money to the Baltimore Fellowship Committee.<sup>255</sup> Edelstein had received this money when the German government finally acknowledged his claims, but felt he no longer had any use for it.<sup>256</sup>

Another reason why this friendship is interesting, perhaps partly because of the lack of lengthy academic discussions in the letters, is because of its generally relaxed and jovial

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<sup>249</sup> Edelstein sent Hollander a copy of Lovejoy's talk on Hitler which Hollander thanks him for in: [Sidney Hollander] to Ludwig Edelstein 5 December 1962 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 19, Ludwig Edelstein Renata & Nathan Edelstein].

<sup>250</sup> [Sidney Hollander] to Ludwig Edelstein 23 May 1961 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 19, Ludwig Edelstein Renata & Nathan Edelstein].

<sup>251</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Sidney Hollander 31 May 1956 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 19, Ludwig Edelstein Renata & Nathan Edelstein].

<sup>252</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Sidney Hollander 11 October 1962 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 19, Ludwig Edelstein Renata & Nathan Edelstein].

<sup>253</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Sidney Hollander 23 March 1964 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 19, Ludwig Edelstein Renata & Nathan Edelstein].

<sup>254</sup> [Sidney Hollander] to Ludwig Edelstein in Baltimore 5 June 1956 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 19, Ludwig Edelstein Renata & Nathan Edelstein].

<sup>255</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Sidney Hollander 23 March 1964 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 19, Ludwig Edelstein Renata & Nathan Edelstein].

<sup>256</sup> Ibid.



character. The tone of the letters between Edelstein and Hollander and the language they use suggests that the two men were at ease with one another and supports the argument that they became good friends. The letters seem much more light-hearted than those of Edelstein with his other friends, and often contain jokes and witticisms. One letter from Hollander to Edelstein simply states: ‘Here’s the amount you demanded. Now for Heaven’s sake quit hounding me.’<sup>257</sup> In another, Hollander asked Edelstein: ‘How are your guts? Better I hope’.<sup>258</sup> The times when there was a lack of contact between Hollander and Edelstein did not cause any real problems, instead Hollander joked: ‘It’s been so long I forget what you look like – fortunately’.<sup>259</sup> Indeed, Hollander was prone to levity; in a letter from June 1965 on Edelstein’s medical issues, Hollander teased: ‘Evidently the doctors haven’t got you completely down. You might even escape when they’re not looking.’<sup>260</sup> Although the same cannot be said of Edelstein, and according to Temkin he was ‘[n]ever given to levity’,<sup>261</sup> the letters with Hollander do evidence a more jovial side.<sup>262</sup>

As had been the case with Roy Harvey Pearce, Edelstein’s friendship with Hollander was not just held between them, but extended to their families. When writing to her brother about Emma, Hollander stated that ‘we’re quite devoted to her’,<sup>263</sup> and when corresponding about a lunch he had taken with her described it as being ‘to my great pleasure’.<sup>264</sup> Furthermore, Hollander averred that both Edelstein and his wife were old friends of his,<sup>265</sup> and Hollander corresponded with Emma as well as Ludwig. Edelstein was also close to

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<sup>257</sup> [Sidney Hollander] to Ludwig Edelstein in Baltimore 15 March 1956 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 19, Ludwig Edelstein Renata & Nathan Edelstein].

<sup>258</sup> [Sidney Hollander] to Ludwig Edelstein 16 May 1963 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 19, Ludwig Edelstein Renata & Nathan Edelstein].

<sup>259</sup> [Sidney Hollander] to Ludwig Edelstein 15 October 1962 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 19, Ludwig Edelstein Renata & Nathan Edelstein].

<sup>260</sup> Sidney Hollander to Ludwig Edelstein 10 June 1965 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 19, Ludwig Edelstein Renata & Nathan Edelstein].

<sup>261</sup> Temkin, ‘In Memory of Ludwig Edelstein’, 5.

<sup>262</sup> This side is also evident from Edelstein’s lecture on ‘Plato’s Seventh Letter: An Example of Historical Verification’ from 1964 in which, at the start of the lecture, Edelstein makes a number of jokes resulting in laughter from his audience. For example: ‘I am sure that it is for the first time that somebody talks on Plato in the research seminar, and I must say though the announcement says that these seminars are a device for interdisciplinary instruction and are meant to stimulate the mixing of disciplines I am forcefully reminded of what happened to me a few weeks ago in Princeton. I talked to the students, and was introduced by the Professor of Chemistry, and after he had made the usual complimentary remarks he said: “Mr. Edelstein’s at the Rockefeller Institute, what they are using him for is beyond my imagination.”’: Ludwig Edelstein – Plato’s Seventh Letter: An example of historical verification, 30 October 1964 [*Sleepy Hollow (3)*].

<sup>263</sup> [Sidney Hollander] to Alexander Levy 24 August 1938 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 19, Ludwig Edelstein Renata & Nathan Edelstein].

<sup>264</sup> [Sidney Hollander] to Alexander Levy 7 April 1938 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 19, Ludwig Edelstein Renata & Nathan Edelstein].

<sup>265</sup> [Sidney Hollander] 9 March 1942 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 31, Alexander Levy Eleanor Levy].

Hollander's family. Hollander joked that in view of the balm Edelstein had brought to Barbara and her fiancé's lives the least she could do would be to name her first born Ludwig or Ludwiga.<sup>266</sup> Sidney Hollander was also instrumental in aiding Alexander Levy to immigrate to the United States by providing a 'supplementary affidavit' to the principal one which Ludwig and Emma supplied.<sup>267</sup> In fact, Alexander stated that during the affair with the Visas nobody cared as thoroughly or made his affair as much his own as Hollander did,<sup>268</sup> and as time progressed the two families also became friends.

Although Edelstein did not have the kind of deep discussions he had with some of his other friends with Hollander, this does not mean that the two men were not good friends, demonstrated by the way in which they communicated, and also the closeness of the families. It is likely the Edelsteins saw the Hollanders frequently during the times they lived in Baltimore,<sup>269</sup> and they even planned a trip together to Switzerland,<sup>270</sup> but they also continued to correspond and meet when possible, once they had moved away. Furthermore, the men did share similarities. It is clear from his work in fighting racial injustices that Hollander was a principled and honourable man. Like Edelstein, indeed to an even greater degree, Hollander was not afraid to go against the status quo and fight for what he believed in. This case study provided an interesting contrast to the other friendships considered here, as intellectual discussion was not the focus of the relationship and it also demonstrates a more light-hearted side to Edelstein. The next case study will return to a friendship focused in the academic world, with a man who was again Edelstein's colleague and boss, but with whom he shared a deep connection.

### 3.7 Detlev Bronk

Detlev Bronk (1897-1975) took his undergraduate degree at Swarthmore College where he specialized in electrical engineering.<sup>271</sup> However, after practising engineering for one year post-graduation, Bronk left this occupation to go to graduate school at the University of

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<sup>266</sup> Sidney Hollander to Ludwig Edelstein 27 March 1964 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 19, Ludwig Edelstein Renata & Nathan Edelstein].

<sup>267</sup> [Sidney Hollander] 9 March 1942 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 31, Alexander Levy Eleanor Levy].

<sup>268</sup> Alexander Levy from Berlin to Sidney Hollander 14 January 1937 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 31, Alexander Levy Eleanor Levy].

<sup>269</sup> Hollander stated to Levy that 'we see your family quite often' [Sidney Hollander] to Alexander Levy in Portland 7 April 1938 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 31, Alexander Levy Eleanor Levy].

<sup>270</sup> [Sidney Hollander] to Alexander Levy in Portland 5 May 1938 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 31, Alexander Levy Eleanor Levy].

<sup>271</sup> F. Brink, *Detlev Wulf Bronk 1897-1975* (Washington D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1979), 6-7.

Michigan as an instructor in physics.<sup>272</sup> Following this, he took on the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in physics and physiology, which he was granted in June 1926.<sup>273</sup> He held a number of different positions in this field,<sup>274</sup> though the most productive period for his scientific work was during 1929-49, whilst he was Director of the Johnson Foundation in Philadelphia.<sup>275</sup> Bronk has been chosen as a case study because his relationship with Edelstein was particularly strong during the last years of Edelstein's life, and there are a number of letters from this period between the men. Furthermore, we also have letters from both Bronk and Edelstein, whereas for most of the other case studies examined here the majority of letters were written by Edelstein. Also, this relationship is interesting as Bronk was Edelstein's friend and also his boss in both Baltimore and New York, and came from a different academic background.

Bronk was credited as being 'one of the most sought after and influential men in science',<sup>276</sup> and although he regarded himself primarily as a physiologist,<sup>277</sup> he was also interested and aware of the need for an advance in the teaching and research of science of all kinds.<sup>278</sup> One of his main concerns in connection to this was the improvement of graduate education, and much of his respective inspiration came from Daniel Coit Gilman's concept of a graduate university at Johns Hopkins.<sup>279</sup> When he received an invitation to become the President of Johns Hopkins University in 1949,<sup>280</sup> he took up the offer and hoped to move towards this goal.<sup>281</sup> It was in 1951 that he first met Edelstein,<sup>282</sup> who shared in his admiration of Gilman,<sup>283</sup> after he invited him to return to the university as Professor of Humanistic Studies. Edelstein also shared in Bronk's desire to break down barriers between undergraduates and graduates, and between science and the humanities,<sup>284</sup> and this was a key component of their friendship. It provided them with a common objective, and Bronk even

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<sup>272</sup> M. Lee, 'Detlev W. Bronk, Scientist', *Science*, 113, 2928, (1951), 143.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid.

<sup>274</sup> See Brink, *Detlev Wulf Bronk* for more detail.

<sup>275</sup> L. E. D. Adrian, 'Detlev Wulf Bronk, 13 Aug. 1897--17 Nov. 1975, *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society*, 22, (1976), 1-9, 1.

<sup>276</sup> N. Abelson and P. Abelson, 'Detlev Bronk', *Science*, 190, 4218, (1975), 941.

<sup>277</sup> Lee, 'Detlev W. Bronk', 143.

<sup>278</sup> Adrian, 'Detlev Wulf Bronk', 4.

<sup>279</sup> H. K. Hartline, 'Herbert Gasser. Detlev Bronk', in Rockefeller University (ed.), *Institute to University 1901-1976: A 75th anniversary colloquium, June 8, 1976* (New York: The Rockefeller University, 1977), 63-67, 66.

<sup>280</sup> Adrian, 'Detlev Wulf Bronk', 4.

<sup>281</sup> Hartline, 'Herbert Gasser. Detlev Bronk', 66.

<sup>282</sup> Detlev Bronk from New York to the ACLS 9 September 1957 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>283</sup> Bronk, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 179.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid., 180. See 'Edelstein as a Humanist and Teacher' for more information about this.

stated that Edelstein was a leader to him in this endeavour, providing him with wise counsel and encouragement.<sup>285</sup>

Bronk continued to use Edelstein's counsel even after he had left Hopkins, and to debate educational issues with him.<sup>286</sup> Bronk had left to take up a position as President of the Rockefeller Institute in 1953, and it was also in this year that the Board of Trustees decided to incorporate the institute as a graduate university, although Bronk had planned this long before the board's actions.<sup>287</sup> Another of Bronk's aims as president was to expand the scope of the university and to appoint a faculty for the history and philosophy of science,<sup>288</sup> and in connection to this goal, Bronk hired Edelstein.<sup>289</sup> This was not Edelstein's first visit to the institute however, for he had given seminars there in both 1956 and 1957.<sup>290</sup> Bronk was not only a friend to Edelstein, therefore, but he also greatly facilitated his career by offering him a place at both Johns Hopkins and the Rockefeller Institute, and giving him a platform for his work at the latter. Here, Edelstein's friendship with Bronk and his career harmonised. He stated how he not only went to the institute because of the opportunity for study, but also because of his affection for Bronk and his vision of a unique graduate school.<sup>291</sup> Edelstein's and Bronk's ideals and beliefs helped to cement their friendship; they were working towards the same goal and greatly valued each other's opinions on the subject.

Although this shared passion was important for their friendship, it was Bronk's appointment of Edelstein at the institute which really strengthened their friendship. Edelstein felt that Bronk had made the institute 'home' for him.<sup>292</sup> He held much gratitude towards Bronk for allowing him to go to Rockefeller and found it difficult to express just how much Bronk's friendship meant to him.<sup>293</sup> He was particularly indebted towards Bronk as being at the Rockefeller allowed him to work on Emma's book,<sup>294</sup> which he thought he could not possibly have done without Bronk's help.<sup>295</sup> Edelstein also held Bronk and his invitation to

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<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.

<sup>287</sup> F. Brink, 'Detlev Bronk and the Development of the Graduate Education Program', in Rockefeller University (ed.), *Institute to University 1901-1976: A 75th Anniversary Colloquium, June 8, 1976* (New York: The Rockefeller University, 1977), 69-78, 69.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid., 75.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid., 76. For more information on this appointment see 'Edelstein as a Humanist and Teacher'.

<sup>290</sup> Detlev Bronk to Ludwig Edelstein in Baltimore 19 March 1957 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>291</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York 17 December 1964 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>292</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk 27 June 1965 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>293</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk [in New York] 31 December 1962 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>294</sup> This was her work on the manuscript of Erich Frank on *Aristotle's Testimony on Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans*. See 'Edelstein as a Collaborator' for more information.

<sup>295</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk [in New York] 20 August 1962 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

go to the institute responsible for helping him to cope with life after Emma's death, through giving him something to live for:

...that it was the warmth of your concern for me, the miracle of a new beginning which you had conjured up for me, which had renewed my strength and made me eager to try once more to reach my goal and Renata's goal.<sup>296</sup>

However, Bronk clearly valued Edelstein's friendship also, and expressed to him how it was a 'rich privilege to have your constant friendship and companionship'.<sup>297</sup> He also stated that Edelstein's presence at the institute would enrich his life and the lives of many others.<sup>298</sup>

Nevertheless, it was not just their common goals and Edelstein's gratitude which created strong friendship, but their personal qualities also. Bronk described Edelstein as 'a wise counsellor, a loyal colleague, and an affectionate friend'.<sup>299</sup> Edelstein also admired Bronk's qualities – his independence of mind, fighting spirit, and devotion to task.<sup>300</sup> Bronk recalled how Edelstein gave gifts, both material, and in the form of ideas and guidance,<sup>301</sup> and clearly valued the latter. They would discuss and debate issues such as the nature of a community of scholars and whether the natural sciences were enriched by the study of history and philosophy.<sup>302</sup> Bronk would also seek his counsel in other matters, for example, on the graduation ceremonies at the institute,<sup>303</sup> and on proposals to the institute.<sup>304</sup> Bronk acted as a referee for Edelstein, supporting his application for a grant to the American Council of Learned Societies for a book on ancient science in a letter which stated: 'I consider Professor Edelstein to be one of the finest scholars I have ever known'.<sup>305</sup> Furthermore, both men faced similar experiences in the defence of academic freedom, Edelstein at the University of California,<sup>306</sup> and Bronk with the Lattimore case at Johns Hopkins.<sup>307</sup>

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<sup>296</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk [in New York] 3 October 1960 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*]. For an explanation of why Edelstein calls his wife Renata see the next chapter on 'Edelstein as a Collaborator'.

<sup>297</sup> Detlev Bronk [from New York] to Ludwig Edelstein in New York 1 September 1962 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>298</sup> Detlev Bronk [in New York] to Ludwig Edelstein in New York 12 September 1960 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>299</sup> Bronk, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 179.

<sup>300</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk [in New York] 31 December 1962 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>301</sup> Bronk recalls how he gave 'wise advice, sympathy, and loyal friendship; fruits because they represented life; flowers because they were beautiful; books because they recorded others' thoughts.' See Bronk, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 181.

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid.*, 180.

<sup>303</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York 3 June 1963 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>304</sup> Detlev Bronk [from New York] to Ludwig Edelstein in New York 4 January 1961 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>305</sup> Detlev Bronk from New York to the ACLS 9 September 1957 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*]. See 'Edelstein as a Teacher' for more information on this book.

<sup>306</sup> See 'Edelstein as a Dissenter'.

<sup>307</sup> In March 1950, Senator McCarthy accused Owen Lattimore, who was director of the Walter Hines Pages School of International Relations at Hopkins, of being an active communist. Bronk chose to keep Lattimore on full pay and grant him a leave of absence until the perjury charges brought against him were resolved. See

Bronk and Edelstein shared similar ideals and views, which no doubt helped to strengthen their relationship. Edelstein supported what Bronk wanted to achieve at the Rockefeller and wished he could ‘do more to bring about the realization of your vision’.<sup>308</sup> As has been a recurring theme throughout this chapter, it is also apparent that intellectual discussion constituted a major part of their relationship. Furthermore, Bronk was highly influential in Edelstein’s career. This was not a static friendship but one which developed over time, particularly due to Bronk’s appointment of Edelstein at the Rockefeller. After this appointment, Edelstein’s feelings towards Bronk grew stronger, and his gratitude helped to strengthen their relationship.

The main case studies have now been examined; there were others with whom Edelstein had a strong bond but who cannot be considered here due to the paucity of source material and word constraints. Nevertheless, two men who do need to be mentioned here but who cannot be examined in full due to a lack of source material, are Heinrich Zimmer and Erich Frank. These friendships will now be investigated.

### 3.8 Heinrich Zimmer and Erich Frank

Heinrich (Henry) Zimmer (1890-1943) was an Indologist, and later devotee of Carl Jung.<sup>309</sup> Zimmer received his doctorate in Indian Studies from Berlin University in 1913, but his career was interrupted by his service in the army until 1918.<sup>310</sup> After leaving the army he was Privatdozent in Greifswald until 1922 when he moved to Heidelberg.<sup>311</sup> It was here that he met Edelstein, during the summer of 1924.<sup>312</sup> The two men lived in Heidelberg together for four years,<sup>313</sup> and when Edelstein left, first to Berlin and then to Rome and Baltimore, they kept in regular contact.<sup>314</sup> Zimmer remained in Germany until 1938, when he lost his position at the University of Heidelberg because he was married to Christiane von

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Brink, *Detlev Wulf Bronk*, 60-61. For his actions, Bronk faced hostility and slurs, evident from the examples of letters which were sent to Bronk at the time accusing him of being the ‘Pro-Communist president of the Johns Hopkins University’ and ‘Defender of Traitors’. See L. S. Lewis, *The Cold War and Academic Governance: The Lattimore case at Johns Hopkins* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 76.

<sup>308</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk [in New York] 31 December 1962 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>309</sup> M. H. Case, ‘Introduction’, in M. H. Case (ed.), *Heinrich Zimmer: Coming into his own* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3-13, 3.

<sup>310</sup> G. Chapple, ‘Heinrich and Henry R. Zimmer’, in M. H. Case (ed.), *Heinrich Zimmer: Coming into his own* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 61-85, 63.

<sup>311</sup> H. R. Zimmer, *Hindu Medicine* ed. by L. Edelstein (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1948), xv.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*, xxi.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.*, xxi-xxiii.

Hofmannsthal who was half Jewish.<sup>315</sup> He immigrated, first to Oxford, and then to the United States.<sup>316</sup> Edelstein was able to see Zimmer again when he went to Baltimore to deliver the Noguchi Lectures, and although this was also to be the last time he would see him, they continued to correspond after this date.<sup>317</sup> Furthermore, the distance did not alter the relationship. Edelstein stated that Zimmer was a ‘faithful friend’ and that whether he saw him regularly or not his attachment was unchanged.<sup>318</sup>

Temkin stated that it was Edelstein’s strong attachment to those he knew which spurred him on to take on the legacy of a friend.<sup>319</sup> In the case of Zimmer this attachment was demonstrated through Edelstein’s undertaking of the posthumous publication of his Noguchi lectures on Hindu Medicine. Though the topic was an unfamiliar field for Edelstein, this did not deter him, and he edited the manuscript for these as well as writing a long preface for the book they would create, *Hindu Medicine*.<sup>320</sup> Chapple claims that there is no better expression of Zimmer’s human qualities and characteristic cast of mind than that in Edelstein’s preface, which constitutes a warm portrait of a friend.<sup>321</sup> Indeed, this work does evidence Edelstein’s high regard for Zimmer. He described their friendship as long-lasting,<sup>322</sup> and also stated that he had ‘sincere respect’ for Zimmer’s accomplishments.<sup>323</sup> Edelstein not only assumed responsibility for the work because of his friendship, but also because of his admiration for Zimmer’s work. Although they were from different disciplines, scholarship and academic discussion was a key part of their relationship, and Edelstein described how their discussions, often lasting for hours, would emanate from Zimmer mentioning a book he had just read or found.<sup>324</sup> It was respect for Zimmer’s work alongside his personality which encouraged Edelstein’s friendship with him. Thus he wrote that Zimmer could not fail to impress people,<sup>325</sup> and that he felt a ‘fascination of his personality’.<sup>326</sup> Not everyone was charmed by him however, and Margaret Case writes that some found him overbearing and arrogant.<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> H. Nette ‘An Epitaph for Heinrich Zimmer’, in M. H. Case (ed.), *Heinrich Zimmer: Coming into his own* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 21-30, 21.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>317</sup> Zimmer, *Hindu Medicine*, xxiii-xxv.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*, xxi.

<sup>319</sup> Temkin, ‘In Memory of Ludwig Edelstein’, 5.

<sup>320</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>321</sup> Chapple, ‘Heinrich and Henry R. Zimmer’, 63.

<sup>322</sup> Zimmer, *Hindu Medicine*, xiii.

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*, xvii.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*, xx.

<sup>326</sup> *Ibid.*, xxv.

<sup>327</sup> Case, ‘Introduction’, 4.

Yet this is not a side of him which is revealed through Edelstein's portrayal, the author of which clearly admired Zimmer both on a personal and an academic level.

During his time at Heidelberg, in 1925, Edelstein also met another one of his lifelong friends, Erich Frank.<sup>328</sup> Frank (1883-1949) was a philosopher whose writings were part of the emergence of the German existentialist movement,<sup>329</sup> and he thought that a synthesis of existential philosophy and the study of the history of philosophy, was the path to solving the problems of the era.<sup>330</sup> He studied philosophy under Heinrich Rickert and Wilhelm Windelband, the latter of whom had a particularly lasting influence on him.<sup>331</sup> Like Edelstein, during his early time in Heidelberg Frank also made friends with Max and Marianne Weber and Karl Jaspers.<sup>332</sup> Although he produced work before, Frank did not actually become a member of a university until 1923 when he joined the faculty at Heidelberg.<sup>333</sup> It was during this second stint in Heidelberg that Frank also became close to Zimmer.<sup>334</sup> Following Edelstein's and then Zimmer's departures, Frank also left Germany in 1939, and after a brief period in Holland, went to Harvard as a research associate.<sup>335</sup> After Harvard he worked as a visiting Professor at Bryn Mawr from 1940 before being made a full faculty member from 1943-1948.<sup>336</sup> Thereafter, he was the Professor of Philosophy at Philadelphia.<sup>337</sup> Again, as with Zimmer, Edelstein did not think that this geographical distance affected their relationship as they kept in constant touch,<sup>338</sup> and indeed they remained close until Frank's sudden death.

Frank and Edelstein had a very close relationship. Karl Jaspers wrote to Edelstein that it had become clear to him that Edelstein and his wife were Frank's closest friends in America.<sup>339</sup> In a letter to Bronk Edelstein also described Frank as his teacher and closest

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<sup>328</sup> L. Edelstein, 'Preface', in E. Frank, *Knowledge, Will and Belief: Collected Essays* ed. by Ludwig Edelstein (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1955), 7-10, 7.

<sup>329</sup> Anonymous, 'Erich Frank', accessed on: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1346111/Erich-Frank> 14/02/2013.

<sup>330</sup> Edelstein, 'Preface', 7.

<sup>331</sup> L. Edelstein, 'Erich Frank's Work: An appreciation', in E. Frank, *Knowledge, Will and Belief: Collected Essays* ed. by L. Edelstein (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1955), 407-465, 408-409.

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*, 416.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, 430.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, 434.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*, 437.

<sup>336</sup> R. Dostal, 'History of the Department', accessed on: <http://www.brynmawr.edu/philosophy/history2.html> 11/02/2013.

<sup>337</sup> Anonymous, 'Dr. Erich Frank', *New York Times*, 28 June 1949, 27.

<sup>338</sup> Edelstein, 'Preface', 7.

<sup>339</sup> Karl Jaspers from Basel to Ludwig Edelstein 1 January 1950 [*Marbach*].



friend.<sup>340</sup> This demonstrates his friendship with Frank, but also that Edelstein looked on him as one who taught and educated him. Edelstein's friendship with Frank is also apparent through his supportive actions. Edelstein tried to help Frank in America by contacting the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars on his behalf, asking if they could help provide money if there were a possibility of a job for him, and by sending them Frank's curriculum vitae.<sup>341</sup> Edelstein was also responsible for arranging Frank's estate after his death and helping with his papers and manuscripts<sup>342</sup> – no easy task considering they filled two large filing cabinets.<sup>343</sup> Frank named Edelstein his literary executor,<sup>344</sup> and this alone is convincing of their intimate attachment. Furthermore, as had been the case with Zimmer, after Frank's death, Edelstein showed his devotion through the production of a book from Frank's unpublished materials: *Wissen, Wollen, Glauben* or *Knowledge, Will, and Belief*. From this, one gains further understanding of Edelstein's feelings for Frank. Again, he described Frank as a teacher and a friend,<sup>345</sup> indeed as a 'born teacher'.<sup>346</sup> Edelstein also claimed he was a brilliant raconteur, witty, kind and chivalrous, and always there to talk to.<sup>347</sup> Frank also had a close relationship with Emma, who had once been his student at Heidelberg.<sup>348</sup> She edited and translated a book on Pythagoras left unfinished by Frank,<sup>349</sup> and after Emma's death Edelstein then took over the work on this book,<sup>350</sup> again exhibiting his devotion to both his wife and friend.

Edelstein continued to hold close friendships with Frank and Zimmer even after they had left Heidelberg, and they remained in contact. Edelstein felt a strong attachment to both of them, particularly Frank, and clearly respected their work. This respect and his loyalty towards them are demonstrated by the time and energy Edelstein put into getting their work published after their deaths. In both these cases intellectual debate was also a key component of the relationship, and, particularly after Frank's death, Edelstein felt an irreparable loss, a strong aspect of which was that he would no longer be able to do academic work with him.

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<sup>340</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York 9 January 1964 [*Sleepy Hollow* (1)].

<sup>341</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Betty Drury in New York 17 July 1939 [*New York* (2)].

<sup>342</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 10 July 1949 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>343</sup> Edelstein, 'Preface', 7.

<sup>344</sup> Harold Cherniss from Princeton to The Secretary of the Bollingen Foundation in New York 4 January 1955 [*Washington D.C.* (1)].

<sup>345</sup> Edelstein, 'Preface', 10.

<sup>346</sup> Edelstein, 'Erich Frank's Work', 452.

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*, 452-453.

<sup>348</sup> Siegfried Kracauer to [The Bollingen Foundation] 22 January 1955 [*Washington D.C.* (1)].

<sup>349</sup> Emma Edelstein from Baltimore to John Barrett in New York 5 April 1958 [*Washington D.C.* (1)]. For more information see 'Edelstein as a Collaborator'.

<sup>350</sup> Harold Cherniss from Princeton to Paul Kristeller in New York 25 October 1965 [*New York* (3)].

He wrote to Katz of how he could not believe he would not be able to discuss a passage of Plato or Aristotle with him any longer,<sup>351</sup> and to Sigerist that ‘since my student days in Heidelberg I shared all of my thoughts with him; his things were mine. I find it very difficult to go on, to continue with the things we have always been discussing among the two of us’.<sup>352</sup> Edelstein’s friendships and scholarship were interwoven, and the former was an arena for the discussion and display of the latter.

### 3.9 Conclusion

This chapter has enabled a greater understanding of Edelstein by exploring the way in which an academic living in the early-mid twentieth century conducted his friendships. It has evidenced Grayling’s statement that examining cases of friendship is one of the best ways to explore and understand this social phenomena. Edelstein’s correspondence provides a key to reveal the importance of his friends, how he conducted his friendships, and what he considered important in a friend. The letters and other evidence also show how Ludwig’s friendships were not restricted by boundaries; he had friends of different nationalities, ages, backgrounds, and gender. Furthermore they often extended beyond a sole person; Emma often shared in her husband’s friendships and developed a close relationship with his friends and their wives. In the case of Hollander this friendship even extended to Emma’s brother and his family. Ludwig also became close to the wives and families of his friends.

In Edelstein’s friendships we witness a wide range of feelings including respect, admiration, gratitude, discontent, and sympathy. The friendships were complex and dynamic and varied in importance during different stages in his life. For example, he seemed very close to Strauss during the early 1930s, but their relationship deteriorated as time went on. After the death of Emma and his move to the Rockefeller, Edelstein grew closer to Bronk and their relationship strengthened. However, with others such as Pearce and Temkin, his friendships proved more constant. As is the case in all our lives, often we have to separate from our friends geographically, and this was true of Edelstein. Nevertheless, for Edelstein, ‘friendship need not acknowledge frontiers’,<sup>353</sup> and he was able to continue these vital relationships through his epistolary network.

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<sup>351</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 13 July 1949 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>352</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 10 July 1949 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>353</sup> Emma and Ludwig Edelstein from Wenatchee to Solomon Katz in Seattle 4 August 1948 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

This chapter has discussed a number of Edelstein's friendships, but work still remains to be done on this topic. Edelstein had close friendships with other figures whom the chapter could not explore due to restrictions of words, and because of the paucity of source material. However, future research could also consider his relationships to Arthur Lovejoy, Ernst Kantorowicz, Solomon and Marcia Katz, and Harold Cherniss. One figure whom, regrettably, it was only possible to explore briefly here was Erich Frank. Yet, it seems he was one of Edelstein's closest companions. The lack of source material in the form of correspondence meant that a more in-depth consideration was unachievable. Nevertheless, potentially there is other material waiting to be discovered which could help to illuminate this relationship further. It would also be beneficial for more research to be carried out on academic friendships as an arena for the production of scholarship more generally.

In the letters Edelstein confers on a wide range of topics with his friends, from the pains of emigration, to travels, health, and the wellbeing of family and other friends. However, the topic which takes centre stage is scholarship and academic life. For Edelstein, discussing ideas with friends was paramount to both his and their work, as he wrote to Solomon Katz in 1951, urging him to send his manuscript: 'What do we work for, if everything remains a secret entrusted to non-responding sheets of paper?'<sup>354</sup> The next chapter will continue by exploring another of Edelstein's relationships which was a centre for the production of scholarship. Edelstein's friendships were an instrumental part of his scholarship, but there is a relationship which was even more imperative – this was his marriage.

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<sup>354</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Solomon Katz 6 August 1951 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

## Chapter 4. Edelstein as a Collaborator

‘Die Regentropfen Allahs  
Gereift in bescheidener Muschel’<sup>1</sup>

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on Ludwig’s wife Emma and his role as a collaborator with her.<sup>2</sup> In a study of Ludwig Edelstein, it may be questioned why an entire chapter has been devoted to her and to his role as Emma’s partner and co-worker, rather than to the scholar himself. However, it is justified by the monumental importance Emma had for both Ludwig’s life and work. To leave her unexamined would be to leave a huge part of Ludwig unexplored. Emily Levine states that historians ‘often overlook the family—and, specifically, marriage—as a legitimate site for the development of ideas’.<sup>3</sup> However, through an examination of the correspondence, the chapter will aim to address this issue, and demonstrate the importance of the marital relationship for Ludwig and his scholarship. For it was through his relationship with Emma that Ludwig felt the raindrops of his ideas matured into pearls.

It was during their time in Heidelberg in the 1920s that Ludwig and Emma first met – possibly in the Summer Semester of 1925 when they both attended Otto Regenbogen’s course on Attic Literature<sup>4</sup> – and they were married in the autumn of 1928.<sup>5</sup> Harold Cherniss,<sup>6</sup> one of the couple’s mutual friends, described their marriage as one of ‘true hearts and minds, the juncture of complementary symbola and fulfilment of a single rounded personality’.<sup>7</sup> Although this statement comes from a eulogy, a text genre in which people tend to represent things in a brighter light, an analysis of the self-pronouncements and the actions

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<sup>1</sup> J. W. von Goethe, *West-Oestlicher Divan* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1819), 141. Edelstein’s *The Idea of Progress in Classical Antiquity* was dedicated to the memory of his wife with these words.

<sup>2</sup> In this chapter I will refer to Edelstein using his first name for reasons of equity. As this is a chapter which focuses on gender and aims to highlight the role of women in scholarship, it makes sense to equalise the Edelstein’s by referring to them using their chosen first names rather than to call Ludwig by his surname but Emma by a different name.

<sup>3</sup> E. J. Levine, ‘PanDora, or Erwin and Dora Panofsky and the Private History of Ideas’, *The Journal of Modern History*, 83, 4, (2011), 753-787, 754.

<sup>4</sup> Emma Levy Personal File [Heidelberg: StudA 1920/30 Emma Levy]. Ludwig Edelstein Personal File [Heidelberg: StudA 1920/30 Ludwig Edelstein].

<sup>5</sup> Cherniss, ‘Ludwig Edelstein’, 131.

<sup>6</sup> Harold Cherniss (1904-1987) was a classicist and expert in ancient Greek philosophy, who, amongst other institutions, worked at Cornell, Johns Hopkins, Berkeley, and The Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. He was a highly renowned scholar and his work on Plato, Aristotle and the Academy is considered to have revolutionized the field. See L. Tarán, ‘Harold F. Cherniss’, *Gnomon*, 60, 7, (1988), 665-667.

<sup>7</sup> Cherniss, ‘Ludwig Edelstein’, 131.

of Ludwig only confirm this statement, as will be demonstrated throughout the chapter. Indeed, Ludwig also considered Emma to be part of his personality, as part of himself; in regards to Emma's death, Ludwig wrote to Roy Harvey Pearce<sup>8</sup> that 'to have survived oneself is an unhappy experience'.<sup>9</sup> Due to the nature of this relationship, it is unsurprising that Ludwig was left completely devastated by the death of Emma on the night of the 4 July 1958.<sup>10</sup> Cherniss stated that Ludwig's second period at Hopkins was one of the most satisfactory of his life; however, the happiness and fruitfulness of this period were suddenly shattered with the discovery of Emma's cancer.<sup>11</sup> He also described her death as 'the very mutilation' of Ludwig's spirit, 'the annihilation of all that was dear to him in his own life'.<sup>12</sup> Hans Diller<sup>13</sup> also asserted that after Emma's death Ludwig felt very lonely, and the problems of their time which had always beset him, were even more exposed than before.<sup>14</sup>

Indeed, Ludwig did suffer deeply following Emma's death, and he retreated into a semi-seclusion which lasted for a number of years.<sup>15</sup> In his eulogy to Emma, Ludwig spoke of how, 'if at the price of half the days still allotted to me, I could buy the pleasure of living the other half in your company, how gladly I should do so'.<sup>16</sup> The intellectual and spiritual bond between the couple was so strong that Ludwig never fully adjusted himself to life after her demise.<sup>17</sup> Holidays became particularly difficult for him, and the sadness he felt during these times made it trying for him to keep up communication with his friends.<sup>18</sup> In May 1960

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<sup>8</sup> For information on Roy Harvey Pearce and his role as a mutual friend to Ludwig and Emma see 'Edelstein as a Friend'.

<sup>9</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 26 July 1959 [*San Diego*].

<sup>10</sup> Ruth Cherniss from Baltimore to Solomon and Marcia Katz 7 July 1958 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>11</sup> Cherniss, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 137.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Hans Diller (1905-1977) was a classicist and distinguished authority on ancient Greek medicine. Like Ludwig, the Hippocratic Corpus was one of his major research interests. See G. Müller, 'Hans Diller', *Gnomon*, 50, 3, (1978), 315-319. Diller also reviewed Ludwig's PhD: H. Diller, 'Περὶ ἀέθρων und die Sammlung der hippokratischen Schriften by Ludwig Edelstein', *Gnomon*, 9, 2, (1933), 65-79, reviewed his book on the Hippocratic Oath: H. Diller, 'The Hippocratic Oath by Ludwig Edelstein', *Gnomon*, 22, 1/2, (1950), 70-74, and later translated this book into German: L. Edelstein, *Der Hippokratische Eid* (Zurich and Stuttgart: Artemis-Verlag, 1969). However, he did not just know Ludwig through his work, but had also known him personally - for details see the obituary he wrote for Edelstein: Diller, 'Ludwig Edelstein'.

<sup>14</sup> Diller includes an example in his obituary of a letter Ludwig had written to Klaus Oehler after the assassination of Kennedy to demonstrate Ludwig's concern for the current state of the world and his sense of responsibility to it. Ludwig wrote: 'I cannot rid myself of the scary emotion that the assassination cannot be explained as political passion, but ultimately from an emptiness, from disenchantment with the world, and I feel the responsibility of my generation even more than I feel it usually, the responsibility not only for the collapse of the old ideals, but of all ideals'. See Diller, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 430-431 (Translated from German).

<sup>15</sup> Temkin, 'In Memory of Ludwig Edelstein', 4.

<sup>16</sup> Ludwig Edelstein, Renata In Memoriam July 8, 1958. Given 5 May 1959 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>17</sup> Ferngren, 'Introduction', xiv.

<sup>18</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 20 January 1960 [*San Diego*].

Ludwig felt that the depression which had haunted him since Emma's death was increasing.<sup>19</sup> In November 1961 he still found it difficult to experience joy, for this only reminded Ludwig of how much he missed Emma.<sup>20</sup> However, although his friends did not think that he ever overcame the emptiness which enveloped him after Emma's death, and he remained deeply affected by it,<sup>21</sup> eventually, during his time at the Rockefeller, he had managed to regain some cheerfulness and openness to the world.<sup>22</sup> This was, perhaps, partly due to his move to the Rockefeller, which gave him new objectives and a chance to carry out his most important goal, to complete the work which Emma did not have the chance to finish. This work will be explored further into the chapter. Furthermore, despite his suffering, Ludwig still kept up appearances, only his closest friends knew the extent of his grief,<sup>23</sup> and Ludwig forced himself to continue working.<sup>24</sup> He also enabled Emma's memory to live on by creating a scholarship in her memory, the Emma J. Edelstein Memorial Fellowship.<sup>25</sup> This graduate scholarship, awarded annually to a student from the Classics Department at Johns Hopkins, continues to be granted to this day.

It is not only important to examine Emma because of the crucial position she held in Ludwig's personal life and because of how her death affected his work, but also because of how imperative she was for his other projects. Hans Diller stated that the couple had a model working relationship, and that Emma not only supported him with the Asclepius project, but that her involvement is felt many times in Ludwig's other work.<sup>26</sup> Throughout this chapter I will explore how Emma influenced, and contributed to, Ludwig's work, argue that she helped Ludwig in his academic work to a greater extent than is apparent at first glance, and that the couple's joint academic interests and pursuits were a crucial part of their marriage. Another aim of this chapter is to explore Emma as a scholar in her own right. The role of female academics and scholars in the first half of the twentieth century is an area of scholarship which has long suffered from neglect. Studies are now aiming to rectify this state of affairs. Through exploring Emma's life and work, particularly aided by her correspondence, this chapter will also illuminate the situation which university-educated, unemployed female

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<sup>19</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 15 May 1960 [*San Diego*].

<sup>20</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Roy Harvey Pearce 24 November 1961 [*San Diego*].

<sup>21</sup> Peterson, 'Ludwig Edelstein 1902-1965', 7.

<sup>22</sup> Temkin, 'In Memory of Ludwig Edelstein', 5.

<sup>23</sup> Boas, 'Memorial Minutes', 93.

<sup>24</sup> Cherniss, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 137.

<sup>25</sup> Anonymous, 'Scholarships, Fellowships, Awards, and Prizes', accessed on: <http://e-catalog.jhu.edu/scholarships-fellowships-awards-prizes/#graduatefellowshiptext> 17/09/2013.

<sup>26</sup> Diller, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 430.

scholars who were married to employed academics faced. The chapter will commence by providing some biographical information on Emma. Subsequently, it will examine her debate on ‘Petrarch and the Story of the Choice of Hercules’, consider the work Emma conducted in producing Erich Frank’s *Pythagoras*, and analyse the Edelsteins’ most important joint project – their co-authored volumes on Asclepius, before examining other joint projects they completed. Finally, it will consider their marriage in the historical context and also explore the wider background of women in academia and as scholars’ wives in the first half of the twentieth century, as this is vital in understanding Emma’s position.

## 4.2 Emma Edelstein

There is little biographical data available on Emma Edelstein. However, it is possible to piece together a brief profile and to gain some insight into her character from information within letters and from other sources. Emma Jeanette Edelstein (see Appendix C, Figure 1), née Levy, was born on the 5 May 1904, in Berlin.<sup>27</sup> From October 1910 to April 1917 she attended the Augusta Victoria School, and from April 1917 to April 1921 the upper secondary department of the Princess Bismarck School, both in Charlottenberg.<sup>28</sup> The latter was converted into the Queen Luisen School, where she remained until October 1923.<sup>29</sup> Emma gained her diploma in February 1924<sup>30</sup> and continued her education, studying classics, philosophy, archaeology, and history at the universities of Berlin, Freiburg, and Heidelberg.<sup>31</sup> The universities of Freiburg and Heidelberg, renowned for their beauty and student life, were amongst the most popular places for Jewish female students like Emma in the early twentieth century.<sup>32</sup> Whilst at university Emma attended the lectures of numerous renowned scholars including Ludwig Curtius,<sup>33</sup> Karl Jaspers,<sup>34</sup> Otto Regenbogen,<sup>35</sup> and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.<sup>36</sup> She had, therefore, studied with some of the same scholars as Ludwig, and

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<sup>27</sup> Emma Edelstein Application for Grant-in-Aid or Fellowship 25 February 1955 [*Washington D.C. (1)*].

<sup>28</sup> Emma Edelstein Personal File [*Heidelberg*: H-IV-757/31].

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Emma Edelstein Application for Grant-in-Aid or Fellowship 25 February 1955 [*Washington D.C. (1)*].

<sup>32</sup> H. P. Friedenreich, *Female, Jewish and Educated: The lives of central European university women* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002), 46.

<sup>33</sup> Ludwig Curtius (1874-1954) was a German art historian and archaeologist. He taught at the universities of Freiburg and Heidelberg, and served as director of the German Archaeological Institute at Rome from 1928 until 1937 when he was dismissed by Hitler. He then continued to live in Rome conducting research, writing, and lecturing until his death in 1954. See M. Bieber and S. B. Luce, ‘Necrology’, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 59, 1, (1955), 63-65, 64.

<sup>34</sup> See ‘Edelstein as a Humanist and Teacher’ for biographical information.

<sup>35</sup> See ‘Edelstein as a Scholar’ for biographical information.

<sup>36</sup> Emma Edelstein Personal File [*Heidelberg*: StudA 1920/30 Emma Levy]. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848-1931) is known as the greatest classical scholar of his age. He published an enormous

even took some of the same lecture courses. For example, they both attended lectures on Attic Literature with Regenbogen in summer 1925 at Heidelberg, seminars on Pindar with Regenbogen and on Claudian with Karl Meister in summer 1927 at Heidelberg, lectures on Thucydides with Regenbogen and Virgil with Meister in the winter of 1927/28, lectures on Sophocles with Regenbogen, a seminar on Thucydides with Regenbogen, and lectures on Plato's *Symposium* and *Sophist* with Erich Frank in the summer of 1928.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, already at this early stage, despite some differences, such as Emma's interest in archaeology, it is apparent that the couple shared many of the same intellectual interests, and this is something which would continue throughout their marriage.

For her PhD, Emma majored in Greek with minors in Latin and Ancient History.<sup>38</sup> She submitted her PhD thesis on *Sokrates in Platon und Xenophon* at Heidelberg on 3 July 1933, and sat her oral examinations in Greek Philology, Latin Philology, and Ancient History on 31 July 1933.<sup>39</sup> For these examinations she was awarded a satisfactory in Greek Philology and Ancient History, and good in Latin Philology.<sup>40</sup> Her doctorate, under the new title of *Xenophontisches und platonisches Bild des Sokrates*, was awarded on 31 October 1935,<sup>41</sup> and was published the same year.<sup>42</sup> Like Ludwig, Emma had earned this doctorate under the guidance of Regenbogen.<sup>43</sup> It was a tripartite work; the longest section offered a comparative study of the Xenophontic and Platonic Socrates, the second part analysed the plan and structure of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, and the third evaluated his *Apology*.<sup>44</sup> It was not the intention of the work to provide an analysis of the historical Socrates, but to compare his representation in Plato and Xenophon.<sup>45</sup> However, although it was recognised that the work was a useful account of what is found in Xenophon and Plato,<sup>46</sup> and was written faithfully

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amount of work on a wide range of topics in classical antiquity, see M. Armstrong, W. Buchwald, W. M. Calder III, H. Löffler (eds.), *Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff bibliography 1867–2010* (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 2012).

<sup>37</sup> Ludwig Edelstein Personal File [*Heidelberg*: StudA 1920/30 Ludwig Edelstein]; Emma Edelstein Personal File [*Heidelberg*, Stud A 1920/30 Emma Levy].

<sup>38</sup> Emma Edelstein Application for Grant-in-Aid or Fellowship 25 February 1955 [*Washington D.C.* (1)].

<sup>39</sup> Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads', 59n29.

<sup>40</sup> Emma Edelstein Personal File [*Heidelberg*: H-IV-757/31].

<sup>41</sup> Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads', 59n29.

<sup>42</sup> E. J. Edelstein, *Xenophontisches und platonisches Bild des Sokrates* (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1935).

<sup>43</sup> Diller, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 430.

<sup>44</sup> G. M. A. Grube, 'Xenophontisches und Platonisches Bild des Sokrates by Emma Edelstein', *The American Journal of Philology*, 58, 2, (1937), 243-244, 243.

<sup>45</sup> Edelstein, *Xenophontisches und Platonisches Bild des Sokrates*, 5.

<sup>46</sup> Grube, 'Xenophontisches', 243.



and diligently,<sup>47</sup> it does not fare particularly well in the contemporary reviews. It is criticised for lack of originality,<sup>48</sup> and also for the methodology used.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, not all scholars have adopted a negative view. According to Kurt von Fritz, with an explicit link to the work of Emma, Hartmut Erbse wrote a paper which took the question of the design of the *Memorabilia* in mind.<sup>50</sup> In this, he named Emma's book '[d]ie vortreffliche Arbeit', and followed her arguments for the unity of the *Memorabilia*.<sup>51</sup> However, Erbse did also comment on how the dissertation had been overlooked, and was not even reviewed in the German speaking world.<sup>52</sup> Some contemporary scholars did engage with the work. Leo Strauss cited the work for its information on the plan of the *Memorabilia*,<sup>53</sup> however, being a friend of the Edelsteins it is unsurprising that he was aware of it. Nevertheless, Emma's PhD continues to be used in more recent scholarship. Guthrie, for example, cited her as a scholar who attacked the view that a group of 'Socratic dialogues' based on the historical Socrates can be grouped together separately from the rest of the Platonic dialogues,<sup>54</sup> and in a thesis from 2008 Emma's work is listed as one of the most important studies to examine the unity of the *Memorabilia*.<sup>55</sup>

After Emma's marriage to Ludwig the couple had returned to Berlin, where both their families still lived.<sup>56</sup> However, in 1933 they were forced to immigrate to Italy, and then to the US, after Ludwig was forced out of his position at the university by the Nazis. Therefore, Emma was actually awarded her doctorate after they had immigrated to America. Before this, it seems both Emma and Ludwig used their time in Italy as a chance to study;<sup>57</sup> however, these endeavours were interrupted when Emma was taken ill.<sup>58</sup> Hers was a serious illness in which Emma's life was endangered. Nevertheless, she did recover, and after the event

<sup>47</sup> R. Hackforth, 'Xenophontisches und Platonisches Bild des Sokrates by Emma Edelstein', *The Classical Review*, 50, 4, (1936), 125-126, 125.

<sup>48</sup> Grube, 'Xenophontisches', 243; Hackforth, 'Xenophontisches', 125.

<sup>49</sup> Grube, 'Xenophontisches', 243; Hackforth, 'Xenophontisches', 125.

<sup>50</sup> K. von Fritz, 'Das Erste Kapitel des Zweiten Buches von Xenophons Memorabilien und die Philosophie des Aristipp von Kyrene', *Hermes*, 93, 3, (1965), 257-279, 275n3.

<sup>51</sup> H. Erbse, 'Die Architektonik im Aufbau von Xenophons Memorabilien', *Hermes*, 89, 3, (1961), 257-287, 258n1.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> L. Strauss, 'The Spirit of Sparta or the Taste of Xenophon', *Social Research*, 6, 1/4, (1939), 502-536, 519n9.

<sup>54</sup> W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, Vol. IV: *Plato the man and his dialogues: Earlier period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 68.

<sup>55</sup> B. Hogenmüller, 'Xenophon, Apologie des Sokrates. Ein Kommentar', PhD thesis, University of Würzburg, (2008), 24n69, accessed on: [opus.bibliothek.uni-wuerzburg.de/files/2537/Apologie.pdf](http://opus.bibliothek.uni-wuerzburg.de/files/2537/Apologie.pdf) 04/08/2014.

<sup>56</sup> Cherniss, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 131.

<sup>57</sup> They were both registered in the German Archaeological Institute's list of users on 18 October 1933, however, by 7 April 1934, only Ludwig was registered. See Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads', 68n77.

<sup>58</sup> Cherniss, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 132-133.

Ludwig named her Renata,<sup>59</sup> ‘the reborn’. This was not just a casual nickname, but the name which she used in her own correspondence, and with which she was addressed and known throughout the rest of her life. In a professional capacity, however, she continued to use her birth name. Therefore, for the rest of this chapter and the thesis, Renata is the name which will be used for her.

Renata’s parents were named Albert and Else Levy,<sup>60</sup> and theirs was a well-respected and wealthy Jewish family.<sup>61</sup> They used this prosperity to help others, and were concerned for the welfare of those less fortunate than themselves.<sup>62</sup> Renata also had two brothers, Alexander (see Appendix C, Figure 3) and Hugo Levy (see Appendix C, Figure 4), as well as a sister, Annie. Alexander became a surgeon; he immigrated to the United States along with his second wife Charlotte, his daughters Hannah and Ruth, and his step-children Ulrich and Christoph Heinicke. Ulrich Heinicke, who later changed his name to Tom Frazier, wrote and published an autobiographical book concerning his life up to the mid-1940s.<sup>63</sup> This account offers valuable information on his family, including Renata, although it must be highlighted that it does contain some factual errors, recording, for example, how both Ludwig and Renata were experts on Greek medicine who had been offered positions at Johns Hopkins, when this was only the case for Ludwig.<sup>64</sup> It is an account based on personal memories written many years after the events, and so small details in error are to be expected. Nevertheless, it is still a helpful source for reconstructing Renata’s biography, providing information about her family which is not available anywhere else, and does contain contemporary correspondence.

Alexander Levy’s family was aided with their emigration by the Edelsteins and Sidney Hollander.<sup>65</sup> Both provided an affidavit in support of the Levys, and Sidney grew close to the family after their move to the US.<sup>66</sup> Alexander settled happily in Portland and was able to obtain a license to practice medicine in America.<sup>67</sup> His and Renata’s siblings Hugo and Annie

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<sup>59</sup> D. Wuttke, “Erwin Panofskys Herculesbuch nach siebenundsechzig Jahren. Zum Reprint 1997,” in E. Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst. Reprint of the first edition. Berlin, Leipzig: Teubner 1930* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1997), 85-89, 84.

<sup>60</sup> Emma Edelstein Personal File [*Heidelberg*: H-IV-757/31]. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find out any more information, and to concretely identify Renata’s parents.

<sup>61</sup> Ludwig Edelstein, Renata In Memoriam July 8, 1958. Given 5 May 1959 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Frazier with Frazier, *Between the Lines*.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>65</sup> For information on Hollander see ‘Edelstein as a Friend’.

<sup>66</sup> [Sidney Hollander] 9 March 1942 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 31, Alexander Levy Eleanor Levy].

<sup>67</sup> Emma Edelstein from Portland to Sidney Hollander 25 July 1938 [*Baltimore (2)*: Box 19, Ludwig Edelstein Renata & Nathan Edelstein]; Emma Edelstein from Portland to Sidney Hollander 14 August 1938 [*Baltimore (1)*: Box 19, Ludwig Edelstein Renata & Nathan Edelstein].

immigrated to England with their mother Else; they were unable to immigrate to the US because Hugo suffered from intellectual disability following a bout of scarlet fever during childhood.<sup>68</sup> Annie passed away from breast cancer in 1944.<sup>69</sup> In 1946 the Edelsteins were trying to help Hugo to move to Switzerland.<sup>70</sup> However, this move failed, for Hugo was still in England during the Edelsteins' 1953 stay there, when Renata expressed concerns for her brother's mental condition.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, despite their geographical distance, Renata kept in constant contact with her mother, who was known to the family as 'Maemmschen' (see Appendix C, Figure 4), and wrote to her every week.<sup>72</sup>

Renata was small in stature with dark hair.<sup>73</sup> These physical attributes may have been what earned her the nickname 'Spatz', meaning sparrow.<sup>74</sup> It is difficult to create a picture of Renata's character, for there is little information available about her – she did not have obituaries written about her in scholarly journals as Ludwig did. Nonetheless, insights can be gained through her correspondence, the letters of her friends and husband, and from Tom Frazier's account. Ruth Cherniss, wife of Harold Cherniss, was a close friend of Renata's and in a letter to Solomon and Marcia Katz, described her as possessing the qualities of 'kindness, strength, courage and un-complaining confrontation of adversity and trouble.'<sup>75</sup> Ludwig defined his wife as a realist; balanced, constant, and most of all faithful to both friends and to herself.<sup>76</sup> According to him, she was a woman whom one could rely on, and who cared for others more than for herself.<sup>77</sup> Like Ruth, he also described her as strong and courageous, never losing heart even in the darkest of hours.<sup>78</sup> Indeed, she did try to make the most of disappointing moments, relating to Roy and Marie Pearce how, at such times, 'the only answer seems to be to stop trying to understand and rather start rebuilding life, even though the new structure may not be quite as solid and beautiful as the original blueprint seemed to promise'.<sup>79</sup> Eric Dodds had met Ludwig and Renata during his time as Sather lecturer at

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<sup>68</sup> Frazier with Frazier, *Between the Lines*, 138.

<sup>69</sup> For a letter from Ulrich to his mother concerning this, as well as details about Renata's mother and brother Hugo see *Ibid.*, 138-144.

<sup>70</sup> Henry Sigerist from Baltimore to Alfred Escher in London 6 June 1946 [*Baltimore (1)*: Institute of the History of Medicine, Edelstein, Ludwig & Renata, Folder 48].

<sup>71</sup> Emma Edelstein from Oxford to Solomon and Marcia Katz 1 September 1953 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>72</sup> This is the name Frazier describes was used for her and the name he uses to discuss her in the letters. See Frazier with Frazier, *Between the Lines*, 373.

<sup>73</sup> See Appendix C, Figure 1.

<sup>74</sup> Frazier with Frazier, *Between the Lines*, 73.

<sup>75</sup> Ruth Cherniss from Baltimore to Solomon and Marcia Katz 7 July 1958 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>76</sup> Ludwig Edelstein, Renata In Memoriam July 8, 1958. Given 5 May 1959 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> Emma Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey and Marie Pearce 29 September 1957 [*San Diego*].

Berkeley, and he found the couple to be charming, cultivated, and generous, with good tempers and open hearts.<sup>80</sup> However, Tom Frazier also reported how Renata ‘often discounted my mother...Spatz saw my mother as flighty, unintellectual, and overly concerned with beauty and glamour.’<sup>81</sup> Yet, despite this, Tom liked her.<sup>82</sup>

In Norman Cantor’s study of the development of medieval history in the twentieth century he also includes some information on Renata.<sup>83</sup> This is in the context of her close friendship with Theodor Mommsen,<sup>84</sup> but he also hints that for the latter the relationship may have been something more: ‘Mommsen was especially close to Edelstein’s vivacious wife. She was probably his private Beatrice’.<sup>85</sup> Cantor also mentions a rumour which was circulating at the time of Mommsen’s suicide that ‘[t]here was talk at Princeton University, where Mommsen taught from 1946-1954, that there had been a woman, the wife of a German classicist at Johns Hopkins, whom he loved. One version was that she had broken off their affair; another that she died.’<sup>86</sup> However, such uncertain speculations and the truth behind them are not to be the focus here. Cantor’s study is only interesting because it demonstrates how in one of the few instances where Renata is mentioned in the secondary literature, it does not concentrate on her as a person, or the intellectual connection she may have had with Mommsen, but rather, on flimsy evidence of a relationship. Instead, this chapter will aim to investigate Renata’s academic life.

It is also fortunate that there are a number of letters written by Renata which provide information on her interests and personality. Despite having only a small selection of her letters, which, from the way the evidence survives in university archives are mostly written to her and Ludwig’s mutual academic friends, it is possible to uncover valuable evidence.

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<sup>80</sup> Eric Dodds from Oxford to Harold Cherniss [in Princeton] 25 September 1950 [*Oxford*: Dodds papers].

<sup>81</sup> Frazier with Frazier, *Between the Lines*, 74.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> N. F. Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages* (New York: Quill William Morrow, 1991), 400.

<sup>84</sup> Theodor Mommsen (1905-1958) was a German Medieval historian and grandson of the renowned ancient historian of the same name. Mommsen earned his PhD from the University of Berlin but immigrated to the United States in the 1930s, holding his first appointment at Johns Hopkins in 1936, and subsequently working at a variety of other institutions including Princeton and Cornell. See Anonymous, ‘Historical News’, *The American Historical Review*, 64, 2, (1959), 521-536, 532. For more biographical information see R. Lerner, ‘Ernst Kantorowicz and Theodor E. Mommsen’, in H. Lehmann and J. Sheehan (eds.), *An Interrupted Past: German-speaking refugee historians in the United States after 1933* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 188-205; F. Marcham, ‘Introduction’, in T. E. Mommsen, *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* ed. by E. Rice (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1959), vii-xii; H. Wieruszowski, ‘Theodor Ernst Mommsen†’, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 187 (1959), 481-482.

<sup>85</sup> Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages*, 400.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 372. See also Rütten, ‘Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads’, 80n109 for more information on the problems with Cantor’s insinuations and the work more generally.

Indeed, in these letters, a certain vivacity is apparent; the letters are informal, warm, and friendly, and they are often playful and humorous. For example, when writing to Solomon Katz about his new kitchen, Renata joked: ‘With all that fancy equipment you will need a kitchen maid, too. Please let me know in time when you are ready, and I shall send in my application.’<sup>87</sup> In a letter to Marie Pearce, she also encouraged her correspondent to be less decorous, exclaiming: ‘And stop being so formal, which only seems to make me even more conscious of my grey hair!’<sup>88</sup> However, she did not just write light-heartedly, but also in a more serious way. In April 1950 she corresponded with the Katzs to inform them about how matters stood with the oath controversy, and the possibility of getting Ludwig a Walker Ames Lectureship,<sup>89</sup> and, indeed, kept them updated with the events of the court case after this date. Furthermore, like Ludwig, she also engaged in academic discussion in her correspondence. An example of this will be considered in the next section of this chapter.

In terms of interests, alongside classics, art was Renata’s greatest passion in life,<sup>90</sup> and she was also interested in archaeology. Indeed, after her death, Ludwig reflected on how he had been wrong to dissuade his wife from dedicating herself completely to studying Greek art, for she would have been a very good archaeologist.<sup>91</sup> However, Renata had little patience for philosophy, making an exception only for Plato.<sup>92</sup> Plato was also one of Ludwig’s main academic interests. Again this was a subject which inspired them both, and they undoubtedly had much joint discussion and debate on it.<sup>93</sup> The *Phaedo* was Renata’s favourite Platonic work, and at her memorial service Ludwig also considered it pertinent to read from the dialogue.<sup>94</sup> Renata’s fondness of the dialogue was perhaps not the only reason for this choice. Renata faced her own death with the calm of Socrates, courageous and without self-pity, and Ludwig ‘could not help’ recalling from the dialogue.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, the words of the *Phaedo* were no doubt a comfort to Ludwig – its conviction in the immortality of the soul, and indeed, the idea that only with its departure from the body can the soul attain truth and knowledge; dying swans do not sing because they are lamenting death, but rejoice as they are about to go away to God. Conceivably, this was also the reason why it was Renata’s preferred

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<sup>87</sup> Emma Edelstein to Solomon Katz 15 March 1949 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>88</sup> Emma Edelstein from Berkeley to Marie Pearce 24 November 1949 [*San Diego*].

<sup>89</sup> Emma Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon and Marcia Katz 15 April 1950 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>90</sup> Ludwig Edelstein, Renata In Memoriam July 8, 1958. Given 5 May 1959 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> See ‘Edelstein as a Scholar’ for an examination of Ludwig’s scholarship on Plato.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ludwig Edelstein [from Berkeley] to Eric Dodds 28 August 1958 [*Oxford*: Dodds papers].

dialogue. She lived during troubled times in which she witnessed some of the most unthinkable crimes committed against her fellow beings. It is not a stretch of the imagination to think that she drew comfort from a dialogue which was not concerned with political institutions and government, but with spiritual welfare and the deathlessness of the soul.<sup>96</sup>

Renata was able to indulge in her own passion for art throughout her career. From October 1943 to September 1947, she worked at the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore as assistant to Dorothy Miner,<sup>97</sup> the Keeper of Manuscripts.<sup>98</sup> These manuscripts are like works of art themselves, with highly colourful and ornate illustrations taking up a large amount of the page and also woven into the script,<sup>99</sup> and so this position would have aligned well with Renata's love for, and knowledge of, art and archaeology. Her role would have included working in the rare book room, supplying material, and dealing with questions and problems, as well as holding seminars for visiting students and groups,<sup>100</sup> organising exhibitions, and cataloguing and describing the manuscripts. During her time there she also worked on other projects outside this role – she helped to produce a number of articles and worked with Miner on an exhibition which was also published as a book entitled *Early Christian Art: An exhibition held at The Baltimore Museum of Art*.<sup>101</sup> Along with Miner, Renata assembled the manuscripts which were included in the display and edited the catalogue for the exhibition.<sup>102</sup> Claire Richter Sherman highlights the importance of women such as Renata in these roles, but also how the women were poorly paid and often remained unrecognised for their facilitation of scholarship through such tasks as translation, collection of documents, and editing of museum publications.<sup>103</sup> Renata did not just take part in editorial work for the gallery, however, but was also the co-author of a paper published in *The Journal of the*

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<sup>96</sup> R. Hackforth, *Plato's Phaedo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 7.

<sup>97</sup> Dorothy Miner (1904-1973) was a Medievalist and Keeper (curator) of manuscripts at the Walters Art Gallery, although she performed several jobs alongside this role including editing the *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, the publication of which she had also initiated, and the organization of exhibitions. She also lectured at Johns Hopkins in the field of art history. For more information see C. R. Sherman, 'The Tradition Continues (1930-1979)', in C. R. Sherman and A. Holcomb (eds.), *Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1981), 61-90, and C. R. Sherman, 'Dorothy Eugenia Miner (1904-1973): The Varied Career of a Medievalist, Scholar, and Keeper of Manuscripts, Librarian and Editor at the Walters Art Gallery', in C. R. Sherman and Adele Holcomb (eds.), *Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1981), 377-409.

<sup>98</sup> Emma Edelstein Application for Grant-in-Aid or Fellowship 25 February 1955 [*Washington D.C. (1)*].

<sup>99</sup> For some wonderful examples of these manuscripts held at the Walters, see their online digitized collection Anonymous, 'Digitized Walters Manuscripts', accessed on:

[http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/01\\_ACCESS\\_WALTERS\\_MANUSCRIPTS.html](http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/01_ACCESS_WALTERS_MANUSCRIPTS.html) 08/08/2014.

<sup>100</sup> Sherman, 'Dorothy Eugenia Miner', 378.

<sup>101</sup> The Walters Art Gallery, *Early Christian Art: An exhibition held at The Baltimore Museum of Art. April 25-June 22 organized by The Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore: The John D. Lucas Printing Company, 1947).

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>103</sup> Sherman, 'The Tradition Continues', 80.

Walters Art Gallery entitled 'A Carving in Lapis Lazuli'.<sup>104</sup> She also translated a paper by George Steindorff for that same journal entitled 'Reliefs from the Temples of Sebennytos and Iseion in American Collections'.<sup>105</sup> Even after Renata left, it seems the gallery remained in the Edelsteins' thoughts and after Ludwig's death a marble head of a woman from the fourth century was bequeathed to it in their names (see Appendix C, Figure 5), which has been used in three exhibitions since its gifting, and remains in the gallery to this day.<sup>106</sup>

In 1957 Renata became ill. She was suffering from cancer and had to be operated on in June.<sup>107</sup> Things looked more hopeful by October, and the couple took a vacation to the Adirondacks.<sup>108</sup> However, by April 1958 she was ill once more, and passed away on the night of the 4-5 July of a generalized cancer.<sup>109</sup> Everything happened quite suddenly, within two months.<sup>110</sup> During this time Ludwig devoted himself to his wife, acting as her constant companion and denying himself rest for fear she would need him.<sup>111</sup> Before she passed away, Renata made Ludwig promise to keep contact with their friends, but also to continue working.<sup>112</sup> Indeed, it was her wish that greatly spurred him on to continue to work on unfinished projects. He wrote to Walter Artelt that he would, with the favour of God, try to complete the book on progress first, because this was his wife's favourite.<sup>113</sup> However, he was even more dedicated to finishing a project of his wife's; this was the production of Erich Frank's work on Pythagoras. This will be the topic of a separate section further below.

In this brief biography of Renata, a picture has been painted of a caring and warm woman, but also one who was vivacious and humorous. Her caring nature is apparent through her letters and love for her family whom she remained close to throughout her life, despite geographical separation. Renata was a lover of art and archaeology but from an early stage she also shared many of the same academic interests as Ludwig. This was the case throughout her life, and their close working relationship was a key aspect of their marriage. Despite not holding a tenured position Renata remained devoted to scholarship, and as well as sharing

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<sup>104</sup> D. Miner and E. J. Edelstein, 'A Carving in Lapis Lazuli', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 7/8, (1944/1945), 82-103.

<sup>105</sup> G. Steindorff and E. J. Edelstein, 'Reliefs from the Temples of Sebennytos and Iseion in American Collections', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 7/8, (1944/1945), 38-59.

<sup>106</sup> Anonymous, 'Head of a Woman', accessed on: <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/26049/head-of-a-woman/> 16/09/2013.

<sup>107</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Solomon Katz 11 October 1957 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Ruth Cherniss from Baltimore to Solomon and Marcia Katz 7 July 1958 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Marcia Katz 19 August 1958 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>113</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Walter Artelt [in Frankfurt] 24 February 1963 [*Ingolstadt*].

intellectual interests with Ludwig she also had her own areas of expertise and engaged in scholarly debate on these interests. An example of this will now be considered.

### 4.3 Renata, Hercules, and the Pythagorean Y

In 1953 Theodor Mommsen published an article entitled ‘Petrarch and the Story of the Choice of Hercules’.<sup>114</sup> In the classic version of the story of the choice of Hercules, invented by the sophist Prodicus, and related by Xenophon in the *Memorabilia*,<sup>115</sup> the demi-god is sat in a quiet place pondering which life path to take; that of virtue, or that of vice.<sup>116</sup> He is approached by two women, one dressed in a white robe, pure and white, the other plump and made up, dressed for her curves.<sup>117</sup> These two figures represented virtue and vice, and each tried to convince Hercules to choose them. With vice Hercules would have a pleasant life with whatever he desired, and know no hardship.<sup>118</sup> With virtue he would face struggle and labour, but be rewarded with immortal fame.<sup>119</sup> Although it is not explicit which option Hercules chooses, we infer that he has chosen virtue.<sup>120</sup> In his article Mommsen accepted Erwin Panofsky’s hypothesis, as presented in his book *Hercules am Scheidewege*,<sup>121</sup> that this ancient tale of the choice of Hercules was neglected throughout the Middle Ages, only finding popularity for the first time in the Renaissance.<sup>122</sup> He was convinced by Panofsky’s argument that the tale implied a moral conception ‘too pagan’ for the Medieval Christians; that the two ways of life in the story were represented by personifications of what was considered good and bad only in an earthly sense, not in accordance with Christian interpretation of good and evil.<sup>123</sup> Furthermore, it was also rejected because in the Middle Ages no Christian was given the right of free will; independent choice was only granted to Christ.<sup>124</sup> However, Mommsen did also highlight that the story was known and mentioned by Petrarch, and that he was also the first to combine the tradition of the story of Hercules with

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<sup>114</sup> T. E. Mommsen, ‘Petrarch and the Story of the Choice of Hercules’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 16, 3/4, (1953), 178-192.

<sup>115</sup> J. Hall, *The Sinister Side: How left-right symbolism shaped Western art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 126.

<sup>116</sup> Xenophon, *Memorabilia* in E. C. Marchant (ed.), *Xenophon in Seven Volumes*, Vol. IV (London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1923), 2.1.21-22.

<sup>117</sup> A. C. Grayling, *The Choice of Hercules: Pleasure, duty and the good life in the twenty-first century* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2007), 12.

<sup>118</sup> Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 2.1.23.

<sup>119</sup> Grayling, *The Choice of Hercules*, 12.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> E. Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1930).

<sup>122</sup> Mommsen, ‘Petrarch’, 178.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*



that of the Pythagorean Y – representing the two strands of virtue and vice, and thus coin the phrase ‘Hercules in bivio’ – Hercules at the crossroads.<sup>125</sup>

When Renata read this article she took issue with a number of Mommsen’s arguments, and, because some of these arguments had been developed from Panofsky’s work, also disagreed with one of his theses.<sup>126</sup> She wrote a letter to Mommsen about the matter stating that she was ‘startled by some of your remarks at the first reading, my doubts and objections have increased now that I have looked into the matter somewhat more closely’.<sup>127</sup> Mommsen replied to Renata addressing some of her points but leaving the weightier themes which he felt could not be discussed adequately in a letter until they saw one another.<sup>128</sup> Renata also forwarded her correspondence with Mommsen to Panofsky, and received a long reply from Panofsky, who had also consulted Ernst Kantorowicz on the matter, discussing her points in fine detail, with a promise to continue the conversation in person.<sup>129</sup> Renata hoped this discussion could be arranged with Panofsky, Kantorowicz, and Mommsen representing the ‘Christiani’, and Ludwig and herself the ‘pagani’.<sup>130</sup>

Renata had concerns with Mommsen’s argument that the implications of the story of the choice of Hercules were un-Christian and that the Augustine passage (*De civ. Dei*, IV, 20A) engraved the doctrine of virtue in medieval times.<sup>131</sup> Renata argued against Mommsen that the two ways of life in the ancient story were represented in a ‘strictly earthly sense’, and instead posited that by choosing virtue Hercules had accomplished meritorious deeds and lives amongst the immortals, that heaven was the price for virtue, and the story was understood in this eminently Christian sense by Christian writers.<sup>132</sup> She also highlighted that virtue was not a goddess for the Greeks and questioned Mommsen and Panofsky’s theory that for Christian theologians *virtus* was derived from God, and nobody except Christ was really free to choose,<sup>133</sup> thus rendering the story unpalatable. For Renata, the problem of free will and the choice between good and evil was in fact one of the most ardently debated issues of the Middle Ages.<sup>134</sup> Furthermore, the concept of *virtus* was just as widely discussed, and she

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<sup>125</sup> Mommsen, ‘Petrarch’, 183-188.

<sup>126</sup> Emma Edelstein from Baltimore to Erwin Panofsky 6 April 1955 [*Washington D.C.* (2)].

<sup>127</sup> This letter can be found in Wuttke, ‘Erwin Panofskys Herculesbuch’, 85-89.

<sup>128</sup> Theodor Mommsen in New York to Emma Edelstein [in Baltimore] 1 April 1955 [*Washington DC* (2)].

<sup>129</sup> Erwin Panofsky to Emma Edelstein in Baltimore 2 May 1955 [*Washington D.C.* (2)].

<sup>130</sup> Emma Edelstein in Baltimore to Erwin Panofsky 10 May 1955 [*Washington D.C.* (2)].

<sup>131</sup> Wuttke, ‘Erwin Panofskys Herculesbuch’, 85.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 85-86.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*

could find no justification for Mommsen's idea that Christian philosophers saw *virtus* only as *virtus Dei*.<sup>135</sup> Renata also took issue with Mommsen's argument that Petrarch was the first to coin *Hercules in bivio* by combining two literary traditions: the Hercules story and the Pythagorean Y.<sup>136</sup> Renata argued *in bivio* was familiar to the ancients, and that in using it there was no need to assume Petrarch, though he knew of both, was combining the two traditions.<sup>137</sup>

Renata's reaction to Mommsen's article demonstrates that despite of not holding a formal position at a university, she still kept up to date with the scholarship in which she was interested, reading it critically, and taking part in debate and discussion. However, it should also be noted that this was scholarship produced by her friends, and as discussed in the previous chapter, the critical reading of one another's publications was an integral part of academic friendships. Yet, it is interesting that after reading Mommsen's article and finding it unconvincing, she wrote to him to express her frank opinion, and dissect the various points of the article in detail, as well as passing on her judgement to Panofksy. In a paper from 2013 which discusses Renata's response to this debate the author takes the view that Panofsky did not take the counter-arguments proposed by Renata seriously. The paper highlights the fact that Panofsky later termed the discussion 'Renatomachia' as showing, beneath the irony, a form of condescendence.<sup>138</sup> It also claims that Mommsen did not grace Renata's points with a detailed response. However, this is not entirely true. Mommsen did send the three page long letter in reply to Renata discussing a number of points. Furthermore, he details how he does not discuss it further because he feels the other issues are too weighty to be treated in a letter, and in such correspondence 'man redet aneinander vorbei', but expresses the hope they will be able to talk about it in the future.<sup>139</sup> Furthermore, whilst it may be true that Panofsky did not agree with Renata's points and stated that he would be 'wanting in candor were I to pretend that your arguments have shaken my position', he still took the time to write her a detailed and considered response, explaining why it had taken him a month to reply, answering her objections, and stating that he looked forward to a 'good, old-fashioned disputatio in the

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid., 88.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 89.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> M-P. Harder, 'Pan(ofsky) à la croisée des chemins, ou: l'invention de la Renaissance, un choix humaniste? Lecture métacritique d'une mythopoétique panofskienne', *Comparatismes en Sorbonne 4-2013 (Dé)construire le canon*, 1-17, 9, accessed on: [http://www.crlc.paris-sorbonne.fr/pdf\\_revue/revue4/4\\_HARDER\\_Panofsky\\_TEXTE.pdf](http://www.crlc.paris-sorbonne.fr/pdf_revue/revue4/4_HARDER_Panofsky_TEXTE.pdf) 24/11/2014.

<sup>139</sup> Theodor Mommsen in New York to Emma Edelstein [in Baltimore] 1 April 1955 [*Washington D.C. (2)*].

mediaeval style’,<sup>140</sup> clearly considering her a worthy adversary in academic debate. Panofsky also expressed his doubt that his arguments would convince her to change her position any more than hers had for him. Thus, it is not entirely fair to conclude that Panofsky did not take Renata’s opinions seriously, even if he perhaps did not give them the true amount of consideration they deserved.

In subsequent literature addressing the topic, it seems Renata’s view has found some favour. After examining the evidence in Renata’s letter to Panofsky, as well as adding her own, Olivia Holmes concludes that ‘it is perhaps safe to assume that the theme of Hercules *in bivio*...was not entirely uncongenial to the medieval thinker’.<sup>141</sup> James Hall also argues that ‘Panofsky’s contention that visual depictions of the “choice” are symptomatic of a radical break between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance has been at least partially discredited because it rested on the erroneous belief that the “choice of Hercules” and the Pythagorean “Y” were scarcely mentioned in medieval literature’, citing Emma’s letter as the source for the discrediting of this view.<sup>142</sup> Although these few references may not seem significant, it is important to remember that her letter was private – the information in it was only made public when it was published in Wuttke’s 1997 edition of Panofsky’s *Herculesbuch*. Therefore, her argument was not accessible to earlier scholars, but since its publication it has found favour. Furthermore, as Harder highlights, had Renata been able to develop her arguments in the form of a publication, it may have prompted Panofsky’s thesis to have been discussed more openly and in a more nuanced manner, and revised.<sup>143</sup> The chapter will now explore Renata as a scholar and her working relationship with Ludwig further through examining both her projects, and the work the couple completed together, starting with Erich Frank’s *Aristotle’s Testimony on Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans*.

#### **4.4 An Act of Piety: Producing Erich Frank’s Pythagoras**

Following the tragic death of Erich Frank,<sup>144</sup> it was not just Ludwig who, due to his strong devotion to the man, endeavoured to work on his unpublished manuscripts. Although it was Ludwig who was named as literary executor, Renata was equally involved. They both

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<sup>140</sup> Erwin Panofsky to Emma Edelstein in Baltimore 2 May 1955 [*Washington D. C. (2)*].

<sup>141</sup> O. Holmes, *Dante’s Two Beloveds: Ethics and erotics in the Divine Comedy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 18.

<sup>142</sup> Hall, *The Sinister Side*, 128, 409n11.

<sup>143</sup> Harder, ‘Pan(ofsky) à la croisée des Chemins’, 10.

<sup>144</sup> For biographical information see ‘Edelstein as a Friend’.

felt ‘it a pious obligation upon themselves to publish Frank’s work’.<sup>145</sup> Renata was a close friend of Frank, and indeed, had been a student of his in Heidelberg.<sup>146</sup> Frank corresponded with both Renata and Ludwig throughout his life, and sent his earlier manuscripts on Pythagoras to both Ludwig and Renata for their ‘comments and safe-keeping’.<sup>147</sup> Consequently, Renata also took responsibility for distributing Frank’s work on Aristotle’s testimony on Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans to the wider world:

When, after Frank’s sudden death in 1949, L. Edelstein and I went over his manuscripts and tried, in accordance with his wish, to decide which of them could be published, we had no doubt that the commentary on the Aristotelian fragments should be printed.<sup>148</sup>

Therefore, in December 1954, five years after Frank’s death, Renata applied to the Bollingen Foundation for a one year stipend of \$3000 to enable her to edit and translate into English this work.<sup>149</sup> The Bollingen Foundation was a body created by Paul and Mary Mellon for the fostering of humanistic research in the beliefs and traditions of former cultures; it gave money to projects emanating from a variety of disciplines including archaeology, psychology, religion, and philosophy.<sup>150</sup> The first time Emma applied, the foundation had already completed their consideration of Fellowships for 1955, nevertheless, she was able to re-apply the next year for a grant to cover 1955-1956.<sup>151</sup>

In support of her application, Renata named Harold Cherniss,<sup>152</sup> George Boas,<sup>153</sup> and Ivan Linforth<sup>154</sup> as her references. Cherniss informed the foundation that Renata was ‘uniquely qualified’ to work on the manuscript, that she possessed the needed combination of competency in the field of Greek philosophy, German translation skills, and an acquaintance

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<sup>145</sup> Harold Cherniss to The Secretary of the Bollingen Foundation 4 January 1955 [*Washington D.C. (1)*].

<sup>146</sup> Emma Edelstein to The Secretary of the Bollingen Foundation 2 December 1954 [*Washington D.C. (1)*].

<sup>147</sup> E. Frank, *Aristotle’s Testimony on Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans* ed. by E. J. Edelstein and L. Edelstein, prepared for publication by T. Rütten and P. Singer (in preparation), i-ii.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, ii.

<sup>149</sup> Emma Edelstein to The Secretary of the Bollingen Foundation 2 December 1954 [*Washington D.C. (1)*].

<sup>150</sup> R. Spiller, ‘Bollingen: An Adventure in Collecting the Past by William McGuire’, *American Literature*, 55, 2, (1983), 281-282, 282.

<sup>151</sup> Ernest Brooks to Emma Edelstein in Baltimore 18 February 1955 [*Washington D.C. (1)*].

<sup>152</sup> See footnote 6.

<sup>153</sup> George Boas (1891-1980) was a philosopher and historian of ideas. In 1921 he was invited to join Johns Hopkins as a historian of philosophy by Arthur O. Lovejoy, where he remained until his retirement in 1957. Together with Lovejoy, Boas helped to form the History of Ideas Club of which Ludwig was a member. See E. G. Gombrich, ‘In Memory of George Boas’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 42, 2, (1981), 334-354, 334, 342-343.

<sup>154</sup> Application for Grant-in-Aid or Fellowship, 25 February 1955 [*Washington D.C. (1)*]. Ivan Linforth (1879-1976), has been deemed ‘one of the great Hellenists of his time’. He was an authority on Greek religion and also undertook important work on Solon, Herodotus, Plato, and Sophocles. See J. E. Fontenrose, ‘Linforth, Ivan Mortimer’, in W. W. Briggs (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of North American Classicists* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1994), 362-363, 363.

with Frank's method of composition and habits of thought and expression.<sup>155</sup> This letter of recommendation proved vital in the Foundation's acceptance of the project. Ivan Linforth also stated that Renata was 'unquestionably capable of doing what is to be done and doing it well'.<sup>156</sup> This was because of her knowledge of the subject and her excellent knowledge of English which she wrote with 'grace and facility'.<sup>157</sup> Both men were highly respected scholars in their own fields, and their testimonies demonstrate how, regardless of her gender and lack of formal university position, Renata was viewed as a serious scholar.

This was not the first occasion Renata worked on Frank's manuscripts; she had translated several of his articles, helped with the composition of many of his lectures,<sup>158</sup> and translated his book on *Philosophical Understanding and Religious Truth* into English.<sup>159</sup> Ludwig also helped with this volume by providing advice on the form and content of the book, and Frank acknowledges his indebtedness to both 'Professor and Mrs. Ludwig Edelstein' at the start of his work.<sup>160</sup> Renata also worked with Ludwig on a volume of Frank's collected essays.<sup>161</sup> This volume was entitled *Knowledge, Will, and Belief* in its English format, and Renata aided Ludwig in its production through revising the essays which needed editing and giving them their final form, surveying the material, sorting through the documents, and contributing to the introduction.<sup>162</sup> She also secured two grants for the years 1950-51 and 1951-52 from the American Philosophical Society to allow her to devote her time to this task.<sup>163</sup> Despite her securing these grants and conducting such work, however, Renata is not listed as a joint author along with Ludwig, but is resigned to an acknowledgement in the preface of the work. In this case, her contribution does not gain the full recognition it deserves. She may be acknowledged, but considering the tasks she completed and her statement that '[t]ogether with my husband I have just completed a volume of Erich Frank's Collected Essays',<sup>164</sup> it seems unjustified that she is not listed as an editor.

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<sup>155</sup> Harold Cherniss to The Secretary of the Bollingen Foundation 4 January 1955 [*Washington D.C. (1)*].

<sup>156</sup> Ivan Linforth from Berkeley to The Bollingen Foundation in New York 10 March 1955 [*Washington D.C. (1)*].

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>158</sup> Harold Cherniss to The Secretary of the Bollingen Foundation 4 January 1955 [*Washington D.C. (1)*].

<sup>159</sup> Emma Edelstein to The Secretary of the Bollingen Foundation 2 December 1954 [*Washington D.C. (1)*].

<sup>160</sup> E. Frank, *Philosophical Understanding and Religious Truth* (London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1945), vi.

<sup>161</sup> Emma Edelstein to The Secretary of the Bollingen Foundation 2 December 1954 [*Washington D.C. (1)*].

<sup>162</sup> Edelstein, 'Preface', 10.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>164</sup> Emma Edelstein to The Secretary of the Bollingen Foundation 2 December 1954 [*Washington D.C. (1)*].

Frank's manuscript comprised of the Aristotelian testimony on Pythagoras and a detailed commentary on these writings.<sup>165</sup> He had already published one work on Pythagoras, in which he analysed the influence of the Pythagoreans on the mathematical and scientific theories of Plato.<sup>166</sup> The new work, however, would address the teaching of Pythagoras himself.<sup>167</sup> Renata informed the committee that work on the manuscript would consist of her checking the texts, quotations, and references, and translating the German commentary into English.<sup>168</sup> This was no easy task and indeed her duties went much further than this, for not only did Renata have to work on the commentary on the Aristotelian fragments, but also piece together a number of Frank's other notes. These included a detailed analysis of Aristotle's interpretation of Pythagorean philosophy, a number of related pieces in half-finished essays or essay drafts, a copy of the unpublished paper on 'The Rise and Development of Greek Mathematics and its Importance for Greek Philosophy', a lecture on 'Plato's Conception of Mathematics and Science', and a long study of Proclus' historical introduction to the first book of Euclid.<sup>169</sup> She had a mass of material to organise and arrange, and admitted to the difficulties surrounding this work stating that '[t]o sort and sift the material and to determine what would be helpful in rounding out the subject of the book was not easy'.<sup>170</sup>

Renata's method was to include as much material as possible, not preserving everything, but rather including only what Frank had definitely established.<sup>171</sup> She was responsible for arranging the manuscript and for the writing of some of the text; for Frank had often written in haste, or in a brief and cryptic manner, which could only be understood by examining his notes in his texts of Greek and Latin authors.<sup>172</sup> Finally, she had to work out the technical details and eliminate the inconsistencies and flaws in the text.<sup>173</sup> However, Renata did not work completely alone, and just as Ludwig enlisted Renata's help with his scholarly work, so she did the same with him. In her foreword to the text she wrote:

To the Bollingen Foundation I am greatly indebted for a generous grant in-aid, which during 1955–1957 enabled me to work on the manuscript and to prepare it for publication. My thanks are due also to Ludwig Edelstein for his continued

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<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid. This work is E. Frank, *Plato und die sogenannten Pythagoreer* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1923).

<sup>167</sup> Emma Edelstein to The Secretary of the Bollingen Foundation 2 December 1954 [*Washington D.C. (I)*].

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Frank, *Aristotle's Testimony*, iii.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., iv.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

encouragement and scholarly advice. Lacking the one, I would have despaired of ever bringing the difficult enterprise to completion; lacking the other, I could not have solved many of the puzzles it involved.<sup>174</sup>

Again, the couple approached their work together and supported each other in their scholarly undertakings. Ludwig offered Renata his advice on matters of scholarship, and, furthermore, the personal reassurance she needed to do the work. The importance of such support behind the production of academic work is something that is all too often overlooked. Many people will skim through acknowledgements without really considering how vital the people mentioned may have been in supporting the scholar responsible for the work. Ludwig and Renata offered indispensable encouragement to each other, especially in producing the work of Erich Frank, a close friend of both, for whom the couple strived to ensure the recognition he deserved.

Renata, however, was not able to finish this work, for, a few weeks after writing the foreword, she passed away. Considering the magnitude of the task, coupled with her battles with ill health, this is quite unsurprising. When Renata realised she would not live to finish the manuscript, she asked her husband to undertake it in her stead.<sup>175</sup> Ludwig, showing characteristic devotion to both his friend and wife, took this task of completion upon himself. By 1963 he had finished the manuscript and planned to send it to the Bollingen Foundation for publication.<sup>176</sup> In spring 1965 it had been accepted for publication,<sup>177</sup> not by the Bollingen Foundation, but by the American Philosophical Society.<sup>178</sup> However, by the time of Ludwig's death the manuscript had still not been published. The galley proofs then remained undiscovered in the archives of the American Philosophical Society until Thomas Rütten discovered them and, with the help of Peter Singer, prepared them for publication in the society's book series. Finally, after many years, the Edelsteins' wish to present Frank's work will be made possible, and the academic community will get to benefit from this important study.

It is important to examine this work within Ludwig's intellectual biography because after Renata's death Ludwig spent much of his own time and effort finishing the project. It was more important to him than to work on his own material. This was no easy task for him,

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<sup>174</sup> Ibid., v.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York 1 March [1963] [*Sleepy Hollow (I)*].

<sup>177</sup> Ludwig Edelstein [from New York] to Lilian Temkin in Baltimore 26 October 1964 [*Baltimore (I)*: Temkin Papers, Folder 33].

<sup>178</sup> Frank, *Aristotle's Testimony*, v.

and he spent many years working on it, sacrificing time which could have been spent on his own research interests. In the words of Detlev Bronk what Ludwig and Renata had written were ‘moving testimonials to the continuity of scholarship through deep and affectionate friendships’.<sup>179</sup> Renata’s work on the Pythagoras book also demonstrates her competency as a scholar and translator, despite her not holding an academic position. Respected academics attested to her suitability for the project, and she was able to gain two years of funding in order to work on the manuscript. This proved difficult and challenging work, and although she did undertake much work on her own for the project, she also procured the help of Ludwig, and like on many other occasions they worked in a partnership. Nevertheless, their most important co-authored work is yet to be examined: The two volume work on the healing god Asclepius.

#### 4.5 A True Collaboration: Constructing and Reinterpreting Asclepius

Described as an achievement of great magnitude, a monument to the scholarship of the authors, and a valuable contribution to the topic,<sup>180</sup> the Edelsteins’ two volume work on Asclepius was indeed a work of prodigious erudition. Henry Sigerist even described it as the most important and scholarly study to come from the department in the last ten years,<sup>181</sup> and although he knew it would cause opposition due to the originality of its conclusions, he found the scholarship of the work to be ‘absolutely sound’ and the results ‘perfectly convincing’.<sup>182</sup> The work was truly an accomplishment of both authors’ minds, for although only Ludwig was responsible for the writing – so as to give unity to the work – no solution was accepted nor sentence arranged in its final form until both authors had examined it.<sup>183</sup> Volume one presented a collection of the ancient references to Asclepius, restricted to the written evidence, and the second volume proceeded in analysing this material.<sup>184</sup> Previously this

<sup>179</sup> Detlev Bronk [from New York] to Ludwig Edelstein in New York 13 March 1963 [*Sleepy Hollow (I)*].

<sup>180</sup> A. Diller, ‘Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies by Emma J. Edelstein; Ludwig Edelstein’, *Isis*, 37, 1/2, (1947), 98; P. O. Kristeller, ‘Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies by Emma J. Edelstein; Ludwig Edelstein’, *The Journal of Philosophy*, 45, 22, (1948), 613; D. M. Schullian, ‘Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies by Emma J. Edelstein; Ludwig Edelstein’, *The Classical Weekly*, 41, 2, (1947), 28-30, 30; Stannard, ‘Eloge: Ludwig Edelstein’, 382.

<sup>181</sup> M. H. Bickel, *Correspondence Henry E. Sigerist – Richard H. Shyrock 1933-1956*, (Bern, 2012), 68, accessed on:

[http://www.img.unibe.ch/unibe/medizin/mhi/content/e85995/e210421/files210429/CorrespondenceHenryE.Sigerist-RichardH.Shyrock\\_ger.pdf](http://www.img.unibe.ch/unibe/medizin/mhi/content/e85995/e210421/files210429/CorrespondenceHenryE.Sigerist-RichardH.Shyrock_ger.pdf) 27/08/2014.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>183</sup> E. J. Edelstein and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius: A collection and interpretation of the testimonies*, Vol. II (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1945), viii.

<sup>184</sup> E. J. Edelstein and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius: A collection and interpretation of the testimonies*, Vol. I (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1945), vii.



material had been scattered and was difficult to access.<sup>185</sup> Therefore, the Edelsteins conducted valuable work in drawing it together. The material in the first volume was arranged by subject and the authors made use of original translations wherever possible.<sup>186</sup> The second volume followed these subject headings in its analysis. According to Gary Ferngren, in the second volume the Edelsteins proposed what was in many ways a ‘radical new interpretation’.<sup>187</sup> Indeed, as will be discovered, the Edelsteins did approach many of the old problems with an innovative perspective, although this has not always found favour in the subsequent literature.

Whilst contemporary reviews noted the great deal of work involved in the production of the volumes, and recognized it would be a lasting contribution, they also took issue with a number of points in the work. One of the main criticisms of the reviews is that some notable omissions are made in the selection of epigraphical material,<sup>188</sup> and, furthermore, that there is a distinct lack of other evidence used within the book, such as archaeological evidence.<sup>189</sup> This was seen as problematic because it coloured the interpretation.<sup>190</sup> Another concern raised was that the authors treated Asclepius exclusively, and only mentioned other healing heroes and deities in passing.<sup>191</sup> Finally, a few note that a chronological arrangement for the first volume would have been preferable to the arrangement by subject.<sup>192</sup>

Studies written after the publication of the Edelsteins’ work take a mixed view of their arguments. Eric Dodds accepted their thesis on the genuinely religious character of experience in the cult,<sup>193</sup> and their rejection of the old view which attributed the cures to the medical skill of the priests,<sup>194</sup> but also argues that certainty over the matter of the truthfulness of the inscriptions is not attainable.<sup>195</sup> Carl Kerényi’s study, however, takes issue with the

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<sup>185</sup> Bickel, *Correspondence Henry E. Sigerist – Richard H. Shyrock*, 67.

<sup>186</sup> Edelstein and Edelstein, *Asclepius*, Vol. I, xii.

<sup>187</sup> Ferngren, ‘Introduction’, xxii. Jürgen Riethmüller also states that in many ways the Edelsteins’ work represented a radical departure from previous theses, see J. Riethmüller, *Asklepios: Heiligtümer und Kulte* (Heidelberg: Verlag Archäologie und Geschichte, 2005), 27.

<sup>188</sup> M. Nilsson, ‘Asclepius by Emma J.; Ludwig Edelstein’, *The American Journal of Philology*, 68, 2, (1947), 215-219, 216.

<sup>189</sup> Nilsson, ‘Asclepius’, 219; Schullian, ‘Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation’, 29. However some reviewers accepted their concentration on the literary evidence. See, for example, I. M. Linforth, ‘Asclepius Volume I: Collection of Testimonies. Volume II: Interpretation of the Testimonies by Emma J.; Ludwig Edelstein’, *The Philosophical Review*, 56, 2, (1947), 210-215, 212.

<sup>190</sup> Nilsson, ‘Asclepius’, 216.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 215-216.

<sup>192</sup> Linforth, ‘Asclepius’, 212; Diller, ‘Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation’, 98.

<sup>193</sup> Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 112.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, 115.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

whole basis of the Edelsteins' study – that since the turn of the century the main problems regarding Asclepius and his tradition had been cleared up, hence the Edelsteins taking their starting point from the purely theoretical idea that for centuries Asclepius was only worshipped as a hero, and that this was his beginning.<sup>196</sup> He argues that it is a mistake to think that what comes into existence only does so with its first mention, and that the sequence of our mythological sources has been mistaken for a chronology of mythological contents.<sup>197</sup> However, although this book takes issue with the Edelsteins' approach to studying Asclepius, it does not consider their arguments in any real detail or depth, but rather uses this critique to justify its own approach.

Bronwen Wickkiser agrees with the reviewers that the limitation of the Edelsteins' work is its focus on the textual remains, and exclusion of other kinds of evidence.<sup>198</sup> However, her other remarks upon the work are erroneous, and completely at odds with what the Edelsteins actually argue. She states that the Edelsteins view the cult as 'irrational' in contrast to 'rational' Greek medicine.<sup>199</sup> Although the Edelsteins did reject the view that Greek rational medicine originated in the temples of Asclepius,<sup>200</sup> they did not argue that his cult was 'irrational'. What the Edelsteins actually contend is that 'one must not overemphasize the irrational elements in these cures'.<sup>201</sup> They admit that there is an irrational element to the cures, but that this is only one factor which must not be overemphasized. In fact, the Edelsteins maintained that whereas other cults resorted to irrational means of healing such as magic, the Asclepius cult employed rational means and invited methods used by secular healers.<sup>202</sup>

In the introduction to the re-edition of the Edelsteins' work in 1998, Gary Ferngren also reviews the work. He argues that although the source analysis is tightly construed and carries great authority, it is also over-speculative at times and goes beyond the evidence.<sup>203</sup> He also highlights the weakness caused by the lack of examination into archaeological evidence, conveying a 'narrowly philological perspective to the work' which makes it appear rather

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<sup>196</sup> C. Kerényi, *Asklepios: Archetypal image of the physician's existence* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1960), xiii-xiv.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, xvi-xxvi.

<sup>198</sup> B. Wickkiser, *Asklepios, Medicine and the Politics of Healing in Fifth Century Greece: Between craft and cult* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 2.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>200</sup> Ferngren, 'Introduction', xvii.

<sup>201</sup> Edelstein and Edelstein, *Asclepius*, Vol. II, 154.

<sup>202</sup> Ferngren, 'Introduction', xviii.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, xix.

more old-fashioned today.<sup>204</sup> Furthermore, he agrees with some of the contemporary reviews in arguing that the Edelsteins' concentration on Asclepius alone, and lack of consideration of other healing deities, means they fashioned a picture of the role of Asclepius in the classical world that lacked broader perspective.<sup>205</sup>

Due to the controversial and argumentative nature of the work, Ivan Linforth argued that it would probably not be the definitive work on Asclepius, although he did state it would be the cornerstone for future studies of the subject.<sup>206</sup> However, despite its issues, after years it still features as the fundamental treatment of its subject,<sup>207</sup> and indeed, in 2008, it was stated by Wickkiser that the monumental work remains the 'cornerstone of scholarship on Asklepios and his cult'.<sup>208</sup> Ferngren also argues that throughout the years it has certainly not gone unchallenged, but despite its disadvantages the Edelsteins' erudition, meticulousness, and painstaking collection of the evidence means that their *Asclepius* has enduring value and will never be truly outdated.<sup>209</sup> Therefore, despite valid criticisms of some of the Edelsteins' approaches, both in contemporary views and more recent scholarship, the value of the work cannot be denied. Ten years of hard work was put into the volumes, work which was carried out by both Renata and Ludwig, in a scholarly partnership. The chapter will now proceed in analysing this work in finer detail, to discover what the Edelsteins actually argued and why the work became so 'controversial'.

In the second volume of *Asclepius* the Edelsteins upheld a number of conclusions which went counter to common opinion. Firstly, they argued that Asclepius was not a historical personality but a fictitious character.<sup>210</sup> Secondly, they took issue with a view held by the majority of previous scholars, that the god Asclepius was a chthonic deity, and the hero Asclepius was the younger figure, the 'decayed god'.<sup>211</sup> The Edelsteins argued that there

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<sup>204</sup> Ibid. Riethmüller also argues that a critical flaw with the Edelsteins' work was their lack of investigation into the archaeological, epigraphic, sculptural, and numismatic evidence, see Riethmüller, *Studien zu antiken Heiligtümern*, 27.

<sup>205</sup> Ferngren, 'Introduction', xx.

<sup>206</sup> Linforth, 'Asclepius', 211.

<sup>207</sup> Ferngren, 'Introduction', xxi. Riethmüller also states their work marked a pivotal break, surpassed all previous studies in scale, and quickly became the standard work, see Riethmüller, *Studien zu antiken Heiligtümern*, 26.

<sup>208</sup> Wickkiser, *Asklepios*, 2.

<sup>209</sup> Ferngren, 'Introduction', xxii.

<sup>210</sup> Edelstein and Edelstein, *Asclepius*, Vol. II, 63.

<sup>211</sup> Edelstein and Edelstein, *Asclepius*, Vol. II, 65. Angus described him as a local Thessalian earth-demon who only became the great oecumenical saviour-god in the second and third century: S. Angus, *The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World* (London: John Murray, 1929), 429. For Dyer he may perhaps be looked upon as a netherworld nature-divinity. See L. Dyer, *Studies of the Gods in Greece at Certain Sanctuaries Recently Excavated* (London and New York: Macmillan & Co, 1891), 220. Jayne argued he was an amalgamation of a

was no evidence to support the hypothesis that Asclepius was an aboriginal deity.<sup>212</sup> Instead, they contended that he did not become a god until the end of the sixth century BC, and that he was first elevated to this status at Epidaurus.<sup>213</sup> This rejection of Asclepius as a chthonic deity and proposed date and place of his elevation to godhead is accepted by Nilsson, who considers their reasoning to be sound and clarifying.<sup>214</sup> However, the Edelsteins' proposal that Asclepius was a culture hero deified in the sixth century has not been accepted by all scholars: Vlastos, Kerényi, and Benedum still contend that his original incarnation was as a god.<sup>215</sup> The Edelsteins also deviated from the standard views of the time on Asclepius' cult and religion – that its popularity was due to propaganda, not belief, that it involved superstition, not religion, and was characterised by selfishness, not devotion.<sup>216</sup> Instead, they argued that the cult must be interpreted as a religious phenomenon and that the rising appreciation of health was a key reason for the cult's popularity.<sup>217</sup>

The Edelsteins also analysed the dreams and cures which supposedly occurred during the patients' incubation in the temples of Asclepius, which were inscribed on the *iamata* recovered from the temples. They rejected the theory which proposed interference by the priests as a cause, but also found no other current explanation to be suitable.<sup>218</sup> They instead proposed their own novel concept, arguing that some of the cures were successful, and that it was comprehensible for people to have these dreams when preoccupied with surroundings which focused on illness.<sup>219</sup> In regards to how the patients were actually healed, the Edelsteins also argued against priestly interference and proposed the theory that simple prescriptions prescribed in the dreams could work, or that grave illnesses sometimes just

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chthonic hero and solar divinity. See W. A. Jayne, *The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations* (1925) (New York: University Books inc, 1962), 241. Rohde contended that the peculiarities of the worship of Asclepius demonstrated clearly his original character as an ancient god living below the earth. See E. Rohde, *Psyche: The cult of souls and belief in immortality among the Greeks* trans. by W. B. Hillis (London: Kegan Paul, 1925), 101. Thrämer emphasized the essentially chthonic character of Asclepius. See E. Thrämer, 'Health and Gods of Healing', in J. Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VI (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1913), 540-553, 550. Walton also argued that Asclepius' attributes were those of chthonic gods. See A. Walton, *The Cult of Asklepios* (New York: Ginn & Company, 1894), 11. However, Farnell rejected the view of Asclepius as a chthonic deity and argued he originated as a human culture hero. See L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), 246.

<sup>212</sup> Edelstein and Edelstein, *Asclepius*, Vol. II, 76.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, 97-98.

<sup>214</sup> Nilsson, 'Asclepius', 216.

<sup>215</sup> Ferngren, 'Introduction', xxn16.

<sup>216</sup> Edelstein and Edelstein, *Asclepius*, Vol. II, 110-111.

<sup>217</sup> Nilsson, 'Asclepius', 217.

<sup>218</sup> Edelstein and Edelstein, *Asclepius*, Vol. II, 161-162. It had previously been argued that the priests acted as doctors and provided medical care for the sick.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.

heal.<sup>220</sup> However, this argument is unconvincing as it fails to take into account the truly unexplainable portrayals, for example the spontaneous regrowth of a man's eye after he dreamt of Asclepius,<sup>221</sup> or the birth of a child who could immediately walk to a woman who had been pregnant with it for five years.<sup>222</sup> Yet, the argument that the priests were wholly responsible for the cures and their miracles has not only found criticism from the Edelsteins.<sup>223</sup> Perhaps, as Matthew Dillon suggests, both these arguments for and against priestly interference work under the flawed assumption that all the inscriptions record cures that actually took place.<sup>224</sup> Alternatively, he argues, they can be taken as indications of the beliefs held about Asclepius and used alongside other evidence to describe the experiences at the healing sanctuaries,<sup>225</sup> that they are records of cures attesting to the *arete* and *dynamis* of the god.<sup>226</sup>

I would argue that neither argument for the dreams and their related cures is wholly convincing, but rather that the inscriptions can be explained by a combination of factors. Ferngren's statement that the Edelsteins underrated the elements of priestly manipulation, superstition, and propaganda found in the Asclepius cult seems correct.<sup>227</sup> This may be due in part to their treatment of the Epidaurian miracle accounts – Nilsson argued that they failed to analyse them fully or estimate them as means of propaganda.<sup>228</sup> These accounts reveal the priests' willingness to exaggerate accounts of healing, which they used for propaganda purposes.<sup>229</sup>

Although it is likely that those attending the shrines were imbued with a certain religious fervour and an excited imagination,<sup>230</sup> which probably did cause some to dream of Asclepius' cures, the Edelsteins do not place sufficient emphasis on other factors. These are the social pressures in the temples and fear of appearing impious; those who had not received the divine vision remained and were incubated again, but if this continued they were blamed

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<sup>220</sup> Ibid., 172-173.

<sup>221</sup> Jayne, *The Healing Gods*, 230.

<sup>222</sup> M. P. J. Dillon, 'The Didactic Nature of the Epidaurian Iamata', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 101, (1994), 239-260, 242.

<sup>223</sup> Dillon calls this 'a harsh verdict, and an undeserved one'. See Ibid., 243.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 253.

<sup>227</sup> Ferngren, 'Introduction', xx.

<sup>228</sup> Nilsson, 'Asclepius', 217-218.

<sup>229</sup> Ferngren, 'Introduction', xx.

<sup>230</sup> Jayne, *The Healing Gods*, 276-277.

for their lack of piety and purity,<sup>231</sup> and so perhaps people conjured up their dreams to avoid being branded as impious. For who would want to admit they had not been blessed with a dream, when everyone around them seemed to have no problem communicating with the god? I would concur with Dodds' argument that in many cases the recollections were elaborated by the priests, or exaggerated through the encouragement of fellow patients.<sup>232</sup>

Some were likely to have been cured through the practical methods used in the temples such as the use of ointments, exercise, baths, and different diets and hygienic regimes, or from simply spending time in a therapeutic place with beautiful scenery and fresh air.<sup>233</sup> A form of faith-healing as a cure, as the Edelsteins argued, could explain some of the cures, but certainly not all of them. Clearly, as Dillon argues, some of the dreams and their related cures were inventions, or embellishments of minor cures exaggerated through repetition,<sup>234</sup> for they are beyond all belief. However, this did not necessarily mean that the priests were charlatans, but rather that they were recording the semi-mythical deeds of their god in ways to which adherents of cults are prone, further encouraged by the pilgrims themselves, who likely exaggerated accounts of their own cures because of social pressures<sup>235</sup> and perhaps religious enthusiasm. Instead of rejecting other explanations and focusing on one as the Edelsteins do, perhaps it is more sensible to argue that the inscriptions are likely to be a mixture of genuine cures, invented and exaggerated cures, and instructional material.<sup>236</sup>

From this examination, it is clear that there are a number of issues with *Asclepius* which were highlighted both at the time, and in subsequent scholarship. However, in some of these cases a satisfactory conclusion has still not been reached. Furthermore, although there are some doubtful conclusions in the work, it is not so in all cases, and one cannot deny the huge amount of work that was undertaken to create this monumental study. Even 2009 after the introduction of a new work on Asclepius,<sup>237</sup> Vivian Nutton argued that the Edelsteins' volume had dominated scholarship on the Asclepius cult, and that it was still not superseded by the new work.<sup>238</sup> This demonstrates how successfully the Edelsteins worked together as a team. It is perhaps doubtful that the book would have been so ground-breaking if it had been

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<sup>231</sup> Ibid., 282.

<sup>232</sup> Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 114.

<sup>233</sup> Jayne, *The Healing Gods*, 283, 291.

<sup>234</sup> Dillon, 'The Didactic Nature', 257.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid., 259.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid.

<sup>237</sup> Riethmüller, *Asklepios: Heiligtümer und Kulte*.

<sup>238</sup> V. Nutton, 'Asklepios: Heiligtümer und Kulte by Jürgen W. Riethmüller', *Medical History*, 53, 1, (2009), 146-148, 146.

the work of only one of them. Although Ludwig was responsible for the writing of the text, Renata took just as much responsibility and conducted as much work; it was truly a joint piece of scholarship. Perhaps it was so successful because, at this stage, the couple was already used to working as a team and were aware of how the collaboration worked. It is a testament to the academic marriage as a successful arena for the production of fruitful scholarship. The other projects on which the Edelsteins worked as a team, from the beginning of their partnership until the end, and the outcomes of such collaborations, will now be uncovered.

#### 4.6 Further Collaborations

From early on Renata assisted Ludwig in his work.<sup>239</sup> In 1933, only shortly after Renata had passed her exams, Ludwig was planning a collection of the fragments of the Methodist doctors in collaboration with her.<sup>240</sup> Renata also encouraged Ludwig in other academic pursuits, urging him to attend meetings,<sup>241</sup> and scolding him for not going to the library and keeping up to date with developments in the academic world.<sup>242</sup> In 1939, when Sigerist gave Ludwig the proofs of a manuscript to evaluate, Renata aided him in this task.<sup>243</sup> As well as assisting him generally, there are a number of other projects for which Ludwig planned to enlist his wife's assistance, or which he could only complete with her help. Volume I of Ian Kidd's work on Posidonius was based on Ludwig's collecting and editing of fragments. However, it was both Ludwig and Renata who carried out work on Posidonius, and it is quite disconcerting that she has received no recognition for her contribution to the project. Ludwig is listed as a co-author to the volume, but there is no mention of Renata anywhere in the volume. However, Ludwig informed Dodds that it was Renata who finished the indices and arranged the manuscript on which he had been working for ten years.<sup>244</sup> Renata was even employed by the University of California to carry out this task. In her application to the Bollingen Foundation for a grant to complete Frank's work, Renata lists a Research grant she received in collaboration with Ludwig from the University of California in 1949-51 for work on the collection of the fragments of Posidonius.<sup>245</sup> Nevertheless, the eventual lack of

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<sup>239</sup> Henry Sigerist from Baltimore to George Baehr in New York 22 January 1934 [*New York* (2)].

<sup>240</sup> [Henry Sigerist] to Ludwig Edelstein in Berlin 10 August 1933 [*New Haven*: Box 5, Folder 169].

<sup>241</sup> Such as that of the Classical Philologists in 1946: Ludwig Edelstein to Roy Harvey Pearce 15 December 1946 [*San Diego*].

<sup>242</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 27 November 1948 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>243</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to [Henry Sigerist] 22 June 1939 [*New Haven*: Box 5, Folder 169].

<sup>244</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Eric Dodds 29 May 1950 [*Oxford*: Dodds papers].

<sup>245</sup> Application for Grant-in-Aid or Fellowship, 25 February 1955 [*Washington D.C.* (1)] As Renata held the title of Research Assistant at the university, it seems she was also presented with the loyalty oath for she is listed

recognition could be due to the circumstances surrounding the publication of the volume; if Ludwig had published it before his death he may well have acknowledged Renata's role, however, it is likely that because the project was published by someone else after a significant number of years, Renata's part in it was not actually known.

In 1958, Ludwig was relieved from his teaching duties and planned to spend the year working on the book on Ancient Science for the Oxford Press. To complete this work he applied for a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies in order to cover the expense of a research assistant. This assistant was Renata, and the aim was to gain the grant so that Renata could work with Ludwig instead of having to find another job.<sup>246</sup> Her role in this project would be to check and widen the material, and to aid with typing the manuscript and other technical detail.<sup>247</sup> However, plans for this work were interrupted by Renata's health crisis. The resulting shock on Ludwig's part, unsurprisingly, caused him to fall behind in his plans for the book.<sup>248</sup> By December 1957 Ludwig had received the grant,<sup>249</sup> however, in April 1958 Renata became ill once more, and it was an illness from which she would not recover. Renata was also planning to help Ludwig with Sigerist's *History of Medicine* volume by handling the task of illustration, however, again, her death prevented this.<sup>250</sup>

It seems that, along with Roy Harvey Pearce, Renata and Ludwig had also once planned a translation of Dilthey.<sup>251</sup> Previously, Renata had conducted some of her own work on the philosopher, by working over a translation of his 'Dream' which had been done by a certain Mrs. Feise, with whom she later intended to collaborate.<sup>252</sup> Here, one can again observe how Renata shared in Ludwig's intellectual interests, for he was also planning to work on Dilthey, who was one of his favourite philosophers.<sup>253</sup> Renata also informed Roy and Marie Pearce that she had engaged in discussion about Dilthey with the Edelsteins'

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as a non-signer in the *Analysis of Salary Rates "Non-Signers of Regents' Oath"*. During the controversy Renata also aided the Group for Academic Freedom by carrying out secretarial work for them. See University of California, Regents, *Analysis of Salary Rates of "Non-Signers of Regents' Oath," June 30, 1951*, accessed on: [http://www.oac.cdlib.org/view?docId=hb3f59p14k&brand=oac4&doc.view=entire\\_text](http://www.oac.cdlib.org/view?docId=hb3f59p14k&brand=oac4&doc.view=entire_text) 15/09/2013.

<sup>246</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Detlev Bronk in New York 17 August 1957 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>247</sup> Ibid.

<sup>248</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Detlev Bronk [in New York] 12 December 1957 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>249</sup> Detlev Bronk [from New York] to Ludwig Edelstein in Baltimore 30 December 1957 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>250</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York 29 June 1961 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>251</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Roy Harvey Pearce in Columbus 30 June 1961 [*San Diego*].

<sup>252</sup> Ibid. Although it cannot be deemed certain, it is possible 'Mrs. Feise' was Dorothy Feise, wife of Ernst Feise who was a Professor of German at Johns Hopkins from 1927-1952. W. McClain and H. Jantz, 'In Memoriam: Ernst Feise June 8, 1884-June 16, 1966', *MLN*, 81, 4, (1966), 367-369, 369.

<sup>253</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Peyton Rous in New York 3 August 1965 [*Philadelphia*].



mutual friend Charles Muscatine,<sup>254</sup> and indeed this was not the only occasion on which she was involved in the academic discussion that took place with the couple's friends and colleagues.<sup>255</sup>

The couple's scholarly work was of the greatest importance to Renata as well as to Ludwig, illustrated by the fact that when she died her main concern was that he would go on to complete the work they had started together.<sup>256</sup> In 1947 there was a chance for Renata to gain work at the Seattle Art Museum, however, when Solomon Katz informed Ludwig about this prospect, the latter stated that '[w]e would prefer from now on to work together as we did in the past'.<sup>257</sup> It was a vital aspect of their relationship and seemed to strengthen their bond even further. Not only did they work together on research, but Emma was also an aid to Ludwig's academic career in many other ways. As we have seen, she helped with proofreading, preparation of manuscripts, correspondence, and she was a constant companion to Ludwig – they could discuss ideas together and gain new insights. The chapter will now continue in examining the other aspects of the marriage relevant to their academic work – the division of domestic duties, travel, and financial responsibility, but it will also consider the Edelsteins' relationship in the context of the time, as well as how Renata's academic career compared to that of other female scholars of her generation.

#### **4.7 Ludwig and Renata, Academic Marriages, and Female Scholars in the Early Twentieth Century**

In terms of domestic duties the couple seemed to conform to contemporary ideals and values. Renata was responsible for the preparing of meals, housework, and organisation of the house. When she realised the extent of her illness, Renata took pains to get her house in order and discussed the possibilities for Ludwig following her death; whether he would stay in the house and have a cook and a maid.<sup>258</sup> It is likely that Ludwig could not do these things for himself because of his heavy workload, but also because, like in most marriages of the time, he had never had to, for these had been the responsibilities of the wife. When the Edelsteins were arranging their move to Seattle it was Renata whom Solomon Katz contacted

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<sup>254</sup> Emma Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey and Marie Pearce 10 January 1955 [*San Diego*].

<sup>255</sup> For example, she discussed Plato with the classicist Levi Arnold Post. Emma Edelstein from Baltimore to Levi Arnold Post 9 October 1945 [*Haverford*: Box 4].

<sup>256</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 31 August 1958 [*San Diego*].

<sup>257</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Solomon Katz 15 July 1947 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein teaching position].

<sup>258</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Marcia Katz 19 August 1958 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

about such things as living arrangements, furniture, and the move itself.<sup>259</sup> This suggests that it was Renata who was in control, or at least partly in control, of the couple's finances, as they also discussed the price of apartments in this dialogue.<sup>260</sup> It was also Renata who, in 1953, provided the Katzs with information on their recent trip to Greece, and all the practical details.<sup>261</sup>

Being the wife of a scholar, Renata was required to follow her husband's career to wherever it took him geographically. This meant that she did not always get to reside where she wanted, and had to make sacrifices for Ludwig's career. Renata liked the University of Seattle and the people there very much and would have preferred to stay.<sup>262</sup> The couple formed close attachments during their time on the West Coast, and Renata spoke of how they had fallen in love with the scenery, and found the four years there one of the most profitable periods of their life.<sup>263</sup> She also had to make sacrifices by going to live in England during the year Ludwig was at Oxford, for she found it difficult to live there, 'mostly because the intellectual climate is as cold and unappealing as the physical climate.'<sup>264</sup> She had to grow accustomed to customs and living conditions very different from those she was familiar with.<sup>265</sup> There was no social life like the one she had back in the US, and one can envisage how this would have been a rather lonely time for Renata, with Ludwig kept occupied by his course on ancient science and various other lectures and commitments.<sup>266</sup> During this period Renata was able to spend time with her mother and brother, nevertheless, she missed her close-knit group in the US and found that in Oxford everybody kept to themselves and there were only 'stiff and conventional sessions at the high table.'<sup>267</sup> These statements also demonstrate how it was important to her to be in a vibrant and active intellectual environment.

Renata also accompanied Ludwig when he delivered lectures and attended meetings at various locations throughout America, for example when he lectured at the Rockefeller

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<sup>259</sup> Solomon Katz to Emma Edelstein in Baltimore 18 August 1947 [*Seattle*: Solomon Katz Papers, Folder Edelstein teaching position].

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>261</sup> Emma Edelstein from Oxford to Solomon and Marcia Katz 28 June 1953 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>262</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Roy Harvey Pearce 6 December 1960 [*San Diego*].

<sup>263</sup> Emma Edelstein to Solomon and Marcia Katz 15 February 1952 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>264</sup> Emma Edelstein from Oxford to Solomon and Marcia Katz 4 March 1953 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*

University in 1956,<sup>268</sup> or Oberlin the same year,<sup>269</sup> and when he attended meetings in Philadelphia in 1957.<sup>270</sup> Furthermore, it was Ludwig's academic schedule which seemed to control the couple's social schedule also, and not always in a positive way. At Thanksgiving in 1949, the Edelsteins were unable to take part in any social activities for Ludwig's schedule was filled up with delivering lectures.<sup>271</sup>

In many ways, therefore, the couple had a traditional marriage. However, a crucial aspect of this marriage was also the work which they conducted together, as described above. The Edelsteins were not the only ones to work together on scholarship, and examples can even be found within the Edelsteins' friendship group. Erwin Panofsky worked with his wife Dora, also an art historian, on a book about the Pandora myth.<sup>272</sup> Dora also published articles as a solo author,<sup>273</sup> however, the level of Erwin's support for her scholarship has recently been questioned,<sup>274</sup> and it seems he and others did not view the work on Pandora as a serious piece of scholarship.<sup>275</sup> Perhaps a better example of an academic couple to compare with Ludwig and Renata is Owsei and Lilian Temkin. After Ludwig's death, just as he and Renata had worked together on Frank's manuscripts, so Owsei and Lilian did the same for him in the production of a collection of Ludwig's essays on *Ancient Medicine*.<sup>276</sup> This collection had been planned by Ludwig whilst he was still alive, and Lilian had started work on translating some of the essays in 1964.<sup>277</sup> After his death, the couple worked to produce the collection, with Lilian finishing the translations, the couple editing these translations together, and Owsei writing the introduction.<sup>278</sup> As well as producing Ludwig's collection, Lilian and Owsei had also worked together on a number of other projects,<sup>279</sup> and she acted as his

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<sup>268</sup> Emma Edelstein from Baltimore to Erwin Panofsky 7 May 1956 [*Washington D.C.* (2)].

<sup>269</sup> Emma Edelstein from Baltimore to Solomon Katz 6 July 1956 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>270</sup> Emma Edelstein from Baltimore to Solomon Katz 2 January 1957 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>271</sup> Emma Edelstein from Berkeley to Marie Pearce 24 November 1949 [*San Diego*].

<sup>272</sup> D. Panofsky and E. Panofsky, *Pandora's Box: The changing aspects of a mythical symbol* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1956). On Dora and Erwin Panofsky and the importance of examining personal affinities together with scholarly interests, see Levine, 'PanDora'.

<sup>273</sup> Including D. Panofsky, 'The Textual Basis of the Utrecht Psalter Illustrations', *Art Bulletin*, 25, (1943), 50-58 and D. Panofsky, 'Narcissus and Echo: Notes on Poussin's Birth of Bacchus in the Fogg Museum of Art', *Art Bulletin*, 31, (1949), 112-120.

<sup>274</sup> Levine, 'PanDora', 775.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*, 780-781.

<sup>276</sup> O. Temkin and C. L. Temkin (eds.), *Ancient Medicine: Selected papers of Ludwig Edelstein* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967).

<sup>277</sup> Lilian Temkin from Baltimore to Ludwig Edelstein 17 March 1964 [*Baltimore (1)*: Temkin Papers, Folder 33].

<sup>278</sup> Jack Goellner from Baltimore to Owsei and Lilian Temkin in Baltimore 3 February 1966 [*Baltimore (1)*: Temkin Papers, Folder 52].

<sup>279</sup> They worked together on articles: O. Temkin and C. L. Temkin, 'Wunderlich Versus Haeser: A Controversy over Medical History', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 32, 2, (1958), 97-104; on translations: O. Temkin

‘adviser, editor, and scholarly colleague’.<sup>280</sup> Furthermore, like Renata, Lilian also worked on solo projects.<sup>281</sup>

In some cases, it seemed marriage could help, or at least would not hinder, a woman’s career, as her partner could give support and solidarity, even providing greater freedom, with the partners’ shared interest furthering the woman’s involvement in the field.<sup>282</sup> Studies of the historian Alice Stopford Green have highlighted the importance of male mentors for Green’s career, and the way her marriage led to the formation of lasting friendships with many male historians of the day, although she did also achieve intellectual independence in her widowhood which lasted longer than her married years.<sup>283</sup> Further examples of female scholars who married prominent historians include Mary Ritter Beard (1876-1958), wife of Charles Beard, and Dorothea Singer (1882-1964), wife of Charles Singer.<sup>284</sup> Through her marriage to Ludwig, Renata was also able to form significant friendships with other scholars including Henry Sigerist, Solomon Katz, and Roy Harvey Pearce. However, she did also form such friendships on her own: Albert Salomon stated that he had been a friend of Renata since childhood.<sup>285</sup>

Marriage, however, did not always prove to be beneficial for the female scholar’s career, and could actually limit it, or bring it to a complete halt. The historian Cora Elizabeth Lutz supposed that women were not able to have it all, and actually advised her female students to avoid marriage if they wanted a serious career.<sup>286</sup> The entry of women into

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and C. L. Temkin, ‘Some Extracts from Galen’s “Anatomical Procedures”’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 4, 5, (1936), 466-476; O. Temkin and C. L. Temkin, ‘Subjective Experiences in Temporal Lobe Epilepsy: An Anonymous Report of 1825’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 42, 6, (1968), 566-568; O. Temkin and C. L. Temkin, ‘The Relationship between Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire and Lakanal’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 17, 3, (1945), 305-314; and obituaries: O. Temkin and C. L. Temkin, ‘Bertha Spector’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 33, 1, (1959), 80.

<sup>280</sup> S. Greenblatt, ‘Owsei Temkin (1902-2002)’, in National Research Council (ed.), *Biographical Memoirs*, Vol. 89 (Washington D.C.: The National Academies Press, 2007), 5.

<sup>281</sup> C. L. Temkin, ‘Carl Julius Salomonsen: Reminiscences of the Summer Semester, 1877, at Breslau’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 24, 4, (1950), 333-351; H. E. Sigerist, C. L. Temkin, G. Rosen, G. Zilboorg, *Four treatises of Theophrastus von Hohenheim, called Paracelsus* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1941). She also translated articles from French into English for the Bulletin: D. Gourevitch, ‘Suicide Among the Sick in Classical Antiquity’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 43, 6, (1969), 501-518.

<sup>282</sup> M. L. S. Sørensen, ‘Rescue and Recovery: On Historiographies of Female Archaeologists’, in M. Diaz-Andreu and M. L. S. Sørensen (eds.), *Excavating Women: Towards an engendered history of archaeology* (London: Routledge, 1998), 31-60, 49-50.

<sup>283</sup> S. Holton, ‘Gender Difference, National Identity and Professing History: The Case of Alice Stopford Green’, *History Workshop Journal*, 53, (2002), 118-127, 120-121.

<sup>284</sup> G. Pomata, ‘Amateurs by Choice: Women and the Pursuit of Independent Scholarship in 20th century Historical Writing’, *Centaurus*, 55, 2, (2013), 196-219, 206.

<sup>285</sup> Albert Salomon from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York 17 August 1965 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>286</sup> D. D. Evans, ‘Cora Elizabeth Lutz (1906-1985) Magistra Egregii’, in J. Chance (ed.), *Women Medievalists and the Academy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 671-682, 671-672.

academia in both Europe and the US did not correspond with an entry of men into the domestic sphere, and so if a woman wished to pursue a career, get married, and raise a family, in practice it meant a double working day.<sup>287</sup> Lutz also joked that she would have had an easier time in the academic world if she had had a wife, for as she told one of her graduate students, ‘all those men you work with have wives doing their laundry and cooking their meals’.<sup>288</sup> Harriet Friedenreich argues that in Germany marriage was often a plus for a man’s career, but this was not the case for a woman, as getting married and having children could severely halt a woman’s career, and most university women were overshadowed in professional terms by their husbands.<sup>289</sup> Married women who chose to work would also face criticism from a society which frowned upon working mothers and wives for taking men’s jobs and neglecting family responsibilities, and husbands and wives for both earning good wages.<sup>290</sup> This was also the case in America.

Furthermore, as Marie Sørensen argues, the women in these professional partnerships, no matter how supportive their husbands were, have rarely received the proper credit for their work, by themselves or their discipline.<sup>291</sup> Claire Richter Sherman also contends that in a husband and wife academic partnership it was rare for the woman to be able to keep a distinct identity.<sup>292</sup> In the case of Mary Beard, although it is impossible to separate her and her husband’s individual contributions to their co-authored volumes, it is he who has received most of the credit for them.<sup>293</sup> In some of the work Renata carried out with Ludwig she did receive the appropriate credit: In the *Asclepius* volumes she is listed as the first author. However, in other cases although she made a contribution she did not receive the appropriate accolades.

It could be argued that perhaps if Renata had not married and had had the domestic responsibilities which accompanied this, she may have been able to carve out a career within a university. However, this would have certainly been no easy task, and even unmarried

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<sup>287</sup> M. Diaz-Andreu and M. L. S. Sørensen, ‘Excavating Women: Towards an Engendered History of Archaeology’, in M. Diaz-Andreu and M. L. S. Sørensen (eds.), *Excavating Women: Towards an engendered history of archaeology* (London: Routledge, 1998), 1-28, 19.

<sup>288</sup> Evans, ‘Cora Elizabeth Lutz’, 672.

<sup>289</sup> Friedenreich, *Female, Jewish and Educated*, 108.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*, 108-109.

<sup>291</sup> Sørensen, ‘Rescue and Recovery’, 50.

<sup>292</sup> C. R. Sherman, ‘Widening Horizons (1890-1930)’, in C. R. Sherman and A. Holcomb (eds.), *Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1981), 25-59, 38.

<sup>293</sup> B. Sicherman, C. H. Green, I. Kantrov, and H. Walker, *Notable American Women. The Modern Period: A biographical dictionary* (Cambridge, MA, and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), 72.

women had great difficulties in attaining academic positions.<sup>294</sup> This was the case in Germany and the US. For German women such as Renata, born around the beginning of the twentieth century, the door to academic education in universities was open for the first time. Amongst these early university women, Jewish women were particularly prominent.<sup>295</sup> This was because the ‘well situated’ middle class Jewish families from which a high proportion of these women, like Renata, came, could afford to educate their daughters as well as their sons, and because they valued higher learning and *Bildung*.<sup>296</sup> Still, women were only a small proportion of the students; in 1925, Heidelberg had a student population of around 3000, but ninety-five percent of these students were male.<sup>297</sup> Furthermore, although women were finally gaining access to university education on a larger scale, this did not equate to the same access in academic careers, and the road for a woman wishing to obtain a full time job researching and teaching her chosen subject within a university was an onerous one. In Germany, where Renata began her academic career, women were not even eligible for Habilitation until after the First World War,<sup>298</sup> and even after the war it remained especially difficult for Jewish academics. When women finally were allowed access to official academic appointments the situation was little better. There was a surplus of educated men in Germany and this stunted women’s entrance into the academic profession.<sup>299</sup> Women who wished to stay in academia after gaining their doctorates often had to work as unpaid research assistants,<sup>300</sup> rarely receiving full credit for their research, or reaching the stage of Habilitation.<sup>301</sup> Academic appointments for women in the humanities remained rare,<sup>302</sup> and even in total, before the Nazi era only eighty-four women received academic appointments in German and Austrian universities, with only four attaining the position of full professor.<sup>303</sup> The failure of a woman to secure work and academic respectability in the German university system was common and women were not expected to break into the ranks of male academics and compete with them, or supersede them.<sup>304</sup> Hutton also argues that in the case

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<sup>294</sup> Friedenreich, *Female, Jewish and Educated*, 189.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*, 4-5, 17.

<sup>297</sup> Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages*, 80.

<sup>298</sup> Friedenreich, *Female, Jewish and Educated*, 59.

<sup>299</sup> M. Hutton, *Russian and West European Women, 1860-1939: Dreams, struggles, and nightmares* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2001), 91.

<sup>300</sup> Although this was also the case for men in Germany at this time.

<sup>301</sup> Friedenreich, *Female, Jewish and Educated*, 65.

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

<sup>304</sup> U. Wiethaus, ‘The German Historian Elisabeth Burne-Wilson (1890-1974): Academic Feminism and Medieval Hagiography, 1914-1931’, in J. Chance (ed.), *Women Medievalists and the Academy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 353-356, 356.

of Jewish women, they were able to obtain an education but not a career, for whilst Jews approved of educating their daughters they preferred their wives not to work outside the home.<sup>305</sup>

In America, the situation for female academics actually seemed to decline towards the middle of the twentieth century. Whereas in 1920 women received one out of every seven doctorates awarded, by 1956 this figure had fallen to one in ten.<sup>306</sup> It was not until the 1970s that the levels of the 1920s were reached once more. However, even in the 1920s, although women earned approximately one third of graduate degrees, they only occupied four percent of full professorships.<sup>307</sup> When women did gain academic positions, they were most often in lower positions at less prestigious institutions.<sup>308</sup> Often, teaching in a women's college was the only viable option for these female scholars,<sup>309</sup> despite their academic proficiency. For example, William Calder III notes of how the classicist Emma Adelaide Hahn suffered because she was a woman, and although she richly deserved a chair where she could teach graduate students and her speciality, she was confined to teaching undergraduates at a women's college.<sup>310</sup>

It was not merely within universities that women found it difficult to assert their rightful place. The dominant domestic ideology in mid-twentieth century America defined women almost exclusively in terms of their alleged roles as wives and mothers.<sup>311</sup> This became known as the 'feminine mystique', after its exploration in a work of the same title written by Betty Friedan in the 1960s. In this work, Friedan wrote about women attempting to conform to a certain image which she termed the 'feminine mystique'.<sup>312</sup> She argued that women were being made to believe that their role was to seek fulfilment as wives and mothers, that truly feminine women should not desire careers, higher education, and political rights, but should devote their lives to finding and supporting a husband and rearing

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<sup>305</sup> Hutton, *Russian and West European Women*, 92.

<sup>306</sup> S. Ware, *Holding their Own: American women in the 1930s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 79.

<sup>307</sup> W. Chafe, *The American Woman: Her changing social, economic, and political roles, 1920-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 91.

<sup>308</sup> B. J. Harris, *Beyond her Sphere: Women and the profession in American history* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1978), 115.

<sup>309</sup> Ware, *Holding Their Own*, 80.

<sup>310</sup> W. M. Calder III, 'Emma Adelaide Hahn', in W. W. Briggs (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of North American Classicists* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1994), 248-249, 248.

<sup>311</sup> S. M. Evans, *Born for Liberty: A history of women in America* (New York: Simon and Schuster Inc, 1997), 246.

<sup>312</sup> B. Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (London: Penguin Books, 1963), 9.

children.<sup>313</sup> Therefore, just as women found it difficult to enjoy a successful career within academia, this was also the case in other professions, as society treated career women with disdain. It was acceptable for a woman to have a job, but not a serious career. Their most important role was to look after their husband and family. As had been the case in Germany, a high percentage of society thought that wives whose husbands could afford to support them should not be allowed to have jobs and incomes of their own.<sup>314</sup> This was not just an issue in the 1960s, the roots of the ‘feminine mystique’ can be traced back to the 1930s,<sup>315</sup> and indeed even further.

Therefore, it is unsurprising that some women of this generation, although still conducting research and remaining ‘scholars’, decided to reject a career in academia. Gianna Pomata adopts this view, that, for some of these women, independent scholarship was a deliberate choice.<sup>316</sup> She argues that faced with the unsatisfying reality of working in an academy, many female history graduates chose not to pursue ‘the elusive goal of an academic position’.<sup>317</sup> Pomata also contends that women did not necessarily perceive their position outside of academia negatively,<sup>318</sup> and this is something which does seem to align with Renata’s experience. Although Renata did not work within a university she was still able to pursue her academic interests and did have some freedom to work on subjects of her own choice. Renata’s position was not unique. In the early twentieth century women’s access to the historical disciplines could follow two paths; some became professional academic historians working within universities, but others, like Renata, worked outside or on the margins of academia.<sup>319</sup> It is difficult to pin a label on this latter category of women; Pomata debates whether they should be termed ‘independent scholars’ or ‘amateurs’, but finds neither to be completely satisfactory.<sup>320</sup> However, she settles on independent scholars *ante litteram*, for in no way could these women be called amateurish.<sup>321</sup> Although her paper deals with historians, these arguments can also be applied to those, like Renata, working in other historical fields such as classics and archaeology. Furthermore, although Renata did not pursue a career within a university, she did also have her own career at the Walters Art

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<sup>313</sup> Ibid., 13-14.

<sup>314</sup> S. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women: The history of women in Britain and the US* (London: Viking, 1997), 268.

<sup>315</sup> Ware, *Holding Their Own*, 199.

<sup>316</sup> Pomata, ‘Amateurs by Choice’, 202.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid., 203.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid., 209-210.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid., 197.

<sup>320</sup> Ibid.

<sup>321</sup> Ibid., 198.



Gallery. Like Renata, other educated women of the time did find work in institutions such as museums, libraries, and galleries. Claire Richter Sherman argues that this was because women were long associated with aesthetic culture and moral education, and so these environments were considered suitable places of work.<sup>322</sup> Again, as was the case with Renata, many of these women produced scholarship whilst employed in these museums and libraries, often addressed to a specialized audience.<sup>323</sup>

In her role as scholar working outside an academic institution, Renata's marriage to Ludwig did not affect her negatively as it did for some women. Ludwig greatly encouraged Renata's scholarship, just as she did for him. Indeed, Renata was not the only woman whom Ludwig encouraged in learning. It seems that he was an advocate of female equality. In the preface to her work on *Women and the Ideal Society*, Natalie Harris Bluestone writes:

I owe an enormous debt to Aron Gurwitsch, George Boas, and Ludwig Edelstein, teachers and mentors, who, in the 1950s when such views were heretical, fostered me in the belief that woman's intellect was in every way equal to man's. These three scholars, although not social radicals, truly believed that the life of the mind, which they valued highly, was in no way gender-connected.<sup>324</sup>

As Harris Bluestone contends, this was far from the norm; Ludwig's support of women in academia was rare. Through Ludwig, Renata was able to attend meetings and conferences, meet other academics, and take part in academic life. It could be argued that if she had pursued her own career then she would have been able to do these things to an even greater extent, however, there was no guarantee she would have even been able to have such a career. She certainly would not have been able to gain the kind of prestigious positions that Ludwig was able to obtain. This was not only related to gender issues; Renata's degree was not of the same level as Ludwig's, and her thesis did not have the same impact. Furthermore, her marriage to Ludwig was a marriage of minds, she enjoyed working with him, the couple preferred to work together, rather than Renata holding a separate job within a museum.<sup>325</sup>

Scholars wishing to highlight the role of women in academia and scholarship have found the biographical approach to be a fruitful one, using case studies to address the wider context of the time and to try to give women the place they deserve in the history of various

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<sup>322</sup> Sherman, 'Widening Horizons', 46.

<sup>323</sup> Sherman, 'The Tradition Continues', 71.

<sup>324</sup> N. H. Bluestone, *Women and the Ideal Society: Plato's Republic and modern myths of gender* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987), ix.

<sup>325</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Solomon Katz 15 July 1947 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein teaching position].

disciplines including classics, history, and archaeology. In a collected volume investigating the history of women in archaeology, Marie Sørensen argues that the history of an individual can enrich the interpretation of a discipline, and that narrative biographies ‘can improve our understanding of the social construction of knowledge and expand our insights into the relationship between the discipline, the disciplinary code, conduct, and the individual.’<sup>326</sup> This is also the approach taken in a special edition of *The Classical World*, focused on ‘Six North American Women Classicists’ which attempts to examine women’s experiences, contributions, and difficulties in the field of classical studies in the twentieth century through focusing on the individual lives of six female classicists.<sup>327</sup> Sandra Holton also conducted a case study on Alice Stopford Green in order to explore the wider context of gender difference in the practice of history.<sup>328</sup> Examining the life of Renata, therefore, is helpful in producing the intellectual biography of Ludwig Edelstein, but also provides insights on the wider theme of academic women and wives in the early twentieth century, highlighting the crucial role and significant work of female scholars outside of the academy.

#### 4.8 Conclusion

Through his marriage to Renata, Ludwig was able to find an intellectual soul mate. Their partnership was a crucial site for the exchange of ideas and the production of scholarship. It is not immediately clear upon reading Ludwig’s oeuvre just how important his wife was for his scholarship. However, this chapter has aimed to rectify this and to highlight how crucial Renata was in the development of Ludwig’s ideas, in the production of some of his and their joint works, in providing the support which allowed him to devote himself completely to the academic life, and in influencing the choices he made over the production of work, even after her untimely death. This brings the question to mind of just how important marriage was to the scholarship of other academics like Ludwig, whether this was through collaboration or, as Sibylle Quack highlights, carrying out tasks such as the rearing of children, food shopping, and paying the rent, which constituted the ‘very precondition for intellectual productivity.’<sup>329</sup> Levine’s article demonstrates the value of examining marriage and family in relation to intellectual life, but scholarship on the issue is scarce. Yet, as Levine

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<sup>326</sup> Sørensen, ‘Rescue and Recovery’, 47.

<sup>327</sup> W. M. Calder III and J. Hallett, ‘Introduction: Six North American Women Classicists’, *The Classical World*, 90, 2/3, (1996-1997), 83-96, 90.

<sup>328</sup> Holton, ‘Gender Difference’.

<sup>329</sup> S. Quack, ‘Everyday Life and Emigration: The Role of Women’, in H. Lehmann and J. J. Sheehan (eds.), *An Interrupted Past: German-speaking refugee historians in the United States after 1933* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 102-108, 102.

argues, ‘treating both marriage as a serious institution of intellectual life and the lives of scholars as social mechanism for ideas can produce new interpretive possibilities for intellectual history at large.’<sup>330</sup>

Examining the life and career of Renata also provides us with a tool to examine the wider history of female scholars in the early twentieth century, and to bring a hidden voice into the light. The absence of women in academia during this time period is well known,<sup>331</sup> but considering the life of a woman like Renata can give a different perspective, and demonstrate that although they may not have held positions in a university, there were more female scholars actively working in the first half of the twentieth century than is perhaps evident at first glance. Examining an individual’s biography is one of the best ways to uncover information about female academics and intellectuals. Mary O’ Dowd argued that because the contribution of women mostly took place outside the community their influence has been overlooked,<sup>332</sup> but this chapter has aimed to contribute to the literature which seeks to rectify this, and to evidence women’s participation in scholarship, through focusing on Renata’s work and involvement. However, there is still much work to be done on this area, particularly in the case of women like Renata working outside of the academy.

Now that it has been established how important the various figures in Ludwig’s life were to his scholarship, the thesis will continue in exploring some of this scholarship in greater depth. The next chapter will consider the role of ‘Edelstein as a Scholar’ by focusing on two main aspects of his academic production, his work on Plato, and his work on Hippocrates.

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<sup>330</sup> Levine, ‘PanDora’, 755.

<sup>331</sup> Sørensen, ‘Rescue and Recovery’, 36-37.

<sup>332</sup> M. O’ Dowd, ‘Popular Writers: Women Historians, the Academic Community, and National History Writing’, in I. Porciani and J. Tollebeek (eds.), *Setting the Standards: Institutions, networks, and communities of national historiography* (Houndsmill: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 351-371, 366.

## Chapter 5. Edelstein as a Scholar

‘We must not honour a man above truth, but...speak our minds.’<sup>1</sup>

### 5.1 Introduction

Edelstein had two different, although related, fields of research; the history of ancient medicine and science, and ancient philosophy.<sup>2</sup> From the beginning of his academic career, he was convinced of the need to study these subjects in conjunction. In 1933, when the refugee was in a desperate situation in Italy, searching for ways in which to carry on his academic career after his dismissal from the University of Berlin, he wrote to the Academic Assistance Council to request support for his research. Edelstein stated that ‘[t]he history of philosophy is to a great part the history of science, and the forme [sic] cannot be properly understood without the latter’.<sup>3</sup> He would hold this conviction for the rest of his life. According to Leonardo Tarán, Edelstein made contributions of primary importance to both of these fields.<sup>4</sup> This chapter will analyse Edelstein’s research in ancient medicine and philosophy, by focusing on his work on two crucial aspects, Plato and Hippocrates.

Plato was a figure of great importance to Edelstein. He was more than just a topic for research, and remained a guiding force throughout his life. According to Edelstein’s close friend and colleague Owsei Temkin, Edelstein had a ‘reverent attachment’ to Plato.<sup>5</sup> The discussion of Plato was also a facet of Ludwig’s relationship with his wife Renata.<sup>6</sup> After quoting from the *Phaedo* in her eulogy he even used a Platonic phrase to close: *Eu prattein*.<sup>7</sup> Throughout his career Edelstein also spent much of his time reading and researching Plato, even if this did not result in published work. In the early 1930s, when Edelstein’s output was

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<sup>1</sup> Edelstein includes this quote from Plato’s *Republic*, X, 595 C in his discussion of Socrates’ relationship to the truth in L. Edelstein, ‘Platonic Anonymity’, *The American Journal of Philology*, 83, 1, (1962), 1-22, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Tarán, ‘Introduction’.

<sup>3</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Rome to the Honorable Secretary of the A.A.C in London 2 November 1933 [*Oxford*: MS.SPSL 29216, f.374]. The Academic Assistance Council was a body of intellectuals in Great Britain who worked to aid teachers on the Continent who ‘on grounds of religion, political opinion, or race, are unable to carry on their work in their own country’ through providing maintenance and helping them to find work. In 1933, their immediate concern was to help those from Germany. See Anonymous, ‘Academic Assistance Council. Aid for Displaced German Scholars’, *British Medical Journal*, 1, 3778, (1933), 974.

<sup>4</sup> Tarán, ‘Introduction’.

<sup>5</sup> Temkin, ‘In Memory of Ludwig Edelstein’, 9.

<sup>6</sup> Ludwig and Renata would discuss Plato with other scholars including Levi Arnold Post. See Emma Edelstein from Baltimore to Levi Arnold Post 9 October 1945 [*Haverford*: Box 4].

<sup>7</sup> Ludwig Edelstein, Renata In Memoriam July 8, 1958. Given 5 May 1959 [*Sleepy Hollow*]. Meaning ‘welfare’/‘prosperity’/‘well-doing’.

focused on other topics, he wrote to Strauss that privately he liked nothing more than to interpret Plato.<sup>8</sup> In 1946 he related to Levi Arnold Post that he had been ‘reading Plato all the time’ and wished to have a discussion and get advice from him,<sup>9</sup> and in the late 1940s writing something on Plato was still very much on his mind, however, he was also working on Wieland, Hippocrates, and Plutarch.<sup>10</sup> Edelstein also wrote to Strauss that he enjoyed teaching Plato at university.<sup>11</sup> One of his students recalls how he would arrive at class with a copy of Plato in one hand, and the *New York Times* in the other.<sup>12</sup> If it is to be believed that ‘[e]very man is born an Aristotelian or a Platonist’,<sup>13</sup> Edelstein was surely the latter.

Nevertheless, although Plato was highly important to Edelstein, the history of science was just as crucial in his academic work, and indeed, for interpreting Plato. In the 1930s he stated that work in the history of science was a desideratum, for it was unknown territory, and yet there was no understanding of Greek philosophy, including Plato, without it.<sup>14</sup> Hippocrates was not as important to Edelstein personally. Despite his own fame and position as the ‘father’ of ancient medicine, the physician could surely not compare as a spiritual guide to the most famous of philosophers to whom, it has been claimed, the European philosophical tradition was nothing but a series of footnotes.<sup>15</sup> At Edelstein’s funeral Harold Cherniss read the same *Phaedo* passage the former had given for his wife, stating there could be ‘no more suitable valedictory’.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, it was with a dissertation on the Hippocratic Corpus that Edelstein embarked upon his journey into an academic career, and some of the most important work he produced henceforth was on Hippocrates. Indeed, Edelstein is perhaps better known for his work as a historian of medicine than for his work on Plato, and devoted much of his scholarly output to Hippocrates.

This chapter will summarize the main pieces of scholarship Edelstein produced in both of these areas, and it will analyse the reception of these works, both in the years directly following the publication, but also in later years. First, it will investigate his scholarship on

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<sup>8</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Rome to Leo Strauss 10 November 1933 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>9</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Levi Arnold Post in Haverford 24 March 1946 [*Haverford*: Box 5].

<sup>10</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 4 February 1949 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>11</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Leo Strauss 10 October 1946 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>12</sup> Information provided by Lorna Green via e-mail 23/8/2013.

<sup>13</sup> S. T. Coleridge, *Specimens of the Table Talk of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* ed. by H. N. Coleridge (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1905), 100.

<sup>14</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Rome to Leo Strauss 10 November 1933 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>15</sup> A. N. Whitehead, *Process and Reality: An essay in cosmology* (New York: The Free Press, 1978), 39.

<sup>16</sup> Harold Cherniss, Ludwig Edelstein’s funeral 19 August 1965 [*Baltimore* (2): Ludwig Edelstein, Renata and Nathan Edelstein].

Plato, the articles ‘Platonism or Aristotelianism’ (1940), ‘The Rôle of Eryximachus in Plato’s Symposium’ (1945), ‘The Function of the Myth in Plato’s Philosophy’ (1949), ‘Platonic Anonymity’ (1962), and the monograph *Plato’s Seventh Letter* (1966). Subsequently, it will explore Edelstein’s concept of Plato, focusing on his interpretation of the *Seventh Letter*, within the wider context of German Platonic scholarship in the early twentieth century. Edelstein’s work on Hippocrates will then be examined, first his monograph *Peri aerōn und die Sammlung der hippokratischen Schriften* (1931) and subsequent work which was related to this, and then his short monograph ‘The Hippocratic Oath: Text, Translation and Interpretation’ (1943). Finally, the chapter will examine Edelstein’s work on the Oath in greater detail, again relating it to the time in which it was produced.

Plato and Hippocrates were chosen as foci of attention because of the importance of these topics to Edelstein’s private and professional life and the significance of his work produced in these areas. However, examining these areas will also yield wider information about Edelstein’s scholarship in general, for example, his overall search for the ‘truth’, his desire to interpret the evidence without being influenced by popular opinion, and his choice of complex and controversial issues for study. The chapter will also argue that the work produced in these areas has been of vital importance in the subsequent scholarship, not just in the way other academics have adopted his interpretations, but also in the highly critical reactions which some of the work has also caused. Finally, it will be demonstrated how examining Edelstein’s work together with the details of his life can help us to understand it in a new light, and in greater depth.

## **5.2 Platonism or Aristotelianism?**

In 1940, Edelstein published an article on ‘Platonism or Aristotelianism?’ wherein he addressed the issue of the connection between Platonism and science, and the claims that the two were incompatible, unlike Aristotelianism and science.<sup>17</sup> Such a claim, in conjunction with the idea that Aristotelianism represented the incontrovertible truth in science and history, as well as in philosophy and politics, was the predominant belief among scholars at the time.<sup>18</sup> However, Edelstein’s paper sought to demonstrate that Platonism was not, and never had been, the antithesis to science.<sup>19</sup> Edelstein argued that Plato did not have a low

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<sup>17</sup> L. Edelstein, ‘Platonism or Aristotelianism?’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 8, 6, (1940), 757-769, 757.

<sup>18</sup> See G. E. R. Lloyd, ‘Plato as Natural Scientist’, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 88, (1968), 78-92, 78 for examples of scholars who proposed and opposed the theory that Plato’s attitude was disastrous for science.

<sup>19</sup> Edelstein, ‘Platonism or Aristotelianism?’, 758.

opinion of physicians, but rather held medicine and medical men in high esteem.<sup>20</sup> This was only an issue of minor importance to Edelstein, however; more crucial was whether or not there was a specific incompatibility of Platonic philosophy and medicine, and a special affinity of Aristotelian philosophy and medical thinking.<sup>21</sup> Edelstein addressed these issues by arguing that Galenic medicine was Platonic, at least in the eyes of Galen, and for him and his followers Platonic philosophy was the foundation of scientific medicine.<sup>22</sup> Edelstein then analysed the relationship between Platonism and modern medicine, claiming that Platonic philosophy and modern scientific thought were not diametrically opposed,<sup>23</sup> and questioned the categorization of Aristotle as a modern scientist.<sup>24</sup> According to Edelstein, the polarization of Platonism and Aristotelianism was not tenable; ‘the philosopher Plato’ could not be opposed to ‘the scientist Aristotle’, the situation was far more complex.<sup>25</sup>

Edelstein’s article was only brief, and it seems to have caused little response in subsequent literature.<sup>26</sup> However, in a letter dating from a few years post-publication, Edelstein commented that he did not think he had achieved much with the article, and knew that he had not said anything new or important in it.<sup>27</sup> Rather, he had written it in response to a weak article by Sigerist on the subject, which he felt he had to argue against.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, the argument that Plato never opposed scientific enquiry had already been proposed by the renowned Platonic scholar Paul Shorey (1857-1934),<sup>29</sup> and even after the publication of Edelstein’s article, it was Shorey’s paper which was considered to be ‘the most outspoken vindication of Plato’s reputation as a scientist’.<sup>30</sup> Despite this, it is important within this chapter to highlight what was argued in the paper, because it bridges Edelstein’s interests in Plato and ancient science and medicine, and demonstrates our protagonist’s tendency to view Plato in a positive light. Moreover, it evidences Edelstein’s desire to publish what he considered to be the truth about matters in scholarship. Edelstein was unhappy with Sigerist’s

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 758-759.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 759.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 759-760.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 762.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 766-768,

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 768.

<sup>26</sup> For example, it is not referenced in later works which address the subject of Plato and science, including J. P. Anton (ed.), *Science and the Sciences in Plato* (New York: Eidos, 1980) and G. E. R. Lloyd, *Early Greek Science: Thales to Aristotle* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1982).

<sup>27</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Leo Strauss 23 October 1944 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. I have not been able to find the article by Sigerist.

<sup>29</sup> P. Shorey, ‘Platonism and the History of Science’, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 66, (1927), 159-182, 162.

<sup>30</sup> Lloyd, ‘Plato as a Natural Scientist’, 78.

article and considered it his duty to contribute to the issue. It also confirms that Edelstein's friendships did not alter his views, and that he was undeterred by writing against the position of a friend and colleague. Furthermore, Edelstein's paper did make some original contributions, and focused on Plato's relation to medicine and medical men, as well as science more generally. This was not the only occasion on which Edelstein published an article examining some of the medical aspects in Plato's work. Another article published in the same decade also explored Plato's view of the physician.

### 5.3 Re-evaluating the *Symposium*

On the 29 December 1945 Edelstein presented a paper on 'The Rôle of Eryximachus in Plato's *Symposium*' at a meeting of the American Philological Association in Cincinnati, Ohio.<sup>31</sup> This paper was published in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* of the same year.<sup>32</sup> In the article, a number of Edelstein's scholarly interests collided; although the work is based more in classics, it still deals with the history of medicine, as it focuses on the role and presentation of the physician in the *Symposium*. The article aimed to offer a new interpretation of the character of Eryximachus; to demonstrate how he was not simply a caricature of a physician, but played a crucial role in the dialogue.<sup>33</sup> In proposing this view, Edelstein was offering a suggestion which went counter to commonly held notions of how Eryximachus should be regarded – that he is a pedant, and that Plato painted an ironical portrait of the scientist.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, it had also been argued by scholars including R.G. Bury, Arnold Hug, and Richard Schöne, that Eryximachus seizes every opportunity to parade his medical knowledge.<sup>35</sup> However, Edelstein also took issue with this argument, claiming that Eryximachus only gives medical advice when required, and although he agrees that Eryximachus loves conversing on medicine, this does not mean that he is conceited, but rather that he displays a natural respect for his profession.<sup>36</sup> For Edelstein, Eryximachus was a historically accurate portrait of a physician at the time of the dialogue's composition, and although it could not be denied that Plato did make light of him, he did the

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<sup>31</sup> H. E. Sigerist, 'The Johns Hopkins Institute of the History of Medicine during the Academic Year 1945-1946', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 20, 3, (1946), 379-385, 383.

<sup>32</sup> L. Edelstein, 'The Rôle of Eryximachus in Plato's *Symposium*', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 76, (1945), 85-103.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>34</sup> See Edelstein, 'The Rôle of Eryximachus', 85n2 and E. M. Craik, 'Plato and Medical Texts: *Symposium* 185c-193d', *The Classical Quarterly*, 51, 1, (2001), 109-114, 110n7.

<sup>35</sup> Edelstein, 'The Rôle of Eryximachus', 85.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 86-87.



same with the other characters. In Edelstein's conclusion, Eryximachus was actually portrayed realistically and sympathetically.<sup>37</sup>

Following Edelstein's study, a number of scholars have also taken the character of Eryximachus into consideration. Walter Hamilton, in his 1951 edition of the *Symposium*, characterizes Eryximachus as a 'pompous and oracular pedant', only able to consider subjects on a professional and technical level.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, a more recent edition of the dialogue, edited by Robin Waterfield in 1994, seems more sympathetic to Edelstein's arguments, claiming that it is not quite clear whether Eryximachus' speech should be read as pompous or profound, and that his tendency to force phenomena into a scheme was a characteristic of all early scientists.<sup>39</sup> Other scholars have also taken a more neutral stance on Eryximachus: Stanley Rosen argues that it would be unsafe to hastily agree with the opinion that Eryximachus is merely a pompous pedant,<sup>40</sup> and William Guthrie contends that Edelstein had vindicated Plato's portrait of Eryximachus as a realistic and sympathetic character.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, David Konstan and Elizabeth Young-Bruehl found Eryximachus' speech to contain a systematic and intellectual rigour, 'incompatible with sheer parody'.<sup>42</sup> Despite this, some academics remain convinced that Eryximachus is extremely pedantic, or that he is portrayed negatively in the *Symposium*.<sup>43</sup> Kenneth Dover even states that he remains unconvinced by Edelstein, deeming him to have overestimated the significance of Eryximachus' speech and Plato's respect for doctors, and maintaining that there is an element of unkind parody in the portrayal.<sup>44</sup>

Therefore, it seems that whilst some scholars have adopted Edelstein's arguments, there is no universal agreement. Edelstein's article did not cause a complete upheaval of the popular perception of Eryximachus' pedanticism, but it did perhaps cause some scholars to re-assess the characterization of the physician, and to search beyond the accusation of

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 91, 94.

<sup>38</sup> Plato, *The Symposium* trans. by W. Hamilton (Hammondsworth: Penguin Books, 1951), 15.

<sup>39</sup> Plato, *Symposium* trans. by R. A. Waterfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), xix, xxiii.

<sup>40</sup> S. Rosen, *Plato's Symposium* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968), 33-34.

<sup>41</sup> Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, Vol. IV, 383n2.

<sup>42</sup> D. Konstan and E. Young-Bruehl, 'Eryximachus' Speech in the *Symposium*', *Apeiron*, 16, 1, (1982), 40-46.

<sup>43</sup> Plato, *Symposium* trans. by A. Nehamas and P. Woodruff (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 1989), xvi.; Rutherford views him as a 'richly comic figure' with a patronising manner: R. B. Rutherford, *The Art of Plato: Ten essays in Platonic interpretation* (London: Duckworth, 1995), 186-187; in the opinion of Leo Strauss Plato tried to show Eryximachus as the typical physician but with a certain pedanticism and lewdness also: L. Strauss, *On Plato's Symposium* ed. by Seth Bernadette (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 115.

<sup>44</sup> K. J. Dover, 'Aristophanes' Speech in Plato's Symposium', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 86, (1966), 41-50, 49n44.

dogmatism, for a deeper meaning. Furthermore, whilst some scholars have agreed with Edelstein in part, they also recognize he may have pushed his arguments too far, and overstated his case. As had been the case with his article on ‘Platonism or Aristotelianism?’, in the article on Eryximachus Edelstein adopted a position which was not favoured in the scholarship at the time. This was possibly related to his wider conception of Plato, and the opinion that he did not have a negative view of physicians or science, but in fact held medical men in high regard.

The 1940s were a decade in which Edelstein seemed to focus much of his scholarly attention on Plato, although this is arguably his most productive decade in all other areas as well,<sup>45</sup> and at the end of the period he published another article on the philosopher. However, on this occasion he did not concentrate on any connection to medicine or science, but instead on what may be considered to be the very antithesis to scientific thought, namely myth.

#### **5.4 Elucidating the Function of Platonic Myth**

In the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1949, an article by Edelstein appeared which explored ‘The Function of the Myth in Plato’s Philosophy’.<sup>46</sup> Prior to its publication, Edelstein had also given a paper on the same topic a number of years earlier to The Johns Hopkins Philological Association. This was not in 1947 as the article declares, but on 21 March 1946, under the slightly different title of ‘The Place of the Myth in Platonic Philosophy’.<sup>47</sup> However, it seems that Edelstein was not wholly confident in this paper, for he wrote to Strauss on the 10 October 1946 that it perhaps should not have been written, and he was not even sure that it would be printed.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, he had promised Charles Singleton he would write it as a companion article with the former’s on ‘Dante and Myth’,<sup>49</sup> which

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<sup>45</sup> This decade also saw the publication of one of his best known works, *Asclepius* (see ‘Edelstein as a Collaborator’), and his work on the Hippocratic Oath which will be examined further into the chapter.

<sup>46</sup> Edelstein, ‘The Function of the Myth’.

<sup>47</sup> Sigerist, ‘The Johns Hopkins Institute of the History of Medicine during the Academic Year 1945-1946’, 383.

<sup>48</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Leo Strauss 10 October 1946 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>49</sup> C. S. Singleton, ‘Dante and Myth’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 10, 4, (1949), 482-502. Although Charles S. Singleton (1909-1985), a scholar most famed for his work on Dante, was working at Harvard by the time this article was published, he had worked at Johns Hopkins University from 1937-1938 (and later from 1957-1983). The two men knew each other personally, they were both members of the History of Ideas Club and had likely discussed their research together leading to the production of these articles. Macksey also notes that Edelstein played an ‘intimate role’ in the development of Singleton as a scholar. See: R. Macksey, “‘In altri cerchi ancora’: Charles Singleton and the Hopkins Years”, *Dante Studies*, 104, (1986), 45-57, 48. In the letters Singleton is mentioned as a contact who knew Edelstein well and would provide a reference for his appointment at the University of Washington: Harold Cherniss from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 13 April 1947 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein teaching position].

Edelstein's article precedes in the the journal.<sup>50</sup> This paper turned from Plato's myth to Dante's poetry using the focus of Edelstein's article and applied the question which Edelstein had asked about Plato, to Dante: of the position of the myth in his philosophy.<sup>51</sup> However, this was not the only paper which Edelstein's study on Platonic myth had stimulated; in 1954 F. Michael Krouse wrote a paper on 'Plato and Sidney's defence of Poesie' inspired by what he deemed to be Edelstein's study on Plato's theory of poetry.<sup>52</sup>

In his article Edelstein endeavoured to determine what had instigated Plato's interest in the myth.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, because Plato's myth was set against the background of common Greek mythology, Edelstein also sought to analyse Plato's attitude towards contemporary beliefs on this.<sup>54</sup> Plato's outlook, he argued, was a negative one, for Plato was bitterly opposed to the popular mythology of the time because he deemed it both impious and erroneous.<sup>55</sup> Despite this, Plato created a mythology of his own, and indeed, one which drew heavily on common mythology.<sup>56</sup> How could this correlate with his antipathetic attitude towards popular myth? Furthermore, why was the philosopher in need of a mythology which did not contain pure truth? In order to address these questions, Edelstein divided Plato's own myths into two categories; those dealing with the account of the creation of the world and the early history of mankind, and those dealing with the fate of the soul before and after this life, and which had a bearing on ethics.<sup>57</sup>

In his interpretation, Edelstein diverged from those arguments which interpreted Platonic myth as allegory, or which proposed that the Platonic myths contained the revelation of a higher knowledge.<sup>58</sup> Instead, he averred that the first category of myth, the cosmological and historical, were a pastime, an amusement, a recreation from arguments concerning ideas.<sup>59</sup> In Plato's teaching nothing in the world exists without its opposite; seriousness, therefore, must admit playfulness; the cosmological and historical myths constitute this playfulness.<sup>60</sup> Whereas the historical and cosmological myths take the place of reason,

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<sup>50</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Leo Strauss 10 October 1946 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>51</sup> Singleton, 'Dante and Myth', 494.

<sup>52</sup> F. M. Krouse, 'Plato and Sidney's defence of Poesie', *Comparative Literature*, 6, 2, (1954), 138-147, 140.

<sup>53</sup> Edelstein, 'The Function of the Myth', 464.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 464-465.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 465.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 466.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 467.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* See footnote 94 for examples of the latter.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 469.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 469-470.

Edelstein argued that the second category of myth, the ethical, constitutes an addition to it.<sup>61</sup> The ethical myth speaks to man's passions, rouses hopes and confirms fears; it is like a charm one must sing to oneself.<sup>62</sup> The passions are capable of thwarting reason, unless they are properly guided,<sup>63</sup> and the ethical myth provides such guidance. The ethical myths are rooted in man's irrational nature and, therefore, cannot be banished from philosophy which must tend the entire soul.<sup>64</sup> Edelstein contended that through integrating/reintegrating myth into philosophy, Plato reconciled the irrational and rational aspects of human nature, and that through myth man in his entirety is put under the guidance of philosophy.<sup>65</sup>

In his article, Edelstein also aimed to demonstrate how Plato's attitude toward mythology affects his judgement on poetry,<sup>66</sup> coming to the conclusion that Plato was hoping for a new poetry on his terms.<sup>67</sup> Although his dialogues gave the philosopher a new mythology and in a sense a new poetry, he was waiting for poets to do new work and replace the prose myth he had constructed, with a truly poetical myth.<sup>68</sup> Edelstein also suggested that Plato had much to say on how poetry should be written, and its uses as a handmaid of ethics; something which Krouse argued was generally agreed in contemporary scholarship, but occasionally forgotten.<sup>69</sup>

In his analysis of Platonic myth, Edelstein had argued that for Plato the myth, rather than being the antithesis to reason, was a story shaped at will,<sup>70</sup> although it was subservient to it.<sup>71</sup> The idea of *muthos* as the opposite to *logos* has been a topic of much discussion and debate in the scholarship on Plato. In 2004, Radcliffe Edmonds argued that generally scholars have attempted to understand Plato's use of myth in the dialogues in terms of the dichotomy between *muthos* and *logos*.<sup>72</sup> However, scholars now tend to adopt the view that there is no *muthos-logos* dichotomy presupposed in Plato's work.<sup>73</sup> Therefore, in terms of his treatment

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 473.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 474.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 476-477.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 478.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 480.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Krouse, 'Plato and Sidney's Defence', 141.

<sup>70</sup> Edelstein, 'The Function of the Myth', 466.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 467.

<sup>72</sup> R. G. Edmonds III, *Myths of the Underworld Journey: Plato, Aristophanes, and the 'Orphic' gold tablets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 162.

<sup>73</sup> S. Halliwell, 'The Life-and-Death Journey of the Soul: Interpreting the Myth of Er', in G. R. F. Ferrari (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Plato's Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 445-475, 453; Edmonds, *Myths of the Underworld Journey*, 166; P. Murray, 'What is a Muthos for Plato?', in R. Buxton (ed.),

of *muthos* and *logos* it seems that most scholars today are in agreement with Edelstein. Whilst, due to the scope of this chapter, it is not possible to give a full account of the history of scholarship on Platonic myth,<sup>74</sup> some of the main arguments will now be examined in order to discover whether Edelstein's other theories on Platonic myth have also, wholly or partly, found favour within subsequent literature, or whether they have been abandoned in favour of other approaches.

A study from 2012 claims that '[m]yth is one topic whose importance for the study of Plato is only now beginning to be recognised.'<sup>75</sup> Indeed, in past centuries the importance of myth in Plato was dismissed. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a number of authors did venture into the topic. Themes of the period included the identification and classification of the myths, the distinction of the mythical passages from the dialectical discussion, and the attempt to determine the origins of Plato's myths.<sup>76</sup> However, in terms of analysis of the myths, on the whole this scholarship did not acknowledge that Plato's myths had any philosophical significance,<sup>77</sup> and it suggested that myth was a poetic rather than a philosophical device.<sup>78</sup> Another common argument adopted by scholars at this time was that Plato is falling into superstition when he uses myth,<sup>79</sup> that the myths expressed something lower than science,<sup>80</sup> and demonstrate a limitation of methodical thought.<sup>81</sup> The general attitude towards Plato and myth in the nineteenth century was a negative one, however, at the turn of the twentieth century things began to change.

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*From Myth to Reason? Studies in the Development of Greek Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 251-262, 261.

<sup>74</sup> For a summary of the scholarship on myth and Plato see the introduction of D. S. Werner, *Myth and Philosophy in Plato's Phaedrus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Edmonds, *Myths of the Underworld Journey*, 163-164, and K. F. Moors, *Platonic Myth: An introductory study* (Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1982).

<sup>75</sup> C. Collobert, P. Destreé, and F. J. Gonzalez, 'Introduction', in C. Collobert, P. Destreé, and F. J. Gonzalez (eds.), *Plato and Myth: Studies on the use and status of Platonic myths* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 1-10, 1.

<sup>76</sup> Moors, *Platonic Myths*, 2-3.

<sup>77</sup> K. A. Morgan, *Myth and Philosophy from the Presocratics to Plato* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 158. See Moors, *Platonic Myth*, for examples of these works. However, there were some exceptions: Westcott argued that myths were not 'simply graceful embellishments of an argument but venturesome essays after the truth' and that they were truly philosophic and truly poetic. See B. F. Westcott, *Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1891), 2; John Lincoln stated that the mythical form was 'no less germane than dialectic form' to Plato's philosophy. See J. L. Lincoln, *In Memoriam: John Larkin Lincoln 1817-1891* ed. by W. E. Lincoln (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1894), 236-237.

<sup>78</sup> Moors, *Platonic Myth*, 2.

<sup>79</sup> E. Zeller, *Plato and the Older Academy* (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1888) claimed (162) that the myths betrayed the boundaries of Plato's methodical thought, and that they were a sign of weakness rather than strength (162-163).

<sup>80</sup> J. Burnet, *Greek Philosophy*, Part 1: *Thales to Plato* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1914), 340.

<sup>81</sup> W. A. Harris, *Plato as a Narrator: A study in the myths* (Richmond: Walthall Brothers, 1892), 9.

John Stewart's famous work *The Myths of Plato* (1905)<sup>82</sup> considered myth as Platonic poetry, but also argued that such poetry was essential to Plato's philosophic mission and set forth a movement toward regarding the myths as Platonic.<sup>83</sup> However, some scholars continued to categorize myth as unphilosophical, and even though there were important studies including that by Paul Friedländer and Percival Frutiger,<sup>84</sup> which helped establish the position of myth as a philosophic exercise, Moors argues that they did not completely dispel the 'Plato as Poet' idea.<sup>85</sup> However, in subsequent years, more scholars sought to position myth in the overall philosophic enterprise of Plato.<sup>86</sup> Edelstein was one such scholar; he regarded myth as an inherent part of Platonic philosophy.<sup>87</sup> At the time Edelstein embarked on his study, therefore, scholars were more open to a positive view of Platonic myth. In this case, Edelstein's research on Plato was perhaps not quite as radical. Nevertheless, the contemporary studies were in German and French, and so his article is important in being one of the first studies in the English language for recognising the importance of the myth. The chapter will now consider the scholarship following Edelstein's paper, to see how it has responded to it.

One of Edelstein's main arguments in the paper was that the myths assist those who are eager but unable to follow the logical arguments.<sup>88</sup> Edmonds categorizes Edelstein's thesis as a 'weak defence' of myth in Plato, for although myths are given a positive role, it is only for the unphilosophical person or parts of the soul.<sup>89</sup> Edmonds also classifies Edelstein's study as belonging to this group because he sees myth as about, or directed to, the irrational parts of the soul.<sup>90</sup> Other scholars in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have also adopted these, and related arguments,<sup>91</sup> and Elias argues that the weak defence has dominated literature.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> J. A. Stewart, *The Myths of Plato* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1905).

<sup>83</sup> Moors, *Platonic Myth*, 6-7.

<sup>84</sup> P. Friedländer, *Platon I. Eidos. Paideia. Dialogos* (Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1928); P. Frutiger, *Les mythes de Platon; Étude philosophique et littéraire* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1930).

<sup>85</sup> Moors, *Platonic Myth*, 11.

<sup>86</sup> For example: P. Stöcklein, *Über die philosophische Bedeutung von Platons Mythen* (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1937).

<sup>87</sup> Moors, *Platonic Myth*, 15.

<sup>88</sup> Edmonds, *Myths of the Underworld Journey*, 163.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 163n8.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> Charles Segal contends that 'Plato's myths help the soul accept its passionate impulses and lead them into the service of philosophy': C. Segal, "'The Myth was Saved": Reflections on Homer and the Mythology of Plato's Republic', *Hermes*, 106, 2, (1978), 315-336, 331. Partenie argues that part of the myth's purpose was to persuade and help the less philosophical to grasp the content: C. Partenie, 'Introduction', in C. Partenie (ed.), *Plato's Myths* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1-28, 9-10. Brisson also states that myth is addressed to children and adults in whom the appetitive soul is dominant, the function of myth is to restore

Therefore, it seems Edelstein's ideas have found some fertile ground. However, a number of other theories have also been proposed. Some studies choose to either ignore myths or devalue them by claiming they were inserted in order to pacify and entertain those unable to comprehend real philosophy.<sup>93</sup> Others claim Plato uses myth to convey truths beyond the grasp of reason, that it is used to express deep inner truths,<sup>94</sup> or that myth is a required further development on the part of Plato when the inability of logos to indicate sufficiently the essence of the soul had been recognized.<sup>95</sup> A further argument proposed to explain Plato's use of myth and denunciation of poetry, popular in recent years, is that he was trying to eliminate the competition and carve out a place for a new Platonic artistry,<sup>96</sup> that he was interested in myth because he wanted to break its control and give philosophy the higher position.<sup>97</sup> The myth was a powerful carrier of ideas at Plato's time, and Plato adopts them to replace the mythic tradition with philosophy and to convey the superiority of philosophy.<sup>98</sup>

It is clear that there is a large number of competing theories about the role of myth in Plato. Furthermore, instead of proposing just one or two explanations for Platonic myth, contemporary scholars are now taking a more exhaustive approach. Daniel Werner argues that there are at least five main functions of Platonic myth.<sup>99</sup> From the plethora of explanations on Platonic myth detailed above, which do not even constitute the full catalogue of theories, it seems that the debate on Plato and myth may never reach a unifying conclusion. Edelstein offered up one theory, and despite having low confidence in the study

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reason's control over this appetitive part: L. Brisson, *Plato the Myth Maker* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 75-81.

<sup>92</sup> J. A. Elias, *Plato's Defence of Poetry* (London: Macmillan Press, 1984), 77.

<sup>93</sup> Edmonds states that Popper (1945) takes this approach: Edmonds, *Myths of the Underworld Journey*, 163. See K. Popper, *The Open Society and its Enemies*, Vol. I: *The Spell of Plato* (London: Routledge, 1945). Also P. M. Schul, *La Fabulation Platonicienne* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1968).

<sup>94</sup> Edmonds, *Myths of the Underworld Journey*, 163. Works which argue that myth expresses what dialectic cannot include W. Hirsch, *Platons Weg zum Mythos* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1971) who argues that Plato could only deal with certain aspects of being through myth; Moors, *Platonic Myth*, 96, who states that myth is used in the Platonic dialogues to accomplish results which are insufficiently projected in the discussion, or needed as additions; and P. Friedländer, *Plato: An Introduction* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), 210, claims the achievement of myth is that it renders intelligible the mysterious aspects of life. Werner, however, does not accept what he has termed this 'Yogic' view of Platonic myth, that myth is Plato's method of expressing something that is beyond, and helps him to supplement, the limits of reason: Werner, *Myth and Philosophy in Plato's Phaedrus*, 12.

<sup>95</sup> Moors states this is the approach taken in Hirsch, *Platons Weg zum Mythos* in *Platonic Myth*, 19.

<sup>96</sup> P. Adamson, 'Last judgements: Plato, Poetry and Myth', accessed on: [www.historyofphilosophy.net/plato-myth/20/01/2015](http://www.historyofphilosophy.net/plato-myth/20/01/2015).

<sup>97</sup> L. Brisson, *How Philosophers Saved Myths: Allegorical interpretation and classical mythology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 19. Penelope Murray also argues that Plato's concern was to create new myths which would serve the interests of philosophers, Murray, 'What is a Mythos for Plato?', 257.

<sup>98</sup> Edmonds, *Myths of the Underworld Journey*, 169-170.

<sup>99</sup> See Werner, *Myth and Philosophy*, 7 for more details.

himself, it is recognised as an important contribution to the scholarship.<sup>100</sup> A number of other studies used similar arguments and also adopted the idea of myth as a tool of persuasion in their exploration of Platonic myth. Furthermore, as Kathryn Morgan argues, perhaps searching for a single cohesive definition of Platonic myth is futile, and such a pursuit actually becomes an obstacle to understanding it.<sup>101</sup> As had been the case with Edelstein's two previous publications on Plato, in his article on myth Plato is viewed in a positive light. He is a 'master of subtle logical disputation' and 'an adept of myth'.<sup>102</sup> Edelstein's article defends Plato, arguing that it was not his reactionary temper or anti-rationalism that caused him to revert to myth.<sup>103</sup>

Following the publication of this article, it took a number of years before Edelstein published on Plato again. The late forties and early fifties were a time of much disruption for Edelstein, as the chapter on Edelstein and the 'oath controversy' explored. Shortly after his re-appointment at Hopkins Edelstein also spent a year at Oxford, in which he focused work on ancient science. In the late fifties Edelstein also had to face the heartache and disturbance of Renata's death. However, Edelstein remained interested in studying Plato throughout the fifties and early sixties, and published an article in 1962 on a complex and mystifying aspect of Plato which had troubled scholars for centuries.

### **5.5 Addressing Platonic Anonymity**

Plato did not write philosophical treatises, rather dialogues in which a number of characters participate in discussion. In these discussions Plato does not figure as a contributor. Indeed, he is only mentioned on two occasions throughout the whole Platonic corpus, and he never speaks in his own name. This creates a problem for scholars wishing to unravel Plato's philosophy and discover which, if any, of the characters express Plato's own views. As Socrates can usually be positioned as the 'main character' in the dialogues, the issue of Platonic anonymity has been inextricably connected with the Socrates 'mouth-piece' theory.<sup>104</sup> Not all scholars shared this view; some argued that Plato's writings were really

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<sup>100</sup> In J. E. Smith, 'Plato's use of Myth in the Education of Philosophic Man', *Phoenix*, 40, 1, (1986), 20-34, 20n1 it is listed as one of the standard works on the subject of myth in Plato.

<sup>101</sup> Morgan, *Myth and Philosophy from the Presocratics to Plato*, 155. Moors also argues that myths have many dimensions and adopting an unchanging rationale for their usage impairs the attempt to understand them: *Platonic Myths*, 113.

<sup>102</sup> Edelstein, 'The Function of the Myth', 463.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 477.

<sup>104</sup> In this theory the Socrates of the dialogues is a spokesperson for Plato's own views.



historical reports and anything ascribed by Plato to a person was what they really said.<sup>105</sup> However, others claimed Plato himself was speaking in all the dialogues, and some scholars took the middle ground arguing that originally Plato wished to reproduce Socrates' teaching before developing his own philosophy.<sup>106</sup>

In 1961 Edelstein tackled the issue of Plato's concealment in the dialogues in a lecture which was then published in *The American Journal of Philology* in January 1962.<sup>107</sup> In this article, Edelstein surveyed some of the explanations which had been propounded for Platonic anonymity. First, however, he tackled those authors who claimed that the dialogues were not Plato's most serious works, and his philosophy could not be reconstructed from them, but must be constructed from testimonies outside the dialogues.<sup>108</sup> It was these alternative sources, such as the letters, which would offer an explanation for Platonic anonymity.<sup>109</sup> Edelstein took issue with this position, however, and argued that there was no source from which a reliable explanation of Platonic anonymity could be derived.<sup>110</sup>

Edelstein then continued in analysing those views which had examined the dialogues as a source for explaining Platonic anonymity. As in the greater number of the dialogues Socrates is the central character a commonly held argument was that it was gratitude or Eros which led Plato remain anonymous and instead offer his own views and the truth he had discovered through Socrates.<sup>111</sup> However, Edelstein questioned whether mere gratitude could really explicate Plato's contentment in allowing another to take the credit for his thoughts,<sup>112</sup> and also argued that personal feelings of gratitude and affection had been overemphasized.<sup>113</sup> Unconvinced by these arguments, Edelstein investigated whether instead we can use the justification of the Pythagoreans, who set aside their own aspirations to attribute the truths they had discovered to their master Pythagoras, in relation to Plato.<sup>114</sup> He concluded that an ethos of research like the Pythagoreans' could provide a frame of reference for Plato's self-effacement, yet this would only explain half the problem, and the least important half at

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<sup>105</sup> P. Merlan, 'Form and Content in Plato's Philosophy', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 8, 4, (1947), 406-430, 406-7.

<sup>106</sup> For references on the classicists and philosophers who held these positions see *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> Edelstein, 'Platonic Anonymity'.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 5. For further analysis of Edelstein's views on the Platonic epistles, see the following section.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-11.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

that.<sup>115</sup> For, as Edelstein explained, Socrates was not the only character supposed to convey Plato's thought,<sup>116</sup> and the use of many masks was unique to Plato; the Pythagoreans never spoke through anyone else except their master.<sup>117</sup> Therefore, Edelstein had to seek a different solution.

Instead, Edelstein explained how, by remaining silent about himself, Plato directs the reader to 'the light of true being'.<sup>118</sup> The truth is the most important factor. Plato's anonymity reminds us of this, and that what men consider their most precious accomplishments is least theirs but part of a cosmos.<sup>119</sup> Edelstein concluded that Platonic anonymity is rather 'a removal of the self in the face of the objective reality which philosophy seeks'.<sup>120</sup> He argued that Plato knew that even the greatest philosopher is merely the spokesperson for a truth greater and nobler than himself which explained Platonic anonymity and had important consequences for the reading of his work.<sup>121</sup> In his investigation Edelstein also placed as misguided any attempt to uncover from the anonymity Plato's own thought and teaching.<sup>122</sup>

In a volume from 2000 dedicated to the mouthpiece problem, most contributors argue that no character should be taken as Plato's mouthpiece and that it is unjustifiable and inappropriate to attribute the words and arguments of his characters directly to him.<sup>123</sup> It is now a widespread opinion that Plato has no spokesperson amongst the interlocutors, that Plato cannot be identified with any of his characters but always retains his anonymity, and Edelstein was one of the early advocates of this view.<sup>124</sup> Until recently it was virtually unquestioned that Socrates and perhaps some of the other main characters, such as Parmenides, the Eleatic stranger, and the Athenian stranger, were mouthpieces for Plato.<sup>125</sup> Only in the last twenty years or so have scholars increasingly rejected the 'mouthpiece theory'.<sup>126</sup> Therefore, although at the time it was published Edelstein's article did not have a

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 14-15.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>120</sup> P. Plass, 'Philosophic Anonymity and Irony in the Platonic Dialogues', *The American Journal of Philology*, 85, 3, (1964), 254-278, 254.

<sup>121</sup> Edelstein, 'Platonic Anonymity', 20.

<sup>122</sup> R. Desjardins, *Plato and the Good: Illuminating the darkling vision* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 7.

<sup>123</sup> G. A. Press, 'Introduction', in G. A. Press (ed.), *Who Speaks for Plato? Studies in Platonic Anonymity* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), 1-11, 6.

<sup>124</sup> E. Ostenfeld, 'Who Speaks for Plato? Everyone!', in G. A. Press (ed.), *Who Speaks for Plato? Studies in Platonic Anonymity* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), 211-219, 211.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> See D. Cohn, 'Does Socrates Speak for Plato? Reflections on an Open Question', *New Literary History*, 32, 3, (2001), 485-500, 485 and for references to works which adopt this position, 498.

decisive impact or cause an overhaul of views on the matter, studies which are formed along the same lines as his article now recognise its importance in being one of the first articles to propose the view that Plato also retains his anonymity. However, despite the relatively recent backlash against the mouthpiece theory, it still does have its advocates.<sup>127</sup> Whether we will ever know with certainty whether the views or which of the views articulated in the dialogues are Plato's, has been categorized by some scholars as an insoluble question.<sup>128</sup>

When Edelstein published his article, once again, he was not following an established tradition, but advancing his own solution for the issue of anonymity. He also rejected one of the popular traditions within Platonic scholarship, the esoteric position. Followers of this tradition included the Tübingen school of Platonic interpretation, most strongly propagated by Kurt Gaiser and Hans-Joachim Krämer in later years, who defended the thesis that there are unwritten Platonic doctrines, and that the core of these is a theory of principles which guarantees a higher degree of unity to Platonic philosophy than can be found from reading the dialogues alone.<sup>129</sup> Alongside Plato's critique of writing in the *Phaedrus*, Plato's supposed *Seventh Letter* is key in the justification for the search for unwritten Platonic doctrines. In the last and most comprehensive work of Edelstein on Plato to be examined here, it was this controversial document that was the focus of enquiry.

## 5.6 Edelstein and the *Seventh Letter*

Plato's *Seventh Letter* had long been a topic of interest for Edelstein,<sup>130</sup> but the actual outline for his book on the subject was first produced during his time at the Institute for

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<sup>127</sup> Not all the contributors to the volume rejected the mouthpiece theory, Lloyd Gerson held that Socrates and the other principal interlocutors express opinions Plato himself endorsed at the time of writing: L. P. Gerson, 'Plato Absconditus', in G. A. Press (ed.), *Who Speaks for Plato? Studies in Platonic Anonymity* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), 201-210, 210. In 2001 Cohn also argued that a number of contemporary Plato scholars still adhered to the Socrates as Plato's spokesman theory, Cohn, 'Does Socrates Speak for Plato?', 491.

<sup>128</sup> Werner, *Myth and Philosophy*, 270. Cohn, 'Does Socrates speak for Plato?', 497.

<sup>129</sup> W. Rasmussen, 'Whose Platonism?', *International Journal of Hindu Studies*, 9, 1-3, (2005), 131-152, 139-140.

<sup>130</sup> Edelstein recorded how he had read, discussed, and interpreted the autobiography in the letter with his wife and Paul Friedländer when the latter spent several months with the couple in 1939, and how in 1948-50 he had spent many hours discussing the controversy of the *Seventh Letter* with Ernst Kantorowicz, Friedländer, and André-Jean Festugière. This is not to say that Edelstein found harmony with his friends on this matter, none of the men listed were in agreement with his views. See the preface to L. Edelstein, *Plato's Seventh Letter* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966), ix. Furthermore, although, after reading the article on 'Platonic Anonymity', Erwin Panofsky was convinced Edelstein was right regarding the non-authenticity of the *Seventh Letter*, Leo Strauss did not have the slightest doubt that the letters, and not only the seventh, were genuine. Erwin Panofsky to Ludwig Edelstein in New York 15 June 1962 [*Washington D. C. (2)*]; Leo Strauss to Ludwig Edelstein in Baltimore 6 August 1962 [*Chicago: Box 4, Folder 7*].

Advanced Study in 1959-60.<sup>131</sup> Edelstein claimed to owe much to the conversations on Plato with other members of the Institute at this time, with George Grube and Erwin Panofsky in particular, and also with Harold Cherniss who read over the finished manuscript and to whom the volume is dedicated.<sup>132</sup> The manuscript for the work actually remained unpublished until the time of Edelstein's death, however he had finished it and it had been accepted for publication a few months prior,<sup>133</sup> and so publication went ahead and the book appeared posthumously in 1966. Furthermore, Edelstein had also touched on the subject in his article on Platonic anonymity wherein he stated that he hoped to give reasons for the spuriousness of all the letters in a forthcoming analysis.<sup>134</sup>

In the monograph Edelstein sought to convince the reader that the seventh Platonic epistle could not be considered genuine. Edelstein rejected the examination of the terminology or style of the letter as a method of interpretation, and instead posited that any decision on the spuriousness of the letter must rest on an analysis of its content.<sup>135</sup> In order to undertake such an analysis, Edelstein divided his work into three sections; first he explored the historical narrative of the letter, then the philosophical digression, and finally he compared the letter to the other Platonic epistles. In the first section Edelstein argued that there was nothing in the account which an outsider could not say as well as Plato, and that the picture given was typical, not individual.<sup>136</sup> Furthermore, the information given was not only in conflict with the biographical tradition,<sup>137</sup> but also with the doctrine of the dialogues.<sup>138</sup> Edelstein also argued that the letter was written by a worshipper of Plato who wished to liken him to Timoleon in word and deed,<sup>139</sup> and to defend Plato against the criticisms which were directed at him both during and after his life.<sup>140</sup> His conclusion that the letter was written as a passionate defence of Plato and that the language was mostly Platonic and uninfluenced by Hellenistic Greek, then led him to the argument that the letter must have been composed in

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<sup>131</sup> Edelstein, *Plato's Seventh Letter*, ix.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.* The dedication reads 'Harold Frederico Cherniss per dies faustos infaustosque amico firmo ac fideli' which can be translated as 'To Harold Frederic Cherniss, a firm and faithful friend in good and bad days'.

<sup>133</sup> Harold Cherniss from Princeton to Paul Kristeller in New York 25 October 1965 [*New York (1)*].

<sup>134</sup> Edelstein, 'Platonic Anonymity', 6n15.

<sup>135</sup> Edelstein, *Plato's Seventh Letter*, 2.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>137</sup> By arguing this Edelstein was not implying that the biographical tradition is more trustworthy, but rather that it would be strange if this tradition could have arisen in conflict with the letter if the letter had been generally acknowledged. *Ibid.*, 24n57.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 51-56.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

the fourth century, and could not have been any later than the turn of the fourth to the third century.<sup>141</sup>

In his analysis of the philosophical digression Edelstein adopted the same stance as he had for the historical narrative, arguing that it was not Platonic when judged on the basis of what we know about Plato from the dialogues.<sup>142</sup> The story of the test, the condemnation of writing, the method of discovering the Ideas, and the concept of the Idea itself as found in the letter: Edelstein argued that all these aspects were foreign to Plato's thought.<sup>143</sup> Finally, in Edelstein's exploration of the rest of the Platonic epistles in relation to the seventh, he concluded that all were spurious and once single and independent documents,<sup>144</sup> and that 'the analysis of the corpus of letters indirectly confirms the analysis of the autobiography',<sup>145</sup> confirming it as unauthentic.

Contemporary reviews tended to adopt a variegated approach to Edelstein's monograph. The work was praised by Robinson for its perspicacity and scholarship,<sup>146</sup> by Solmsen for its wide range of learning,<sup>147</sup> and by Gulley for its vigorously and lucidly argued thesis.<sup>148</sup> However, all these authors also recognised a major issue of the work. They record how Edelstein's interpretation is wholly dependent on his assumption of a certain conception of what constitutes the 'real' Plato and the character of his philosophy.<sup>149</sup> This notion was in the 'Shorey tradition of Plato the saint and monolith'.<sup>150</sup> This meant, therefore, that if the readers did not have the same basic approach to Plato, they would be unconvinced by Edelstein's arguments,<sup>151</sup> and indeed the reviewers were unconvinced.<sup>152</sup> The most extensive and important of these reviews is Friedrich Solmsen's. A number of later authors contend that

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 59-60.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 120.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 107-108.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 160.

<sup>146</sup> T. M. Robinson, 'Plato's Seventh Letter by Ludwig Edelstein', *Phoenix*, 21, 2, (1967), 141-143, 141.

<sup>147</sup> F. W. Solmsen, 'Plato's Seventh Letter by Ludwig Edelstein', *Gnomon*, 41, 1, (1969), 29-34, 29.

<sup>148</sup> N. R. Gulley, 'Plato's Seventh Letter by L. Edelstein', *Mnemosyne*, 21, 1, (1968), 88-89, 89.

<sup>149</sup> Robinson, 'Plato's Seventh Letter', 142-143; Solmsen, 'Plato's Seventh Letter', 29-30; Gulley, 'Plato's Seventh Letter', 89.

<sup>150</sup> Robinson, 'Plato's Seventh Letter', 142.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Solmsen argued that 'if we do not insist on Plato's approaching his topics always from the same angle and making exactly the same points about them, E.'s objections against the content of the Letter lose most of their force': 'Plato's Seventh Letter', 31; Robert Hoerber claimed Edelstein's arguments were similar to those made by Misch in 1949, which were answered by Friedländer and Stenzel, and so Edelstein's 'should not be difficult to refute': R. G. Hoerber, 'Plato's Seventh Letter by Ludwig Edelstein' *The Classical World*, 60, 1, (1966), 14+16, 16; Gulley stated that the book's interpretation of the philosophical digression was 'implausible' and that the interpretation of the historical narrative relied on 'dubious assumptions': Gulley, 'Plato's Seventh Letter', 89.

this effectively answered many of Edelstein's arguments against the authenticity of the *Seventh Letter*.<sup>153</sup> This section will now proceed in placing Edelstein's position on the *Seventh Letter* within the scholarship which was conducted both before and after this monograph, in order to determine how other scholars received the work, and how Edelstein's position compared to the contemporary scholarship. Due to this being Edelstein's most extensive work on Plato, more attention will be given to this than to the subjects of his articles. However, in 1935, the literature on the Platonic epistles was already considered immense,<sup>154</sup> therefore, due to the great abundance of literature and the constrictions of this study, the chapter will not be able to provide a wholly exhaustive review, rather, it will consider the dominant positions and works within each time period.

In the nineteenth century, although there were some exceptions, the majority of scholars considered the *Seventh Letter* to be a spurious document.<sup>155</sup> Although he disagreed with its method and position, John Harward judged H. T. Karsten's 1864 work to be a highly important work in the scholarship of the Platonic letters, and highlighted it as the principle cause for the swing of the pendulum 'so decisive that for several decades no scholar could have maintained the genuineness of the epistles without imperilling his reputation.'<sup>156</sup> Thus, during the latter half of the nineteenth century the view that the *Seventh Letter*, and indeed all the epistles were spurious, remained the orthodox position in Platonic scholarship.<sup>157</sup> Then, a decisive turn of opinion in favour of the *Seventh Letter's* authenticity occurred around the beginning of the twentieth century. In the list compiled for this study, from 1900 to 1940, only one scholar argued for the spuriousness of the entirety of the *Seventh Letter*, and one for the falsity of the digression within the letter.<sup>158</sup> However, in researching this chapter it has been discovered that in this same time period fourteen authors understood the letter to be genuinely Platonic.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> V. B. Lewis, 'The *Seventh Letter* and the Unity of Plato's Political Philosophy', *The Southern Journal of Philosophy*, 38, (2000), 231-250, 246n6. K. von Fritz, 'The Philosophical Passage in the Seventh Platonic Letter and the Problem of Plato's Esoteric Philosophy', in J. P. Anton, G. L. Kustas, and A. Preus (eds.), *Essays in Ancient Greek Philosophy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1971), 408-447, 442n2.

<sup>154</sup> G. R. Morrow, *Studies in the Platonic Epistles* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1935), 14.

<sup>155</sup> See Appendix D.

<sup>156</sup> J. Harward, *The Platonic Epistles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), 59.

<sup>157</sup> Morrow, *Studies in the Platonic Epistles*, 14.

<sup>158</sup> See Appendix D.

<sup>159</sup> See Appendix D.

In the years leading up to the publication of Edelstein's work, however, with Shorey taking the lead in 1933, opinion began to equalize.<sup>160</sup> In his 1987 work, Luc Brisson included a table on the letter which showed twenty three scholars in favour of authenticity and only three against in the years between 1906 and 1983.<sup>161</sup> However, it has been noted in subsequent literature that this table is incomplete and fails to include significant opponents of authenticity including Shorey and Cherniss.<sup>162</sup> Although it is not claimed that this chapter offers a completely extensive summary of all the positions on the *Seventh Letter*, the investigation does demonstrate that the debate is far more balanced in Brisson's table. In the decades before Edelstein's study a number of eminent scholars such as George Boas and Cherniss maintained that the letter was spurious. Even though, in the decades after, the amount of scholars arguing for the authenticity of the *Seventh Letter* does outweigh those against it, a significant number still adopt the latter position. Furthermore, in the twenty-first century the authenticity of the *Seventh Letter* continues to be debated.<sup>163</sup> One can begin to see a pattern emerging with regards to the solving of Platonic problems, as with the topics discussed previously. For the *Seventh Letter* it has been argued that its authenticity probably will 'never be established beyond reasonable doubt'.<sup>164</sup> Edelstein's monograph remains an important text in this debate. It is the last full study of the *Seventh Letter*,<sup>165</sup> and in volumes which touch briefly on the subject he is referenced as a key author;<sup>166</sup> it is a standard work of referral when scholars are discussing the authenticity question. Furthermore, it does seem to have had a direct impact on some subsequent studies: Norman Gulley's interpretation is based on many of the same arguments as Edelstein's.<sup>167</sup>

One scholar, James Rhodes, even suggests that perhaps many practitioners of classical higher criticism were turned against the *Seventh Letter* by the '171 pages of relentless

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<sup>160</sup> See Appendix D.

<sup>161</sup> C. A. Huffman, *Archytas of Tarentum: Pythagorean, philosopher and mathematician king* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 42.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> Huffman, *Archytas of Tarentum*, 3.

<sup>164</sup> K. M. Sayre, 'Plato's Dialogues in Light of the Seventh Letter', in C. L. Griswold (ed.), *Platonic Writings Platonic Readings* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 93-109, 97.

<sup>165</sup> Huffman, *Archytas of Tarentum*, 42.

<sup>166</sup> In V. J. Gray, 'Classical Greece', in G. Marasco (ed.), *Political Autobiographies and Memoirs in Antiquity: A Brill companion* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 1-37, 21, Morrow is referenced as the scholar for the authenticity and Edelstein against; in A. S. Riginos, *Platonica: The anecdotes concerning the life and writings of Plato* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), 70, Edelstein is referenced as the author to see for the case against authenticity and Kurt von Fritz the case for; in T. H. Irwin, 'The Intellectual Background', in R. Kraut (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Plato* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 51-90, 78, Edelstein and Gulley are referenced as the authors to see against the authenticity of the *Seventh Letter*.

<sup>167</sup> N. R. Gulley, 'The Authenticity of the Platonic Epistles', in K. von Fritz (ed.), *Pseudopythagorica. Lettres de Platon. Littérature pseudépigraphique juive* (Vandœuvres-Genève: Fondation Hardt, 1972), 103-130.

argument against the authenticity of the epistle' in Edelstein's book,<sup>168</sup> despite his own opinion that these arguments are 'paper tigers'.<sup>169</sup> Rhodes then proceeds to launch a tirade against Edelstein's work, and although he accuses him of bias it appears as if the author can also be subject to such criticism, for he seems solely bent on a vitriolic refutation of Edelstein's position, failing to take in the numbers of other scholars who have relied on arguments similar to those proposed by Edelstein, and argued for the inauthenticity of the letter.<sup>170</sup> Some of his arguments against Edelstein's work may well have some justification, indeed it has been discussed how Edelstein's interpretation was affected by his own opinions of a saint-like Plato, but Rhodes' analysis of the arguments against the letter which place their entire focus on damning Edelstein appear myopic and partisan, and his neglect of other authors and choice of wording makes the article appear more like a personal attack on Edelstein. However, this reaction is important in itself, as it demonstrates how Edelstein's work is one of the key texts for referral when scholars discuss the *Seventh Letter*, and it is his arguments which those who are inclined to accept genuineness need to address. This is not to claim, however, that Edelstein's arguments against the seventh letter's authenticity were wholly original. For example, the contention that the letter could not have been written later than a generation or two after Plato's death by a Platonist who was familiar with Plato's later writings and hence could imitate their style, had been proposed earlier by Shorey.<sup>171</sup>

In the case of his work on the *Seventh Letter*, Edelstein's arguments were not quite as controversial as when he first formulated his views. It had been many years since Edelstein first conceived his thesis, and scholarship had begun to change. The table in Appendix D demonstrates how a number of other scholars were beginning to come round to the same view. However, Edelstein's monograph proposed the strongest and most complete refutation of the authenticity of the seventh and the other epistles. Perhaps one of the reasons for this is because of Edelstein's uncompromising position. Edelstein tended to overstate his ideas,

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<sup>168</sup> J. M. Rhodes, 'Mystic Philosophy in Plato's Seventh Letter', in Z. Planinc (ed.), *Politics, Philosophy, Writing: Plato's art of caring for souls* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2001), 179-247, 179. Although he fails to give an account to evidence how this is so.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 183

<sup>170</sup> For example Gulley, who also argues that the lack of reference to Plato's letters in Aristotle and the fundamental irreconcilability of the thought of the letters with the dialogues are important reasons for denying the *Seventh Letter's* authenticity, and that it is very plausible that the *Seventh Letter* was written with Timoleon's achievements in mind: Gulley, 'The Authenticity of the Platonic Epistles', 110, 126, 128. However, this is not to argue that Gulley agreed with Edelstein on all points, although in this article he cites Edelstein as one of the scholars to whom he owes most in forming his views about the epistles. In an earlier review of Edelstein's book as well as extolling its many virtues, he also identified a number of issues with the work: Gulley, 'Edelstein, Plato's Seventh Letter', 89.

<sup>171</sup> P. Shorey, *What Plato Said* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), 41.



which were affected by his general conception of Plato and his philosophy. Edelstein did not want to imagine that Plato could be an ‘intellectual mystic and a fervent believer in political action’ like the author of the letter.<sup>172</sup> This chapter will now continue in examining Edelstein’s position against the Seventh Epistle in the wider context, and demonstrate how examining this piece of scholarship together with the details of Edelstein’s lifetime can enable a greater understanding of it.

### 5.7 A ‘*Plato dimidiatus*’? The conception of Plato in Early Twentieth Century Germany

In early twentieth century Germany a change occurred in how scholarship on Plato was conducted and Plato was conceived. Whereas previously classical humanism had interpreted Plato as a poet and metaphysician, a number of scholars now focused on an alternative ‘political reading’ of Plato.<sup>173</sup> Due to this change in focus, there was also a reconsideration of the importance of the various texts within the Platonic canon. Those concerned with metaphysics and the theory of ideas were no longer the centre of research, and instead attention was given to the *Republic*, *Laws*, and the *Seventh Letter*.<sup>174</sup> Changes had begun to occur with Nietzsche who claimed that Plato should not be interpreted as an artist or philosopher,<sup>175</sup> but as a political figure, politician, and legislator.<sup>176</sup> However, it was not until the 1920s that this new approach came to dominate when, as Orozco claims, appreciation of Platonic political philosophy was grounded in conservative critique of the Weimar Republic.<sup>177</sup>

One of the key interpreters of Plato during this time was Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.<sup>178</sup> In his 1919 work on Plato, Wilamowitz placed great importance on the former’s personality and character.<sup>179</sup> Wilamowitz wanted to display the Greeks as people of flesh and blood, as human as we are;<sup>180</sup> he was interested in Plato the man, and thus provided details on Plato’s life such as what he ate or wore, causing scholars like Gundolf to name the

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<sup>172</sup> Edelstein, *Plato’s Seventh Letter*, 120.

<sup>173</sup> T. Orozco, ‘The Art of Allusion: Hans-Georg Gadamer’s Philosophical Interventions under National Socialism’, in B. Krajewski (ed.), *Gadamer’s Repercussions: Reconsidering philosophical hermeneutics* (Berkeley, LA, and London: University of California Press, 2004), 212-228, 216.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>175</sup> C. H. Zuckert, *Postmodern Platos: Nietzsche, Heidegger, Gadamer, Strauss, Derrida* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 11.

<sup>176</sup> T. Sasaki, ‘Plato and Politeia in Twentieth-Century Politics’, *Études platoniciennes*, 9, (2012), 147-160, 148.

<sup>177</sup> T. Orozco, ‘Platonische Paideia in Deutschland um 1933’, accessed on: <https://www.bu.edu/wcp/MainPoli.htm> 23/12/2014.

<sup>178</sup> See ‘Edelstein as a Collaborator’ for biographical information.

<sup>179</sup> A. Kim, *Plato in Germany: Kant – Natorp – Heidegger* (Sankt Augustin: Academia, 2010), 189.

<sup>180</sup> U. Hölscher, ‘Strömungen der deutschen Gräzistik in den zwanziger Jahren’, in H. Flashar (ed.), *Alturtumswissenschaft in den 20er Jahren: Neue Fragen und Impulse* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995), 65-85, 71.

book “Plato for chambermaids”, and Shorey “a historical novel”.<sup>181</sup> Wilamowitz also viewed Plato as a political man who tried to influence his own society rather than building a philosophical system, only living as a philosopher because he was prevented from playing a political role.<sup>182</sup> Fleming argues that Wilamowitz’s *Platon* of 1919 was crucial to the development of the “political Plato” in Germany.<sup>183</sup> Furthermore, Wilamowitz also viewed Plato’s life and personality as worthy of imitation by modern Germans.<sup>184</sup> Wilamowitz was less interested in Platonic philosophy and instead focused on the texts as literary evidence of Plato’s biography. According to Fleming, this work re-orientated later accounts of Plato and became more significant than the neo-Kantian idealist readings of Paul Natorp.<sup>185</sup> In harmony with his views on the political Plato, Wilamowitz tended to depreciate the dialogues which went against the political interpretation, and downplay the theoretical aspects of his teaching.<sup>186</sup>

As part of his ‘Third Humanism’,<sup>187</sup> Werner Jaeger also directed attention to the ‘political Plato’ and to the *Republic* which was considered a blueprint to replace the Weimar Republic that Jaeger denounced.<sup>188</sup> Indeed, Plato was the central figure in Jaeger’s conception of the ‘Third Humanism’ and he is also the main focus for attention in Jaeger’s *Paideia*.<sup>189</sup> Yet, it has also been highlighted that Jaeger was not interested in Plato’s political theory as such, but only in his politics as a theory of culture or *Bildung*, as “paideia”.<sup>190</sup>

Another key set of interpretations of Plato during this time came from the George Circle,<sup>191</sup> whose contribution to the debate on Plato rivalled that of Wilamowitz in

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<sup>181</sup> W. M. Calder III, ‘How did Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff Read a Text?’, *The Classical Journal*, 86, 4, (1991), 344-352, 348.

<sup>182</sup> Sasaki, ‘Plato and Politeia’, 149.

<sup>183</sup> K. Fleming, ‘Heidegger, Jaeger, Plato: The Politics of Humanism’, *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 19, (2012), 82-106, 87.

<sup>184</sup> Kim, *Plato in Germany*, 189.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>186</sup> E. N. Tigerstedt, *Interpreting Plato* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1977), 43.

<sup>187</sup> See ‘Edelstein as a Humanist and Teacher’ for more information on Jaeger and the Third Humanism.

<sup>188</sup> R. Wolin, *The Seduction of Unreason: The intellectual romance with Fascism, from Nietzsche to Postmodernism* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004), 107. See also ‘Edelstein as a Humanist and Teacher’.

<sup>189</sup> C. H. Kahn, ‘Werner Jaeger’s Portrayal of Plato’, in W. M. Calder III (ed.), *Werner Jaeger Reconsidered: Proceedings of the second Oldfather conference, held on the campus of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign April 26-28, 1990* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 69-81, 69.

<sup>190</sup> Kahn, ‘Werner Jaeger’s Portrayal of Plato’, 71.

<sup>191</sup> Stefan George (1868-1933), one of the most important figures in modern German culture, was, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the leader of a group of mostly young and talented men who subscribed to his vision of “das schöne Leben” and programme of cultural renewal. This group was known as the George-Kreis (George-Circle) although in reality it was a number of small circles based in different parts of Germany, and George eventually acquired a cult following that extended far beyond the core of his innermost circle. See

significance.<sup>192</sup> Twenty-six books which dealt with Plato and also pamphlets, speeches, and articles were published by scholars connected to the circle.<sup>193</sup> The George Circle rejected traditional scholarship in their representations of historical personalities and instead aimed at a vivid depiction which viewed them in their essential totality, or Gestalt,<sup>194</sup> and turned them into a myth and model for the present.<sup>195</sup> In many of their works on Plato this is the approach taken, and, according to Lane and Ruehl, the studies produced by the ‘Georgeaner’ on Plato ‘blurred the lines between scholarship and mythic vision, thought and action, illustrating the circle’s appeal to the unifying and living gestalt in attempts to give new meaning and value to Wissenschaft.’<sup>196</sup> Members of the George Circle including Heinrich Friedemann, Kurt Singer, and Edgar Salin subscribed to the idea of Plato as the leader of a movement for spiritual renewal.<sup>197</sup> Plato was praised as the heroic founder of an aristocratic Reich and the activist side of his philosophy was emphasized. In Edgar Salin’s *Platon und die griechische Utopie*, for example, the idea of the primacy of practical over theoretical inclination in Plato was developed.<sup>198</sup> Alan Kim also argues that the Georgean reading of Plato had an ‘unmistakeable political dimension.’<sup>199</sup> Of the George Circle’s works on Plato it is Kurt Hildebrandt’s *Platon, der Kampf des Geistes um die Macht* which is considered the most significant.<sup>200</sup> This was not published until 1933, however, Lane claims that by 1911 he had already moulded Plato as a priest, poet, educator, avatar of action, as the founder of an academy that modelled a “living spiritual state” and as a lawgiver.<sup>201</sup> Lane also highlights how significant the combination of these roles in Plato was for the circle. Members of the circle viewed Plato as uniting politics with love, and political ambition with the cultivation of an elite Männerbund, which resonated with the circle’s own ideals.<sup>202</sup>

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M. S. Lane and M. A. Ruehl, ‘Introduction’, in M. S. Lane and M. A. Ruehl (eds.), *A Poet’s Reich: Politics and culture in the George Circle* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2011), 1-22, 1-2.

<sup>192</sup> Fleming, ‘Heidegger, Jaeger, Plato’, 87.

<sup>193</sup> Lane and Ruehl, ‘Introduction’, 10.

<sup>194</sup> For an explanation of ‘Gestalt’ in relation to the George Circle see Kim, *Plato in Germany*, 210-214.

<sup>195</sup> Lane and Ruehl, ‘Introduction’, 2.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>197</sup> F. Novotný, *The Posthumous Life of Plato* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1977), 542.

<sup>198</sup> K. N. Demetrious, ‘A “Legend” in Crisis: The Debate over Plato’s Politics, 1930-1960’, *Polis*, 19, 1 & 2, (2002), 61-91, 66-67, 67n16.

<sup>199</sup> Kim, *Plato in Germany*, 199.

<sup>200</sup> Novotný, *The Posthumous Life of Plato*, 542.

<sup>201</sup> M. S. Lane, ‘The Platonic Politics of the George Circle: A Reconsideration’, in M. S. Lane and M. A. Ruehl (eds.), *A Poet’s Reich: Politics and culture in the George Circle* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2011), 133-163, 142.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

Another important Platonic scholar who was influenced by the George Circle was Paul Friedländer.<sup>203</sup> However, his work on Plato was also shaped by Wilamowitz, and it has been argued that his portrayal of the philosopher was a compromise between Wilamowitz's Plato as a man like any other living in particular time and place, and George's Gestalt, a timeless figure to be revered.<sup>204</sup> Friedländer also emphasized the political Plato, opening his 1928 book by quoting from the *Seventh Letter* and stressing the characterization of Plato as a statesman.<sup>205</sup>

During the period of the Weimar Republic, new ways of conceiving Plato and his work arose. Orozco argues that, at this time, the groundwork for the subsequent fascization of Plato through a political reading was laid.<sup>206</sup> Indeed, supporters of Nazism adopted the idea of examining the political aspects of Plato and used his work in order to legitimize their own dogma. Plato's works, and the *Republic* in particular, were read in terms of Germany's contemporary political situation,<sup>207</sup> and Plato's ideal state was connected to Nazi aims. According to Charles Bambach, within National Socialist Political Philosophy, 'Plato became a model for the analysis of the "total state" which would mobilize its youth in the service of a pedagogical-political revolution.'<sup>208</sup> In Plato's discussion of Paideia, the National Socialist philosophers also discovered an archetype for racial breeding, biological selection, and the education of leaders.<sup>209</sup>

Hildebrandt, who was a member of the George Circle, joined the Nazi Party in 1933.<sup>210</sup> He had been trained as a medical doctor, had a serious interest in genetics and eugenics, and began to integrate these topics into his account of Plato. His work *Platon, der Kampf des Geistes um die Macht* advocated racism and eugenics in the name of Plato and sought to place Plato's politics in the present age.<sup>211</sup> According to Lane, Hildebrandt's publications in, and after 1933, were explicitly identified with National Socialism, yet he still wrote with a

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<sup>203</sup> Tigerstedt, *Interpreting Plato*, 49-50; Demetrius, 'A "Legend" in Crisis', 67.

<sup>204</sup> Calder III and Huss, *The Wilamowitz in Me*, xvii.

<sup>205</sup> A. E. Taylor, 'Platon: Eidos, Paideia, Dialogos by Paul Friedländer', *The Classical Review*, 42, 4, (1928), 146-147, 146.

<sup>206</sup> Orozco, 'The Art of Allusion', 217.

<sup>207</sup> C. Bambach, *Heidegger's Roots: Nietzsche, National Socialism, and the Greeks* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 203-204.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, 103

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>210</sup> As did a number of others in, or connected to, the George Circle. See P. Hoffmann, 'The George Circle and National Socialism', in M. S. Lane and M. A. Ruehl (eds.), *A Poet's Reich: Politics and culture in the George Circle* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2011), 287-316, 292.

<sup>211</sup> Lane, 'The Platonic Politics', 148.

distinctive “Georgian” perspective.<sup>212</sup> Hildebrandt also made explicit parallels between Plato and Hitler,<sup>213</sup> drawing similarities between the biographies of the two men in his introduction to a 1933 edition of the *Republic* which was reissued in 1939 and 1943.<sup>214</sup> Alongside Hildebrandt, other philosophers and scholars including Alfred Bauemler, Hans Heyse, Joachim Bannes, and Ernst Kriek also put forward the view that Plato was not an ‘unworldly scholar’ but a statesman.<sup>215</sup> H. F. K. Günther, racial scientist of National Socialism, also read the *Republic* as a ‘text-book of racial doctrine’ in his work *Plato als Hüter des Lebens*,<sup>216</sup> and compared the educational system within it to the Nazi ideas of racial hygiene.<sup>217</sup>

Another, and indeed, the most famous German philosopher to ally himself with the Nazi Party was Martin Heidegger. Bambach argues that he joined his National Socialist colleagues in recruiting Plato for the new German revolution, and although he did not follow the same ‘crude biologism’ of his National Socialist contemporaries, he looked to Plato for a new *muthos* of the German future and for him Plato became the authority who legitimised the ‘elect status of the Germans as the Volk chosen to save the West’.<sup>218</sup> Heidegger’s onetime-student Hans-Georg Gadamer has also been discussed in the recent literature surrounding Plato and the Nazis; however, the situation is complex. Scholars are in deliberation over whether he was or was not a Nazi, and how far his work on Plato from the 1930s reflected the political situation of Germany at the time,<sup>219</sup> with particular focus on his essay on ‘Plato and the Poets’.<sup>220</sup> Yet, regardless of how far his own work aligned with Nazi ideals, he did

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<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

<sup>213</sup> Fleming, ‘Heidegger, Jaeger, Plato’, 88.

<sup>214</sup> Orozco, ‘Platonische Paideia’.

<sup>215</sup> Bambach, *Heidegger’s Roots*, 204.

<sup>216</sup> Fleming, ‘Heidegger, Jaeger, Plato’, 89.

<sup>217</sup> Novotný, *The Posthumous Life of Plato*, 566.

<sup>218</sup> Bambach, *Heidegger’s Roots*, 208-209.

<sup>219</sup> J. Grondin, *Hans-Georg Gadamer: A biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 148-149.

<sup>220</sup> This is an intricate and still unresolved debate, thus only brief details can be given here. Tereza Orozco argues that Gadamer’s ‘Plato and the Poets’ is ‘rich with interdiscussive implications and illusions’ and highlights a number of aspects of it which she thinks demonstrate Gadamer’s Nazi sympathies: Orozco, ‘The Art of Allusion’, 219-223. Zuckert argues against Orozco and states that she fails to understand the essential character of Gadamer’s hermeneutics: C. H. Zuckert, ‘On the Politics of Gadamerian Hermeneutics: A Response to Orozco’, in B. Krajewski (ed.), *Gadamer’s Repercussions: Reconsidering philosophical hermeneutics* (Berkeley, LA, and London: University of California Press, 2004), 229-243. Also arguing against Orozco’s position is Grondin, *Hans-Georg Gadamer*, 165-167, and Dostal argues that Gadamer’s Plato essays from the 1930s can be seen as critiques of politics at the time: R. J. Dostal, ‘Gadamer: The Man and his Work’, in R. J. Dostal (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Gadamer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 13-35, 20. Richard Wolin also accuses Gadamer of being in complicity with the Nazis: R. Wolin, ‘Nazism and the Complicities of Hans-Georg Gadamer: Untruth and Method’, *New Republic*, (2000), 36-45. Palmer responds to Wolin along with his reliance on Orozco’s arguments and her ‘questionable’ book, and defends Gadamer: R. E. Palmer, ‘A Response to Richard Wolin on Gadamer and the Nazis’, *International Journal of Philosophical Studies*, 10, 4, (2002), 467-482.

consider the use of Plato's political life as a basis in reaching an understanding of his works and philosophy to be 'a fruitful point of departure'.<sup>221</sup>

Bambach argues that in the 1930s the name Plato became synonymous with a National Socialist ideal of political self-assertion which would drastically alter the portrait of Plato, that in place of the neo-Kantian Plato who was admired as a logician, metaphysician, and epistemologist, the National Socialist Plato was categorized as a political philosopher of the state.<sup>222</sup> However, as demonstrated, this political reading of Plato actually first occurred before the Nazis came to power. Yet, with them it was turned into something far more sinister and used to justify National Socialist racial politics. As Orozco states, 'classical philology stepped into line with National Socialist thinking.'<sup>223</sup> Although there were many different manifestations of the interpretation of a 'political Plato', some of which would never have been supported by the earlier interpreters like Wilamowitz, their work was crucial in lending authority to this kind of interpretation.<sup>224</sup>

The authenticity of the *Seventh Letter* was crucial in justifying this new concept of a political Plato.<sup>225</sup> The shift of emphasis was philologically legitimized when the letter and its so-called 'biography' of Plato was declared to be authentic, with Plato himself being made a witness to the political nature of his philosophy.<sup>226</sup> According to Wolin, for the adherents of the Third Humanism it was also reconceived as a commission for the German spiritual elite who would succeed politically where Plato failed.<sup>227</sup>

It is my contention that Edelstein's strong argument against the authenticity of the *Seventh Letter* was partly affected by the misuse of Plato by Nazi philosophers, which had been preceded by the focus on Plato as a lawgiver and statesman and on Plato's politics. As Edelstein wrote, due to the acceptance of the *Seventh Letter* a new concept of Plato had arisen and 'Plato, the metaphysician, has turned into Plato, the statesman.'<sup>228</sup> Edelstein resisted the trends which sought to examine Plato the man and took action against this by declaring the biographical information from the letter to be fictitious. By denying the authenticity of the

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<sup>221</sup> H-G. Gadamer, 'Plato's Educational State', in H-G. Gadamer (ed.), *Dialogue and Dialectic: Eight Hermeneutical Studies on Plato* trans. by P. C. Smith (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980), 73-92, 73.

<sup>222</sup> Bambach, *Heidegger's Roots*, 203.

<sup>223</sup> Orozco, 'The Art of Allusion', 216.

<sup>224</sup> Tigerstedt, *Interpreting Plato*, 44.

<sup>225</sup> Orozco, 'The Art of Allusion', 216.

<sup>226</sup> Orozco, 'Platonische Paideia'.

<sup>227</sup> Wolin, *The Seduction of Unreason*, 108.

<sup>228</sup> Edelstein, *Plato's Seventh Letter*, 1.

letter he could devalue those interpretations which used Plato as a justification for despicable moral actions.

Although Edelstein's book was not published until 1966, he had been ruminating on the topic since at least 1939. One of the reviews of Edelstein's book stated that 'to maintain the non- and post- Platonic origin of the VIIth Letter is no longer as heretical as it was in the years when E.'s convictions began to take shape.'<sup>229</sup> It seems, therefore, that when he produced the outline for the book in the later 50s, Edelstein was still focused on the earlier interpretations of Plato and the *Seventh Letter*, which would help to explain why Edelstein was so forthright in his denunciation of the letter as a trusted source, and his complete rejection of the Plato to be found within it, as a man concerned with politics. Edelstein stated that the overwhelming majority of interpreters found in the letter Plato's own life story, and in consequence there 'has even arisen a new concept of Plato', yet, by the time the outline of the book was produced this interpretation could hardly be deemed as 'new', again indicating that Edelstein actually had an earlier period of time in mind. According to Temkin, Edelstein was 'a scholar who was a moral force because he told us not to compromise with what we think wrong and because he tried to live what to him seemed right.'<sup>230</sup> In his study of the *Seventh Letter*, Edelstein fought strongly against what he perceived to be wrong – the categorization of Plato as a man more concerned with politics than the contemplative life.

It is also interesting to note that in a lecture given at the Rockefeller in October 1964 in which Edelstein was supposed to speak about why he became interested in the *Seventh Letter* and what he had done about it, he actually devoted much of the lecture to wider questions on what history is, the role of historians, and moral philosophy, epistemology, and intellectual history. In the latter part of the lecture he also relates a story about Maximilian Kolbe, a Catholic Priest, who, whilst imprisoned in the concentration camp at Auschwitz, sacrificed his own life to save the life of another man who had a family. Edelstein used this example to demonstrate that there have always been people who said 'this is what should be', and made the effort to choose what they thought right.<sup>231</sup> He took the opportunity he had to talk on the *Seventh Letter* to also talk about why we needed history, and needed it badly, and to highlight an example of superior moral courage during the period of Nazi rule. This is another

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<sup>229</sup> Solmsen, 'Plato's Seventh Letter', 29.

<sup>230</sup> Temkin, 'In Memory of Ludwig Edelstein', 9.

<sup>231</sup> Ludwig Edelstein – Plato's Seventh Letter: An example of historical verification, 30 October 1964 [*Sleepy Hollow* (3)].

indication that his thought on Plato and the *Seventh Letter* was bound up with questions of morality and the importance of true historical knowledge.

Edelstein was not interested in the biographical approach of Wilamowitz. As he stated in his lecture on the *Seventh Letter*, ‘I have not been very much interested in how people become philosophers and I remembered a saying of Fichte that if you finally enter into the kingdom of heaven it really doesn’t matter how you have travelled there’.<sup>232</sup> In his interpretation of the letter, Edelstein was entirely unconcerned with giving a ‘psychological’ interpretation of the writer. For him, what the historian is concerned with ‘are ideas, plans, of what men wanted, of how they acted according to certain purposes’.<sup>233</sup> Edelstein had acquaintances in the George Circle, but he himself had ‘never understood the attraction of George’,<sup>234</sup> and also rejected their various interpretations of Plato. Edelstein instead looked to Kant, who saw the differences between the Plato who was a philosopher and mathematician and the author of the letter who was an “enthusiast” and “mystagogue” “putting on airs”.<sup>235</sup> For Edelstein, Kant’s words were still as true as on the day they were written, and it is necessary to make a choice between the Plato of the dialogues and the Plato of the philosophical digression.<sup>236</sup>

Edelstein’s study on the *Seventh Letter*, and indeed some of his other articles, were affected by his wider views on who Plato was and his tendency to only view him in a positive light. However, this can be better understood by realising that this was, in part, a reaction to the political reading of Plato which had led to scholars using his name to support their political agendas. Edelstein did not wholly ignore the political side of Plato. On the 9 November 1951 he spoke of Plato’s political theory before the History of Ideas Club at Hopkins.<sup>237</sup> However, in his view it was the theory of politics, not practical politics, that captivated Plato,<sup>238</sup> and in some manner all the letters gave the impression that one of Plato’s main concerns was to make his philosophical views felt in actual politics, educating a new generation of statesmen, and advising those in office,<sup>239</sup> hence why they had to be rejected. Edelstein could not accept the idea of a ‘*Plato dimidiatus*, a halved Plato’,<sup>240</sup> whose main

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<sup>232</sup> Ibid.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid.

<sup>234</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Erwin Panofsky [in Princeton] 17 June 1964 [*Washington D. C. (2)*].

<sup>235</sup> Edelstein, *Plato’s Seventh Letter*, 107.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid.

<sup>237</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Solomon Katz 9 November 1951 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>238</sup> Edelstein, *Plato’s Seventh Letter*, 165.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., 162.

<sup>240</sup> Edelstein, *Plato’s Seventh Letter*, 120.



concern was with reforming the world in a practical manner. The voice of the autobiography was not the historical Plato, and could not be used to justify an understanding of him as an advocate of practical reason and politics, more concerned with action and the search for the ideal state than with contemplation and the Ideas.

Plato was a figure who captivated Edelstein for much of his scholarly career. Since his first acquaintance with the philosopher through reading the *Apology* Edelstein had become greatly interested in him, and continued to read his dialogues for the rest of his life.<sup>241</sup> Yet, in his early career it was not the study of Platonic works that would help Edelstein create a name for himself in the scholarly world and launch a successful career. Rather, his early work was concentrated on the Hippocratic Corpus and Hippocratic Medicine, and again, this was a subject to which he would continue to make contributions for the remainder of his career. I will now continue in investigating this body of work, retracing some of the most important research Edelstein conducted in the history of ancient medicine. I will follow the same method as employed in the first half of this chapter, examining the background and response to some of his major studies, before concluding with a larger case study on his work on the Hippocratic Oath in the context of its production.

### 5.8 *Peri aerōn*

In July 1929, Edelstein presented his dissertation to the philosophical faculty at Heidelberg University.<sup>242</sup> For this dissertation, Otto Regenbogen had originally set Edelstein the topic of the analysis of the Hippocratic text *On Airs, Waters, and Places*.<sup>243</sup> As was (and is) common in German academia, his supervisor also served as one of the examiners and reported on the dissertation. Although Regenbogen did have a few reservations about some of the interpretation, on the whole he thought the work showcased penetrating and reliable interpretation, with new, and predominantly correct, results.<sup>244</sup> The dissertation was entitled *Peri aerōn und die Sammlung der hippokratischen Schriften*, and an extended monograph of the work was published under the same title in 1931. In this work Edelstein proposed a

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<sup>241</sup> Ludwig Edelstein – Plato's Seventh Letter: An example of historical verification, 30 October 1964 [*Sleepy Hollow* (3)].

<sup>242</sup> L. Edelstein, *Peri aerōn und die Sammlung der hippokratischen Schriften* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1931), vi.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.* Otto Regenbogen (1891-1966) was a German scholar who had worked as a teacher at a Gymnasium before lecturing at the Universities of Berlin and Heidelberg. He was banned from teaching under Nazi rule in the years 1935-1945, but continued research. Like Edelstein he worked on Hippocrates and Plato, and he also published on Lucretius, Seneca, and Homer, amongst others. See H. Gundert, 'Otto Regenbogen', *Gnomon*, 39, (1967), 219-221.

<sup>244</sup> Report of Otto Regenbogen on the dissertation of Ludwig Edelstein [*Heidelberg*: H-IV-757/24].

number of theories about the Hippocratic Corpus and medicine at the time of Hippocrates. His dissertation established some of the scholarly characteristics and concepts of Hippocratic medicine that he would continue to hold and demonstrate throughout the rest of his career.<sup>245</sup> According to Scarborough, it also ‘foreshadowed almost all his scholarship in its uncompromising insistence on reading the ancient medical texts within the contexts of culture and philosophy’.<sup>246</sup> In his first monograph Edelstein began with an examination of the structure of *On Airs, Waters, and Places*, and concluded that it was a fusion of two originally separate treatises, the first of which was prognostic.<sup>247</sup> He then continued with a chapter on Hippocratic prognosis, one on the Hippocratic art, and a chapter on the Hippocratic question.

At the time Edelstein was writing his dissertation, another German scholar, Hans Diller, was also working on the same Hippocratic text and he published a monograph on the subject in 1934.<sup>248</sup> However, the two scholars approached the text in very different ways. Diller’s was a thorough study of the history of the text, in which he discussed the Greek manuscripts, the Latin translations, and the oriental tradition;<sup>249</sup> he produced a detailed commentary on the ethnographical and geographical ideas within the treatise,<sup>250</sup> and argued that *On Airs, Waters and Places* was the work of two authors who knew each other’s work.<sup>251</sup> According to Nutton, Diller’s dissertation and Leipzig Habilitationsschrift laid down ‘extremely solid foundations for a future edition of *On Airs, Waters and Places*’.<sup>252</sup> In contrast, he claims that Edelstein’s study took the Greek text ‘almost for granted’ and instead tried to set the work in the context of early Greek medical practice.<sup>253</sup> According to Nutton, the aims and methodology of Edelstein’s work were a direct challenge to the traditional philological method, and this is evidenced by comparison to Diller, and also Karl Deichgräber.<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> Temkin wrote that it ‘characterized the nature of Edelstein’s research, his uncanny ability to approach an ancient text without prejudice, to let the text speak fully for itself, and to follow the consequences of his interpretation’. See Temkin, ‘In Memory of Ludwig Edelstein’, 2.

<sup>246</sup> Scarborough, ‘Edelstein, Ludwig’, 154.

<sup>247</sup> See also A. L. Peck, ‘Peri aerōn und die Sammlung der hippokratischen Schriften by Ludwig Edelstein’, *The Classical Review*, 45, 5, (1931), 179-180, 179.

<sup>248</sup> H. Diller, *Wanderarzt und Aitiologie. Studien zur hippokratischen Schrift Peri aerōn ydatōn topōn* (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934).

<sup>249</sup> H. E. Sigerist, ‘On Hippocrates’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 2, 3, (1934), 190-214, 200.

<sup>250</sup> V. Nutton, ‘Ancient Medicine: From Berlin to Baltimore’, in F. Huisman and J. H. Warner, (eds.), *Locating Medical History: The stories and their meanings* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 115-138, 126.

<sup>251</sup> A. L. Peck, ‘Wanderarzt und Aitiologie by Hans Diller’, *The Classical Review*, 49, 2, (1935), 65.

<sup>252</sup> Nutton, ‘Ancient Medicine’, 126.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.* The contrast to Deichgräber will be explored further in the section on the Hippocratic Oath.

Edelstein was less interested in a detailed disentangling of the Greek; the focus was on the wider social and cultural aspects.

When Edelstein's dissertation was published in 1931 it 'raised a storm of antagonism from medical historians and classicists'.<sup>255</sup> What were the causes for such a reaction, how did Edelstein deal with the attacks on his study, and how was his future work affected? This chapter will continue by exploring these questions and Edelstein's work on Hippocrates further, also investigating the reception of Edelstein's work in later decades, and uncovering information about Edelstein's scholarly characteristics in his work on ancient medicine.

### 5.9 The Hippocratic Physician

One of the ideas explored in Edelstein's dissertation and monograph was the role and position of the Hippocratic physician. Edelstein's proposed that the Hippocratic physician was a craftsman who practiced as either resident or itinerant.<sup>256</sup> The average physician, he claimed, was classified socially as a businessman, and like other craftsmen occupied a low position in society.<sup>257</sup> In his role as a craftsman, the Hippocratic physician also had to demonstrate his worth. Acquiring a certain reputation was of paramount importance for his success.<sup>258</sup> Therefore, the actions he took were as much related to impressing public opinion as healing the patient.<sup>259</sup> Edelstein argued that the Hippocratic Corpus demonstrated that the physician was not only concerned with performing his medical duties well but also with such factors as his appearance, and his oratory skill.<sup>260</sup> Edelstein also reiterated these arguments in an article of 1956, in which he claimed that the majority of physicians were itinerant craftsmen who were engaged in practicing medicine in order to make a living, and that medicine was a craft like all others.<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> J. Scarborough, 'Owsei and C. Lilian Temkin (eds.), *Ancient Medicine. Selected papers of Ludwig Edelstein*', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 25, 1, (1970), 90-93, 90. Sigerist 'On Hippocrates', 208, also wrote that '[a]fter the publication of the book attacks came. The reviews were uneasy and skeptical.'

<sup>256</sup> This formed chapter three of Edelstein's *Peri aerōn*. It was also translated into English and published as part of a collection of Edelstein's works on ancient medicine: L. Edelstein, 'The Hippocratic Physician', in O. Temkin and C. L. Temkin (eds.), *Ancient Medicine: Selected papers of Ludwig Edelstein* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967), 87-110, 87.

<sup>257</sup> Edelstein, 'The Hippocratic Physician', 87, 87n2.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*, 88-90.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*, 98-100.

<sup>261</sup> L. Edelstein, 'The Professional Ethics of the Greek Physician', in O. Temkin and C. L. Temkin (eds.), *Ancient Medicine: Selected papers of Ludwig Edelstein* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967) 319-348, 323-326. [Originally published in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 30, 5, (1956), 391-419].

Edelstein's hypothesis that the ancient physician did not occupy a social position akin to doctors of his generation, but was only a mere craftsman, proved a difficult pill to swallow when it was first proposed. As Richard Feen states, '[w]hen it comes to the Graeco-Roman physician, we almost automatically envision a compassionate, white-robed man, who is discreet as well as selfless in dealing with his patients'.<sup>262</sup> Nutton also contends that Edelstein 'shocked the medical establishment' when he asserted that the Greek doctor was a craftsman on the same level as a carpenter or potter.<sup>263</sup> However, it was not only the medical establishment who found this idea difficult to embrace. Henry Sigerist, although he personally accepted it, stated:

We do not like the idea of a Greek physician being a craftsman; going from one city to another, knocking at the doors and offering his services as a shoemaker or a blacksmith would. And yet there is no doubt that that was the case.<sup>264</sup>

Furthermore, some scholars continued to maintain that the Hippocratic physician had a high social standing in the community.<sup>265</sup> However, although the physician-craftsman theory may have been hard to consent to at first, it did gain acceptance. As early as 1944 Israel Drabkin agreed that most physicians had a relatively low social status in the earlier period.<sup>266</sup> However, Drabkin was perhaps more likely to be receptive to Edelstein's ideas as he did work at the Baltimore Institute for the History of Medicine for two years on a Carnegie fellowship from 1941-1943.<sup>267</sup>

In more recent years, a number of scholars have produced work which supports Edelstein's argument. In 1990, H. Horstmanshoff concurred with Edelstein when he stated that '[a]ncient physicians were above all craftsmen',<sup>268</sup> and that the physicians of antiquity

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<sup>262</sup> R. H. Feen, 'The Moral Basis of Graeco-Roman Medical Practice', *Journal of Religion and Health*, 22, 1, (1983), 39-48, 39.

<sup>263</sup> Nutton, 'Healers and the Healing Act in Classical Greece', 32.

<sup>264</sup> H. E. Sigerist, 'The Physician's Profession through the Ages', *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, 9, 12, (1933), 661-676, 665.

<sup>265</sup> Herbert Couch stated that 'the good physician of Hippocrates' time was not only a man of science but in the community he was a person of some social distinction'. See H. N. Couch 'The Hippocratean Patient and his Physician', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 65, (1934), 138-162, 149. Louis Cohn-Haft claimed that although the ancient medical practitioner was a craftsman he was set apart from other craftsmen, and physicians were, on the whole, held in high esteem and probably financially well rewarded: L. Cohn-Haft, *The Public Physicians of Ancient Greece* (Northampton, MA: Department of History of Smith College, 1956), 19, 25. William Heidel posited that the position of doctors was similar to the seer or priest: W. A. Heidel, *Hippocratic Medicine: Its spirit and method* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), 26.

<sup>266</sup> I. E. Drabkin, 'On Medical Education in Greece and Rome', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 15, 4, (1944), 333-351, 343.

<sup>267</sup> H. E. Sigerist, 'The Johns Hopkins Institute of the History of Medicine during the Academic Year 1943-1944', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 16, 2, (1944), 193-213, 194.

<sup>268</sup> H. F. J. Horstmanshoff, 'The Ancient Physician: Craftsman or Scientist?', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 45, 2, (1990), 176-197, 176.

did not possess the scientific training, scholarly attitudes, and social standing that we are prone to assign to them.<sup>269</sup> In 1995, H. W. Pleket argued that the majority of Greek public doctors did not belong to the elites, and that non-public physicians were basically craftsmen.<sup>270</sup> In 2008, Hui-Hua Chang also contended that the status of doctors in Classical Greece was often low and that these doctors were hands-on craftsmen.<sup>271</sup> Furthermore, scholars have also accepted Edelstein's argument that possessing skills of rhetoric was of paramount importance to the ancient physician.<sup>272</sup> However, studies have not only accepted, but also refined the idea of the physician craftsman. Scholars have identified that there were also medical practitioners from a higher class,<sup>273</sup> and those who were highly successful.<sup>274</sup> Moreover, there were physicians who wished to increase their social status, and scholars have commented on the ways in which these physicians tried to differentiate themselves from the ordinary craftsman.<sup>275</sup> Furthermore, they have also indicated that there was a variety of other healers including quacks and charlatans,<sup>276</sup> wound surgeons, bone-setters, herbalists, midwives, and exorcists working amongst the more professional physicians.<sup>277</sup> Therefore, although Edelstein's explanation of the Hippocratic physician did not find full acceptance when it was first proposed, and indeed proved highly shocking to some readers, it is now the dominant position in scholarship. However, scholars have also explored ancient Greek medical practitioners more widely, and now highlight the complexity and variation of the situation.

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<sup>269</sup> Ibid., 197.

<sup>270</sup> H. W. Pleket, 'The Social Status of Physicians in the Graeco-Roman World', in P. J. van der Eijk, H. F. J. Horstmanshoff and P. H. Schrijvens (eds.), *Ancient Medicine in its Socio-Cultural Context* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), 27-34, 27. Shortly after, Vivian Nutton also argued that the ancient healers 'are best described as craftsmen, with similar behaviour and status to the local carpenter', and that the more closely the ancient evidence is examined the more Edelstein's generalization about the Greek doctor as craftsman seems to be true. See Nutton, 'Healers and the Healing Act in Classical Greece', 27, 32.

<sup>271</sup> H-H. Chang, 'Rationalizing Medicine and the Social Ambitions of Physicians in Classical Greece', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 63, 2, (2008), 217-244, 220.

<sup>272</sup> Horstmanshoff argues the physician had to be a rhetorician as well as a craftsman: Horstmanshoff, 'The Ancient Physician', 182; Nutton states that the physician had to sell his skills which was, in part, done through rhetoric: Nutton, 'Healers and the Healing Act', 32; Gordon Miller contends that 'rhetoric was a skill almost as valuable to physicians as were those of bandaging or mixing drugs': G. L. Miller, 'Literacy and the Hippocratic Art: Reading, Writing, and Epistemology in Ancient Greek Medicine', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 45, 1, (1990), 11-40, 16. See also J. Jouanna, *Hippocrates* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 80-111.

<sup>273</sup> Horstmanshoff, 'The Ancient Physician', 188.

<sup>274</sup> For example, Democedes of Croton as identified in Lloyd, *Early Greek Science*, 53. Edelstein does also identify him in later antiquity in a lecture from 1960 which was published posthumously; see L. Edelstein, 'The Distinctive Hellenism of Greek Medicine', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 40, 3, (1966), 197-225, 214-215.

<sup>275</sup> See Chang, 'Rationalizing Medicine', 243; F. Kudlien, 'Medicine as a "Liberal Art" and the Question of the Physician's Income', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 31, 4, (1976), 448-458, 458.

<sup>276</sup> Horstmanshoff, 'The Ancient Physician', 189.

<sup>277</sup> Nutton, 'Healers and the Healing Act', 31.

## 5.10 Hippocratic Prognosis

In *Peri aerōn* Edelstein also tackled the subject of the significance and practice of prognosis in Hippocratic medicine.<sup>278</sup> Edelstein first offered a general picture of prognosis. Using the Hippocratic texts as evidence, Edelstein argued that in Hippocratic medicine prognosis did not just involve the prediction of the outcome of a disease with its fluctuations and changes, but also knowledge of the patient's present condition and earlier symptoms, and the establishment of whether the patient had followed his directions, and in what ways he had transgressed.<sup>279</sup> Therefore, prognosis not only involved anticipation of the future, but also anticipation of statements by the patient or a third party about the present or past, and anticipation of the facts.<sup>280</sup> The purpose of all this, Edelstein proposed, was to make the doctor independent of the suggestions of others, to inspire astonishment and admiration, to win people's confidence, and to avoid reproach in case of a negative outcome.<sup>281</sup> Edelstein also demonstrated how ancient medicine possessed a prognostic doctrine of the healthy, and of how the healthy man was as much under the control of physicians as the unhealthy, therefore, it was just as possible to set up prognoses for the healthy person as it was in the treatment of the diseased.<sup>282</sup> Following this, Edelstein continued with a more detailed interpretation of a number of prognostic writings,<sup>283</sup> comparing and contrasting the information he found within them.<sup>284</sup>

A key argument of this chapter was that:

...prognosis became a weapon in the struggle for public recognition, which in those centuries played a much greater rôle in defining a physician's reputation than today.<sup>285</sup>

Edelstein proposed that when the Greek physician made prognoses he was interested in the human element, not medical considerations, and only Epidemics I and III used prognosis in a wider sense.<sup>286</sup> It was the physician's desire to protect himself and influence people which

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<sup>278</sup> This formed chapter two of Edelstein's *Peri aerōn* and was again translated into English and published as part of a collection of Edelstein's works on ancient medicine: L. Edelstein, 'Hippocratic Prognosis', in O. Temkin and C. L. Temkin (eds.), *Ancient Medicine: Selected papers of Ludwig Edelstein* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967), 65-85, 65.

<sup>279</sup> Edelstein, 'Hippocratic Prognosis', 69.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid.

<sup>284</sup> For example, how *On the nature of man* expresses prognosis in the most dogmatic form, and how in comparison to *On diseases*, *Prognostikon* is much more rigid, less receptive to experience, and less responsive to variations of reality. Ibid., 72, 74.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.

constituted his aim and motivation.<sup>287</sup> In proposing this argument, Edelstein denied that the scientific significance of prognosis as explained by Émile Littré and Charles Daremberg was the decisive motive.<sup>288</sup> This conclusion also aligned with Edelstein's positioning of the Hippocratic physician as a craftsman, who needed to secure a good reputation in order to gain business. This conclusion, therefore, was just as damning to the received characterization of the Greek physician and the image of Hippocrates as the founder of scientific medicine. It was prognosis that was most often regarded as the assurance of the scientific orientation of Hippocratic medicine.<sup>289</sup> However, Edelstein's work overturned this notion; instead arguing that the important role prognosis played in the Corpus was motivated by occupational concerns, not scientific ones.<sup>290</sup>

Although scholars may have found it difficult to accept Edelstein's concept of the Hippocratic physician and his ideas on prognosis when the dissertation was first published, by the time the collection *Ancient Medicine* was published, the scholarly world was more open to them. The reviews take a positive approach to the work as a whole. Harold Miller states that both the views of the Hippocratic physician as a craftsman and prognosis as a tool for winning a patient's confidence and demonstrating knowledge were 'essentially correct'.<sup>291</sup> However, one reviewer, E. D. Philips, although he termed the book an admirable collection, could not agree with Edelstein's opinion of prognosis as primarily a tool for impressing the public.<sup>292</sup> Moreover, Edelstein's ideas on prognosis have not been completely accepted by later scholars. Although scholars admit that gaining confidence and bolstering reputation was one reason for the use of prognoses, they are cautious in seeing this as the only explanation.<sup>293</sup> Nevertheless, in 2006, Elizabeth Craik also called Edelstein's work on prognosis 'seminal';<sup>294</sup> its importance is recognised by later scholars. The final part of the

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<sup>287</sup> Ibid., 80.

<sup>288</sup> W. Pagel, 'Prognosis and Diagnosis: A Comparison of Ancient and Modern Medicine', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 2, 4, (1939), 382-398, 388.

<sup>289</sup> Horstmanshoff, 'The Ancient Physician', 180.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid., 181.

<sup>291</sup> H. W. Miller, 'Ludwig Edelstein. Ancient Medicine: Selected Papers', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 43, 3, (1969), 287-289, 287.

<sup>292</sup> E. D. Philips, 'Ancient Medicine. Selected Papers of Ludwig Edelstein by Ludwig Edelstein, Owsei Temkin, C. Lilian Temkin', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 4, 3, (1969), 295-296, 296.

<sup>293</sup> Sigerist thought there were other reasons which had to be sought in the structure of Greek medicine and the Hippocratic concept of disease, see Sigerist, 'On Hippocrates', 205; Vivian Nutton argues that prognosis is more than a tactical device to impress patients, it is central to the practice of medicine and provides a way of controlling the disease: V. Nutton, *Ancient Medicine* (London: Routledge, 2004), 89.

<sup>294</sup> E. M. Craik, 'Horizontal Transmission in the Hippocratic Tradition', *Mnemosyne*, 59, 3, (2006), 334-347, 337n8.

monograph to be examined here proved just as, if not more, controversial than that on the physician and prognosis: Edelstein's exploration of the Hippocratic question.

### 5.11 The Genuine Works of Hippocrates

As part of his monograph on *On Airs, Waters, and Places*, Edelstein also addressed the issue of the authorship of the Hippocratic Corpus. This analysis formed chapter four of his first monograph. In 1935 he tackled the problem again in a famous article on Hippocrates in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Enzyklopädie*.<sup>295</sup> In these studies, Edelstein argued that no work in the Corpus can be assigned to Hippocrates. According to Lloyd, Edelstein's works 'marked a turning-point in that they presented a particularly clear and comprehensive statement of the sceptical view'.<sup>296</sup> In the article for the RE Edelstein also took the opportunity to engage with the reviews and attacks that had been published in response to his PhD and the book that grew out of it. Edelstein informed Sigerist that in this new article he would attempt to consider the whole problem anew, as though he had not had an opinion on the matter. He would primarily think of the objections of the adversaries, respond to everything, and offer new material.<sup>297</sup> He also tried to capture the entire material of the indirect transmission, for which he did not have room in the dissertation.<sup>298</sup>

In order to examine the arguments he made about the authorship, however, this section will focus on Edelstein's 1939 article<sup>299</sup> in which, once more, Edelstein decided to tackle a contentious issue which had puzzled scholars for decades, namely the question which, if any, of the works assembled to form the Hippocratic Corpus were authored by the 'father of medicine' Hippocrates himself. The 1939 article contains some of the arguments he proposed in his earlier works, but also a response to other studies on the same subject which had been published in the meantime. Although the earlier works were highly significant, the 1939 article will be used to summarize his views because it is the latest full account of his position and because it is written in English. The analysis, however, will consider all three works.

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<sup>295</sup> L. Edelstein, 'Hippokrates von Kos', in A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll (eds.), *Real-Enzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband VI (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1935), 1290-1345.

<sup>296</sup> G. E. R. Lloyd, 'The Hippocratic Question', *The Classical Quarterly*, 25, 2, (1975), 171-192, 171.

<sup>297</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Rome to Henry Sigerist [in Baltimore] 27 November 1933 [*New Haven*: Box 5, Folder 169].

<sup>298</sup> Edelstein from Rome to Henry Sigerist [in Baltimore] 28 January 1934 [*New Haven*: Box 5, Folder 169].

<sup>299</sup> L. Edelstein, 'The Genuine Works of Hippocrates', in O. Temkin and C. L. Temkin (eds.), *Ancient Medicine: Selected papers of Ludwig Edelstein* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967), 133-144. [Originally in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 7, 2, (1939), 236-248].



In 1961, Henry Sigerist observed that there had been dozens of volumes written in an attempt to find the 'genuine' works of Hippocrates.<sup>300</sup> Indeed, even in antiquity lists were produced of genuine Hippocratic works. In the nineteenth century, the authors of such volumes had been assured that some of the works were by Hippocrates. According to Edelstein, in the very early twentieth century some scholars were of the opinion that none of the so-called Hippocratic writings could be ascribed with certainty to Hippocrates himself.<sup>301</sup> Yet, by the time Edelstein was writing his article scholars had begun to take a different approach. After Wellmann had argued for some genuineness and had been acclaimed by Wilamowitz, three works by Karl Deichgräber (1933), Max Pohlenz (1938), and Wilhem Nestle (1938) had appeared which had all argued for the genuineness of some of the corpus.<sup>302</sup> According to Edelstein, this meant that scholarship had returned to the situation of a hundred years ago.<sup>303</sup> Furthermore, philologists and historians of medicine who did not admit the authenticity of at least one work, were now labelled as exaggerated or as having unfounded scepticism.<sup>304</sup> Fear of being categorized in such a manner did not prevent Edelstein from disagreeing with the by now fashionable position, and from positing that none of the works in the corpus were genuinely written by Hippocrates. He had already adopted the position in his dissertation, and these new works did not lead him down a different path. Instead, he now used such works as part of his exploration of the question.

In order to prove his thesis, Edelstein analysed the works of Deichgräber, Pohlenz, and Nestle to see if their results were any more convincing than those of previous works which attempted to ascribe certain parts of the Corpus to Hippocrates.<sup>305</sup> Firstly, he addressed and took issue with their argument that the book from which Plato and Meno gained their knowledge about Hippocrates, could not be identified.<sup>306</sup> Secondly, he examined their thesis that there are works within the Corpus which reproduce the Hippocratic ideas represented by Plato and Meno and others, as well as fitting the biographical data known about Hippocrates.<sup>307</sup> Preliminary counter-arguments pursued by Edelstein were that another physician could have held the same doctrines and methods independently of Hippocrates, and

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<sup>300</sup> Sigerist, *A History of Medicine*, Vol. II, 265.

<sup>301</sup> Edelstein, 'The Genuine Works', 133.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid., 135.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., 134.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid., 135. Edelstein also reviewed Pohlenz's work, which was published in 1938, L. Edelstein, 'Hippokrates und die Begründung der wissenschaftlichen Medizin by M. Pohlenz', *The American Journal of Philology*, 61, 2, (1940), 221-229.

<sup>306</sup> Edelstein, 'The Genuine Works', 136.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid., 137.

that none of the data in the biographies could be used as proof of genuineness of Hippocratic books unless it was demonstrated that they based the data on evidence outside the Hippocratic works.<sup>308</sup>

Edelstein then continued in claiming that the argument for the genuineness of some of the books could only be irrefutable if the books ascribed to Hippocrates expressed the doctrine as given in Plato and Meno in its entirety, not in parts.<sup>309</sup> The books considered genuine by the scholars whose works he was discussing did not do this; important and characteristic features of Hippocrates' doctrine attested by Plato and Meno and represented by modern interpreters, were not included.<sup>310</sup> On the strength of all these points, therefore, Edelstein argued that the three books under discussion had not proved 'with certainty, with a high degree of probability, or even with the likelihood the genuineness of any of the so-called Hippocratic books'.<sup>311</sup> The Hippocratic problem was unique, there was no basis for comparison as with Plato and Galen, therefore, it was difficult to give positive proof for the genuineness.<sup>312</sup> Spuriousness, however, was another matter. For Edelstein this could be determined by seeing if the works contradict or do not correspond to the Platonic-Menonian conception of medicine.<sup>313</sup>

Like his other theories on Hippocrates, Edelstein's strong contention that none of the works could be proven to have been written by Hippocrates himself was difficult for other scholars to accept. Wesley Smith states that Edelstein's determined arguments 'for the futility of traditional approaches appear to have been indigestible to most other scholars in the field because they were depressing.'<sup>314</sup> Even Henry Sigerist, Edelstein's close friend and colleague, who had commended Edelstein's *Peri aerōn* as 'undoubtedly the most important contribution to ancient medicine in many years',<sup>315</sup> was not convinced by Edelstein's hypothesis that none of the works in the collection were by Hippocrates, for though he admitted that we could not prove which books were genuine, he judged that it would be difficult to explain why the Corpus was named after him and not another physician.<sup>316</sup>

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<sup>308</sup> Ibid., 137-139.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid., 139.

<sup>310</sup> Ibid., 141.

<sup>311</sup> Ibid., 142.

<sup>312</sup> Ibid., 143.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid.

<sup>314</sup> W. D. Smith, *The Hippocratic Tradition* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1979), 40.

<sup>315</sup> Henry Sigerist from Baltimore to George Baehr in New York 22 January 1934 [*New York* (2)].

<sup>316</sup> Sigerist, *A History of Medicine*, Vol. II, 266.

Perhaps the most important refutation of Edelstein's position however, was that by Deichgräber, which Edelstein addressed in the article in the *RE* and the *Bulletin*. After the publication of Edelstein's monograph, Deichgräber had attempted to reassert the opposite position in a work in 1933. In this book he outlined the history of the Coan school along the lines of Littré, with corrections for more recent scholarship.<sup>317</sup> He also made a case for the view that some works in the Corpus could be composed by Hippocrates or his students because they were related to one another in their doctrine.<sup>318</sup> A crucial passage in discussions of the authenticity of Hippocratic works, and Edelstein's arguments against authenticity, is that in the *Phaedrus* in which Socrates and Phaedrus are discussing whether one can understand the nature of the soul properly without knowledge of the nature of the whole, and Phaedrus states that if Hippocrates is right one also cannot understand the body properly without understanding the whole. The exact meaning of the passage is important as scholars hoped the evidence of Plato could be used as a standard for deciding if any of the works in the Corpus were written by Hippocrates himself. Interpretation hinged on how scholars interpreted what Plato meant by the 'whole'.<sup>319</sup> Edelstein took this 'whole' to mean the whole of the body in his 1931 monograph. Deichgräber, however, argued against Edelstein and understood the 'whole' to mean the universe.<sup>320</sup> Most readers before Edelstein had also taken the 'whole' to mean the universe.<sup>321</sup> However, if Edelstein's thesis was accepted, when applied to Socrates' question about the soul it would imply he was asking if one could understand the nature of the soul without knowing the nature of the whole soul, yet Deichgräber contested this linguistic interpretation.<sup>322</sup> Herter has also claimed that Deichgräber was 'right in censuring the tautology which results from Edelstein's conception'.<sup>323</sup>

However, not all scholars were reluctant to accept Edelstein's ideas. In 1935, John Rathbone Oliver stated:

We have come to a final end of such discussions as Dr. Ludwig Edelstein in his important publication on the book *Airs, Waters and Places*, published in 1931, has

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<sup>317</sup> Smith, *The Hippocratic Tradition*, 41.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid.

<sup>319</sup> D. Tsekourakis, 'Plato's *Phaedrus* and the Holistic Viewpoint in Hippocrates' Therapeutics', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 38, (1991-1993), 162-173, 162.

<sup>320</sup> K. Deichgräber, *Die Epidemien und das Corpus Hippocraticum* (1933) (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1971), 152.

<sup>321</sup> H. Herter, 'The Problematic Mention of Hippocrates in Plato's *Phaedrus*', *Illinois Classical Studies*, 1, (1976), 22-42, 24.

<sup>322</sup> Deichgräber, *Die Epidemien*, 151.

<sup>323</sup> Herter, 'The Problematic Mention', 26.

shown that no single book in the Corpus can be definitely connected with the Hippocrates mentioned by Plato in his *Phaedrus* and in his *Protagoras*.<sup>324</sup>

Interest in the subject of the authorship of the Corpus was in decline after the mid-1930s, however, there has been a revival since the 1950s.<sup>325</sup> In 1975 there had been more than twenty major, and a number of other minor, contributions to the debate.<sup>326</sup> Despite Edelstein's arguments, there have been subsequent attempts to prove the probable or certain genuineness of various treatises.<sup>327</sup> One later scholar who does follow the 'skeptical' attitude of Edelstein is Geoffrey Lloyd. After an evaluation of both the external and internal evidence, Lloyd reaches the conclusion that, although he does not agree with all the argumentation, 'the radical scepticism of the Wilamowitz of 1901 and of Edelstein does not seem misplaced'.<sup>328</sup> In Lloyd's view the information in Aristotle and Plato's *Protagoras* is not helpful in identifying Hippocratic writings,<sup>329</sup> an examination of the evidence in the *Phaedrus* leads to negative conclusions,<sup>330</sup> and we cannot establish the authenticity of any treatise based on Meno's report.<sup>331</sup> Furthermore, the method of comparing the works in the Corpus to identify similarities was of no use in determining authenticity either, as unlike Plato, there is no accepted body of work to judge them against, hence one cannot claim the similarities mean common authorship, as they could just as well demonstrate a common background of ideas and methods, or the borrowing of another author's ideas.<sup>332</sup>

The problem remains unresolved conclusively. In 2004 Nutton stated that establishing which, if any, of the works were by Hippocrates is a difficult, if not impossible, task which scholars continue to disagree on just as they had in antiquity.<sup>333</sup> Likewise, scholars have still not reached a consensus on the meaning of the passage in the *Phaedrus*. However, even if it has not concluded the debate, Edelstein's work has been of great importance to the scholarship on the Hippocratic Corpus. According to Nutton, it is Edelstein's skeptical position which has been more fruitful than Deichgräber's approach, for it opened up the Corpus to scholarly enquiry without one tract being focused on over another because it was

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<sup>324</sup> J. R. Oliver, 'Greek Medicine and its Relation to Greek Civilization', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 3, 8, (1935), 623-638, 626-627.

<sup>325</sup> Smith, *The Hippocratic Tradition*, 42-43.

<sup>326</sup> See Lloyd, 'The Hippocratic Question', 171, for details.

<sup>327</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*, 189.

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid.*, 174.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*, 179-182.

<sup>333</sup> Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, 61.

allegedly authored by Hippocrates.<sup>334</sup> In the late twentieth century, translations and major editions have appeared of Hippocratic tracts which had been ignored for centuries because they were not considered genuine.<sup>335</sup>

Edelstein's first monograph *Peri aerōn* naturally met with great opposition. Sigerist stated that what Edelstein had said in this work was so bewilderingly new, so much out of the traditional line, that it required a considerable effort of thinking on the part of philologists as well as medical men.<sup>336</sup> Furthermore, it was not only the originality of Edelstein's works which caused problems, it was also his skeptical ideas on Hippocrates and Hippocratic medicine. As William Heidel wrote in 1941, '[t]he name of Hippocrates is invested with a halo not unlike that of certain other great characters...and he has sometimes been invoked almost as if he were a saint'.<sup>337</sup> With such a perception, it is not hard to understand why Edelstein's views caused such a stir. Yet, not all scholars were so opposed to the work. When the Academic Assistance Council requested a judgement on Edelstein from Edward Withington,<sup>338</sup> although the latter admitted that the dissertation contained 'some rash statements', he also wrote that it contained many interesting ones, was a 'remarkably able dissertation', and that Edelstein was a promising scholar.<sup>339</sup> Arthur Peck also sent a review of Edelstein's dissertation to the Council which takes a positive approach to the monograph.<sup>340</sup>

Edelstein was well aware that many would find it troubling to accept his views. Nevertheless, this was of no significance, as the truth was the most important factor. As he stated in a review from 1942: 'Whether we like it or not, the Hippocratic physician in his social and intellectual standing cannot be identified with the modern doctor'.<sup>341</sup> As had been the case with Plato, he was not proposing these arguments simply to cause a sensation, but he genuinely believed it was important for scholars to strive for the 'truth' in their work, no matter how disconcerting this truth may be. The longing to read Hippocrates' own writings

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<sup>334</sup> Nutton, 'Ancient Medicine', 127.

<sup>335</sup> Nutton, 'Healers and the Healing Act', 28-29.

<sup>336</sup> Sigerist, 'On Hippocrates', 208.

<sup>337</sup> Heidel, *Hippocratic Medicine*, 1.

<sup>338</sup> Edward Theodore Withington (1860-1947) was a historian of ancient medicine who worked at Oxford from 1914. Notable contributions to the history of medicine include *Medical History from Earliest Times* and an essay on *The History of Greek Therapeutics and the Malaria Theory*. See C. Singer, 'E. T. Withington, M. B.', *The British Medical Journal*, 1, 4506, (1947), 698.

<sup>339</sup> Edward Withington from Oxford to [Assistant Secretary of the A.A.C] 3 November 1933 [*Oxford*: MS.SPSSL 29216, f.370].

<sup>340</sup> Arthur Peck in Cambridge to The General Secretary of the A.A.C in London 30 November 1933 [*Oxford*: MS.SPSSL 29216, f.380. Arthur Peck].

<sup>341</sup> L. Edelstein, 'Hippocratic Medicine: Its Spirit and Method by William Arthur Heidel', *The Classical Weekly*, 35, 13, (1942), 147-148, 148.

could not be an excuse for deciding that they must have been preserved,<sup>342</sup> nor could the desire to hold up the figure of Hippocrates as the exemplary father of medicine excuse the historically inaccurate portrayal of Greek physicians.

Edelstein's work did not cause an immediate revision of concepts. In 1973, Wesley Smith stated that in the scholarship we find 'self-validating conceptual systems which resist change and criticism because of the interdependence of their elements, and because they satisfy'.<sup>343</sup> He does admit that Edelstein did 'ventilate the subject somewhat' and that his work implied the need for a general re-examination of concepts, but that this had not taken place.<sup>344</sup> However, as has been demonstrated, in recent years more scholars have accepted Edelstein's ideas, and his vital contribution to the history of ancient medicine has been recognised. This chapter will now assess another major contribution on Hippocrates, Edelstein's study on that most divisive of documents, the Hippocratic Oath. His interpretation of this text would prove to be just as devastating to treasured ideas as his other scholarship on Hippocratic medicine.

## 5.12 The Hippocratic Oath as a Pythagorean Pledge

In the 1943 opening edition of the *Supplements to the Bulletin of the History of Medicine* Edelstein returned to Hippocrates once more, now tackling the mammoth issue of the date and purpose of the most influential deontological treatise transmitted under the name of Hippocrates: the Oath.<sup>345</sup> At the time the study was first published, Edelstein had, according to one reviewer, 'the reputation of being an ingenious and learned student of the Hippocratic *Corpus*'.<sup>346</sup> Edelstein's work on the Oath then became one of his most successful and influential productions,<sup>347</sup> and was also reprinted in 1954 and 1979, translated into German and published in 1969 and included in the collection of his papers *Ancient Medicine* printed in 1967 and 1987.<sup>348</sup> As had been the case with Plato's *Seventh Letter*, the Hippocratic Oath was a document which had caused many difficulties for scholars, and led to

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<sup>342</sup> Edelstein, 'The Genuine Works', 143.

<sup>343</sup> W. D. Smith, 'Galen on Coans versus Cnidians', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 47, 6, (1973), 570-585, 585.

<sup>344</sup> *Ibid.*, 585n47.

<sup>345</sup> L. Edelstein, 'The Hippocratic Oath: Text, Translation and Interpretation', *Supplements to the Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1943). This was reprinted in Temkin and Temkin (eds.), *Ancient Medicine*, 3-63.

<sup>346</sup> W. H. S. Jones, 'The Hippocratic Oath by Ludwig Edelstein', *The Classical Review*, 59, 1, (1945), 14-15, 14.

<sup>347</sup> T. Rütten, *Geschichten vom Hippokratischen Eid* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007).

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid.*

much discord over its date, origin, and purpose.<sup>349</sup> The date for the Oath has been placed all the way from the sixth century B.C. to the first century A.D.,<sup>350</sup> and interpretations of it have also varied widely.<sup>351</sup> However, in his interpretation of the Oath, Edelstein did not side with any existing explanation, but offered an innovative solution to the numerous problems of understanding.<sup>352</sup> Edelstein was confident in the accuracy of this interpretation. He stated that we no longer had to remain hesitant about the Oath, and that it ‘seems possible to determine the origin of the Hippocratic Oath with a fair degree of certainty’.<sup>353</sup> In his study of the Oath, Edelstein also included a new translation which differed from previous versions in a number of respects,<sup>354</sup> and aligned with his thesis on the Oath. The reception of Edelstein’s translation and thesis will be analysed following a summary of the other ways in which Edelstein produced a ground-breaking interpretation of the Oath.

The Hippocratic Oath, framed by the invocation of the Gods and the ‘self-curse’ at its end, can be divided into two sections: the covenant of instruction and the alternating positive and negative ethical promises. Edelstein began his interpretation by analysing the latter.<sup>355</sup> He argued that these promises could only be understood, or best be understood, as adaptations of Pythagorean teaching to the specific tasks of the physician.<sup>356</sup> For example, the promise not to assist people with suicide or abortion did not reflect a general prohibition, but rather demonstrated the influence of Pythagorean doctrine.<sup>357</sup> Law and religion left the physician free to do what was best for him, therefore, a specific philosophical conviction must have prohibited these actions, and Pythagoreanism, so Edelstein concluded, was the only one which could possibly account for it.<sup>358</sup> Edelstein also analysed the rest of the ethical code and concluded that the rules for surgery, dietetics, and pharmacology reflected Pythagorean

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<sup>349</sup> H. Miller, ‘The Hippocratic Oath. Text, Translation and Interpretation by Ludwig Edelstein’, *The Classical Weekly*, 38, 1, (1944), 6-7, 6.

<sup>350</sup> H. N. Couch, ‘The Hippocratic Oath: Text, Translation, and Interpretation by Ludwig Edelstein’, *Classical Philology*, 39, 4, (1944), 260-261, 260.

<sup>351</sup> E. L. Minar, ‘The Hippocratic Oath: Text, Translation and Interpretation by Ludwig Edelstein’, *The American Journal of Philology*, 66, 1, (1945), 105-108, 105.

<sup>352</sup> Miller stated that the results of Edelstein’s analysis of the Oath were ‘...so original and at such variance, for the most part, with existing conceptions of the Oath...’, see: Miller, ‘The Hippocratic Oath’, 6. Minar recorded that Edelstein’s edition offered ‘an entirely new solution’, see: Minar, ‘The Hippocratic Oath’, 105.

<sup>353</sup> Edelstein, ‘The Hippocratic Oath’, 4.

<sup>354</sup> Miller, ‘The Hippocratic Oath. Text, Translation and Interpretation by Ludwig Edelstein’, 6.

<sup>355</sup> Edelstein, ‘The Hippocratic Oath’, 9.

<sup>356</sup> *Ibid.*, 38-39.

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.*, 13-18.

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-17.

doctrines.<sup>359</sup> The Oath was not an expression of a common Greek attitude towards medicine and the duties of a physician, but the opinion of a small and unrepresentative group.<sup>360</sup>

Edelstein then continued in analysing the Oath's covenant and concluded that 'not only the main feature of the covenant, the father-son relationship between teacher and pupil, but also all the detailed stipulations concerning the duties of the pupil can be paralleled by doctrines peculiar to the followers of Pythagoras'.<sup>361</sup> He also argued that the Oath was uniformly conceived,<sup>362</sup> and that the two parts formed a spiritual unity.<sup>363</sup> After determining the origin of the Oath – that it was a Pythagorean 'manifesto' – Edelstein continued his analysis by addressing the questions on the date and purpose of the Oath. He dated it to the latter part of the fourth century BC; the doctrines in the treatise were characteristic of the Pythagoreanism of the fourth century,<sup>364</sup> and the medical ethics devised in accordance with Pythagoreanism found within it were also in agreement with the general thought of the period.<sup>365</sup> As for the Oath's author and purpose, there was no reason to doubt that it was composed by a doctor, as ancient physicians often belonged to philosophical schools.<sup>366</sup> Pythagoreans aroused particular interest amongst fourth century physicians, for whom the Oath had a practical purpose. Subsequently, the vow was made by many an ancient physician and regarded by them as a "Golden Rule" of conduct.<sup>367</sup> This did not mean, however, Edelstein argued, that it was accepted and practised by all ancient physicians, and only at the end of antiquity did medical practice begin to follow the state of affairs pictured in the Oath.<sup>368</sup>

The chapter will now proceed in analysing the response to Edelstein's work, beginning with his translation of the Oath. This is important because the way in which Edelstein translated the Oath was influenced by his thesis of Pythagorean origin and examining Edelstein's translation of the Oath has been one way in which scholars have denounced his analysis and theory of origin.<sup>369</sup> If translated in a different manner, various lines in the Oath do not support Edelstein's theory. The clause on abortion Edelstein translated as 'Similarly I

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<sup>359</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>361</sup> Ibid., 48.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>363</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>364</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>365</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>367</sup> Ibid.

<sup>368</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>369</sup> For Edelstein's translation of the Oath see Appendix E.



will not give to a woman an abortive remedy'.<sup>370</sup> When translated in this manner the Oath seems to indicate a general prohibition of abortion. However, the line has been translated in a different manner by other scholars. W. H. S Jones translated it as 'Similarly I will not give to a woman a pessary to cause abortion',<sup>371</sup> and von Staden as 'And likewise I will not give a woman a destructive pessary'.<sup>372</sup> If translated the latter way, it could be argued that the Oath does not prohibit assisting in all abortions, but only those which resulted from the use of a pessary.<sup>373</sup> Only the first translation aligns with the Pythagorean theory. The clause on lithotomy can also be interpreted in two different ways, which has led to different understandings.<sup>374</sup> It can be read as Edelstein translated it: 'I will not use the knife, not even on sufferers from stone, but will withdraw in favor of such men as are engaged in this work', or, alternatively, 'I will not cut persons laboring under the stone', or a similar phrase.<sup>375</sup> If translated the latter way it can be interpreted as evidence against Pythagorean origin, for it only forbids cutting for the stone, not surgery in general, and the Pythagoreans were against all kinds of surgery.<sup>376</sup> Furthermore, Edelstein translated line twenty two of the Oath as 'I will apply dietetic measures' as opposed to 'I will use treatment' in the translation by Jones.<sup>377</sup> Edelstein's translation created a threefold division of medicine in the Oath into dietetics, pharmacology, and surgery, bolstering Edelstein's argument of Pythagorean origin as according to the testimony of Aristoxenus they employed this division.<sup>378</sup> Yet again, the translation is made central to the argument. Edelstein also translated the line after the prohibition on giving a woman an abortive remedy as 'In purity and holiness I will guard my life and my art'.<sup>379</sup> However, Temkin claims that in using this particular translation Edelstein was 'already on the way to Pythagoreanism, and if the line is alternatively translated as 'in purity and piety', this leads to a far less esoteric understanding.<sup>380</sup> Therefore, there are a

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<sup>370</sup> Edelstein, 'The Hippocratic Oath', 6

<sup>371</sup> W. H. S. Jones, *Hippocrates* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1923), 298-299.

<sup>372</sup> H. von Staden, "In a pure and holy way": Personal and Professional Conduct in the Hippocratic Oath?', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 51, 4, (1996), 404-437, 407.

<sup>373</sup> See T. Rütten, 'Receptions of the Hippocratic Oath in the Renaissance: The Prohibition of Abortion as a Case Study in Reception', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 51, 4, (1996), 456-483 for information on the issues of translation surrounding the sentence on abortion.

<sup>374</sup> Rütten, *Geschichten vom Hippokratischen Eid*.

<sup>375</sup> P. Prioreschi, 'The Hippocratic Oath: a Code for Physicians, not a Pythagorean Manifesto', *Medical Hypotheses*, 44, (1995), 447-462, 451.

<sup>376</sup> *Ibid.*, 452.

<sup>377</sup> Jones, *Hippocrates*, 299

<sup>378</sup> Miller, 'The Hippocratic Oath', 6.

<sup>379</sup> Edelstein, 'The Hippocratic Oath', 6.

<sup>380</sup> Temkin, 'On Second Thought', 3.

number of ways in which, if translated differently, the Oath does not support Edelstein's arguments as strongly, or even acts as evidence against his arguments.

Reception of Edelstein's work on the Oath seems to follow two strands. In the medical and popular literature it appears to have been accepted without great qualms for many years.<sup>381</sup> Rütten states that in the debate surrounding the Oath in medico-ethical circles, Edelstein's reading has 'reigned as the accepted opinio communis',<sup>382</sup> and that it was canonized and taken as a scholarly license to deconstruct Hippocrates.<sup>383</sup> Edelstein's translation and interpretation of the Oath was even used in the court case *Roe vs Wade* in 1973,<sup>384</sup> where nearly an entire page of the published decision on the case was devoted to it.<sup>385</sup> Edelstein's work was the court's source for the view that ancient medical practice was in contrast to the Oath's code, and it helped the court to invalidate the historical argument for the strict abortion laws.<sup>386</sup> Furthermore, Edelstein's translation continues to be widely used by both non-academics and academics.<sup>387</sup>

Edelstein's interpretation was also accepted by a number of scholars working in the fields of the history of medicine and classics. Henry Sigerist, for example, was convinced that the Oath was a Pythagorean document which did not represent the views of the general populace, but of a relatively small religious group.<sup>388</sup> When the study was first published in 1943 reviewers were not completely convinced by Edelstein's interpretation, but did not take

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<sup>381</sup> For example: H. M. Sinclair, 'The Hippocratic Oath', *The British Medical Journal*, 2, 4579, (1948), 692-693, 693 notes that in Edelstein's work 'it is convincingly shown that the Oath is a Pythagorean manifesto of the fourth century B.C.'; in Anonymous, 'The Doctor's Oath', *The British Medical Journal*, 2, 4365, (1944), 318 the authors take Edelstein to be 'right or substantially right' in his interpretation. In later years Edelstein's theory is accepted by D. W. Amundsen, 'The Physician's Obligation to Prolong Life: A Medical Duty without Classical Roots', *The Hastings Centre Report*, 8, 4, (1978), 23-30, 26.

<sup>382</sup> Rütten, "On Second Thought", 685.

<sup>383</sup> Rütten, *Geschichten vom Hippokratischen Eid*.

<sup>384</sup> *Roe vs Wade* was the ruling which ended the restrictive state regulations on abortion as unconstitutional and paved the way to liberalization of the practice in the US. P. M., Bellemare, 'The Hippocratic Oath: Edelstein revisited', in J. K. Coyle and S. C. Muir (eds.), *Healing in Religion and Society from Hippocrates to the Puritans* (Lewiston, Queenston and Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1999), 1-64, 1.

<sup>385</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>386</sup> Rütten, *Geschichten vom Hippokratischen Eid*.

<sup>387</sup> For example, his translation is used on a great variety of websites ranging from university library guides, Anonymous, 'Hippocratic Oath', accessed on: <http://guides.library.jhu.edu/content.php?pid=23699&sid=190555> 10/06/2014; Anonymous, 'Hippocrates', accessed on: <http://exhibits.hsl.virginia.edu/antiqua/hippocrates/> 10/06/2014 to websites for doctor's practices; R. Kelly, 'About the Practice', accessed on: <http://robertkellymd.com/practice.html> 10/06/2014 to travel websites; Anonymous, 'Hippocrates', accessed on: <http://www.greektravel.com/greekislands/kos/hippocrates.html> 10/06/2014. It is also used in texts concerned with medical ethics, P. Carrick, *Medical Ethics in the Ancient World* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2001), 83-84; Veatch, *Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, 3-4.

<sup>388</sup> Sigerist, *A History of Medicine*, Vol. II, 231.

a strong position against it either.<sup>389</sup> Moreover, by the time *Ancient Medicine* was published one of the reviewers, Harold Miller, seemed even more convinced of Edelstein's theory, now writing that through his study Edelstein 'was able to illumine most aspects of the work and to give a deeply meaningful interpretation of its provisions'.<sup>390</sup> However, by the 1970s classicists largely deemed Edelstein's interpretation outdated,<sup>391</sup> and a number of scholars have taken issue with Edelstein's hypothesis.

One aspect of Edelstein's analysis that scholars contest is the restriction of the clause on giving a deadly drug to physician-assisted suicide alone. A number of scholars are still convinced by Littré's explanation that the words of the Oath may be interpreted to include manslaughter also.<sup>392</sup> This is significant because it diminishes Edelstein's argument for Pythagorean origin. Furthermore, scholars have discovered problems with the analysis even if the clause is taken to refer to suicide alone. Rütten highlights that recent studies on suicide cast doubt on Edelstein's further assumptions that poison was the method of choice for suicide in antiquity, citing Anton van Hooff's work, which argues it was only the fourth most common method behind hanging, death by the sword, and jumping to one's death, but also that there is a lack of evidence that terminally ill people asked doctors for assistance when they ended their lives.<sup>393</sup>

Another problem emphasized by scholars evaluating Edelstein's arguments is the absence of any known guild of Pythagorean physicians.<sup>394</sup> In his earlier years, Owsei Temkin had been convinced by Edelstein's views on ancient medicine and the Oath. However, in a collection of essays from 2002, Temkin renounced his former views on Edelstein's interpretation and claimed that his distancing from Edelstein reached its acme in the translation and interpretation of the Hippocratic Oath.<sup>395</sup> In this rejection of Edelstein's interpretation, Temkin argued that Edelstein's thesis stood or fell with the historical existence

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<sup>389</sup> For Example, Miller, 'The Hippocratic Oath', Couch, 'The Hippocratic Oath', and Minar, 'The Hippocratic Oath'. Jones, 'The Hippocratic Oath', 14-15, did state that 'the closer the interpretation is studied, the more convinced the reader becomes of its essential truth', but also identified a number of important aspects missing from the work. One reviewer makes little comment, but rather summarizes Edelstein's main points, W. Palmer, 'The Hippocratic Oath: Text, Translation, an Interpretation by Ludwig Edelstein', *Journal of Religion*, 24, 3, (1944), 227.

<sup>390</sup> Miller, 'Ludwig Edelstein. Ancient Medicine: Selected Papers', 287

<sup>391</sup> Rütten, *Geschichten vom Hippokratischen Eid*.

<sup>392</sup> Miller, 'The Hippocratic Oath', 6; Temkin, 'What does the Hippocratic Oath say?', 23; F. Kudlien, 'Medical Ethics and Popular Ethics in Greece and Rome', *Clio Medica*, 5, (1970), 91-121, 101.

<sup>393</sup> Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads of 1933', 90n137. See A. J. L. van Hooff, *From Autothanasia to Suicide: Self-killing in antiquity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990).

<sup>394</sup> Feen, 'The Moral Basis of Graeco-Roman Medical Practice', 45.

<sup>395</sup> Temkin, 'On Second Thought', 3.

of a group of Pythagorean physicians, but that any testimony for such a group was very weak.<sup>396</sup>

An attack on Edelstein's position can be found in an article from 1999 by Pierre Bellemare. In this article, Bellemare explores Edelstein's work in detail, using it as a basis for his own interpretation of the Oath. He takes a negative stance towards Edelstein's hypothesis, and aims to show that Edelstein is incorrect and the Pythagorean hypothesis has no solid foundation.<sup>397</sup> However, many of his arguments are flawed and demonstrate a lack of knowledge about ancient medicine. For example, he argues that part of the passage from Aristoxenus reveals how the Pythagoreans also used incantations and musical therapy, therefore, they did not just divide medicine into three categories as Edelstein argued.<sup>398</sup> Yet, the three-way division would accommodate these categories, and ancient physicians would not have considered them to be distinct groupings. Furthermore, he is guilty of the same thing of which he accuses Edelstein; making too much of the evidence in order to support a view which has already been decided.<sup>399</sup> Moreover, at times Bellemare seems to contradict himself; at one point he suggests the prevalence of abortion in ancient times is a dogma of historiography that perhaps should be revisited,<sup>400</sup> but he goes on to mention texts which 'bear witness to the existence of a large body of feminine, and therefore non-medical, ancient lore and knowledge regarding means to procure abortions'.<sup>401</sup> He does make some legitimate points against Edelstein, but much of his own argumentation is flawed.

More important and convincing in recent studies of the Oath, is the work of Heinrich von Staden, who has also rejected what he describes as Edelstein's 'controversial and now largely discredited' hypothesis on the Oath.<sup>402</sup> In his article "In a pure and holy way", von Staden claims that several features of the Oath disagree with Edelstein's statement that the Oath is saturated with Pythagorean philosophy, for example, the lack of interest in a religiously defined afterlife and the focus on a good reputation for the physician, which was not a Pythagorean ideal.<sup>403</sup> Von Staden also contends that the pledge to guard life and art 'in a pure and holy way' as he translates it, covers a much larger sphere than that to which

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<sup>396</sup> Ibid.

<sup>397</sup> Bellemare, 'The Hippocratic Oath: Edelstein Revisited', 3.

<sup>398</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>399</sup> As in his discussion of the testimony of Soranus, 35-37.

<sup>400</sup> Bellemare, 'The Hippocratic Oath: Edelstein Revisited', 40n31.

<sup>401</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>402</sup> von Staden, "In a pure and holy way", 433.

<sup>403</sup> Ibid., 409.

interpreters including Edelstein have confined the pledge, and it is not just restricted to the previous sentences dealing with poison and abortive remedies, but is a moral pledge that covers the Oath taker's life as a whole.<sup>404</sup> According to von Staden this is important because Edelstein made the narrow interpretation of the sentence a cornerstone of his study.<sup>405</sup> Von Staden has also emphasized the inadequacy of studies like Edelstein's by highlighting the importance of studying the Hippocratic Oath within the wider context of Greek oaths, stressing that this has not occurred in the literature thus far, and also that the Oath's relation to other Hippocratic texts has still not been explored effectively.<sup>406</sup>

Jeanne Ducatillon has also disagreed with Edelstein's interpretation.<sup>407</sup> She posits that the author of the Oath was influenced by an intellectual current inspired by the Gnostic writings of the Hellenistic Orient.<sup>408</sup> The aspects of the Oath which Edelstein argued were Pythagorean, she claims, indicate Hellenistic Gnosticism and the revelations of Hermes Trismegistus, and she also disagrees with Edelstein's date for the Oath.<sup>409</sup> According to Rütten this new interpretation 'forcefully shows' that the basic questions relating to the Oath's structure, authorship, dating, and provenance are more open at the turn of the twenty-first century than ever before.<sup>410</sup>

One concern that a number of other scholars take with Edelstein's work is that he overzealously argues the case for Pythagorean origin, causing the reader to feel they are being forced to accept a predetermined conclusion, even when alternate explanations may be valid.<sup>411</sup> A related problem is that he did not like to entertain other possibilities, and had a tendency to ignore the alternatives and claim his interpretation was the only one possible.<sup>412</sup> Indeed, as Bellemare has identified, Edelstein does employ rather uncompromising language

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<sup>404</sup> Ibid., 433.

<sup>405</sup> H. von Staden, 'Character and Competence: Personal and Professional Conduct in Greek Medicine', in H. Flashar and J. Jouanna (eds.), *Médecine et Morale dans l'Antiquité, Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique* 43 (Vandœuvres-Genève: Fondation Hardt, 1997), 157-210, 192, 192n93.

<sup>406</sup> H. von Staden, "'The Oath', the Oaths, and the Hippocratic Corpus', in V. Boudon-Millot, A. Guardasole, and C. Magdelaine (eds.), *La science médicale antique: nouveaux regards* (Paris: Editions Beauchesne, 2007), 425-466, 425-427.

<sup>407</sup> J. Ducatillon, 'Le serment d'Hippocrate, problèmes et interprétations', *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, 1, 1, (2001), 34-61.

<sup>408</sup> Rütten, *Geschichten vom Hippokratischen Eid*.

<sup>409</sup> Ibid.

<sup>410</sup> Ibid.

<sup>411</sup> Couch, 'The Hippocratic Oath', 260. Kudlien also claims Edelstein overemphasized the Pythagorean flavour of the Oath: Kudlien 'Medical Ethics and Popular Ethics in Greece and Rome', 104. Carrick states that Edelstein arrived at a conclusion based on prepositions he presumed to be true and over pressed his evidence: Carrick, *Medical Ethics in the Ancient World*, 88.

<sup>412</sup> Pierre Bellemare, 'The Hippocratic Oath: Edelstein Revisited', 7.

in expressing his theory.<sup>413</sup> For example, that *all statements* of the ethical code could only be understood, or understood best as adaptations of Pythagorean teaching;<sup>414</sup> that he could say ‘*without hesitation* that the so-called Oath of Hippocrates is a document, *uniformly conceived and thoroughly saturated* with Pythagorean philosophy;<sup>415</sup> that the Oath’s details were ‘*in complete agreement* with this system of thought’.<sup>416</sup> Therefore, it is not just the interpretation that scholars find problematic, but the forcefulness and uncompromising attitude with which it is presented.

A common position scholars now adopt on the Oath is that although we cannot be sure of its exact origin, we can be certain that it is an esoteric document that is often inconsistent with the larger idea we have of Graeco-Roman medicine and medical ethics.<sup>417</sup> Furthermore, although Edelstein may be incorrect in arguing for a Pythagorean origin, scholars have recognised that various elements of the Oath are of a religious, if not cultish origin.<sup>418</sup> However, there are still those who claim the Oath needs to be considered as a code of conduct for physicians which reflected commonly accepted ethical principles.<sup>419</sup> Although, therefore, Edelstein’s interpretation of the Oath is no longer accepted, the importance of his study cannot be denied. For many years it was the definitive work on the subject,<sup>420</sup> and even in later years when scholars began to renounce the interpretation it was still taken as a point of departure as in Bellemare and Ducatillon’s article. Furthermore, as Rütten states in his

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<sup>413</sup> Ibid.

<sup>414</sup> Edelstein, ‘The Hippocratic Oath’, 38-39.

<sup>415</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>416</sup> Ibid. All emphasis my own.

<sup>417</sup> Amundsen, ‘The Physician’s Obligation to Prolong Life’, 26-27. Richard Feen states one could conclude it was an esoteric document, isolated in its ethical code: Feen, ‘The Moral Basis’, 44-45. Robert Veatch argues that the Oath represents the moral and religious views of one particular group with a special view of how medicine should be practised: R. M. Veatch, *Hippocratic, Religious, and Secular Medical Ethics* (Georgetown: Georgetown University Press, 2012), 10. Kudlien also concludes that, on the whole, the Oath is an esoteric document, however he does concede that some elements were influenced by popular morality: Kudlien, ‘Medical Ethics’, 104, 108. Carrick posits that the Oath is an esoteric ethical code that is partly, though not exclusively, of Pythagorean origin, that may also be influenced by Greek religious cults, homicide laws, and popular ethics: Carrick, *Medical Ethics in the Ancient World*, 83, 100

<sup>418</sup> R. H. Feen, ‘Abortion and Exposure in Ancient Greece: Assessing the status of the Fetus and “Newborn” from Classical Sources’, in W. B. Bondeson et al (eds.), *Abortion and the Status of the Fetus* (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1983), 283-300, 297.

<sup>419</sup> Prioreshi, ‘The Hippocratic Oath’, 447. However, this article makes some dubious arguments; for example Prioreshi cites Cicero describing a case of abortion as proof of condemnation of abortion. However, the line ‘having taken the money and many gifts, overcome by greed, she sold the promise in her womb that was entrusted to her by the husband’, (450) surely does not condemn abortion in general, rather only abortion when it took place without the knowledge of the father who was considered to have rights over the unborn child. Rather, abortion was practised extensively in Ancient Greece, as demonstrated in Feen, ‘Abortion and Exposure in Ancient Greece’. Pierre Bellemare also sought to prove the Oath was the standard code of medical ethics in antiquity long before Christianity dominated the Roman world: Bellamare, ‘The Hippocratic Oath: Edelstein Revisited’, 3.

<sup>420</sup> In 1966 it is named so in Stannard, ‘Eloge: Ludwig Edelstein’, 82.

*Geschichten vom Hippokratischen Eid*, future scholarly research on the oath will not be able to ignore Edelstein's book.<sup>421</sup>

### **5.13 Keeping Hippocrates and History from Harm and Injustice: Edelstein's 'Hippocratic Oath' in Context**

In his study of the Oath, Edelstein adopted an uncompromising view of its origins and strongly propagated his thesis of Pythagorean origin. Yet, this did not simply arise from an obstinate refusal to consider different approaches. As was the case with Edelstein's work on Plato, by examining the wider context of his life we can also understand more about why Edelstein held such strong views about the Oath as a Pythagorean document. Originally, his work on the Oath was published in the midst of World War II, in 1943, and it is far from untenable that the events occurring around him affected Edelstein's interpretation of the Oath. By looking more closely about how and when the study was produced, we can understand his interpretation in greater depth.

Edelstein's interpretation of the Oath begins with a dedication: 'In memoriam Albert Fraenkel'.<sup>422</sup> Rütten has recently proposed that this dedication suggests that Edelstein was pursuing a personal mission in the writing of his book. Indeed, this is a somewhat curious dedication considering that his other dedications are all addressed to intimate connections, *Plato's Seventh Letter* to his long-time friend Harold Cherniss, *The Idea of Progress in Classical Antiquity* to his late wife, and 'Platonic Anonymity' to another close friend, George Boas. Yet, as is apparent from the correspondence and other sources, Edelstein did not have an intimate or scholarly connection to Fraenkel. Nevertheless, an explanation can be uncovered. Albert Fraenkel (1864-1938) was a doctor who had a special interest in the treatment of lung conditions.<sup>423</sup> As a physician he apparently strove to treat people, not illnesses,<sup>424</sup> and had a reputation for possessing a high degree of empathy. Fraenkel also ran a tuberculosis sanatorium at Badenweiler. Karl Jaspers owed his life to Fraenkel's diagnosis of his condition bronchiectasis and also spent time at Badenweiler.<sup>425</sup> It is likely that Edelstein knew Fraenkel in his student days in Heidelberg through Jaspers, and he will have heard, possibly through Jaspers or his friend Erich Frank who was still in Germany, that in 1933 the Nazis had made it impossible for Fraenkel to continue with his lectureship at the University

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<sup>421</sup> Rütten, *Geschichten vom Hippokratischen Eid*.

<sup>422</sup> Edelstein, 'The Hippocratic Oath', 3.

<sup>423</sup> Kirkbright, *Karl Jaspers*, 284n7.

<sup>424</sup> J. Radkau, *Max Weber: A biography* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 379.

<sup>425</sup> Kirkbright, *Karl Jaspers*, 13.

of Heidelberg or to remain the Director of his two clinics in Heidelberg, and had also revoked Fraenkel's physician's licence in 1938, after which Fraenkel died within three months.<sup>426</sup> Edelstein chose not to dedicate his study to any close friend or colleague, but to a doctor known for his exemplary compassion, a doctor whom the Nazis had removed so that the world could no longer benefit from his services. Edelstein wrote that the Physician of the Oath 'must be a physician of the soul no less than of the body; he must not overlook the moral implications of his actions..',<sup>427</sup> Edelstein dedicated his book to one who he deemed to be such a physician.

Rütten also highlights the speed with which the work was produced and the fact that Edelstein wrote parts of it whilst on vacation as a significant factor of the more personal nature of this work.<sup>428</sup> For, in contrast to Renata and Ludwig's monograph on *Asclepius*, which they had been working on for over ten years, Ludwig composed the outline for the interpretation of the Oath in a short period of time whilst he was on vacation in Gloucester, Massachusetts, in the summer of 1942.<sup>429</sup> Edelstein sacrificed precious time needed to recuperate after the exhausting efforts of producing *Asclepius* in order to work on his study of the Oath.<sup>430</sup> This is quite a contrast to his holidays in summer 1948 where Renata wrote of how Ludwig 'has not a thought in his head, as he says'.<sup>431</sup> The production of this work was somewhat a matter of urgency to Edelstein, and this was related to the wider state of affairs. During the war years, Edelstein and the other scholars at the institute strove to help in any way they could in the struggle against Nazi Germany. Henry Sigerist's addresses from the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* from 1943 convey the impression that the men working within the institute viewed their academic activities as vital to, and part of, the war effort. He states: 'We must not drop our cultural activities now that so many of us are in the armed forces, those of us who are left behind must work twice as hard as before.'<sup>432</sup> Edelstein was actually 'eager to help in the war effort in a more direct way',<sup>433</sup> and applied for a

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<sup>426</sup> T. Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein and the "Hippocratic Oath"' paper presented at *IV Congreso Internacional de Estudios Clásicos en México*, 24 October 2014.

<sup>427</sup> Edelstein, 'The Hippocratic Oath', 25.

<sup>428</sup> Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads', 88-89.

<sup>429</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Gloucester, Mass. to Henry Sigerist in Baltimore 20 June 1942 [*New Haven*: Box 5, Folder 169].

<sup>430</sup> Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein and the "Hippocratic Oath"'.

<sup>431</sup> Emma Edelstein to Solomon Katz in Seattle 12 July 1948 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>432</sup> H. E. Sigerist, 'On the threshold of another year of War', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 13, 1, (1943), 1-9, 6.

<sup>433</sup> Henry Sigerist to D. Fringer in Baltimore 29 June 1943 [*Baltimore (1)*: Institute of the History of Medicine, Edelstein, Ludwig & Renata, Folder 48].



commission in the US army.<sup>434</sup> He was not successful with this application, but he was able to offer a more direct contribution through the teaching of German to students in the Army Specialized Training Programme for which he received no payment.<sup>435</sup> Nevertheless, one way in which he could make a contribution was through his scholarship, through his interpretation of the Oath which he produced in earnest. Yet, this study did not only atone for Edelstein not being able to join the war effort directly, but it was also part of his wider protest against the misuse of historical figures and documents without a proper understanding of their context, against their misappropriation in the support of immoral creeds and actions.

Carsten Timmermann has traced the appropriation of the figure of Hippocrates in Interwar Germany. He claims that it was during this time that Hippocratism was used to legitimate an elitist medical ideology which was later appropriated by Nazi officials,<sup>436</sup> focusing mainly on the work of two authors, August Bier (1861-1949) and Hans Much (1880-1932). These men were both members of the medical profession who viewed their vocation from an elitist standpoint and opposed the secularisation which modern medicine appeared to be undergoing.<sup>437</sup> They supposed medicine to be at a crisis point, feared the socialisation of medicine, and promoted what they perceived as Hippocratic values and a return to the stability that they imagined had existed before.<sup>438</sup>

According to Timmermann the medical officials of the Third Reich took up the call from the Weimar period to go back to Hippocrates; the Hippocratism championed by earlier men like Bier and Much induced compliance with Nazi biological policies and elitism,<sup>439</sup> and Hippocrates was turned into a patron of their “national revolution”.<sup>440</sup> Robert Lifton has also argued that the Nazi medical ideal went back to Hippocrates, and related itself to the Hippocratic Oath.<sup>441</sup> He highlights how Heinrich Himmler embraced Hippocrates as a model for physicians and wrote the introduction to a short book for SS doctors in which he stated how “the great Greek doctor Hippocrates”, and the “unity of character and accomplishment of his life”, “proclaims a morality, the strengths of which are still undiminished today and

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<sup>434</sup> D. Fringer from Baltimore to Henry Sigerist in Baltimore 24 June 1943 [*Baltimore (1)*: Institute of the History of Medicine, Edelstein, Ludwig & Renata, Folder 48].

<sup>435</sup> See ‘Edelstein as a Humanist and Teacher’ for more information.

<sup>436</sup> C. Timmermann, ‘A Model for the ‘New Physician’? Hippocrates in Interwar Germany’, in D. Cantor (ed.), *Reinventing Hippocrates* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 302-324, 307.

<sup>437</sup> *Ibid.*, 311.

<sup>438</sup> *Ibid.*, 311-312,

<sup>439</sup> *Ibid.*, 325.

<sup>440</sup> *Ibid.*, 316.

<sup>441</sup> R. J. Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors: Medical killing and the psychology of genocide* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 32.

shall continue to determine medical action and thought in the future”.<sup>442</sup> Although it is unknown whether Edelstein knew of this particular book at first hand, according to Rütten, there were many routes through which Edelstein could have learned about the Nazi doctors’ concept of killing as a Hippocratic therapeutic imperative;<sup>443</sup> he would have known about the propaganda used by the Nazis to appropriate the Oath,<sup>444</sup> which went against everything he stood for in matters of scholarship.

I would argue that, as had been the case with his work on Plato, part of the reason for Edelstein’s unmoveable position on the Hippocratic Oath, and also on Hippocrates, was related to the way in which Hippocrates and the Oath has been mistreated and misused by some scholars during the years of the Weimar Republic, but especially in the years when the Nazis took hold of power and these historical figures were misused to legitimise even more atrocious theories and acts. As Rütten avers, many of the topics on which Edelstein worked, including the Hippocratic Oath and Plato, belonged to the areas of research ‘science, ethics, religion [—] that were most under threat from Nazi barbarism’, but which Edelstein took to the US with him for ‘safe-keeping’.<sup>445</sup> In Edelstein’s work on Hippocrates for the *Real-Enzyklopädie*, Rütten argues, Edelstein sought to distinguish fact from fiction, and his research ‘stood as a defiant alternative to the stylised Hippocrates that had been brought into line with the cult of the Führer, the Nazi culture of duty and obedience, and the new German medicine.’<sup>446</sup> Edelstein’s work on the Hippocratic Oath was no less affected by the context of the times. The highly personal nature of the study has been highlighted, and it was something Edelstein used as a weapon against Nazism. He would not allow the Nazis to use the name of Hippocrates or his supposed Oath in a propagandistic way. Instead he would anchor the Oath in time and place and save it from the Nazis’ grip.<sup>447</sup> Edelstein was unable to help the war effort in a more direct manner, but could do so through his scholarship.

The main focus of Edelstein’s work was on the interpretation of the Oath. More recent literature has concentrated on the issue of the different versions of the Oath, and the history of their transmission and reception. Although Edelstein was a highly skilled philologist, he

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<sup>442</sup> Ibid. (Lifton’s translation). The book in question is: B. J. Gottlieb, *Gedanken ärztlicher Ethik aus dem Corpus Hippocraticum*, 2<sup>nd</sup>, rev. ed. (= Ewiges Arzttum, 1) (Prague, Amsterdam, Berlin, Vienna: Volk und Reich Verlag, 1942). See Rütten, *Geschichten vom Hippokratischen Eid*.

<sup>443</sup> Rütten, ‘Ludwig Edelstein and the “Hippocratic Oath”’.

<sup>444</sup> Rütten, *Geschichten vom Hippokratischen Eid*.

<sup>445</sup> Rütten, ‘Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads’, 83.

<sup>446</sup> Ibid., 88.

<sup>447</sup> Rütten, ‘Ludwig Edelstein and the “Hippocratic Oath”’.

was not concerned with any of these issues. Edelstein copied the Greek text as published by Heiberg in the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* series. This task was originally started by Diels but was taken over by Heiberg on the former's death. Some reviews were critical of the Heiberg edition for failing to take into account a number of manuscripts which include the Oath and for errors in the copying of punctuation.<sup>448</sup> Yet, Edelstein made no attempt to discuss the issues surrounding the manuscript tradition of the Oath and accepted Heiberg's text without qualms or comment. Edelstein did not engage with questions of the Oath's transmission, 'with its lexical, morphological, syntactic, and semantic distinctiveness' which von Staden has recently highlighted.<sup>449</sup> His focus was not on the philological issues but solely with interpreting the Oath as a Pythagorean document sworn by a select group of people.

Through his characterization of the Oath in this manner, Edelstein sought to disqualify it as evidence which could be instrumentalized by the medical profession to validate their own medico-ethical ideals with no regard for its actual history or meaning. As Rütten states, Edelstein attacked the ideological fantasises of the Nazis with 'his entire philological arsenal', aiming to rehistoricize the Oath.<sup>450</sup> Instead, Edelstein strove to make what he understood to be the 'truth' of the Oath known. Temkin wrote:

In modern debates pro and con swearing such an oath—pro and con accepting the Hippocratic Oath as we know it, keeping it as it is, modifying it, or abandoning it altogether—we should at least know what we are talking about. And we include the public when it appeals to the Oath of Hippocrates. I think Edelstein would have agreed with that'.<sup>451</sup>

## 5.14 Conclusion

This chapter has examined a number of pieces of Edelstein's work, tracing the scholarly background to the topics in order to explore the originality of his proposals and how these have been received in subsequent scholarship. Fridolf Kudlien called *Peri Aeron* a provocation, in that it stimulated research in the field of ancient medicine. The same can be said for much of Edelstein's other work in ancient medicine and philosophy. It may not always have been accepted, but part of its value was in provoking a response, or in the case of, for example, the authenticity of the Hippocratic Corpus, opening up the scholarship and causing scholars to re-examine the evidence. As Kudlien contends, Edelstein's interpretations

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<sup>448</sup> W. H. S. Jones, 'The Teubner Medical Corpus', *The Classical Review*, 42, 1, (1928), 29. See also Rütten, *Geschichten vom Hippokratischen Eid* for further detail on the issues surrounding Heiberg's text.

<sup>449</sup> Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein and the "Hippocratic Oath"'.  
<sup>450</sup> Rütten, *Geschichten vom Hippokratischen Eid*.

<sup>451</sup> Temkin, 'On Second Thought', 4.

have remained a source of valuable stimulation.<sup>452</sup> This has been evidenced throughout this chapter in the exploration of his works on Plato and Hippocrates.

In his scholarship, throughout his whole career, Edelstein was independent in his views and undeterred by popular opinion. As Saunders stated in his review of *Ancient Medicine*, this was particularly evident in his work on Hippocratic medicine, in which he overthrew many cherished opinions and reached new and highly original interpretations.<sup>453</sup> What mattered to Edelstein was a thorough investigation of the material, unaffected by what was thought to be correct. As Kudlien states, he was not merely an ‘obstinate nonconformist’, but desired a revised interpretation of the facts on the basis of the historical setting.<sup>454</sup> Equally, Gary Ferngren identifies that in all his published work, Edelstein demonstrated a willingness to doubt received wisdom, regardless of the authority which supported it.<sup>455</sup> Edelstein described how Plato’s Socrates was unwilling to accept any statement on the authority of a great name,<sup>456</sup> and he took on this characteristic himself.

However, this reluctance to accept common opinions did not stem from a desire to cause a stir; his proposals were not made for the sake of being scandalous, but from a genuine desire to seek the ‘truth’ in scholarship. The truth was the most important factor: as he stated in ‘Platonic Anonymity’, the ‘truth has been, is, and will ever be, regardless of whether or not men turn their eyes toward it and live according to its dictates’.<sup>457</sup> Just as Plato wanted to realize the truth “as far as possible” in the ideal philosophical life,<sup>458</sup> so Edelstein desired the same through his scholarship: to search for a truth greater and nobler than himself. Two of Edelstein’s students from the Rockefeller recalled how Edelstein believed in ‘Truth’ and that it was not relative.<sup>459</sup> Temkin also related how Edelstein had a faith in the existence of a “truth” which the scholar must seek.<sup>460</sup> Edelstein’s students also remembered how he had ‘felt that there was a lot of “fashion” in what was considered to be the “truth” rather than what was actually true’.<sup>461</sup> Edelstein would not accept arguments simply because they were fashionable, and he knew the dangers of doing so. Indeed, as evidenced in the sections on the

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<sup>452</sup> Kudlien, ‘Edelstein as Medical Historian’, 174.

<sup>453</sup> J. B. deC. M. Saunders, ‘Selected Papers of Ludwig Edelstein by Owsei Temkin; C. Lilian Temkin’, *The American Historical Review*, 73, 5, (1968), 1484-1485, 1484.

<sup>454</sup> Kudlien, ‘Edelstein as Medical Historian’, 174.

<sup>455</sup> Ferngren, ‘Introduction’, xvi.

<sup>456</sup> Edelstein, ‘Platonic Anonymity’, 16.

<sup>457</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>458</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>459</sup> Information provided by Audrie and Larry Sturman via e-mail 2/12/2013.

<sup>460</sup> Temkin, ‘In Memory of Ludwig Edelstein’, 9.

<sup>461</sup> Information provided by Audrie and Larry Sturman via e-mail 2/12/2013.

*Seventh Letter* and the Hippocratic Oath, at times Edelstein's work was greatly affected by how scholars had misused ancient documents to support their own theses in accordance with the popular opinion of the time. Edelstein strove to find the real truth of these documents and prevent them from being twisted to provide evidence for historical fabrications.

Examining Edelstein's life in conjunction with his work is valuable in identifying the reasons why he had such a tendency to move away from received wisdom. It was not simply because he had taken a liking to unsettling the academic world, but rather he was genuinely trying to advance what he believed to be the correct interpretation in opposition to those who had perverted history to suit their own means. Edelstein started with the evidence, determined to be unaffected by the scholarship. True, this did lead to a tendency to almost appear blinkered in his views, and to deny other possible interpretations, but this was not intentional. This absolute conviction in the statements he made, and a tendency to overstate his case and push the argument too far, may also have been partly due to his belief that if one had nothing new to say on a subject, one should not say anything at all. In his scholarship he often chose to explore controversial issues in which he could make a real difference.

Due to restraints in time and word limits, this chapter has only been able to explore a selection of Edelstein's work, but there are other important studies which could be examined including his work on *The Meaning of Stoicism* and *The Idea of Progress in Classical Antiquity*.<sup>462</sup> Furthermore, within his work on Plato and Hippocrates there are also a number of strands I have not been able to address. One of these is the influence of Erich Frank and his work on both Edelstein's work on Plato and his concept of the Pythagorean origin of the 'Hippocratic Oath'. During his lifetime Frank was perhaps Edelstein's closest friend and as highlighted in the chapter on 'Edelstein as a Friend', scholarship and academic discussion was a key aspect of their friendship. Plato was certainly a frequent topic for debate. After Frank's death Edelstein wrote:

What it means that no letter from him will come anymore, that I shall be unable to discuss with him a passage of Plato or of Aristotle, as we used to do ever since I met him in 1925, that he will not stay in our house and work and tell stories- what all this really means, we are not yet able to fathom, and it will take a very long time if not to get reconciled at least to get adjusted to this distressing reality.

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<sup>462</sup> L. Edelstein, *The Meaning of Stoicism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966); L. Edelstein, *The Idea of Progress in Classical Antiquity* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967).

In his work on the Oath Edelstein also stated about Frank: ‘To him I am also indebted for his advice in many a controversial matter discussed in this paper.’<sup>463</sup> Thus, this is an area which requires more investigation and would benefit from future research.

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<sup>463</sup> Edelstein, ‘The Hippocratic Oath’, 21n51.

## Chapter 6. Edelstein as a Humanist and Teacher

‘[J]ust try to imagine that you might be wrong’.<sup>1</sup>

### 6.1 Introduction

In the introduction to the volume of Edelstein’s collected *Philosophical Papers*, Leonardo Tarán expressed the hope that ‘one or another of Edelstein’s students will one day give a picture of him as a teacher.’<sup>2</sup> Although this chapter cannot claim to accomplish this task, for it is not written by one of his students, it will strive to construct this picture. It is important to examine Edelstein’s teaching because it was a significant aspect of Edelstein’s life within the university. George Boas averred that it was the art of teaching that was probably the most important thing in Edelstein’s eyes,<sup>3</sup> ‘for the books we write soon become obsolete as new problems arise and new methods of solving them become formulated. But the gratitude of our students is something which remains as the one lasting reward for our labor.’<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, although Boas considered this gratitude important to Edelstein, the latter was no less motivated by the act of educating itself, and fostering a desire for knowledge and learning in the students. Harold Cherniss testified that for Edelstein it was finer to plant ideas in his students’ minds, from whence they could grow and take on a life of their own, rather than to write them in books.<sup>5</sup> This is not to argue that he did not also revere written works, and it will be discovered in this chapter just how important research time was for Edelstein, but rather that he was ‘concerned to see the humane tradition live and grow in a new generation’.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, such was his dedication to teaching that ‘devoted and conscientious scholar though he was, he was even more a passionate teacher, unable to deny or to husband his energy where there was a potentially serious student to be helped’.<sup>7</sup> Edelstein’s own words in the letters also demonstrate his desire to guide the next generation of serious

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<sup>1</sup> Edelstein’s advice to a student, as recalled in Boas, ‘Ludwig Edelstein’, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Tarán, ‘Introduction’.

<sup>3</sup> Boas, ‘Ludwig Edelstein’, 17.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Cherniss, ‘Ludwig Edelstein’, 138.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 137-138.

scholars. He wrote how ‘this is really the best thing one can have: a student who works for a degree’.<sup>8</sup>

Through the examination of Edelstein’s teaching, his views on education will also be studied, for the two are intrinsically intertwined. Some of these views are highlighted in the following quote:

[T]he university not only trains other scholars or technicians who can do a job. It trains human beings. The students must learn to have respect for their equals, they must learn to take responsibility and to speak out when they differ without fear, without the suspicion that flattery will carry them further than honesty. They can learn it only in an atmosphere in which it is taken for granted, and in which it is proved to them every day, that their teachers act on the principles which they want the young people to follow.<sup>9</sup>

This passage elucidates a number of Edelstein’s key notions on teaching and education. It also highlights his moral standing and sense of academic duty. The qualities he wished students to learn were indeed ones which he held: his bravery in speaking out against what he did not believe in, and his refusal to pander to common opinion or choose flattery over truth in scholarship in order to further his career. In the quote and information above about his desire to teach students, a number of Edelstein’s humanist characteristics are apparent. This chapter will continue in exploring these characteristics further and argue that they were vital in influencing his views on teaching and education. The next section will then examine these views in more detail, investigating their background and influences. It will be discovered that Edelstein held a number of ideals about what constituted the exemplary university and teaching, but that reality often failed to live up to these standards. In the ensuing section there will be an exploration of Edelstein’s work in bridging the sciences and humanities, for this was an essential aspect of his teaching and a task he was concerned with throughout his career. It will be argued that Edelstein did not come up with his ideas in isolation but was inspired by a number of other men who held congruent views. This will conclude the section of the chapter which considers Edelstein’s thoughts and aims in teaching and education. The next half will investigate and elucidate Edelstein’s actual teaching practice, his lecturing style, his student audiences, and the nature of lectures and seminars he delivered to them; this exploration shall enable the consideration of whether Edelstein managed to achieve his ideal combination of teaching and research, and allow an analysis of the wide range of subjects and audiences to whom he had to adapt as a life-long teacher. The final paragraph will explore the

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<sup>8</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 12 October 1948 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein]. By degree he refers to a PhD, not just an undergraduate degree.

<sup>9</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York; undated [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].



responses to Edelstein's teaching from his students and colleagues and argue that the evidence demonstrates that although Edelstein had little time for undedicated students, he was a devoted teacher whose relationships with students often went further than a simple instructor pupil relationship, and occasionally developed into lasting friendships. Throughout the chapter it will be maintained that Edelstein's humanism was a crucial factor in his teaching, and that the morals he adhered to guided his actions.

## 6.2 Edelstein's Humanism

Humanism 'is impatient of definition'<sup>10</sup> and has 'a very complex history and an unusually wide range of possible meanings and contexts'.<sup>11</sup> However, this chapter is not concerned with offering an exploration of all the possible shades of meaning, but rather with investigating the humanism which Edelstein followed, the ideals he held which made him a 'humanist'. The reason for such an exploration within this chapter is that, as will be discovered, Edelstein's humanism had a profound effect on his thoughts on education and teaching; they had a symbiotic relationship. This investigation is also crucial to the wider study of Edelstein because, as two of his students from the Rockefeller recall, '[h]e was a Classicist, a Scholar and a Medical Historian. Above all he was a Humanist'.<sup>12</sup> This sentiment is echoed by statements within the letters. Eric Dodds wrote that '[h]e has had the advantage of the strict German training in philological method, but he is at the same time a true humanist',<sup>13</sup> and Hermann Lisco<sup>14</sup> agreed that, '[h]e was a humanist in the best tradition.'<sup>15</sup> His humanity was even apparent through the works he produced. One reviewer of his *The Meaning of Stoicism* noted that although in general the book was a disappointment, Edelstein's 'conspicuous humanity reminds us that we are the poorer for his death',<sup>16</sup> and another, that the volume was a 'document of its author, a man of great scholarly distinction

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<sup>10</sup> J. A. C. F. Auer, *Humanism States its Case* (Boston: The Beacon Press, Inc, 1933), 7.

<sup>11</sup> T. Davies, *Humanism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 2.

<sup>12</sup> Information provided by Audrie and Larry Sturman via e-mail 12/12/2013.

<sup>13</sup> Eric Dodds from Oxford to Harold Cherniss [in Princeton] 25 September 1950 [*Oxford: Dodds Papers*].

<sup>14</sup> Hermann Lisco was a German emigré scientist and researcher on radiation, who taught pathology at Johns Hopkins before moving on to the University of Chicago and Harvard University. However, one of his own students also describes him as 'what used to be called a Humanist' and states that 'he discoursed easily on science, medicine, art, literature, politics, history'. See C. Krauthammer, 'The Death of a Wise and Gracious Mentor', *The Chicago Tribune*, August 28 2000, accessed on: [http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2000-08-28/news/0008280029\\_1\\_acute-radiation-los-alamos-students](http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2000-08-28/news/0008280029_1_acute-radiation-los-alamos-students) 23/9/2014.

<sup>15</sup> Hermann Lisco from Boston to Detlev Bronk [in New York] 20 August 1965 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>16</sup> A. A. Long, 'The Meaning of Stoicism by Ludwig Edelstein', *The Philosophical Quarterly*, 17, (1967), 358-359, 359.

and moral stature'.<sup>17</sup> A commentator on his 'The Graeco-Roman Concept of Scientific Progress' also noted his 'warmly humanistic interpretation of manifold texts'.<sup>18</sup> This section will trace the background to Edelstein's humanist ideals, and particular focus will be placed on the humanist views on education. It will briefly touch upon Cicero and humanism, Renaissance humanism, neo-humanism, and the Third Humanism, before considering Edelstein as a humanist.

The term humanism owes its origins to the Latin *humanitas* used by Cicero amongst others to represent the kind of cultural values one would derive from what we now call a liberal education. This education, which was composed of the *studia humanitatis*, constituted study of the 'arts'. Subjects included language, literature, history, and moral philosophy.<sup>19</sup> The term *humanitas* was not just connected to this education, however, but was used by Cicero to refer to the moral attributes of humaneness, philanthropy, gentleness, and kindness.<sup>20</sup> *Humanitas* was the quality one acquired in the process of developing the best there is in human nature, and a humanized man was the opposite of 'bestial'; he would be mild, gentle, compassionate, benevolent, loyal, virtuous, have social graces, and be master of the ready word.<sup>21</sup> In a lecture from 1952, Edelstein spoke of how the first humanism in history is to be found in the writings of Cicero, reflecting trends in Greek philosophy that go as far back as the fifth century BC, and that the humanistic education of his time was based on a certain rational philosophy.<sup>22</sup>

In the scholarly world it is in connection to the Renaissance that 'humanism' is perhaps best known. Although the word 'humanism' is not contained in any writings from the Renaissance period itself,<sup>23</sup> there is a set of meanings which scholars recognize as constituting a 'humanism' which goes back to the Renaissance. An essential aspect of this humanism was the study of ancient Latin and Greek literature.<sup>24</sup> However, the Renaissance

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<sup>17</sup> P. O. Kristeller, 'Ludwig Edelstein: the Meaning of Stoicism', *The Journal of Philosophy*, 65, (1968), 79-80, 79.

<sup>18</sup> L. Edelstein, 'The Greco-Roman Concept of Scientific Progress', in *Proceedings of the 10<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Science, ITHACA, 26 VIII 1962-2 IX 1962* (Paris: Hermann, 1965), 47-59, 59.

<sup>19</sup> N. Mann, 'The Origins of Humanism', in J. Kraye (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1-19, 1.

<sup>20</sup> Perez Zagorin, 'On Humanism Past and Present', *Daedalus*, 132, 4, (2003), 87-92, 88.

<sup>21</sup> E. K. Rand, 'The Humanism of Cicero', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 71, 4, (1932), 207-216, 212.

<sup>22</sup> This lecture was described in a local newspaper. See A. Bishop, 'The Deep Roots of Humanism', *The Baltimore Sun*, 23 March 1952, 3.

<sup>23</sup> C. G. Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 8.

<sup>24</sup> R. W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1984), 30.

‘humanists’ were not only concerned with the rediscovery and study of the ancient texts, but also with the imitation, appropriation and outdoing of such cultural heritage.<sup>25</sup> In their attempt to transform themselves into *homines humani*, they sought to revive Cicero’s plea for the *studia humanitatis* and the moral reform and self-betterment that could be gained from such a study. The men now considered Renaissance humanists held that the classical literatures were ‘the best means of self-culture; that there alone one could see the human reason moving freely, the moral nature clearly expressed, in a word, the dignity of man, as a rational being, fully displayed’.<sup>26</sup> As Edelstein argued, humanism was a call to self-reliance, and the role of the Greeks was to give encouragement through their example.<sup>27</sup>

Humanists also conceived a ‘humanistic education’ which emphasized moral training and obligation, for they believed the purpose of life was to make sound moral decisions.<sup>28</sup> The way in which such character could be built was through the close study of classical literature, as well as subjects including history, rhetoric, and moral philosophy.<sup>29</sup> Petrarch is a key figure of Renaissance humanism, and although he may no longer be considered ‘the father of humanism’, he was the first writer of genius to partake in the humanist revival, and his work was of much significance.<sup>30</sup> Petrarch’s ideal of humanism was a discipline which aims at drawing out all the mental and moral faculties of man; he and his fellow ‘humanists’ held the conviction that the recovered classical literatures were not only models of style for their own scholarly output, but also stores of wisdom, life-guides and witnesses to a higher civilisation.<sup>31</sup>

It was actually in Germany in 1808 that the word humanism was first used in a fully theorized way by the educator Friedrich Niethammer. He used it to argue for the importance of a secondary educational system based on the literature of ancient Greece and Rome, and for him it reflected a belief that the ancient classical world was the most useful reference point for bringing the minds of young learners to their fullest human potential.<sup>32</sup> Subsequently, as well as describing the values discussed in the paragraphs above, the term

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<sup>25</sup> Mann, ‘The Origins of Humanism’. 2.

<sup>26</sup> R. C. Jebb, *Humanism in Education: The Romanes lecture* (London: Macmillan & Co, 1899), 5.

<sup>27</sup> Ludwig Edelstein, ‘Andreas Vesalius, The Humanist’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 14, 5, (1943), 547-561, 557.

<sup>28</sup> Nauert, *Humanism*, 15-16.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 45-47.

<sup>30</sup> A. G. Dickens, *The Age of Humanism and Reformation: Europe in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries* (London: Prentice-Hall International, Inc, 1977), 9.

<sup>31</sup> Jebb, *Humanism*, 8.

<sup>32</sup> C. Celenza, ‘Humanism’, in A. Grafton, G. W. Most, and S. Settis (eds.), *The Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, MA, and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), 462-467, 462.

was also used to describe a second rebirth of classical studies in Germany during the time of Winckelmann, Goethe, Schiller, and others.<sup>33</sup> This became known as ‘neo’ humanism. In this neo-humanism, ancient Greece was held as the ideal civilisation in which one could find the highest and fullest development of man.<sup>34</sup> Another key figure who was swept up in this revival, and was fascinated by the ancient Greek life and language, was Wilhelm von Humboldt.<sup>35</sup> Humboldt (1767-1835) was a man of letters who worked in a number of diverse areas including philosophy, linguistics, political thought, and statesmanship.<sup>36</sup> In 1809 he was appointed as Head of the Section for Education and Instruction in the Prussian Ministry of the Interior,<sup>37</sup> and in the one year Humboldt held this position, German education was transformed and given a new aim and emphasis,<sup>38</sup> which was in harmony with his and his fellow humanists’ ideas and principles. One of these was the conviction that the study of classics was the best means of training the mind, with education in classical languages the crux,<sup>39</sup> and the study of classical culture the road to self-realisation.<sup>40</sup>

Further connected to this intellectual climate was Humboldt’s opposition of the university as a narrow utilitarian institute. Through this idea Humboldt embodied the tradition of eighteenth century neo-humanism.<sup>41</sup> Instead of insisting that importance should be placed on the gaining of technical knowledge, he proposed that it should be attached to the transmission of general culture values based on the humanist tradition.<sup>42</sup> In this tradition, pure learning was held to have value in itself, and to be cultivated for its own sake.<sup>43</sup> This idea can be categorized under the term ‘Bildung’. The neo-humanist concept of ‘Bildung’ was created by philosophers and belletrists in the 1790s who aestheticized religious and philosophical

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<sup>33</sup> V. R. Giustiniani, ‘Homo, Humanus, and the Meanings of “Humanism”’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 46, 2, (1985), 167-195, 172.

<sup>34</sup> D. F. S. Scott, *Wilhelm von Humboldt and the Idea of a University (Inaugural Lecture of the Professor of German delivered in the Appleby Lecture Theatre on 10 November 1959)* (Durham: University of Durham, 1960), 4.

<sup>35</sup> P. R. Sweet, *Wilhelm von Humboldt: A biography 1767-1808* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1978), 25.

<sup>36</sup> K. Mueller-Vollmer, ‘Wilhelm von Humboldt’, in E. N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2011 Edition), accessed on: <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2011/entries/wilhelm-humboldt/> 15/05/2013.

<sup>37</sup> J. H. Knoll, *Wilhelm von Humboldt: Politician and educationalist* (Bad Godesberg: Inter Nationes, 1967), 32.

<sup>38</sup> Scott, *Wilhelm von Humboldt*, 10.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>40</sup> Knoll, *Wilhelm von Humboldt*, 33.

<sup>41</sup> R. H. Samuel and T. R. Hinton, *Education and Society in Modern Germany* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949), 111.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 111-112.

<sup>43</sup> F. K. Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German academic community, 1890-1933* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 24.

concepts under the guidance of the Hellenic revival.<sup>44</sup> The term did exist previously but was not in common usage,<sup>45</sup> and did not yet have the meaning it acquired after its adoption by the neo-humanists. The neo-humanists' ethos centered on education as character formation and self-understanding for the attainment of wisdom.<sup>46</sup> This is what was meant by the term 'Bildung'; it recaptured the Greek ideal of character formation according to an ideal image.<sup>47</sup> It is important to consider this term when discussing Humboldt as he organised the Prussian educational system in accordance with this concept.<sup>48</sup> For Humboldt then, it was not what one studied which had importance, but the way one studied and the process of learning.<sup>49</sup> This type of learning would lead to a blossoming of humanity's intellectual, emotional, and practical abilities.<sup>50</sup>

Another facet of humanism important to consider when examining Edelstein as a humanist is 'Der dritte Humanismus', or the 'Third Humanism'. According to Donald White the Third Humanism was the name given to Werner Jaeger's<sup>51</sup> campaign to revive classical scholarship, save the 'humanistisches Gymnasium', and enhance the standing of classical studies.<sup>52</sup> The name, however, was not actually coined by Werner Jaeger himself, but rather by his colleague and friend at Berlin, Eduard Spranger.<sup>53</sup> In connection to this goal, aided by some academic colleagues and prominent public figures, Jaeger founded the influential Gesellschaft für antike Kultur (Society for ancient culture), and a journal, *Die Antike*, to voice

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<sup>44</sup> D. Sorkin, 'Wilhelm von Humboldt: The Theory and Practice of Self-formation (Bildung) 1791-1810', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 44, 1, (1983), 55-73, 66.

<sup>45</sup> S. E. Nordenbo, 'Bildung and the Thinking of Bildung', *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 36, 3, (2002), 341-352, 342.

<sup>46</sup> J. Zimmermann, *Humanism and Religion: A call for the renewal of western culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 7.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 49n3.

<sup>48</sup> Sorkin, 'Wilhelm von Humboldt', 55.

<sup>49</sup> Scott, *Wilhelm von Humboldt*, 14.

<sup>50</sup> H. J. Hahn, *Education and Society in Germany* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1998), 5.

<sup>51</sup> Werner Jaeger (1888-1961) is generally thought to have been the most influential classical scholar in Germany between the world wars and in America thereafter. After holding the chair at Basel once held by Nietzsche, aged just thirty three he took over the chair at Berlin from Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who had also been his teacher during his student days there. In 1936 Jaeger immigrated to America, and took over the professorship of Paul Shorey at Chicago. Jaeger's most famous work was his *Paideia* in which he presented Greek culture in romantic terms and tried to address what he felt was a crisis facing the humanistic-cultural tradition of his day. See L. H. Feldman, 'Jaeger, Werner Wilhelm', in W. W. Briggs (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of North American Classicists* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994), 306-309, 306-307.

<sup>52</sup> D. O. White, 'Werner Jaeger's "Third Humanism" and the Crisis of Conservative Cultural Politics in Weimar Germany', in William Calder III (ed.), *Werner Jaeger Reconsidered: Proceedings of the 2nd Oldfather conference, held on the campus of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, April 26-28, 1990* (Atlanta: Scholar's Press, 1992), 267-288, 268.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 268n3. Spranger was also one of Edelstein's teachers at Heidelberg. See Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads', 53n8.

and disseminate the society's concerns,<sup>54</sup> through which his campaign gained a solid public base in Weimar society.<sup>55</sup> The desire to save and promote the classics was related to wider misgivings held by German academics about German education and the cultural condition beginning around 1890, and explored by Fritz Ringer in his seminal work *The Decline of the German Mandarins*. Academics were concerned about a decline in the 'vitality' of their intellectual traditions and a loss of meaning and relevance.<sup>56</sup> The concern over their loss of status, the "shallowness of the age", and the position of the university further disturbed the academic community from the 1890s to the 1930s, and reached a zenith during the early Weimar Republic.<sup>57</sup> Werner Jaeger stated that '[h]igher education has become an article of mass consumption, cheap and bad',<sup>58</sup> and in his case, the culture crisis created a need to defend and justify his discipline to an ever more hostile society.<sup>59</sup>

However, in the final years of the Weimar Republic, the Third Humanism was not only concerned with a revival of the classics. From the time Jaeger started his Berlin professorship he also stressed in public pronouncements what he conceived of as the political nature of an awareness of classical antiquity in modern society.<sup>60</sup> Jaeger then increasingly highlighted the political factors he was discovering in his investigation of the Greek concept of *paideia*.<sup>61</sup> However, this laid his project to even more damning criticism than the previous misgivings voiced about the movement in classical academia, and, according to White, Bruno Snell's critique of the Third Humanism – that it aimed to provide political guidance for contemporary Germany yet remained above the all-too-real exigencies of the Weimar political scene – was the most perceptive remark in all the literature on Jaeger and the Third Humanism.<sup>62</sup>

Edelstein first met Jaeger during the latter's first year in Berlin, and attended his first lecture course at the university there. It was Jaeger who persuaded Edelstein to study Greek. Edelstein wrote to Jaeger's wife after his death that '[l]ike many others, I owe to this course my introduction to a scholarship the breadth of which set the model for what we should try to

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<sup>54</sup> White, 'Werner Jaeger's "Third Humanism"', 268.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 282.

<sup>56</sup> Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins*, 253.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 253-254.

<sup>58</sup> Cited in Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins*, 256. The quote is taken from W. Jaeger, *Stellung und Aufgaben der Universität in der Gegenwart* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1924), 20.

<sup>59</sup> White, 'Werner Jaeger's "Third Humanism"', 274.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 269.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 283.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 284.

do'.<sup>63</sup> Rütten states that there is some evidence to suggest that Edelstein did also toy with the idea of Jaeger's Third Humanism for some time.<sup>64</sup> In 1931, Edelstein published an article in *Die Antike*,<sup>65</sup> and in 1930, he and his wife attended an evening event organised by the Gesellschaft für antike Kultur with his wife at the Harnack-Haus in Berlin.<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, Rütten also contends that Edelstein's sympathies with the Third Humanism were short-lived.<sup>67</sup> Edelstein wrote to Ernst Moritz Manasse in 1958 of how, even though he was aware of Jaeger's other achievements, 'the Third Humanism - to which Paideia belongs - was one of the worst things, which occurred to us'.<sup>68</sup> Still, according to Rütten, his third humanist sympathies may have influenced Edelstein's 'overall approach in terms of his focus on the totality of classical culture, the function of this culture in contemporary intellectual life, and his earnest endeavours to reach wider audiences.'<sup>69</sup>

Like those who have been considered humanists before him, Edelstein was a student and teacher of the classics. The study of the classics had been a part of his education from an early age. After having had a private education in his earlier years, Edelstein had attended the Joachim Friedrich-Gymnasium in Berlin-Wilmersdorf from 1915 to 1921.<sup>70</sup> This school was a 'humanistisches-Gymnasium', which provided a classical education and emphasized the study of Greek and Latin. Here, the classical studies were carried on in the spirit of neo-humanism, and the aim was the permeation of the mind with the spirit of classical antiquity by contact with its greatest writers, above all the Greek classics.<sup>71</sup> Edelstein remained enamoured with the classics for the rest of his life, and the study of the classics in the spirit of the neo-humanists was a key facet of his humanism. Harold Cherniss averred that Edelstein's colleagues at Hopkins regarded him, and he continued to regard himself, as primarily a humanist 'in the original sense, a student of the life and literature and thought of ancient Greece and Rome'.<sup>72</sup>

Whilst this is undoubtedly true, Edelstein's humanism was more complex than this assessment suggests. Indeed, as Edelstein himself wrote, 'it is no longer possible to maintain

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<sup>63</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Ruth Jaeger in Watertown 30 October 1961 [*Cambridge*].

<sup>64</sup> See Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads', 81n111.

<sup>65</sup> L. Edelstein, 'Antike Diätetik', *Die Antike*, 7, (1931), 255-270.

<sup>66</sup> Ernst Hirschfeld to [Henry Sigerist] 9 December 1930 [*Leipzig*: 34d, Bl.132].

<sup>67</sup> Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads', 81n111.

<sup>68</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Ernst Moritz Mannasse 6 January 1958 [*Frankfurt a. M.*].

<sup>69</sup> Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads', 81n111.

<sup>70</sup> Ludwig Edelstein Personal File [*Heidelberg*: H-IV-757/24].

<sup>71</sup> F. Paulsen, *German Education Past and Present* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 201.

<sup>72</sup> Cherniss, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 135.

that the knowledge of Greek and Latin and the study of old books suffice to make a humanist'.<sup>73</sup> Edelstein's humanism was also connected to the idea of man's dignity and reason.<sup>74</sup> He recognised that it was through Greek philosophy that, for the first time, man understood he was different from nature, that he possessed reason,<sup>75</sup> and that, '[a] clear consciousness of man's unique nature came to birth with Greek philosophy and science.'<sup>76</sup> Therefore, he also believed that

when the historian of science, the philosopher of science, or the philosopher tries to lead man back to his spiritual heritage – and nothing could be more important...he can do so only by tracing the secular history of the human spirit and its secular achievement.<sup>77</sup>

This, however, does not mean that he fully subscribed to Protagoras' statement that 'man is the measure of all things'. As Geoffrey Elton highlights, men endowed with free will could still believe in the work of God.<sup>78</sup> Although humanists such as Edelstein could not adhere to the belief of the total and helpless depravity of fallen man, or total denial of free enquiry,<sup>79</sup> they could still have faith in God. Indeed, although it is not apparent from the letters that Edelstein was a strong proponent of any particular faith, he does assign some role to fate and God, using phrases such as '[m]ay Fate one day bring us together again',<sup>80</sup> '...if I live that long and God has decided that I move around...',<sup>81</sup> 'assuming God wills it so',<sup>82</sup> 'if Fate so wills',<sup>83</sup> and so forth. Although it could be argued that these statements are simply tongue in cheek, there are a number of other indications that Edelstein did hold some kind of faith, despite the fact he did not seem to strongly practice a certain religion. For example, in a letter to Eva Gossman, Edelstein wrote:

It is the hardest thing in life to lose one's illusions, that is, I take it, to lose one's belief. Whatever happens to one, as long as one still believes, one can bear one's fate, though one may complain and may even curse God and the world.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Ludwig Edelstein, 'Andreas Vesalius', 547.

<sup>74</sup> Edelstein himself wrote that the concept of the dignity of man was part of the humanist philosophy. See *Ibid.*, 559.

<sup>75</sup> Edelstein, 'Philosophy the Pilot of Life', 10.

<sup>76</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York 9 January 1964 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> G. Elton, 'Humanism in England', in A. Goodman and A. MacKay (eds.), *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe* (London: Longman, 1990), 259-278, 272.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 28 December 1948 [*Seattle: Folder Edelstein*].

<sup>81</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 3 March 1959 [*San Diego*].

<sup>82</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 18 August 1960 [*San Diego*].

<sup>83</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk [in New York] 5 July 1962 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>84</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Eva Gossman 1 August 1965 [*Princeton*].



In another letter Edelstein also mentioned how he has ‘said a special prayer of thanks to God’,<sup>85</sup> and informs Bronk that he did not wish to disrespect religion, and he actually considered it to be one of the most potent forces in social life.<sup>86</sup> In the same letter to Bronk Edelstein also stated how there could hardly be a church he saw which he had not seen from the inside and out, and that he disagreed with the Supreme Court’s decision that prayers do not belong in schools.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, he also gave one of his Rockefeller students a copy of C. S. Lewis’ *Surprised by Joy*,<sup>88</sup> a book which tells the story of the author’s conversion to Christianity.

Nevertheless, as Edelstein was convinced of the ability of man to make his own moral choices, he did not consider the ship of his life to be carried by the winds; instead, for Edelstein, ‘[r]eason is the only pilot who “may steer the ship safely whither he listeth”’, and we neglect this ‘at the peril of life itself’.<sup>89</sup> This contrasted a dominant attitude in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century in which man was in disgrace and controlled by non-rational motives or passions,<sup>90</sup> an attitude which is strongly exhibited in Pope’s *Essay on Man* and the lines: ‘On life’s vast ocean diversely we sail, Reason’s the card, but Passion the gale.’<sup>91</sup> Edelstein’s current of thought was also one which he believed was not generally followed in his own time.<sup>92</sup> Instead, he followed the neo-humanist attitude of the nineteenth century.

As a ‘genuine humanist’, Cherniss stated, Edelstein was unreservedly committed in both his personal conduct and his teaching to the moral capability and responsibility of man.<sup>93</sup> It has been demonstrated how this focus on the development of a student’s moral character was also of importance to the earlier humanists. This will be investigated further in the next section. Edelstein was also educated in this manner. At his gymnasium the educational focus was on the student meeting his cultural responsibilities as a virtuous civil

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<sup>85</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Fritz Machlup in Princeton 15 October 1962 [*Stanford*].

<sup>86</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York 9 January 1964 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> L. Green, *Guiding Principles for the Planet. The New Paradigms: Meditations on Cartesian themes* (Lincoln: iuniverse, 2004), 10.

<sup>89</sup> Edelstein, ‘Philosophy the Pilot of Life’, 16. Here, Edelstein quotes from I. Kant, *Prolegomena to Any Future Metaphysics* (1783) (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1950), 10.

<sup>90</sup> A. O. Lovejoy, *Reflections on Human Nature* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1961), 37.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>92</sup> Although Edelstein feared his message would not be heeded he felt certain things had to be said from time to time, whether people would listen or not. Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Erwin Panofsky in Princeton 24 February 1964 [*Washington D.C. (2)*].

<sup>93</sup> Cherniss, ‘Ludwig Edelstein’, 138.

citizen.<sup>94</sup> Edelstein's humanism did involve genuine care for his fellow human. In the memorial speech to Renata, Edelstein spoke of how when he had read his wife-to-be's curriculum vitae 'one thing was unusual and struck me forcibly. Speaking of your father, you called him "pater humanissimus"' and how this was not an empty phrase as, in her family, a 'love of man, a sense of obligation and duty to others, concern for their welfare distinguished their lives'.<sup>95</sup> Yet, these were qualities which Edelstein also possessed, and were part of his humanism. His students recall how he had a 'fondness and openness to all people' and would pretend he did not know someone rather than speak ill of them,<sup>96</sup> although this never stopped him from arguing against the academic opinions he did not agree with. Friends and colleagues also remembered how he was 'remarkably free of ordinary human prejudices',<sup>97</sup> and possessed 'an unusually high regard for personal and professional integrity, and for that conception of human dignity and moral responsibility on which democratic freedom is founded'.<sup>98</sup>

Edelstein also had a 'keen sense of civic and academic duty, which had been rendered the more acute by his own German experience of intellectual indifference, selfishness, temporizing, and cowardice in the face of incipient tyranny'.<sup>99</sup> He had witnessed the death and destruction of the early twentieth century; he wrote of how, '[i]t is our fate that we have been presented with the bad side in humans more clearly than most generations'.<sup>100</sup> Yet this had also allowed his generation to see the good that was still possible, and this left no excuse for one not to grasp the difference between good and evil.<sup>101</sup> He voiced hope that the next generation would live in a more peaceful and harmonic world than the one of the twentieth century so far,<sup>102</sup> and aimed to achieve this through his own efforts. As George Boas recalled, he expressed his moral sense through action,<sup>103</sup> as in the 'California Oath Controversy' where

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<sup>94</sup> W. D. Dennison, *The Young Bultmann: Context for his understanding of God, 1884-1925* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 20.

<sup>95</sup> Ludwig Edelstein, Renata In Memoriam July 8, 1958. Given 5 May 1959 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>96</sup> Information from Audrie and Larry Sturman provided via e-mail 2/12/2013.

<sup>97</sup> Stevenson, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 181.

<sup>98</sup> Louis Mackay from Berkeley to Robert Sproul 1 August 1950 [*Berkeley*: UC. Office of the President, CU. 5 ser 4, Box 39, Folder 18].

<sup>99</sup> Cherniss, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 135.

<sup>100</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Oxford to Henry Sigerist in Pura 8 June 1953 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 411] (Translated from German).

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist in Pura 1 December 1950 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>103</sup> Boas: 'Memorial Minutes', 93.

he knew that only through defending principles of freedom could he hope to preserve them for the next generation.<sup>104</sup>

Edelstein felt that we had a responsibility for the events that take place, and as Hans Diller wrote in his obituary, Edelstein always rose up to his responsibility, this was part of his humanist attitude.<sup>105</sup> As Edelstein himself stated to his friend Roy Harvey Pearce, ‘I have often told you that the world is there, and that one has an obligation to it’.<sup>106</sup> Edelstein thought that ‘in every man there is a tendency to evade responsibility, and more important still, we are all cowards and if to assert differing opinions is not a right but an act of courage, none of us is sure that he will always have the courage to say what seems to him the better thing’,<sup>107</sup> but it was of the greatest importance to him not to evade this responsibility and to show courage. In 1948, before his own troubles with the red scare at the University of California,<sup>108</sup> Edelstein discussed the machinations of the Canwell Committee in a letter to Solomon Katz.<sup>109</sup> In words that foreshadowed the actions he would later take during the oath controversy, Edelstein wrote of how professors could not simply resign themselves to what was happening: ‘I shall be able to insist even more strongly that our lives cannot be regulated and determined by these ephemeral happenings, that we must do our work.’<sup>110</sup> Edelstein did not believe we should simply accept that we would have no control over our fate at such times, and indeed it was through working and teaching that one could make a difference: ‘In the long run it is by teaching, by writing that we must and will, defeat Canwell, not by talking about him.’<sup>111</sup>

Edelstein inherited many of his ideas from the earlier humanists who also promoted the study of the classics as a guide to living the highest moral life and developing the fullest character, and the importance of reason as a divider of man and beast and the ‘pilot’ of life. His humanism was also strengthened by his own experiences, his education at the Gymnasium, his liaisons with the Third Humanism which he eventually rejected, and the

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<sup>104</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist in Pura 29 October 1950 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>105</sup> Diller, ‘Ludwig Edelstein’, 430.

<sup>106</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 31 August 1958 [*San Diego*].

<sup>107</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York; undated [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>108</sup> See ‘Edelstein as a Dissenter’.

<sup>109</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Solomon Katz 3 August 1948 [*Seattle*: Box 5 Folder Edelstein]. The Canwell Committee was the name commonly used for the ‘committee on un-American activities’ created by Republican Assemblyman Albert F. Canwell. In 1948 it investigated communism in the state of Washington, focusing on the communist affiliations of ten professors at the University of Washington. See Fried, *Nightmare in Red*, 107-108.

<sup>110</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Solomon Katz 3 August 1948 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

devastating and tumultuous times in Germany leading up to his exile in 1933, which convinced him of the need to stand up for beliefs and for freedom. Instead of becoming persuaded of the depravity of man, Edelstein was able to see that good was possible, and throughout his own life he was determined to fight for this good. Many of Edelstein's friends also shared his humanist attitude such as Erwin Panofsky,<sup>112</sup> whose development as a humanist scholar was also affected by his experience at a 'humanistisches-Gymnasium',<sup>113</sup> and Henry Sigerist, who wrote to Edelstein that his appointment at the University of Washington would be good for the matter for which they both stood – humanism.<sup>114</sup> The chapter will now continue in exploring Edelstein's opinions on teaching and education within the university, and it will become apparent that many of these views are linked to the characteristics of his humanism as explored above.

### **6.3 Edelstein's view of Teaching and the University**

From the beginning of his university career, Edelstein held strong opinions about what working within a university meant. When lamenting on his dismissal from the University of Berlin to Leo Strauss in 1933, Edelstein wrote how a position in a university was more than just a job, but the foundation of one's very existence.<sup>115</sup> To Edelstein, his job was no ordinary profession, a means to an end pushed from his mind at the end of the working day. It was his greatest passion, it permeated every aspect of his life, and the thought that this could come to an end was deeply disturbing to him. Part of his existence at the university involved teaching, and Edelstein was of the mind-set that this was how it should be – that the best university was one which combined teaching and research. He informed Strauss that, amongst universities, the German presented the 'ideal unity of teaching and research'.<sup>116</sup> This idea of the university as a body which promoted the harmony of research and teaching had been current in Germany since the neo-humanist educational reforms in the nineteenth century. Part of Humboldt's plan for the Berlin University which was founded in 1810 was a call for the union of teaching and research within the university. Indeed, the name of Wilhelm von Humboldt and the founding of the Berlin University have been used as symbols for the

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<sup>112</sup> For an exploration of Panofsky's humanism see Keenan, 'Kultur and Acculturation'.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 180.

<sup>114</sup> [Henry Sigerist] from Pura to [Ludwig Edelstein] 30 July 1947 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>115</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Rome to Leo Strauss 10 November 1933 [*Chicago*: Box 1, Folder 12].

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

‘classical’ model of the German research university for decades,<sup>117</sup> even though German universities became less idealistic, more vocational, and more state-directed than in Humboldt’s ideals.<sup>118</sup>

Edelstein may also have been inspired in these views by one of his own university teachers, Karl Jaspers (1883-1969). Jaspers had first studied jurisprudence, before opting to switch to the study of medicine, in which he eventually specialized in psychopathology.<sup>119</sup> He completed his medical state exam in 1908, and subsequently procured a training position in a psychiatric clinic in Heidelberg.<sup>120</sup> After receiving his Doctor of Medicine in 1909, Jaspers worked as a voluntary assistant in the University of Heidelberg.<sup>121</sup> In 1913 Jaspers habilitated himself as Privatdozent in psychology in the Philosophical Faculty.<sup>122</sup> Then, in 1921, he became Professor of Philosophy,<sup>123</sup> and in 1922 took over the full Professorial Chair at Heidelberg,<sup>124</sup> and it is in this capacity as a philosopher for which he is best known. In his work *The Idea of the University*,<sup>125</sup> first published in 1923, and revised in 1946, Jaspers supported the uniting of research and teaching at the university. He argued that this combination provided the spirit of university education.<sup>126</sup> Indeed, he described this union as ‘the lofty and inalienable basic principle of the university’.<sup>127</sup>

Jaspers, under whom Edelstein first studied philosophy in 1925 in Heidelberg, was a crucial figure in the latter’s formative years.<sup>128</sup> In the summer of that year Edelstein studied the history of modern philosophy, and attended a tutorial on Schelling with Jaspers; in the Winter Semester of 1924/25 he took further courses under Jaspers – the history of philosophy from Kant to the present time, and a tutorial on Hegel’s logic and philosophy of religion; and in summer 1925 he took a course on Fichte with Jaspers.<sup>129</sup> After this semester he

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<sup>117</sup> M. G. Ash, ‘Bachelor of What? Master of Whom? The Humboldt Myth and Historical Transformations of Higher Education in German-Speaking Europe and the US’, *European Journal of Education*, 41, 2, (2006), 245-267, 245-246.

<sup>118</sup> R. Anderson, ‘Before and After Humboldt: European Universities between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries’, *History of Higher Education Annual*, 20, (2000), 5-14, 10.

<sup>119</sup> K. Jaspers, ‘Philosophical Autobiography’, in P. Schlipp (ed.), *The Philosophy of Karl Jaspers* (New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1957), 3-94, 7.

<sup>120</sup> Kirkbright, *Karl Jaspers*, 52.

<sup>121</sup> Jaspers, ‘Philosophical Autobiography’, 7.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>125</sup> K. Jaspers, *The Idea of the University* (London: Peter Owen, 1959).

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>128</sup> Ludwig Edelstein Curriculum Vitae 19 November 1933 [Oxford: MS.SPSL 29216, f.364].

<sup>129</sup> Ludwig Edelstein Personal File [Heidelberg: StudA 1920/30 Ludwig Edelstein].

concentrated more on classics, however, he did have oral examinations in Philosophy alongside Greek and Latin Philology when he submitted his dissertation in 1929.<sup>130</sup> He was examined by Jaspers and achieved a ‘very good’.<sup>131</sup> Edelstein later wrote to Jaspers about how the conversation they had had in this oral exam on the ‘intelligible and empirical character’ and many more conversations before and after remained alive in him, and would continue to do so.<sup>132</sup> Edelstein clearly respected Jaspers and all he had taught him. Edelstein had been educated in universities which followed Humboldt’s model and was taught by an advocate of the university as a combination of teaching and research. These experiences in turn influenced his views.

Examining more of Edelstein’s statements, however, puts a slightly different slant on these views. For despite Edelstein’s awareness of the need for a combination of teaching and research, he was also conscious of the difficulties associated with such a combination. Edelstein was firm in his desire for research time and disliked those occasions when the balance between teaching and research became skewed and teaching took precedence. He held that constant teaching actually lowered the level of thinking, and joked that professors should live in retirement between the ages of forty and sixty-five, and teach from sixty-five onwards.<sup>133</sup> Therefore, although Edelstein considered the ideal university one which combined both teaching and research, it is clear that he was disinclined to let teaching take too great a priority. These views, however, did not affect Edelstein’s care for his students, nor his willingness to help them, even outside of formal teaching hours. He valued interaction with his students and relished opportunities to communicate with them outside of lectures and seminars. When discussing his future teaching at the Rockefeller in 1956, Edelstein informed Bronk that he would certainly wish to meet the students informally.<sup>134</sup> Furthermore, after holding a lecture series at the Rockefeller the following year, Edelstein imparted to Bronk how much he had appreciated those conversations with the students in which he learnt about their interests and responses to his research.<sup>135</sup> To be sure, he was quite thrilled that one of the students displayed such a keen interest in Greek music.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Ludwig Edelstein Personal File [*Heidelberg*: H-IV-757/24].

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Karl Jaspers 28 February 1956 [*Marbach*].

<sup>133</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 16 May 1949 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein teaching position].

<sup>134</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Detlev Bronk in New York 9 February 1956 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>135</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Detlev Bronk in New York 17 August 1957 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

After taking up a permanent position at the Rockefeller in 1960 Edelstein continued to devote his time to the students' development after lectures. One of his students, John Hildebrand, recalled how after each lecture Edelstein would invite a small group of students to his apartment to discuss 'issues that transcended science' over sherry and cheese.<sup>137</sup> These meetings left a lasting impression on Hildebrand, and he felt a deep loss after Edelstein's death.<sup>138</sup> According to two of his other students there, the hours in lectures were 'incidental', for Edelstein only lived across the hall from them and they spent many hours together, had dinner together, and talked and listened – about ideas, philosophy, ethics, and current issues.<sup>139</sup> Therefore, despite his desire for sufficient research time, Edelstein was also keen and eager to help with the development and interests of his students. Furthermore, his statements about the lack of research time are from further into his career, in the 1940s, and it is likely that his earlier idealism about the combination of teaching and research was lessened by the realities of working within an American university.<sup>140</sup> This idealism seems to have been affected by problems with university administration, which detracted from the precious time he wished to devote to teaching and research. During his second stint at Hopkins he became drawn into a large amount of committee and administrative work and complained about not being able to accomplish anything else during the semester.<sup>141</sup> The mass of administrative work was a contributing factor to Edelstein's decision to go to the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton in 1959, for if he had to go on working after Renata's death, Edelstein wanted to devote his time to writing, not committees.<sup>142</sup> By the sixties Edelstein had learned from his experiences and was able to counsel others – he cautioned Pearce that even the best university was not worth it if one was drawn into administrative work instead of conducting academic research.<sup>143</sup>

Edelstein's statement to Bronk in the introduction, that the university should not just train people for professions, but train them as human beings,<sup>144</sup> is further evidenced in

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<sup>137</sup> J. Kobler, *The Rockefeller University Story* (New York: The Rockefeller University Press, 1970), 53.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Information provided by Audrie and Larry Sturman via e-mail 12/12/2013.

<sup>140</sup> These difficulties are illustrated by Henry Sigerist in his writings on the university. In his speech on University Education from 1939, Sigerist spoke of how it was increasingly difficult for professors to carry out their research, due to teaching and administrative tasks, and of how it was ever more problematic to be both a professor and researcher at the same time. H. E. Sigerist, 'University Education', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 8, 1, (1940), 3-21, 19.

<sup>141</sup> Emma Edelstein from Baltimore to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 11 February 1955 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 411].

<sup>142</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Marcia Katz 1 May 1959 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>143</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Roy Harvey Pearce 30 September 1963 [*San Diego*].

<sup>144</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York; undated [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

Renata's letters. In correspondence to Solomon and Marcia Katz,<sup>145</sup> from 1952, she reflected on Edelstein's new professorship of 'Humanistic Studies', informing them how it 'should enable Ludwig to make some of his fondest dreams come true',<sup>146</sup> for, as they knew, 'he has never believed in training classicists, just in order to make them again train another generation of specialists'.<sup>147</sup> To Edelstein, she wrote, 'the classics have meaning only so long as they are integrated into our civilization and have some meaning for our own lives'.<sup>148</sup> In his position as Professor of Humanistic Studies, Edelstein was able to work towards these goals as it allowed him to give courses to a wide variety of students ranging from science to history, and so he was not simply training another generation of classicists,<sup>149</sup> but contributing to an all-round education. The ideas Edelstein held on this matter are linked to his humanism, and can actually be traced back to the humanist educators of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Vittorino da Feltre (1378-1446) was an Italian humanist and teacher who established a school at Mantua after being called by the Marquis to instruct his children.<sup>150</sup> His aim in education was to develop and train the whole nature of the pupil, not to train them for any special calling, but rather to form good citizens and useful members of society.<sup>151</sup> As discovered earlier, this idea was also adopted by the neo-humanists and articulated in the concept of 'Bildung'. The concern over specialization in academia, and the university training students for professional life rather than helping them to truly develop intellectually and culturally, was also held by the German 'mandarins' of the early twentieth century,<sup>152</sup> the generation before Edelstein, including two of Edelstein's teachers, Jaspers and Jaeger. Edelstein was not only influenced by humanism, but also the general intellectual climate whilst he was at university, and the dissatisfaction with the increasingly vocation-centered university.

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<sup>145</sup> Solomon Katz (1909-1985) was a historian with a special interest in Byzantine history who worked at the University of Washington for fifty three years, serving as instructor, professor, chair of the history department, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, provost, and vice president for academic affairs. Anonymous, 'Solomon Katz', accessed on: <http://www.washington.edu/research/showcase/1936a.html> 1/09/2014. He was also instrumental in facilitating Edelstein's move to Washington. Marcia was his wife and a mutual friend of the Edelsteins alongside her husband.

<sup>146</sup> Emma Edelstein from Baltimore to Solomon and Marcia Katz 15 February 1952 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Dickens, *The Age of Humanism*, 25.

<sup>151</sup> Jebb, *Humanism in Education*, 18.

<sup>152</sup> Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins*, 256-257.



Edelstein's responses to the 'California Oath Controversy' expose more of his views on teaching.<sup>153</sup> Part of the reason why Edelstein refused to sign the oath was that he did not want the students to doubt his faith in the material which he was teaching, and to think that he was simply initiating them into an official point of view in order to keep his salary and position.<sup>154</sup> It was important to Edelstein to combat the cynicism students had been showing over teaching. Signing the oath would not have allowed Edelstein to do this.<sup>155</sup> He actively wanted to change current negative viewpoints on teaching. Signing the oath would have been completely incompatible with this task. Edelstein felt that teachers should act on the principles they would want their students to follow, which would lead to the students developing confidence in their opinion, even if that opinion went against the grain.<sup>156</sup> This idea of the teacher acting as a guide to his students through his own moral actions follows a long line of philosophical thinking, beginning with Socrates and extending to Kant, and Nietzsche, wherein the philosopher gives himself or herself as an example.<sup>157</sup>

It was the conviction to teach only in what he truly believed which Temkin held to be the characteristic that singled Edelstein out as an exemplary teacher, not just a good lecturer.<sup>158</sup> His actions in the oath controversy also demonstrate the value Edelstein placed on the freedom to teach material unimpeded by political restraints, but also the freedom for the students to learn. For how can one see anything except the shadows if they are never allowed to move their head? In his scholarship Edelstein was never afraid to counter common opinion, and this was a characteristic that he wished to pass on to his students. This freedom to teach and learn was vitally important to Edelstein; he risked his entire career for it during the controversy, and suffered through great instability and heartache in order to protect it. However, for Edelstein there was no other option, for he considered the ability to say no to be the foundation of our humanity,<sup>159</sup> and only by providing his students with a worthy moral example could he hope to instil the same qualities in them.

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<sup>153</sup> See 'Edelstein as a Dissenter' for an in depth study of this event.

<sup>154</sup> Committee on Privilege and Tenure (Northern Section), 'Report to the President of the University of California June 13, 1950', 10.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York; undated [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>157</sup> M. Kwiek, 'The Classical German Idea of the University Revisited, or on the Nationalization of the Modern Institution', *The Center for Public Policy Studies Research Paper Series*, 1, (2006), 1-60, 35, accessed on: [http://www.cpp.amu.edu.pl/pdf/CPP\\_RPS\\_vol.1\\_Kwiek.pdf](http://www.cpp.amu.edu.pl/pdf/CPP_RPS_vol.1_Kwiek.pdf) 11/9/2014.

<sup>158</sup> Temkin, 'In Memory of Ludwig Edelstein', 8.

<sup>159</sup> Edelstein, 'Philosophy the Pilot of Life', 12.

The concept of ‘Lehrfreiheit’ and ‘Lernfreiheit’, the freedom to teach and learn, was also an educational ideal of Humboldt and the other humanists of his day, and something which, again, Edelstein’s teacher Jaspers considered to be of great importance in the university. For the lecturer this meant freedom to teach material unimpeded by political restrictions, on subjects of his own choice with no set syllabus.<sup>160</sup> This meant greater freedom to research also, for the subject of study could also be made the subject of lectures.<sup>161</sup> For the student this meant freedom to choose his or her own lectures, even migrating between different universities in order to study under the best possible teacher.<sup>162</sup> In connection to his opinion on the freedom to teach and learn Jaspers evoked the Socratic relationship between a student and teacher. He thought that the student should be responsible for the level of participation in his or her degree,<sup>163</sup> and thought that real education was assisted self-education – it was maieutic, however, in teaching ‘one cherishes the hope...to encourage in youth what keeps pushing toward the light’.<sup>164</sup> Jaspers wanted to help his students, like Plato’s prisoners in the cave, see the true light, instead of just the shadows of things, and this was an ethos which Edelstein also followed. This attitude was also shared by another important figure in Edelstein’s life, Henry Sigerist,<sup>165</sup> who wrote on his own teaching: ‘I rather endeavored to inspire them, to force them to do their own thinking, to challenge them because I know well enough that all education is self-education’.<sup>166</sup> Thus, Edelstein was fortunate in belonging to an institute for much of his career in which his ideas on teaching were shared and promoted.

Correspondence sent during Edelstein’s time at Oxford University in 1953 exposes his views on the teaching system there. Although in many ways he found it to be ‘admirable’, there were a number of areas which he considered to be less than perfect.<sup>167</sup> Edelstein averred that time and energy were wasted through a college system which led to each teacher belonging to two sets of administrative bodies.<sup>168</sup> Furthermore, he deemed research time severely depleted by a constant need to plan for exams, and graduate studies deleteriously

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<sup>160</sup> Samuel and Hinton, *Education and Society in Modern Germany*, 113.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>163</sup> Jaspers, *The Idea of the University*, 67.

<sup>164</sup> Jaspers, ‘Philosophical Autobiography’, 94.

<sup>165</sup> See ‘Edelstein as a Friend’.

<sup>166</sup> Sigerist, ‘Response’, 37.

<sup>167</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Oxford to Detlev Bronk in Baltimore 25 June 1953 [*Sleepy Hollow (I)*]. It is likely that he was referring to the collegiate system in which self-governing and financially independent institutions are related to the central university in a federal system.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*

affected by short terms and undergraduate tutorials.<sup>169</sup> Again, Edelstein's desire for sufficient research time is apparent. Despite these negatives, however, Edelstein also found the Oxford experience invaluable for his own teaching. In particular he valued the chance to socialize with the large number of Greek experts there, and to learn from them.<sup>170</sup> Edelstein hoped to fully utilise his opportunity in the UK by visiting other universities such as Manchester and Edinburgh in order to perceive the British system.<sup>171</sup> He wished to study this university system, for in teaching in the US he had felt a handicap in being unfamiliar with it.<sup>172</sup> The year at Oxford enabled him to learn about his own teaching, and despite its pitfalls, Edelstein recognized in hindsight that it had provided 'an excellent education'.<sup>173</sup> This desire to keep learning and improving himself aligns with his statement that the re-evaluation and evolution of teaching was important, because he considered present experiences to be vital in the interpretation of the past.<sup>174</sup> Self-exploration and understanding was key to Edelstein's teaching. As a humanist he followed the view that one ought to cultivate his or herself intellectually and morally to be of use to others.<sup>175</sup> The correspondence shows that Edelstein was not willing to rest on his laurels, but was continually searching for ways to evaluate on, and improve, his teaching. In a manner of speaking then, Edelstein was not just a teacher, but he also remained a student. It is also interesting to note that even after his graduation Edelstein continued to attend seminars as a student, and hence continue his own education.<sup>176</sup>

It is difficult to assess Edelstein's views of university students, for there is little direct evidence in the correspondence concerning this. However, indications of his attitude can be uncovered. In his memorial of Edelstein, George Boas presents an anecdote about Edelstein's interaction with a student of philosophy at Johns Hopkins. This student had just suffered through a disastrous oral examination and delivered a multitude of excuses to explain his poor performance.<sup>177</sup> Edelstein's response is telling. He placed his hands on the man's shoulders and suggested that 'it is much simpler than that...just try to imagine that you might

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<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid. Such experts at Oxford during this time included Maurice Bowra, and Eric Dodds, whom Edelstein had met earlier during the former's time at Berkeley as Sather lecturer (see 'Edelstein as a Dissenter' for more information).

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Oxford to Arthur Lovejoy in Baltimore 8 August 1953 [*Baltimore* (3)].

<sup>173</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Oxford to Fritz Machlup in Baltimore 9 June 1953 [*Stanford*].

<sup>174</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Solomon Katz 5 July 1946 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein teaching position].

<sup>175</sup> C. H. O' Brien, 'Jacob Burckhardt: The Historian as Socratic Humanist', *Journal of Thought*, 16, 4, (1981), 51-73, 51.

<sup>176</sup> During his time in Rome, for example, Edelstein attended Arnaldo Momigliano's seminar on Greek history in 1933. See Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads', 68.

<sup>177</sup> Boas, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 18.

be wrong'.<sup>178</sup> It is easier to invent excuses rather than admit one's errors, but Edelstein wanted the student to learn a lesson from his experience. Edelstein was fully aware of how he could make errors,<sup>179</sup> and tried to pass on this self-awareness on to his student. He wanted the students to take responsibility,<sup>180</sup> just as he did throughout his own life.

Although Edelstein was happy to devote his time to his students, and enjoyed conversing with them, he had to teach students of different abilities with different levels of commitment, and so there were also times when he was critical of them. For instance, he expressed the wish to Solomon Katz that he could teach them 'Platonic virtue', as one of his students had demanded.<sup>181</sup> However, for Edelstein, the answer to Meno's question of whether virtue could be taught, was no.<sup>182</sup> He also seemed to have little sympathy for those students who did not achieve what was required of them, telling Solomon Katz not to worry about his students, for it was not his fault if their 'bad or weak nature' prevented them from sticking to their work.<sup>183</sup> Edelstein had high standards for himself and for others,<sup>184</sup> and this included his students.

Examining Edelstein's correspondence uncovers a number of key points about his opinions on teaching and the university. It demonstrates to what extent they were affected by his experiences and education, but perhaps, even more importantly, by his humanist ideals which seemed to permeate almost every aspect of his thoughts on education. For Edelstein, 'without absolute values and an educational ideal as a way of life, humanism doesn't have a foundation on which to rest.'<sup>185</sup> Another of Edelstein's main preoccupations in relation to education remains to be examined, however. These are his views on the connection between the scientific and humanistic disciplines, and his work in creating a symbiotic relationship between the two. This was a crucial aspect of many of Edelstein's endeavours in teaching, and so the whole of the next sub-section will be devoted to its exploration.

## 6.4 The Sciences and the Humanities

During Edelstein's lifetime the importance of the humanities began to decline, and science was viewed as the most salient subject for study. This current of thought was only

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<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York; undated [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>181</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 27 November 1948 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 13 July 1949 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>184</sup> Boas, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 18.

<sup>185</sup> Bishop, 'The Deep Roots of Humanism', 3.

amplified during the Second World War during which superiority in the sciences was considered key for victory. The war was ‘a titanic battle of machines, one demanding innumerable technical skills’,<sup>186</sup> and it was through the colleges and universities that such skills could be nurtured and developed. Thus, in 1957, one commentator could argue that ‘[i]t is clear that science is now in such a position of dominance in our culture that hardly anyone dreams of altering the status of things’.<sup>187</sup> Nevertheless, some individuals did attempt to make a change. On the 7 May 1959 Charles Percy Snow delivered a lecture at Cambridge entitled ‘The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution’.<sup>188</sup> In this lecture, Snow argued that western society was split between two polar opposites, with literary intellectuals on one side and scientists on the other.<sup>189</sup> He criticized this split and destructive lack of understanding between the two groups, in which non-scientists believed scientists to be ‘shallowly optimistic’ and scientists criticised literary intellectuals for their lack of foresight and concern for their fellow man.<sup>190</sup> The gap between the scientists and those working in the humanities is also apparent from Edelstein’s correspondence. At times scientists took a derogatory view on the value of history and Edelstein’s arguments for it fell on deaf ears. He wrote:

I attended a meeting of the History of Science Club here, at which Conant’s last book was discussed.<sup>191</sup> When I was asked what in my opinion is the value of the history of science, I said: that you can learn something about history. Deadly silence was the only answer.<sup>192</sup>

Snow aimed for his lecture to invoke action, and argued that the only way out of the separation of these ‘two cultures’ was a rethinking of our education.<sup>193</sup> This lecture and its publication caused much discussion and a famous vitriolic rebuttal by F. R. Leavis.<sup>194</sup> Although *The Two Cultures* was affected by Snow’s personal experience and resentment of the class divide – in Britain, since the Victorian period, questions about the sciences and humanities had been entangled with matters of status and social class;<sup>195</sup> the work

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<sup>186</sup> H. M. Jones and W. G. Rice, ‘Humanities and the War’, *South Atlantic Bulletin*, 8, 3, (1942), 1-2, 1.

<sup>187</sup> V. Coutant, ‘Science and the Humanities’, *The Journal of Higher Education*, 28, 6, (1957), 315-318, 315.

<sup>188</sup> S. Collini, ‘Introduction’, in C. P. Snow, *The Two Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), vii-lxxi, vii. Charles Percy Snow (1905-1980) started his career as a research scientist, but over the course of his lifetime he also became a successful novelist, a prominent reviewer, and a ‘public figure’. See Collini, ‘Introduction’, vii.

<sup>189</sup> Snow, *The Two Cultures*, 3-4.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>191</sup> It is likely this was J. Conant, *On Understanding Science: An historical approach* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947).

<sup>192</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 27 November 1948 [Seattle: Box 5, Folder Edelstein].

<sup>193</sup> Snow, *The Two Cultures*, 18.

<sup>194</sup> F. R. Leavis, *Two Cultures? The significance of C. P. Snow* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1962).

<sup>195</sup> Collini, ‘Introduction’, xvi.

demonstrates the wider concern about the gulf between the two at this time. It was recognised that there were problems in the current situation with the lack of collaboration and even understanding between those working in the sciences and those in the humanities. Like Snow, Edelstein was also of the mind-set that something needed to be done to bridge the gulf between the two cultures, and worked towards this goal throughout his own career. Furthermore, Edelstein had actually engaged with Snow's work; when he was asked by a student why he went to the Rockefeller, Edelstein answered that those were the days of Snow's *Two Cultures*, and he felt someone in the arts had to reach students in the sciences.<sup>196</sup>

Edelstein dreamt of a change, and to improve communication between scientists and humanists, holding the conviction that the two must learn from each other.<sup>197</sup> From the beginning of his career Edelstein worked towards this goal, for he was teaching medical students in Germany the history of ancient science and medicine, and continued to do so after his immigration to the United States in his appointment to Johns Hopkins. Here, Detlev Bronk described Edelstein as 'a bridge between the medical scientists of East Baltimore and the humanists of the Homewood Campus'.<sup>198</sup> Edelstein also achieved this bridging through his own scholarship and through his work he helped to demonstrate history of medicine also meant a history of the humanities.<sup>199</sup> His work encompassed both the sciences and the humanities, as did his teaching, another reminder that, from the start of his career, research and teaching were united.

It is apparent that Edelstein took some of his inspiration for these views from William Osler.<sup>200</sup> In his lecture for the Osler series in the History of Medicine from 1956 Edelstein includes the following quote from him: 'The so-called Humanists have not enough Science, and Science sadly lacks the Humanities'.<sup>201</sup> This had been taken from Osler's speech *The Old Humanities and the New Science* which argued for the amalgamation of the humanities and sciences, as for him they were 'twin berries on one stem' and grievous harm was done if they

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<sup>196</sup> Personal information provided by Lorna Green on 29/08/2013 via e-mail.

<sup>197</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk [in New York] 12 January 1961 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>198</sup> 'Bronk, Ludwig Edelstein', 179.

<sup>199</sup> Kudlien, 'Edelstein as Medical Historian', 178.

<sup>200</sup> William Osler (1849-1919) was, primarily, an eminent physician and professor who, amongst other roles, held the position of Professor of Medicine at the Johns Hopkins Medical School during Daniel Coit Gilman's Presidency. However, his interests branched out further and he was also a humanist and medical historian. See M. Bliss, *William Osler: A life in medicine* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

<sup>201</sup> Edelstein, 'The Professional Ethics of the Greek Physician', 419.

were not seen as complimentary.<sup>202</sup> These ideas were reflected in Edelstein's own thought and teaching. Indeed, it seems Edelstein actually wrote a piece on 'William Osler's Philosophy' in order to demonstrate that Osler turned away from science to round out his philosophy, and encouraged others to do the same. He considered it important for people to be made aware of the truth about Osler, and it was his main motivation for writing the article.<sup>203</sup> However, Osler was not Edelstein's only ally in this matter. Detlev Bronk held many of the same views as Edelstein, and indeed helped to facilitate his work in connecting the sciences and humanities.<sup>204</sup> Bronk was a staunch advocate for the mutuality between the sciences and the humanities, which helped in creating the close bond between him and Edelstein. They were both deeply concerned with the need for emphasizing humane values in scientific institutes.<sup>205</sup> Bronk even delivered the Arthur Dehon Little Memorial Lecture on the subject of 'The Unity of the Sciences and Humanities', wherein he argued that historical perspective was essential for scientific research, for it was through history that scientists could get perspective on the social functions of their actions.<sup>206</sup> Bronk gifted Edelstein a copy of this article, which the latter read 'with greatest interest and profit'.<sup>207</sup> These two men had lived through two World Wars, and they had witnessed the resulting devastation and destruction first hand. In his article on William Osler's Philosophy, Edelstein wrote of how when Osler took to the rostrum in 1919 'he had watched men submit to hate, he had seen the discoveries of science, which can do so much to help mankind, misused for destruction.'<sup>208</sup> This was no less the case for Bronk and Edelstein, but in combination with the humanities, they felt mankind could learn from its mistakes and try to prevent the abuse of science. The love of the craft needed to be united with the love of humanity.

Bronk actually considered Edelstein to be a leader in the development of relations between the sciences and humanities, and a man who offered him both counsel and encouragement in this matter.<sup>209</sup> This proved influential in his appointment at the Rockefeller; when Bronk announced the appointment in the Report to the Board of Trustees in 1961, he stated:

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<sup>202</sup> W. Osler, *The Old Humanities and the New Science* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920), 36.

<sup>203</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Roy Harvey Pearce 15 December 1946 [*San Diego*].

<sup>204</sup> For biographical information on Bronk see 'Edelstein as a Friend'.

<sup>205</sup> Detlev Bronk [from New York] to Gertrude Rosenthal in Baltimore 20 November 1965 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>206</sup> D. W. Bronk, *The Unity of the Sciences and the Humanities, 4th Annual Arthur Dehon Little Memorial Lecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology* (Cambridge, MA: Technology Press, 1949).

<sup>207</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Oxford to Detlev Bronk in Baltimore 25 June 1953 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>208</sup> L. Edelstein, 'William Osler's Philosophy', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 20, 2, (1946), 270-293, 290.

<sup>209</sup> Bronk, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 180.

It is of deep significance that he [Edelstein] is a great humanist; as a community of scientists we have suffered too long from a lack of association with scholars such as he who is versed in the origins of modern science and the influence of science on the ideas and habits of man.<sup>210</sup>

Edelstein's position as a humanist interested in fostering relationships with science and his knowledge of the impact of science on humanity actually contributed to his appointment at the Rockefeller. Bronk wanted the history and philosophy of science to be taught at the institute,<sup>211</sup> and with Edelstein's background and congruous views on education, he promised to be the perfect candidate.

Edelstein did not only take up the position Bronk offered at the Rockefeller for personal reasons, as explored in 'Edelstein as a Collaborator', but also because he admired Bronk's vision of a unique graduate school and wanted to be a part of its realisation.<sup>212</sup> Edelstein was particularly interested in the plan to train biologists not only as technicians but as true scholars and humanists.<sup>213</sup> In this new role Edelstein's set teaching duties were light; he was only required to give the occasional graduate seminar,<sup>214</sup> however, his desire to educate the students, and do so in a humanistic manner was no less intense.

The students at the Rockefeller were involved in directing their own learning; the courses and seminars would be chosen in concurrence with the students' interests.<sup>215</sup> Nonetheless, Edelstein would also offer informal teaching in the form of discussion whenever the students required it.<sup>216</sup> Hildebrand remembered how Edelstein urged the students to not lose sight of their work's impact on the concerns of mankind, of how he counselled them: 'Do not lose your humanism when you become a scientist. The more professional you become as a scientist the more important that you retain your element of humanism'.<sup>217</sup> Edelstein wanted the students to use their scientific knowledge for the benefit of mankind. He wanted them to realise that they had a responsibility to fulfil. This could be achieved, so he thought, through teaching them the humanities. In this counsel Edelstein was taking a genuine humanist stance; ever since the time of Petrarch, one of the aims of reading and writing in the humanities had been moral self-perfection. According to Malcom Peterson,

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<sup>210</sup> Brink, 'Detlev Bronk and the Development of the Graduate Education Program', 76.

<sup>211</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York 9 January 1964 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>212</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York 17 December 1964 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

<sup>214</sup> Detlev Bronk [from New York] to Milton Eisenhower in Baltimore 11 April 1960 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>215</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York 17 December 1964 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

<sup>217</sup> Kobler, *The Rockefeller University Story*, 53.



who was a member of the Rockefeller Institute at the same time as Edelstein, Edelstein achieved his educational goal as he was ‘a great leavening agent in a group of scientists who sometimes overlooked their responsibilities to society’.<sup>218</sup> Edelstein did not want to simply teach at the Rockefeller, but to make a real difference to the lives of the students. He wrote to Bronk: ‘I wish I could do something that would enrich the life of people here at the Institute. You may be sure that I shall try to do everything in my power.’<sup>219</sup> He was clearly desirous to help the university fulfil its motto ‘pro bono humani generis’ (for the benefit of humanity).<sup>220</sup>

Just how concerned Edelstein was with the plans for the institute being a graduate institution with a focus on the union of the sciences and humanities is demonstrated by the fact that when the plan for the institute changed in 1964 he decided to offer up his resignation. Edelstein had a number of reasons for his aversion to continue working at the institute if it were to adhere to the changes set out in the new plan. They were centred around his opposition to the creation of a course on the behavioural sciences.<sup>221</sup> Edelstein opposed this course for he supposed that the term behavioural sciences ‘implied a certain solution of the problems raised in psychology, anthropology, sociology, and so forth, a solution that to me is unconvincing’.<sup>222</sup> Instead, it was his opinion that the university must have departments in all those sciences to allow the students to understand all the views on a subject, and make their own informed judgements.<sup>223</sup> Another reason for his opposition of the new plan was his hesitancy to enlarge the Philosophy Department. Edelstein considered the appeal of Bronk’s original plan to lie in the fact that the biologists at the institute would be trained as scholars and humanists; and creating a larger Philosophy Department with its own students would detract from this goal.<sup>224</sup> Although his decision to offer up resignation was based on other factors, including the lack of faculty involvement and consultation, one key reason was that he felt that it constituted a move away from Bronk’s original plan for the symbiosis of the sciences and humanities. However, Edelstein was persuaded not to hand in his resignation at this stage,<sup>225</sup> and he remained there until his death in 1965.

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<sup>218</sup> Peterson, ‘Ludwig Edelstein’, 7.

<sup>219</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk [in New York] 3 October 1960 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>220</sup> The motto is now ‘Scientia pro bono humani generis’, ‘Science for the benefit of humanity’.

<sup>221</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York 17 December 1964 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

<sup>225</sup> Bronk talked over this matter with Edelstein, and it was his reassurance that things would improve in the future, alongside his long friendship with Edelstein that caused the latter to remain at the university. See the letter from Waldo Flinn to Raphael Walter in Baltimore 1 November 1965 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

The attempt to create greater collaboration and understanding between the sciences and humanities at the Rockefeller was no easy task for Bronk and Edelstein – the negative attitudes of the two groups toward one another has been noted. One of Edelstein’s students at the Rockefeller, Lorna Green, also recalls how Edelstein’s appointment there was opposed by many of the scientists, who although interested in the arts outside of work, resented the presence of a philosopher at the university.<sup>226</sup> She also remembers how at that time the Rockefeller was a ‘very nuts and bolts place’, and thinks it must have taken great courage for Edelstein to come and realize Bronk’s vision.<sup>227</sup> However, this did not hinder Edelstein from trying to establish a more humanistic education for the scientists at the Rockefeller and to help students realise their responsibility to society.

### **6.5 Edelstein’s preparation for, and style of, Teaching**

The chapter has examined some of Edelstein’s most important thoughts on teaching and education as apparent from the correspondence and other sources. It will now continue with exploring Edelstein’s teaching practice and his opinions on methods of teaching. The analysis of Edelstein’s teaching preparation and style will be achieved through examining contemporary opinion on his lecturing style, but also statements he made about teaching methods and other lecturers. Although there is not much information available about Edelstein’s thoughts on the actual teaching process, a few insights can be gained from his correspondence. Edelstein considered it important that methods be taught, although by 1950 he no longer felt that he had the optimism to teach a course on methodology.<sup>228</sup> Nevertheless, even though his heart and intellect counselled him to do his own work, he thought he probably would be persuaded to announce a seminar on the topic because he considered it his ‘duty’.<sup>229</sup> Here again, Edelstein’s sense of moral obligation is apparent. Temkin also noted that Edelstein thought that students had to be trained in the methods of their discipline and the teacher should pass on skills which could not simply be learnt through books.<sup>230</sup> On 10-12 June 1954 a conference on ‘The Teaching of Medical History’ was held at Johns Hopkins.<sup>231</sup> At this conference Edelstein spoke on ‘The Teaching of Early Medical History’, a summary

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<sup>226</sup> L. Green, *Awakening. Some Radical New Ideas about Consciousness. Consciousness and the Scheme of Things: A new Copernican revolution* (Unpublished; courtesy of Lorna Green), 12.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, 12-13.

<sup>228</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Roy Harvey Pearce 6 February 1950 [*San Diego*].

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>230</sup> Temkin, ‘In Memory of Ludwig Edelstein’, 8.

<sup>231</sup> R. Shyrock, ‘Report of the Activities of the Institute of the History of Medicine of the Johns Hopkins University During the Academic Year, 1953-1954’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 28, 6, (1954), 555-565, 560.

of which was presented in the ‘Report of the Activities of the Institute’ that year. In this speech Edelstein argued that the value of Greek medicine was in its contrast to modern, that the realisation of this difference could help to correct the self-centred satisfaction with which the current students viewed the present situation.<sup>232</sup> Again, Edelstein’s contention that the scientists could, and needed to, learn from the humanities is apparent. He also asserted that the focus should be the problems of Greek medicine, not the personalities; to the contrast between art and science, the influence of philosophy, and implications of classical terminology for modern medicine.<sup>233</sup> This aligns with the kind of subjects he was teaching at Johns Hopkins, as will be discovered in the next section. It demonstrates that he understood the issues and difficulties with teaching medical students, and how he tried to combat their weaknesses through an exploration of the past. These statements also highlight the fact that in his teaching as well as in his research Edelstein was problem-orientated in his approach.

Examining Edelstein’s views on the teaching of others can also give insights into his own style, and the kind of teaching he deemed valuable. One figure for whom Edelstein had abounding praise for as a teacher, was his friend and mentor Erich Frank.<sup>234</sup> He wrote that Frank was a great teacher, whose students were devoted to him, a brilliant and witty raconteur.<sup>235</sup> Edelstein felt that he could talk to Frank whenever he wished, that he always had time for him,<sup>236</sup> a characteristic which Edelstein adopted in his own role as a teacher. Another brilliant raconteur whom Edelstein admired was his friend Heinrich Zimmer.<sup>237</sup> Despite being slightly intimidated during the first time he heard Zimmer lecture – he described him as this tall, heavily built man, with an emotionless face and a ‘somewhat harsh and unmelodious’ monotone,<sup>238</sup> – Edelstein also reported how as time passed Zimmer became more and more popular as a lecturer, and he was a man capable of enchanting a wide variety of listeners.<sup>239</sup> In the case of Henry Sigerist, Edelstein thought it was his love of knowledge which pervaded his writing, teaching, and lecturing, and captivated his audiences.<sup>240</sup> Edelstein’s views on the teaching of others were not always positive however.

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<sup>232</sup> Ibid., 561.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid.

<sup>234</sup> See ‘Edelstein as a Friend’ for information on Frank.

<sup>235</sup> Edelstein, ‘Erich Frank’s Work’, 452.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., 453.

<sup>237</sup> See ‘Edelstein as a Friend’ for information on Zimmer.

<sup>238</sup> Zimmer, *Hindu Medicine*, xvi-xvii.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., xxii.

<sup>240</sup> Temkin, Shyrock, Larkey and Edelstein, ‘In Memory of Henry E. Sigerist’, 305.

He informed Solomon Katz that Paul Clement ‘hardly is an especially gifted teacher’.<sup>241</sup> His opinion on John Beazley was that as a lecturer he was not a success because he ‘forbids himself to say anything that resembles a general statement, and fragments of vases do not make for an inspiring talk’.<sup>242</sup> It seems, therefore, in his judgement of the teaching of others that Edelstein considered lecturing style to be an important quality in a teacher. However, subject matter was also key, and it was not enough for the lecturer to amaze with his oratory skill, but he had to create time for his students. The teachers whom he admired were those who inspired devotion from their students through their own love of knowledge and desire to pass this on to the next generation.

With regards to his own lecturing style, Edelstein was no oratory funambulist. When it came to delivering his lectures he did not dazzle his audience with tricks and personality. It was neither Edelstein’s magniloquence nor his lecturing flair which impressed, but the simplicity with which he talked, and the great sincerity he had in the knowledge he was propagating.<sup>243</sup> His voice has been described as calm and hushed,<sup>244</sup> a soft voice which could make understanding hard.<sup>245</sup> Indeed, an audio copy of Edelstein’s lecture on Plato’s *Seventh Letter* held at the Rockefeller Archive Center confirms his quiet tones, which can be hard to understand at first – in this lecture he often grows quieter towards the end of a sentence, making it particularly difficult to hear – and simple but sincere lecturing style.<sup>246</sup> When illustrating the first time he heard Edelstein lecture, Temkin also remembered that Edelstein spoke slowly for two hours without notes, lacking emotional appeal and grandiosity. His words were powerful due to the simple force of his logic based on complete mastery of the topic.<sup>247</sup> In the *Seventh Letter* lecture this is also the case. He speaks slowly without splendour; however, on this occasion he did read from notes. Nevertheless, despite his lack of

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<sup>241</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 12 September 1948 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein]. Paul Clement (1906-1986) was a Classicist who worked at Johns Hopkins and UCLA, amongst other universities. He worked on a number of diverse areas including Greek literature, epigraphy, numismatics, mythology, Greek vase painting, and archaeology. For more information see B. L. Wohl and M. Chambers, ‘Clement, Paul Augustus’, in W. W. Briggs (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of North American Classicists* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1994), 100-102.

<sup>242</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 16 May 1949 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein]. John Beazley (1885-1970) was a key scholar in the field of Greek vase painting, and indeed, is considered to have created a whole new field in art-historical study. For more information see M. Robinson, ‘Sir John Beazley’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 112, 809, (1970), 541-542.

<sup>243</sup> Boas, ‘Memorial Minutes’, 93.

<sup>244</sup> Stevenson, ‘Ludwig Edelstein’, 183.

<sup>245</sup> Temkin, ‘Ludwig Edelstein’, 8.

<sup>246</sup> Ludwig Edelstein – Plato’s *Seventh Letter*: An example of historical verification, 30 October 1964 [*Sleepy Hollow* (3)].

<sup>247</sup> Temkin ‘The Double Face of Janus’, 18.

grandeur the listener is convinced by his sincerity and his own belief in the words he speaks.<sup>248</sup> This lecture is also interesting as it is from 1964, but in it Edelstein still speaks with strong German accent, another possible reason for the description of his voice being hard to understand at times. Nevertheless, as a teacher Edelstein was admired for his analytical tutelage, and his ability to see the forest but lead his pupils ‘through the trees’.<sup>249</sup> Thus, despite his simple lecturing style and soft tone, Edelstein still captivated his audience. Furthermore, lectures were only one of his teaching methods. Much of his teaching was informal and carried out through discussion with students outside of formal hours. The next section will explore some of the different audiences Edelstein did lecture to, and the types of students he worked with

## 6.6 Edelstein’s Students

Throughout his career, Edelstein had little experience in teaching undergraduates in large universities; during his first stint in Baltimore he was teaching medical students who had already completed a degree, and his work at the Rockefeller was with graduate students also. This would have been wholly different, had the situation at California taken a different course, for at this large university he was undertaking both undergraduate and graduate teaching. Nonetheless, he did have some experience teaching undergraduates, though it seems that this was affected by his experience with graduates, for when teaching undergraduates he preferred to ‘take them at their best and treat them like graduate students’.<sup>250</sup> This demonstrates that Edelstein was willing to put his trust in the undergraduate students and to hope that they would be capable of the kind of self-cultivation which he believed a university should promote.

Nevertheless, it was graduate students Edelstein was particularly keen to teach. However, he did not actually work with a PhD candidate until 1948. Edelstein was excited at this new opportunity; it was an important experience for him and he averred that ‘it is the experience that gave me new strength and courage’.<sup>251</sup> Unfortunately it did not end well, for the candidate – a man named ‘Schäfer’ in the letters – proved to be less than ideal, and after failing to keep up with language learning and the work set for him by Edelstein, he

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<sup>248</sup> Ludwig Edelstein – Plato’s Seventh Letter: An example of historical verification, 30 October 1964 [*Sleepy Hollow* (3)].

<sup>249</sup> Peterson, ‘Ludwig Edelstein’, 7.

<sup>250</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk [in New York] 12 January 1961 [*Sleepy Hollow* (1)].

<sup>251</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 12 October 1948 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

transferred to modern history.<sup>252</sup> This caused Edelstein some upset, and despite knowing that it was Schäfer's own attitude towards learning which hindered him, he was still saddened that he had been lost to ancient history.<sup>253</sup> Regardless of this undesirable outcome, Edelstein had worked hard for his student, first to get him a place at the university, and then holding special classes for Schäfer only, formulated for his own needs.<sup>254</sup> Furthermore, the anxiety expressed in the letters over Schäfer's decision demonstrates Edelstein's real concern and care for his student.

Edelstein also worked in a supervisory capacity for a number of other students, all at Johns Hopkins whilst he was Professor of Humanistic Studies. In the late 1950s he acted as the supervisor for Eva Reinitz's PhD on 'Kant and the Beginnings of German Existentialism: A Study in the Early Philosophy of Karl Jaspers'.<sup>255</sup> Reinitz was awarded her PhD in 1961, and in that same year another of Edelstein's graduate students, Edward Warren, was awarded his PhD for a study of 'The Concept of Consciousness in the Philosophy of Plotinus'.<sup>256</sup> Edelstein had supervised the former along with Maurice Mandelbaum, and the latter with Albert L. Hammond.<sup>257</sup> He was also one of the advisors alongside Albert Hammond for Josiah Gould's PhD on 'The Philosophy of Chrysippus' awarded in 1962.<sup>258</sup> Gould dedicated his subsequent book of the same title to Edelstein, acknowledging the encouragement and guidance his main supervisor had provided to him.<sup>259</sup> Furthermore, Edelstein was one of the advisors alongside Victor Lowe for another PhD awarded at Johns Hopkins in 1962 to William Pizante on 'The Concept of Value in Whitehead's Philosophy',<sup>260</sup> and in 1963 Edelstein was one of the supervisors with Victor Lowe and René Girard for Natalie Harris Bluestones's PhD on 'Time and Consciousness in William James and Jean-Paul Sartre'.<sup>261</sup> It seems, therefore, that Edelstein attracted PhD students with an interest in philosophy, and he did not supervise any history of medicine PhDs. Vivian Nutton offers a plausible suggestion for why Edelstein did not have much success in attracting PhD students in the history of ancient medicine. He argues that it was in part due to differences in the education system, the

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<sup>252</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 16 October 1948 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>253</sup> Ibid.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

<sup>255</sup> L. Gossman, *In the Footsteps of Giants: My itinerary from Glasgow to Princeton*, accessed on: [www.princeton.edu/~lgossman/shortbio.pdf](http://www.princeton.edu/~lgossman/shortbio.pdf) 12/09/2013.

<sup>256</sup> Anonymous, 'Doctoral Dissertations, 1961', *The Review of Metaphysics*, 15, 1, (1961), 199-207, 202.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid.

<sup>258</sup> Anonymous, 'Doctoral Dissertations, 1962', *The Review of Metaphysics*, 16, 1, (1962), 172-178, 175.

<sup>259</sup> J. B. Gould, *The Philosophy of Chrysippus* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), vii.

<sup>260</sup> Anonymous, 'Doctoral Dissertations, 1962', 175.

<sup>261</sup> Anonymous, 'Doctoral Dissertations, 1963', *The Review of Metaphysics*, 17, 1, (1963), 157-166, 161.

lack of language skills of American students, and a lack of tradition in Edelstein's approach to the history of medicine which meant it did not find fertile ground for decades.<sup>262</sup>

Edelstein did not supervise any successful PhD students until later on in his career, but it seems this was more down to circumstances. When Edelstein moved to Seattle he moved to a department which at that time did not even offer PhDs.<sup>263</sup> Then, at California, his hopes for working with more graduate students were dashed by the oath controversy. His work at the Rockefeller did also gain the interest of its graduate students. After completing her PhD in science Lorna Green was planning to stay on at the Rockefeller to study philosophy with Edelstein, however, she was prevented from doing so by his sudden death.<sup>264</sup> Nevertheless, although he never formally supervised her, Edelstein instilled a love of philosophy in her which remained with her. Edelstein was clearly keen to foster graduate education and although he only supervised a handful of students, this was surely not from lack of want. Whilst he was at Berkeley he started a campaign for graduate fellowships to be awarded to the department,<sup>265</sup> but these actions were halted by the controversy. Moreover, Edelstein did not need to hold the formal position of teacher to act in the capacity of one, as demonstrated in chapter 'Edelstein as a Friend'.

In his teaching, Edelstein had to address a wide variety of different students; throughout his career he lectured to students of medicine, classics, English, philosophy, and biology; to both undergraduate and graduate students of different levels. This was also the case in his other lectures – he addressed academic bodies from a variety of disciplines, from those based in the history of medicine such as the American Association of the History of Medicine, to those based in philology, such as The Philological Association of Johns Hopkins, to intellectual history with the History of Ideas Club, and philosophy, such as the American Philosophical Association. Furthermore, he did not only present to purely academic audiences but also to a wider public, for example at the Baltimore Classical Club and the Goethe Society of Maryland and the District of Columbia. At times Edelstein found addressing these diverse audiences daunting; Renata informed Solomon Katz that Ludwig was 'rather scared' at the prospect of reading a paper on Ancient Physics to a group of physics students.<sup>266</sup> However, this great variety demonstrates that Edelstein was clearly a man

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<sup>262</sup> Nutton, 'Ancient Medicine', 127.

<sup>263</sup> Solomon Katz to Ludwig Edelstein 29 April 1947 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>264</sup> Personal information kindly provided by Lorna Green via e-mail 12/09/2013.

<sup>265</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 16 May 1949 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>266</sup> Emma Edelstein to Solomon Katz 15 March 1949 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

who was able to communicate his research at a number of different levels to a wide range of people. He was capable of teaching such diverse subjects as ancient art, science, and philosophy to students who were not specialists in Greek or Latin,<sup>267</sup> and he was proficient at teaching students of different abilities, as well as those from different backgrounds.

## 6.7 Topics of Lectures and Seminars

This chapter will now continue with an examination of the material and classes Edelstein actually delivered. From various sources including his correspondence and course catalogues from the institutions in which he worked, it is possible to discover some of the subjects and classes Edelstein taught. It is important to examine this information, as through its compilation it will be possible to see how Edelstein's interests developed over time and how the institution and department in which he worked affected his teaching. Furthermore, it will also be possible to assess how the subjects he taught aligned with the work he produced, and whether he was able to achieve his ideal of the union of teaching and research.

In 1931 Edelstein was assistant at the Institut für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften in Berlin, and in this position he lectured on ancient philosophy, Hippocrates, and ancient medicine.<sup>268</sup> This teaching was unpaid; however, in 1932 Edelstein received a commission to lecture at the University of Berlin in the Philosophy Faculty on the 'History of the Exact Sciences',<sup>269</sup> for which he was paid on an hourly basis. Edelstein explained this choice as being imposed upon him in consequence of his studies and interests.<sup>270</sup> However, this is, perhaps, not an entirely accurate statement by Edelstein. Edelstein's lectures in the Philosophy Faculty had to be on a subject relevant for the students there, yet as part of his contract Jaeger did not allow Edelstein to lecture on philosophy, so as to avoid competition with the other classicists, historians, and philosophers in the department.<sup>271</sup> Yet, Edelstein was highly qualified to teach philosophy, having studied the subject and worked on both ancient medicine and philosophy in his PhD. The subjects he was teaching at the institute echoed the material he had published on Hippocrates and ancient science. However, in his lectures to the Philosophy Department Edelstein was more restricted in the material he could teach, yet it was still based in ancient science. Nevertheless, at this

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<sup>267</sup> Harold Cherniss from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 13 April 1947 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein teaching position].

<sup>268</sup> Ludwig Edelstein Curriculum Vitae 19 November 1933 [*Oxford*: MS.SPSL 29216, f.364].

<sup>269</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Rome to the Honorable Secretary of the A.A.C in London 2 November 1933 [*Oxford*: MS.SPSL 29216, f.374].

<sup>270</sup> Ludwig Edelstein Curriculum Vitae 19 November 1933 [*Oxford*: MS.SPSL 29216, f.364].

<sup>271</sup> Werner Jaeger handwritten note 7 November 1932 [*Berlin*]. See Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads', 52-53n5.



stage, as in later life, Edelstein held much wider interests, and although his publications and teaching only covered ancient medicine and science, he was also working on ancient poets and prosaists.<sup>272</sup> Edelstein's career and teaching was soon to be completely overturned however, when he lost his position at the University of Berlin and was forced to immigrate, first to Rome, and then to Baltimore.

Edelstein spent his year in Italy conducting research, utilising Rome's libraries including the Biblioteca Vaticana and that of the German Archaeological Institute.<sup>273</sup> However, as soon as he was back in an academic position, Edelstein was keen to start teaching again. This position was as Associate in the History of Medicine at the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore; in this role he was also in cooperation with the Classics and Philosophy Departments.<sup>274</sup> He associated and collaborated closely with the members of these departments and was a regular contributor to classical and philological journals.<sup>275</sup> The position at Hopkins equalled that of assistant professor at an American university. In this role Edelstein had a full license to teach, and despite Sigerist offering Edelstein the option of simply participating in seminars at first, from the beginning Edelstein was eager to offer tutorials himself, as he did not feel comfortable being away from teaching for yet another full year.<sup>276</sup> Therefore, he proposed to teach on ancient physiology once a week but was also open to different ideas, his main concern being to contribute.<sup>277</sup> In the academic year 1934-1935 Edelstein did make this contribution, for he led seminars on the 'History of Anatomy and Physiology' and on the 'Outlines of Greek Medicine'.<sup>278</sup> He continued to teach the former during his time at Hopkins, although not every year. Whilst at Hopkins Edelstein also taught a variety of other lecture and seminar courses in the history of medicine and, naturally, he focused on ancient medicine. Throughout his first period there, courses taught by Edelstein included 'History of Ancient Medicine', 'Greek Medical Classics', 'Hippocratic Medicine', 'Greek and Latin Terminology in Modern Medicine', 'Religious and Scientific Medicine in Greece and Rome', 'Plato's Physiology', 'History of Graeco-Roman Science', 'The Aristotelian System of Biology', 'Currents of Philosophical Thought', 'Medical Education and Ethics in Antiquity', 'Theoretical Foundations of Greek Medicine', and 'Arthur O.

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<sup>272</sup> Ibid.

<sup>273</sup> Rütten, 'Ludwig Edelstein at the Crossroads', 68.

<sup>274</sup> Henry Sigerist from Baltimore to Alan Gregg in New York 26 April 1935 [*Sleepy Hollow* (2)].

<sup>275</sup> Cherniss, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 134.

<sup>276</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Rome to Henry Sigerist 4 April 1934 [*New Haven*: Box 5, Folder 169].

<sup>277</sup> Ibid.

<sup>278</sup> H. E. Sigerist, 'Activities of the Institute of the History of Medicine', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 2, 5, (1934), 512-513, 513.

Lovejoy's Revolt Against Dualism'.<sup>279</sup> The fact that Edelstein was based in the department of medicine, teaching to medical students, meant that he had some limits in the topics he could teach. Although he did some teaching on philosophy, his lectures and seminars were mainly based around ancient medicine and science. This mirrors the subjects of his publications, which were mainly based in the history of medicine, and, indeed, mostly published in the institute's *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*. Furthermore, in 1935 Edelstein published an article on the development of Greek anatomy, a subject around which he had taught in 1934 and continued to teach in subsequent years. However, in his research and publications Edelstein was also able to work on more diverse subjects such as 'William Osler's Philosophy',<sup>280</sup> 'Horace, Odes II, 7, 9-10',<sup>281</sup> and 'Primum Graius Homo (Lucretius I.66)'.<sup>282</sup> Therefore, although in this period in both his teaching and research Edelstein was directed more towards the history of medicine, he did not restrict himself solely to this field of scholarship.

Edelstein also nurtured his other interests through teaching outside of his formal hours. In the academic year 1942-43 Edelstein headed a study group on 'The Philosophy of Plato'.<sup>283</sup> It was this class which Roy Harvey Pearce had attended and which led to his lasting friendship with Edelstein.<sup>284</sup> Edelstein also used his teaching as a way to contribute to the war effort. In 1943 the German Department at the Homewood Campus of Johns Hopkins asked Edelstein to give a course in German for students in the Army Specialized Training Programme,<sup>285</sup> – Edelstein did not receive any pay for these classes,<sup>286</sup> he was happy to contribute in any way possible. Later, during his time at Berkeley, he even held study groups

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<sup>279</sup> Information on the courses Edelstein taught during his time at Hopkins can be found in the annual reports of the Institute of the History of Medicine which were included in every edition of *The Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 1934-1947.

<sup>280</sup> Edelstein, 'William Osler's Philosophy'.

<sup>281</sup> L. Edelstein, 'Horace, Odes II, 7, 9-10', *American Journal of Philology*, 62, 4, (1941), 441-451.

<sup>282</sup> L. Edelstein, 'Primum Graius Homo (Lucretius I.66)', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 71, (1940), 78-90.

<sup>283</sup> H. E. Sigerist, 'The Johns Hopkins Institute of the History of Medicine during the Year 1942-43', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 14, 1, (1943), 250-270.

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<sup>284</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Roy Harvey Pearce 28 August 1945 [*San Diego*].

<sup>285</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Alan Chesney in Baltimore 18 October 1943 [*Baltimore (1)*: Edelstein papers (Biographical File), Folder 61]. The Army Specialized Training Programme was instituted in 1942 by the United States Army to train and educate enlisted men as a specialized corps of Army officers during World War II. Anonymous, 'The Army Specialized Training Program', accessed on: <http://www.astpww2.org/02/02/2013>.

<sup>286</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Alan Chesney in Baltimore 18 October 1943 [*Baltimore (1)*: Edelstein papers (Biographical File), Folder 61].

in his own house. In 1949 members of the English Department at Berkeley went twice a month to read Aristotle's *Poetics*.<sup>287</sup>

In his role as a lecturer at Johns Hopkins, Edelstein also contributed to the graduate weeks which were held there in 1938, 1939, and 1942. The aim of such weeks was to provide postgraduate education in the history of medicine, and to make the resources of the institute available to those outside of Baltimore.<sup>288</sup> Edelstein was a part of this novel development in the teaching of the history of medicine. The first graduate week took place on 18-23 April and was attended by thirty-three men and women from sixteen states of the US and Canada.<sup>289</sup> Edelstein contributed by lecturing on 'The Hippocratic Problem',<sup>290</sup> and when this was held the following year and focalized on the Renaissance, he spoke on 'Ancient Traditions in Medieval and Renaissance Thought'.<sup>291</sup> The third graduate week in 1942 was held from 27 April to 2 May and was on the subject of the 'Contributions of Greece and Rome to Medicine'.<sup>292</sup> On this occasion Edelstein held seminars on 'The Cult of Asclepius' and 'Greek and Latin in Medical Terminology'.<sup>293</sup> Again, one can see a connection between teaching and research, since he published an article on Hippocrates in 1939,<sup>294</sup> and the seminar he held on 'The Cult of Asclepius' arose from the same research he was carrying out for his 1945 work on the subject.<sup>295</sup>

In 1947 Edelstein moved to the University of Washington to take up a post in the Classics Department,<sup>296</sup> as Associate Professor of Classics.<sup>297</sup> Although Edelstein is not actually listed in the course handbook for that year or the next, as it only lists teachers for certain modules, it is clear from his correspondence that he was teaching. In a letter to Sigerist from October 1947, Edelstein informed Sigerist that he had to teach twelve hours on

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<sup>287</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 2 April 1949 [Seattle: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>288</sup> H. E. Sigerist, 'Report of the Activities of the Institute in the History of Medicine of the Johns Hopkins University during the Academic Year 1937-38', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 6, 7, (1938), 858-881, 864.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid., 869.

<sup>291</sup> H. E. Sigerist, 'Report of the Activities of the Institute in the History of Medicine of the Johns Hopkins University during the Academic Year 1938-1939', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 7, 7, (1939), 847-873, 862.

<sup>292</sup> H. E. Sigerist, 'The Johns Hopkins Institute of the History of Medicine During the Academic Year 1941-1942', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 12, 2, (1942), 445-463, 451.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid., 455.

<sup>294</sup> Edelstein, 'The Genuine Works of Hippocrates'.

<sup>295</sup> Edelstein and Edelstein, *Asclepius*.

<sup>296</sup> Lewis Weed to Ludwig Edelstein in Baltimore 18 July 1947 [Baltimore (1): Lewis Weed Papers, Folder 30].

<sup>297</sup> University of Washington, *University of Washington Bulletin, Catalogue Issue 1948-1949, General Series, June 1948, No. 822* (Seattle: University of Washington), accessed on: <http://www.washington.edu/students/genecat/archive/02/10/2014>.

Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Cicero.<sup>298</sup> Furthermore, in a letter from Christmas day 1947 Edelstein informed Sigerist that the next term he would be giving a lecture on mythology with attendance of ca. thirty students, and also hoped to give courses on the history of ancient literature and ancient philosophy the following year.<sup>299</sup> In his new position, therefore, Edelstein had to adapt to teaching a different body of students and also different subjects. His teaching became more concretely situated in the classics which he had to teach to larger classes of both undergraduate and graduate students. He was no longer teaching medical students but classicists and so it is likely that he also had to alter his method of teaching slightly. Edelstein had to work with texts in the original Greek and Latin, and indeed through this discovered that his own Greek and Latin grammar had rusted slightly.<sup>300</sup> His teaching was more philologically based in contrast to his courses at Hopkins which had been based on wider medical themes or historical background. Despite this change of environment, however, history of medicine had not completely disappeared from his radar, and he also stated that he believed it would not be long before he lectured on Greek medicine.<sup>301</sup>

Edelstein's next move to a position in the Classics Department at Berkeley would also see him teach more traditional subjects for classics and Greek courses – in 1948 Edelstein taught two courses on 'Plato: *Apology* and *Crito*', and '*Republic*'; in the *Apology* class there were nine undergraduate students, not only from within the Classics Department but also from English and Philosophy.<sup>302</sup> In his class on the *Republic* Edelstein had three graduate students, but it was not only his students who learnt from this class. Edelstein informed Solomon Katz how through teaching it he was finding things within the text which he would never have expected to find.<sup>303</sup> Furthermore, he also stated that the course which he was giving that year on 'Prose Composition' for two students was a 'great education' for him.<sup>304</sup> In 1949-1950 he taught undergraduate courses on 'Aristotle', 'Plato: *Apology* and *Crito*', 'Drama', 'Herodotus', and 'Special Study for Advanced Undergraduates'.<sup>305</sup> Furthermore, he

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<sup>298</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Seattle to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 12 October 1947 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>299</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Seattle to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 25 December 1947 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>300</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Seattle to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 12 October 1947 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>301</sup> Ibid.

<sup>302</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 12 October 1948 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein].

<sup>303</sup> Ibid.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid.

<sup>305</sup> Course Catalog 1949/50-1951/52 [*Berkeley*: Archives, General Catalogs, 308kh 1949/50-1951/52].

gave graduate lectures on ‘Aristotle’s *Ethics*’.<sup>306</sup> The following year he was due to teach undergraduates in ‘Greek Drama’, ‘Plato: Lectures and Readings’, ‘Plato: *Apology* and *Crito*’, ‘Demosthenes’, and ‘Special Study for Advanced Undergraduates and Graduates in Greek Tragedy’.<sup>307</sup> However, he did not actually deliver all these, for when the oath controversy exploded Edelstein was barred from teaching at the university. Unfortunately, it is difficult to assess the relation of his teaching to research during this period, as Edelstein did not publish a great deal. He did publish an article on ‘The Function of the Myth in Plato’s Philosophy’,<sup>308</sup> however, which he had first lectured on in 1946,<sup>309</sup> so perhaps his teaching on Plato triggered him to work this lecture into a publishable form. Moreover, Edelstein wished to work on the subject again in the future, hoping to deal with it in the broader context of Greek mythology,<sup>310</sup> though this plan never saw fruition. Although he did not actually publish it at the time, Edelstein was also researching Posidonius during his time at California.<sup>311</sup>

The majority of Edelstein’s teaching at Berkeley was in classics rather than history of medicine, and indeed this was congruent with Edelstein’s own wishes. Edelstein had wanted to move away from history of medicine, and it had been his aim from the beginning of his move to America to work within a classics department.<sup>312</sup> Still, Edelstein did not completely abandon ancient medicine and science. Part of his teaching at Berkeley involved the discussion of current Marxist interpretations of the relation between Aristotle and Plato and of the history of science in ancient Greece.<sup>313</sup> Furthermore, although in 1949 he was mainly teaching on Plato and specific classical texts, Edelstein also wrote to Sigerist about his plans for teaching a lecture that summer about Greek science.<sup>314</sup> He had previously lectured on the latter subject the prior winter to both a group of physicists and sociologists, but part of his motive the second time was to gauge wider interest in the subject in order to decide whether it would be viable to include it in the curriculum in a module on ancient culture.<sup>315</sup> As had been the case at Washington, clearly Edelstein did not want to abandon the teaching of ancient

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<sup>306</sup> Ibid.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid.

<sup>308</sup> See ‘Edelstein as a Scholar’.

<sup>309</sup> Sigerist, ‘The Johns Hopkins Institute of the History of Medicine during the Academic Year 1945-46’, 383.

<sup>310</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Roy Harvey Pearce 6 February 1950 [*San Diego*].

<sup>311</sup> Ibid.

<sup>312</sup> See ‘Edelstein as a Dissenter’.

<sup>313</sup> Committee on Privilege and Tenure (Northern Section), ‘Report to the President of the University of California, June 13, 1950’, 10.

<sup>314</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist in Pura 4 February 1949 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

<sup>315</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 10 July 1949 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 410].

science and medicine. Though he was teaching material without a strictly medical history slant and it was his desire to research and teach classics, this did not mean that he was no longer interested in the subject of medical history, and he planned to continue teaching it in the future. Furthermore, it must be remembered that whether he was teaching in a classics department or the institute, as Edelstein tried to evidence through his own scholarship, ancient medicine and philosophy were intimately related. Thus, for example, when he taught the medical students ‘History of Ancient Medicine’, he would also have taught them about ancient philosophy.

As explored in ‘Edelstein as a Dissenter’, Edelstein’s dismissal from Berkeley left him in a desperate situation, uncertain of where his future career was headed. Salvation ultimately came from Johns Hopkins, who appointed him as Professor of Humanistic Studies in 1951. In this capacity he taught in both the Philosophy and Greek Department.<sup>316</sup> Although he was back at Johns Hopkins, the subjects he was teaching were different from those during his first period there. In November 1951, for example, he was teaching a class on Plato to seventeen students, and a course on the Stoa to five students.<sup>317</sup> Shortly after returning to Johns Hopkins, however, Edelstein also faced another adjustment, for in 1953 he went to spend the year in Oxford, aided by a Fulbright Scholarship.<sup>318</sup> During his time there Edelstein delivered lectures before the Hellenic Society and the Oxford Philological Society, as well as teaching.<sup>319</sup> He seems to have had quite heavy teaching duties during his time in Oxford. In November 1953 he wrote that the current term had been the worst as he had to give a paper every second week as well as providing his regular course.<sup>320</sup> The topic of his lectures saw him focus on Greek medicine and science,<sup>321</sup> a topic which he had been researching for a number of years.<sup>322</sup> This actually led to The Oxford University Press requesting him to write a book on ancient science,<sup>323</sup> the basis of which was the manuscript of the Oxford lectures.<sup>324</sup> The principal aim of the book was to interpret ‘the specific character of Greek and Roman science from the sixth century B.C. to the fifth century A.D.’<sup>325</sup> In this case, his teaching actually prompted an offer of publication, and more research on the subject. The research for

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<sup>316</sup> Emma Edelstein from Berkeley to Marie and Roy Harvey Pearce 8 April 1951 [*San Diego*].

<sup>317</sup> Ludwig Edelstein to Solomon Katz 9 November 1951 [*Seattle*: Box 5, Folder Edelstein].

<sup>318</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 30 May 1952 [*San Diego*].

<sup>319</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Oxford to Detlev Bronk in Baltimore 25 June 1953 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>320</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Oxford to Roy Harvey Pearce 16 November 1953 [*San Diego*].

<sup>321</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Berkeley to Henry Sigerist in Pura 2 August 1952 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 411].

<sup>322</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Detlev Bronk in New York 17 August 1957 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>323</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Oxford to Detlev Bronk in Baltimore 25 June 1953 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>324</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Detlev Bronk in New York 17 August 1957 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*

this book also aligned with Edelstein's work on the drawing together of the sciences and humanities, for it would be a book which would 'address itself to the scientist as well as to the humanist'.<sup>326</sup>

In 1954 Edelstein had returned to Baltimore and had two new modules to teach in his first semester back, one on 'Plotinus', and the other on the 'History of Humanism'.<sup>327</sup> In the second semester he also taught a course on 'Hippocrates' for which he had twelve students.<sup>328</sup> Soon after, as well as teaching at Johns Hopkins in his new role, in 1955 Edelstein was appointed as Visiting Professor at the Rockefeller Institute, and in each of the succeeding years until 1960 he spent a week in residence there.<sup>329</sup> During the week of 15 May 1956,<sup>330</sup> Edelstein lectured for the students on Aristotle,<sup>331</sup> and the next year he opted for the subject of the development of ancient science more generally.<sup>332</sup> The students were given five lectures on this topic, but Edelstein later regretted his subject choice in regards to the amount of lectures, for he felt it was too great a topic.<sup>333</sup> This demonstrates how he analysed his teaching and did not just give lectures complacently. He was concerned with delivering appropriate material to the students.

Edelstein again taught a series of seminars at the Rockefeller for students and faculty on the afternoons of the 9, 11, 12, 16, 18, and 19 May 1960, which lasted two hours from 4:30 to 6:30.<sup>334</sup> These seminars were based on Aristotle. At the seminars Aristotle's *Parts of Animals* was read but Edelstein also advised that *Man, On his Nature* by Charles Sherrington and *The Phenomenon of Man* by Teilhard de Chardin be read in order to provide different viewpoints for the discussion.<sup>335</sup> The aim of these seminars was to interpret Aristotle's *Parts of Animals* as an introduction to his biological theory and to relate this to his metaphysics and

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<sup>326</sup> Ibid.

<sup>327</sup> Ludwig and Emma Edelstein from Baltimore to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 5 April 1954 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 411].

<sup>328</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Henry Sigerist [in Pura] 14 December 1954 [*New Haven*: Box 11, Folder 411].

<sup>329</sup> Detlev Bronk [from New York] to Milton Eisenhower in Baltimore 11 April 1960 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>330</sup> Emma Edelstein from Baltimore to Erwin Panofsky 7 May 1956 [*Washington D.C. (2)*].

<sup>331</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Detlev Bronk in New York 31 March 1956 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>332</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Detlev Bronk in New York 9 March 1957 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>333</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Detlev Bronk in New York 20 April 1957 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>334</sup> Alfred Mirsky to a list of those who expressed interest in Dr. Edelstein's seminars on Aristotle 26 April 1960 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>335</sup> Ibid.

logic.<sup>336</sup> In this case it seems Edelstein adapted his teaching to his audience, for it was mostly composed of biologists working at the institute.

In 1960, Edelstein took up a permanent position at the Rockefeller. The flexibility of Edelstein's post at the Rockefeller, however, also allowed him to continue with some teaching at Johns Hopkins. On Mondays he taught there for four hours on Greek philosophy.<sup>337</sup> This demonstrates Edelstein's dedication to teaching, for he only took on these hours to prevent Hopkins from stopping instruction in the subject.<sup>338</sup> Although this meant that he had less time for his own research, he was not willing to allow the teaching to stop when he could do something to prevent it. In October 1965 he was also due to give a series of lectures on ancient humanism at Hopkins.<sup>339</sup> Although he passed away before this time, there is information on what he would have taught in a letter from Albert Salomon to Detlev Bronk from 17 August 1965. In this letter Salomon states that Edelstein intended to speak on cultural humanism first before moving onto the topic of the inner freedom of the Epicureans and Lucretius' concept of human dignity in the third lecture, mathematical learning in the fourth, the freedom of will in Posidonius' theory of history in the fifth, and Cicero and western humanism in the last.<sup>340</sup>

Throughout his career as a lecturer, Edelstein taught a variety of subjects in the fields of history of medicine, classics, and philosophy. The institutions in which he worked affected the material he was teaching to a certain extent. Whilst at Johns Hopkins and the Rockefeller his teaching was based mostly on ancient science and medicine, whereas when at Washington and Berkeley the material was more firmly based in classics with more attention given to linguistic aspects of its original languages. Nevertheless, throughout his career, wherever he was teaching, just as in his own scholarship, his teaching combined an interest in ancient science and philosophy, and stemmed from his theory that the two must be considered in conjunction. Factors outside of his control also affected Edelstein's teaching. Yet, this is not to imply that he did not also steer the direction of his own teaching. From the beginning of his move to Baltimore he plunged into teaching at Johns Hopkins, which is all the more impressive when one considers the great adjustments he had to take in teaching in an American university in a foreign tongue. Also, from the start of his move to the US he was

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<sup>336</sup> Notification of Edelstein's proposed Aristotle seminars by Alfred Mirsky March 1960 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>337</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 18 August 1960 [*San Diego*].

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>339</sup> Ludwig Edelstein from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York 26 April 1965 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>340</sup> Albert Salomon from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York 17 August 1965 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].



keen to work and teach more in classics, which he achieved through his move to Washington and California, before external circumstances intervened. The material he was teaching did often align with his research; he was not simply repeating doctrine but providing his students with current views and scholarship and working towards his own goal of the uniting of teaching and research. However, unsurprisingly, he did not always research those topics he was teaching, especially whilst at Washington and Berkeley.

## 6.8 Responses to Edelstein's Teaching

The chapter will now proceed to an analysis of how Edelstein was viewed as a teacher and lecturer through various statements within the correspondence, but will also use recollections of Edelstein's life by his friends, colleagues, and students. The overwhelming response within this material is adulatory, and in the instances where his teaching is mentioned it is praised. Furthermore, Edelstein is singled out as a stellar teacher and this section will also analyse the reasons for such an accolade.

From the beginning of his time at the institute at Johns Hopkins, Edelstein made a favourable impression on both the students and staff. In 1935 Sigerist wrote to the Rockefeller Foundation to request the renewal of the grant that they had provided to supplement Edelstein's salary at the institute. In this letter, Sigerist praised the work Edelstein had been carrying out at the institute, part of which was the teaching of a course on Greek medicine that was 'greatly appreciated by the students as well as by members of our staff'.<sup>341</sup> When he arrived at the institute, Edelstein was neither accustomed to teaching American students nor teaching in English. Nevertheless, he adapted to his new environment and provided a course which was welcomed by fellow academics and students. Opinions had not changed by 1943 when Sigerist again wrote that Edelstein's courses were greatly appreciated by the students, but also that in his teaching he had made important contributions to the fields of medical history and the history of science.<sup>342</sup> Sigerist was writing to a Foundation to request a grant, and then to give a reference to the US Army, and so it is unsurprising he did not give a negative impression of Edelstein. Nevertheless, Sigerist did not have to highlight his teaching as a significant point, and, furthermore, Edelstein's teaching at Johns Hopkins was also praised by others. Indeed, Edelstein is said to have been a brilliant

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<sup>341</sup> Henry Sigerist from Baltimore to Alan Gregg in New York 26 April 1935 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>342</sup> Henry Sigerist to D. Fringer in Baltimore 29 June 1943 [*Baltimore (1)*: Edelstein Ludwig & Renata, Folder 48].

lecturer at the medical school,<sup>343</sup> with devoted pupils amongst the students.<sup>344</sup> When one considers that his background did not involve teaching American medical students, this is even more notable. It demonstrates how Edelstein's teaching was respected and influential for students of various backgrounds. It also determines how Edelstein was able to adapt himself to teaching in a new department, and, indeed, do so very rapidly; for he had only arrived in Baltimore in the fall of 1934.

Throughout his career Edelstein was also praised for the way in which he had adjusted to the American university more generally. In negotiations with the University of Washington over Edelstein's appointment, one of the concerns the administration held was that a German lecturer might not understand the problems of students in a university on the West Coast.<sup>345</sup> Statements from Solomon Katz and Harold Cherniss demonstrate the inapplicability of this suggestion to Edelstein. In his promotion of Edelstein for a position at Washington, Katz stressed that Edelstein had been associated with American students for thirteen or fourteen years,<sup>346</sup> and that he had a 'remarkable gift for teaching'.<sup>347</sup> Harold Cherniss also sent a letter to Harvey Densmore in support of Edelstein, and in this emphasized his skills in teaching in American universities. Cherniss stated that Edelstein understood the American undergraduate as well as any person born in the country would, and indeed, was more patient and sympathetic with the American educational system and its students than he.<sup>348</sup> These sentiments were echoed by the report of the Berkeley Faculty Promotion Committee from 1948 which stated that Edelstein had adapted himself admirably to the conditions of the American university,<sup>349</sup> and by Eric Dodds who expressed the opinion to Cherniss that Edelstein had completely adapted himself to the American ways and become a successful teacher of American students.<sup>350</sup> The importance of this should not be underestimated; Edelstein had to convert to teaching in a different language, and also in a wholly different academic environment. This did not affect his teaching, however, which continued to be commended. The same report from Berkeley stated that Edelstein was a stimulating and vital

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<sup>343</sup> Kudlien, 'Edelstein as Medical Historian', 177.

<sup>344</sup> Temkin, 'In Memory of Ludwig Edelstein', 3.

<sup>345</sup> Solomon Katz to Harold Cherniss in Berkeley 18 April 1947 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein teaching position].

<sup>346</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>347</sup> Solomon Katz to Harold Cherniss 29 April 1947 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein teaching position].

<sup>348</sup> Harold Cherniss to Harvey Densmore 2 May 1947 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein teaching position].

<sup>349</sup> Committee on Privilege and Tenure (Northern Section), 'Report to the President of the University of California June 13, 1950', 10.

<sup>350</sup> Eric Dodds from Oxford to Harold Cherniss [in Princeton] 25 September 1950 [*Oxford*: Dodds Papers].

teacher, but also that he could teach both elementary and advanced level courses.<sup>351</sup> These views on Edelstein's teaching and his successful adaptation to the American university and educational system were crucial as they contributed to the decision that he would be the right choice for a professorship in both Washington and Berkeley.

Most of the information on the views of Edelstein's students on his teaching comes from his time lecturing at the Rockefeller, both before and after his official appointment. Before Edelstein joined the Rockefeller's faculty he had experience teaching the students there from as early as 1956 when he went to deliver a week long lecture course, after which he received a very positive response from his students. Detlev Bronk informed Edelstein that no other lecturer evoked so much enthusiasm from the students as he did, most of which stemmed from their high regard for Edelstein.<sup>352</sup> This praise was repeated when Edelstein returned to the Rockefeller the following year – Bronk communicated to Edelstein on 'how much the students benefitted and were inspired by your seminars.'<sup>353</sup> This admiration came from graduate students in the sciences, again demonstrating how Edelstein was able to teach and inspire students from different backgrounds.

Following these successful lectures, Edelstein taught at the Rockefeller for one week each year until his appointment there in 1960. This enabled him to build up strong relationships. Bronk stated that the faculty and graduate students had become 'devoted' to him.<sup>354</sup> Indeed, Edelstein had made so great an impression that the faculty and students urged Bronk to give Edelstein a permanent appointment.<sup>355</sup> Edelstein then continued to make a strong impression on the students and his relationship with them was strengthened further through his residing on campus.<sup>356</sup> When Edelstein died it was a great loss to both Bronk and the students at the Rockefeller. Bronk described how Edelstein's friends among the Rockefeller's students would miss him greatly.<sup>357</sup> Edelstein had transcended his role as a teacher and developed a closer relationship with his students. Moreover, in his recollection of

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<sup>351</sup> Committee on Privilege and Tenure (Northern Section), 'Report to the President of the University of California June 13, 1950', 10.

<sup>352</sup> Detlev Bronk [from New York] to Ludwig Edelstein in Baltimore 5 July 1956 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>353</sup> Detlev Bronk from Seal Harbor to Ludwig Edelstein in Baltimore 29 July 1957 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>354</sup> Detlev Bronk [from New York] to Milton Eisenhower in Baltimore 11 April 1960 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>355</sup> Ibid.

<sup>356</sup> Bronk, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 180.

<sup>357</sup> Detlev Bronk [from New York] to Lloyd Stevenson in New Haven 21 October 1965 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

Edelstein Bronk also described him as the most gregarious of the entire faculty, beloved by the students.<sup>358</sup>

Edelstein's fellow academics at the Rockefeller also praised Edelstein's teaching. When writing about Edelstein's talks there in 1956, Alfred Mirsky (1900-1974), biochemist and physiologist at the Rockefeller from 1927 to 1974,<sup>359</sup> described Edelstein as displaying a 'charming combination of learning and modesty'.<sup>360</sup> As with the students, this appreciation for Edelstein continued the next year, and Bronk wrote of the great enthusiasm which the staff had for both Edelstein's lecture and general presence.<sup>361</sup> In 1959 Edelstein also taught a seminar series at the Rockefeller for both students and faculty. Again, these were praised by Mirsky who informed Bronk that not only he, but the eight others in the seminar, agreed that it was 'the best thing of the year'.<sup>362</sup> This is particularly interesting as it demonstrates that Edelstein was not only successful in presenting to academics from his background but also to those working within the sciences.

Direct testimony from Edelstein's students evidences some of the reasons why he was singled out as a great teacher. In his recollections of Edelstein as a teacher, John Hildebrand describes Edelstein as 'sui generis'.<sup>363</sup> He was not like any of Hildebrand's former philosophy professors, who were more concerned about Plato's letters than the work Hildebrand conducted as a science student. Instead, Edelstein flourished in communicating with people in fields other than his own. He was both a believer in and liver 'of the idea of cross-fertilization'.<sup>364</sup> For Hildebrand, it was Edelstein's bridging of the sciences and humanities which distinguished him from the other philosophy professors, as well as his humanism. Lorna Green, Edelstein's closest student at the Rockefeller,<sup>365</sup> recalls how Edelstein was a great teacher who had a significant impact on her life. In fact, according to Lorna, Edelstein was the greatest of her teachers and a man who encouraged her to explore everything for herself; this was in contrast to the scientists at the Rockefeller who she thought were unsettled by her questions and 'disapproved' of her.<sup>366</sup> Lorna would read philosophical

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<sup>358</sup> Bronk, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 180.

<sup>359</sup> Anonymous, 'Papers of Individuals', accessed on: <http://www.rockarch.org/collections/individuals/ru/21/05/2013>.

<sup>360</sup> Alfred Mirsky from New York to Detlev Bronk 18 May 1956 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>361</sup> Detlev Bronk from Seal Harbor to Ludwig Edelstein in Baltimore 29 July 1957 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>362</sup> Alfred Mirsky from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York 18 May 1959 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>363</sup> Of his own kind/having special characteristics. Kobler, *The Rockefeller University Story*, 53.

<sup>364</sup> Ibid.

<sup>365</sup> Personal information provided by Lorna Green via e-mail 23/8/2013.

<sup>366</sup> Green, *Guiding Principles*, 49-50.

works with Edelstein,<sup>367</sup> and they would have meetings once or twice a week during which she would fire questions at him. Edelstein even provided her with a place to develop her thoughts, a small office beside his own.<sup>368</sup> For Lorna Green, Edelstein was her most valued teacher because he was a visionary thinker who allowed her to investigate and question things for herself, to develop her own thoughts. This is in congruence to his thoughts on teaching explored in the first half of this chapter.

In reminiscences of Edelstein's life praise also abounds for his teaching skills. Malcolm Peterson's piece on Edelstein provides a number of helpful insights about his role as a teacher. One learns that although Edelstein was shy and gentle and he spoke with a 'sibilant monotone' it was his wisdom which stood out and helped to nourish and elucidate the thoughts of his students.<sup>369</sup> Temkin also had high praise to offer for Edelstein's skills as a lecturer, for which he had few equals.<sup>370</sup> Edelstein had such skills from the beginning of his career. Temkin described Edelstein's lecture on Hippocrates at the Leipzig Institute in 1931, which was also the occasion of their first meeting, as holding the audience 'spellbound'.<sup>371</sup> In addition, Temkin also emphasized that Edelstein's lectures were always intellectually enriching, and that his greatness as a lecturer stemmed from his belief in what he taught, that it was this seriousness which separated him from others.<sup>372</sup> George Boas also singled out Edelstein's teaching as being on a higher level. He stated how Edelstein could hold a class of undergraduates breathless, and it was his sincerity which moved them.<sup>373</sup> He also echoed the sentiments of Bronk as he claimed that Edelstein's pupils showed devotion to him.<sup>374</sup>

Although it may be argued that these recollections could be biased as they were written to eulogize Edelstein after his death, the commonalities between them point to the likelihood that these were truthful statements about Edelstein as a teacher. Taken together with the other evidence discussed above these statements indicate that Edelstein's strength as a teacher stemmed from his conviction in what he taught, which inspired his students and developed their understanding. Whilst Edelstein did not win his students over through charisma, his own personality and way of teaching inspired devotion. Edelstein's caring and welcoming

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<sup>367</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>368</sup> Personal information provided by Lorna Green via e-mail 23/8/2013.

<sup>369</sup> Peterson, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 7.

<sup>370</sup> Temkin, 'In Memory of Ludwig Edelstein', 7.

<sup>371</sup> Ibid.

<sup>372</sup> Ibid.

<sup>373</sup> Boas, 'Memorial Minutes', 93.

<sup>374</sup> Ibid.

humanistic attitude led to the development of friendships and to the students' strong devotion to him. As Bronk highlights, another reason why he was an exceptional instructor was because of this attitude and interest in future scholars and their nourishment, which was needed to continue the scholarship to which he had devoted his life.<sup>375</sup>

## 6.9 Conclusion

Examining the case of Edelstein has revealed some of the key issues facing educators and universities in the early-mid twentieth century – the balance of teaching and research within the university, the position of the humanities, and the type of education which a university should provide. More importantly, through the use of his correspondence and other sources including commemorations and statements from students, a picture has been created of who Edelstein was as a teacher, what educational values he considered important, how he taught, what he taught, and who he taught. Teaching was an enormous part of his life; the correspondence makes this clear, and examining it has enabled a greater understanding of Edelstein, of his values and morals, and his priorities. Historians can also investigate his example to help answer wider questions, such as how well intellectual émigrés from Hitler's Germany adapted themselves to teaching in the United States and how they affected the institutions in which they worked, what the response of American students to these scholars was, how medical history was taught in its beginnings, and so forth. Additional studies of other scholars in similar positions to Edelstein could only help us understand these questions further.

Edelstein's views on teaching and education, and his own teaching practice, were strongly influenced by his humanist ideals. He was 'a genuine humanist, unreservedly committed in his personal conduct as in his teaching to the moral capability and responsibility of man'.<sup>376</sup> However, he was also influenced by his own experiences of education, his mentors, the work of other educators, and the intellectual climate of Heidelberg during his student days. One question which, due to constraints of time and words, I have been unable to consider in any detail in this chapter is the possible influence of Kant on Edelstein's views on moral education – this would be such a complex investigation that only a facile study could have been achieved within this chapter, and it would be more beneficial to have a separate study on Kant's more general influence on Edelstein.

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<sup>375</sup> Bronk, 'Ludwig Edelstein', 180

<sup>376</sup> Ibid.

In his lecture on the *Seventh Letter*, Edelstein spoke of how history ‘can keep us out of the prison of our present experience, it can enrich our life by showing us the potentialities of man by telling us about others, how they chose, how human reason worked...History then, gives us choices.’<sup>377</sup> It was through his teaching of history that Edelstein also sought to enrich the lives of his students, to pass on his humanist ideals, and demonstrate to them how they could make a difference in the world. Edelstein was just one scholar during this time whose teaching practice and ideas on education were influenced by humanist ideals. Further research could also be conducted on the various strands of humanist thought on education in the twentieth century. For example, there is a lack of research into the Third Humanism, especially in the English literature, and more could be uncovered on its context, importance, and reception. Or more could be written on the attempts of others to save, defend, and propagate humanism in the face of the atrocities committed by the Nazis. How did other men like Edelstein who rejected Jaeger’s Third Humanism express and carry out their own humanistic ideals which had been developed in the Weimar Republic in post-war America? More research should also be conducted on the wider issues surrounding these educators in the early-mid twentieth century. A particularly interesting area to consider is how other scholars attempted to ‘save’ the humanities in the face of the World War II and how these issues have changed the face of universities today. Pertinent questions to consider which are outside the boundary of this study could be how many other scholars like Edelstein were attempting to make these changes, and if and how they had any effect, or whether their humanist quest has been overturned in a world in which care for our fellow being is increasingly marginalised, and competition and individualism prized. Whilst there are individual studies of the more famous scholars such as Jaeger, who has had a wealth of secondary literature produced on him, there is no work in the English language which considers this twentieth century humanist thought and its connection to education more generally, or a collective volume with examples of scholars like Edelstein. Such a volume would enable comparisons to be made and allow a greater understanding of what exactly it meant to be a ‘humanist’ scholar at this time.

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<sup>377</sup> Ludwig Edelstein – Plato’s Seventh Letter: An example of historical verification, 30 October 1964 [*Sleepy Hollow* (3)].

## Conclusion

‘Vivitur ingenio, caetera mortis erunt’<sup>1</sup>

Edelstein died from a circulatory incident related to his heart condition on the 16 August 1965 in his New York apartment.<sup>2</sup> In the week Edelstein died his friends received letters sent from him describing future plans and projects,<sup>3</sup> and in the days before his death he had telephoned Albert Salomon to discuss his plans for upcoming lectures with him.<sup>4</sup> Although Edelstein had been plagued with health issues for some time, his death proved a painful shock to his friends and the students who were planning to work under his direction in the forthcoming years. His funeral was held on the 19 August 1965. At the request of his niece attendance was kept to a minimum, but an afternoon of appreciation for, and remembrance of, his life was also held at the Rockefeller,<sup>5</sup> George Boas spoke in his memory at the History of Ideas Club,<sup>6</sup> and his friends expressed their sense of loss through the obituaries they composed for him.

Edelstein had been born at the turn of the twentieth century and he lived his first thirty years in Germany. After spending a year in Italy he would immigrate to the US which would remain his permanent home for the next thirty-one years until his death. During his time in the US he would reside on both the East and West Coast, and take various trips throughout the country for work and personal enjoyment from Pennsylvania, to Ohio, to Virginia, and he would also spend time outside the country, travelling to Canada, England, France, Switzerland, and Greece. Edelstein spent nearly half of his life in formal education, until 1931, but remained devoted to learning for the rest of his life working in a professional capacity in a number of institutes and universities. The correspondence reveals that Edelstein was a member of the American Philosophical Association, American Philological Association, The History of Science Society, The American Association for the History of Medicine, The History of Ideas Club at Johns Hopkins (of which he was the chairman at one

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<sup>1</sup> Translated as ‘Genius means life, all else will belong to death’ in [Unknown], ‘Elegiae in Maecenatem’ in *Minor Latin Poets* ed. by J. W. Duff and A. M. Duff (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1934), 124-125.

<sup>2</sup> Ruth Metzger to Eva Gossman in Paris 20 August 1965 [*Princeton*]; Harold Cherniss from Princeton to Paul Kristeller 20 August 1965 [*New York (3)*].

<sup>3</sup> Harold Cherniss from Princeton to Paul Kristeller 20 August 1965 [*New York (3)*]; Gertrude Rosenthal from Baltimore to Detlev Bronk [in New York] 21 August 1965 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>4</sup> Albert Salomon from New York to Detlev Bronk in New York 17 August 1965 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>5</sup> Detlev Bronk [from New York] to Hermann Lisco in Boston 21 October 1965 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].

<sup>6</sup> Maurice Mandelbaum from Baltimore to Detlev Bronk in New York 10 November 1965 [*Sleepy Hollow (1)*].



stage), and The Tudor and Stuart Club at Johns Hopkins (of which he was also the president at least in 1947).<sup>7</sup> Moreover, he was the president of the Society for Ancient Greek Philosophy at Hopkins.<sup>8</sup> In later life he was also a member of the board for the Scientists' Institute of Public Information which aimed to inform the public on scientific and technical aspects of public policy issues.<sup>9</sup> During his academic career Edelstein would help edit the *The American Journal of Philology*,<sup>10</sup> and he was also an editorial consultant for the *Journal of the History of Ideas* and *Isis*.

Edelstein lived through extraordinary and disconcerting times, witnessing such events as the two World Wars, the beginning of the Cold War, the assassination of JFK, and the testing of the hydrogen bomb which pushed the Doomsday Clock the closest it has ever been to midnight, at 11:58. Classicists and historians like Edelstein – alive during what has been termed “the age of extremes” – were at times forced to produce their scholarly work under radical conditions.<sup>11</sup> As demonstrated throughout this thesis, the events of Edelstein's life and the way in which he interpreted them affected his scholarship and work within the university. As two of his students recalled, Edelstein ‘always related the classical and ethical philosophy he was teaching, with situations that were occurring today in the newspaper’, bringing up the reported issues and using them as a springboard for what he wanted to address in ethics and philosophy.<sup>12</sup>

Throughout his lifetime Edelstein only published three books. However, he also helped to edit four books with, or on the work of friends, as well as working on Renata's unfinished manuscript of Frank's book after her death, and he had six books published posthumously. He also published thirty-six articles and contributed twenty-one entries to the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* of 1949, as well as twenty-six reviews ranging from short one page reviews to longer pieces of eight pages. Furthermore, he had one article published posthumously. Edelstein left no diaries and had his personal papers destroyed. The evidence we have in the form of correspondence is only composed of the letters he sent to others, and

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<sup>7</sup> Harold Cherniss from Berkeley to Solomon Katz 13 April 1947 [*Seattle*: Folder Edelstein teaching position].

<sup>8</sup> E. E. Cochran, J. F. Reilly and E. A. Robinson, ‘Classical Societies in the United States and Canada: Revised List’, *The Classical Weekly*, 50, 1 (1956), 1-14, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Edelstein was one of twenty one members: J. Walsh, ‘Science Information: Local Groups To Inform Public On Policy Issues Establish a National Institute’, *Science*, N.S., 139, 3556, (1963), 741-742, 742.

<sup>10</sup> He served from 1953 until his death as the board's expert on ancient philosophy: Anonymous, ‘Ludwig Edelstein’, *The American Journal of Philology*, 86, 4, (1965), 408.

<sup>11</sup> J. Eckel, ‘Historiography, Biography, and Experience’, in V. R. Berghahn and S. Lässig (eds.), *Biography between Structure and Agency: Central European lives in international historiography* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008), 86-102, 98.

<sup>12</sup> Information provided by Audrie and Larry Sturman via e-mail 2/12/2013.

copies of letters sent to him remaining in the collections of his correspondents. However, there are also archival holdings including personal files and the copy of his lecture, cases of published correspondence, and reminiscences and obituaries in which his name can be found.

Due to the paucity of the source material the biographer of Edelstein is forced to work on a relatively small scale. Edelstein's biography can only be a kind of patchwork biography, and it is impossible to completely smooth out the edges to form a wholly coherent picture. This dissertation has employed a kind of honeycomb technique; it is a biography composed of a series of segments highlighting the essential roles Edelstein had in life, roles that were dear to him, that he chose, and that he tried to perfect. Through this it has been possible to learn about some of his motivations, goals, passions, frustrations, and moral choices. The gaps between the segments have not been filled; the honeycombs have not been merged or synthesised. Yet, as stated by Rotberg, historians who write biographically need not follow a narrative model.<sup>13</sup> Narrating Edelstein's life journey, the 'events' of his life, would not do justice to the complexity of his character, to the interchangeability of his intellectual/philosophical foci and the questions that occupied him (the essence of 'truth'; good and evil; history as *magistra vitae* etc.), most of which seem to have already been on his mind when he was a student (as far as we can tell from his dissertation). Furthermore, as Mary Terrall highlights, no matter how many letters, photographs, notebooks and so forth a person leaves behind we will never have access to the complete existence of a person from the past, and we need to recognize that there will always be something missing in our accounts.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, possessing too much source material brings up its own issues and challenges for the biographer,<sup>15</sup> especially when one is constricted by the time and word limits involved in the production of a thesis. Recently, it has also been argued that every life is fragmented, and the roles an individual plays cannot simply be added up and shaped into a coherent picture from birth to death.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, as Strupp states, writing a biography does

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<sup>13</sup> R. I. Rotberg, 'Biography and Historiography: Mutual Evidentiary and Interdisciplinary Considerations', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 40, 3, (2010), 305-324, 318.

<sup>14</sup> M. Terrall, 'Biography as Cultural History of Science', *Isis*, 97, 2, (2006), 306-313, 307.

<sup>15</sup> Rotberg, 'Biography and Historiography', 310.

<sup>16</sup> S. Lässig, 'Introduction. Biography in Modern History—Historiography in Modern Biography', in V. R. Berghahn and S. Lässig (eds.), *Biography between Structure and Agency: Central European lives in international historiography* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008), 1-26, 8.

not need to be about harmonizing the different elements into ‘a well-rounded picture in which every piece of the puzzle fits’.<sup>17</sup>

The nature of sources affects the shape and scope of a biographical study.<sup>18</sup> In the case of Edelstein less is known about his personal life, he married only once, we know nothing about any relationships he may have had before or during this time, and there are little other details about his family available. The way Edelstein thought or felt about certain things can only be imagined. We do not know, for example, why he chose not to have children and how he felt about this decision, or whether it was a decision at all. This study has also left his childhood and teenage years unexplored. Moreover, measured against the hedonistic yardstick of western societies in the twenty-first century, Edelstein's life also seems somewhat wanting. Where are the adventures, the fun, family life, brimming health, prizes, and numerous intellectual offspring? The social extension of his life – property, career, achievements, influence, power, sexual partners, physical offspring, admirers, followers, enemies – is limited compared to that of contemporary academics (such as Sigerist, for example), let alone non-academics. Instead, the material highlights that Edelstein's life was spent in the service of teaching, scholarship, and humanity. It is this vertical dimension of his life, which has informed the thesis' organisation and methodological approach: the practice of a morally reflected life. It was Edelstein's ‘intrinsic humanitas et ratio’<sup>19</sup> which guided his life and work, and this is something which is far more difficult to capture than a life wholly devoted to scholarship and its published output.

In the jigsaw of Edelstein's life there are pieces which are missing. Some of these can never be recovered, yet there are still aspects of Edelstein's life and work that are ripe for study but which, due to constraints of time and space, I have not been able to explore. There are a number of individuals, both contemporaries of Edelstein and scholars who lived before his time who seemed to have great importance for Edelstein's life but who I have been unable to investigate in any depth in this thesis due to time and word restrictions. These include his close friends Erich Frank and Arthur Lovejoy, and the scholars William James, Wilhelm Dilthey, and Immanuel Kant. Future research could concentrate more on these connections. As mentioned above, this study has considered Edelstein in a number of different roles which

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<sup>17</sup> C. Strupp, ‘A Historians Life in Biographical Perspective’, in V. R. Berghahn and S. Lässig (eds.), *Biography between Structure and Agency: Central European lives in international historiography* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008), 103-118, 111-112.

<sup>18</sup> Terrall, ‘Biography’, 307.

<sup>19</sup> It was written that ‘[t]he intrinsic humanitas et ratio of Ludwig Edelstein will long be esteemed and cherished by his friends at the Rockefeller University’ in the reprint of Edelstein's article ‘Philosophy the Pilot of Life’, 9.

I considered to be the most important in this first full thesis on the scholar, but subsequent work could investigate his various roles further, examining, for example, Edelstein as a student, or Edelstein as a reviewer. In the study of Edelstein, another desirable future project would be an annotated edition of (a selection of) Edelstein's correspondence. Otherwise, a more ambitious venture could be an annotated edition of the epistolary networks of medical historians from WWI to the Cold War, which would provide a thicker context for the Edelstein correspondence. This thesis has demonstrated the value of correspondence as a source type and validated the production of studies which consider life and work in conjunction. Explorations in the manner of this study could also be conducted for other scholars who played an important role in Edelstein's life, for example on Erich Frank, or on Owsei Temkin, as there is currently a lack of serious research into both of these figures.

Biographies encourage the crossing of intra- and interdisciplinary boundaries.<sup>20</sup> Through studying Edelstein's life and letters I have had to delve into a diverse range of subjects, time periods, and geographical areas. Examining Edelstein's interests led me from more familiar subjects in the history of medicine, to reading philosophers including William James, Karl Jaspers, and Plato, to novelists like E. M. Forster and Goethe, and an array of other texts emanating from art history, intellectual history, political science, and the social sciences, amongst others. At times this was utterly daunting but it has resulted in a highly interdisciplinary work. Before I began this study I had no devout allegiance to Edelstein, and I was conscious of the issues surrounding biographical studies and the historians' assertion that biography must avoid becoming hagiography. This proved particularly tricky working on an individual like Edelstein whose morality and seemingly caring nature were difficult not to admire. Yet, I think the balance between empathy and detachment has been maintained. Furthermore, modesty paired with empathy is required on the part of the biographer when approaching Edelstein's personality. Too much source material has been deliberately destroyed to allow for a straightforward intellectual biography. But is Edelstein not also a good teacher on how to cope with loss?

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<sup>20</sup> Lässig, 'Introduction', 20.

## Appendices

### Appendix A

Example of a letter in Edelstein's earlier handwriting: Ludwig Edelstein from Berlin to Leo Strauss 14 December 1932 [Chicago: Box 1, Folder 12].

Mein lieber Herr,  
ich habe es schon. Ein passendes  
Kreuzchen, das allen meinen Anforderungen entspricht, ist  
noch, das meine Freigabe in Kreuze mit anderen  
Solche Kreuze, die Freigabe, die am 1. Januar ge-  
nommen sein sollen, sind mal alle Kreuze ge-  
nommen, in dem Sinne, in dem ich es mir selbst  
nicht haben will. Ich habe, als Beispiel für alle,  
ich beifüge.  
Es ist mir um diese Kreuze in meinem Labo-  
ratorium die so philosophischen Fächer, die ich  
schon so gut kenne (d. h. alle) Wissenschaften  
mit den Kreuze der Philosophie (!).  
Lieber Herr,  
Ludwig Edelstein

Berlin d. 14. XII. 32.

## Appendix B

Example of a letter in Edelstein's later handwriting: Ludwig Edelstein from Baltimore to Roy Harvey Pearce 6 November 1955 [*San Diego*].

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY  
BALTIMORE—18, MARYLAND

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

11-28-55

Dear Roy,

Why do we not hear from you? I do hope you are by now a bit better again, yet I should like to have this fact confirmed by you.

How was your vacation? Did you have one? How is Marie? How are the children? How is your work going? You will have to answer all these questions.

As far as life in Baltimore is concerned, it is becoming a bit complicated. The few people left on the faculty have to carry an all too heavy load (conferences, etc.). And the lecture invitations I accept, force me to write one lecture after the other, so that I feel almost overwhelmed. With the help of the grants I hope to receive.

Love to you and Marie and the children.

Yours ever,  
Ludwig

Nov 6, 55

Love my is fine; he was sick a few weeks ago, but made a great recovery

**Appendix C**

**Figure 1**

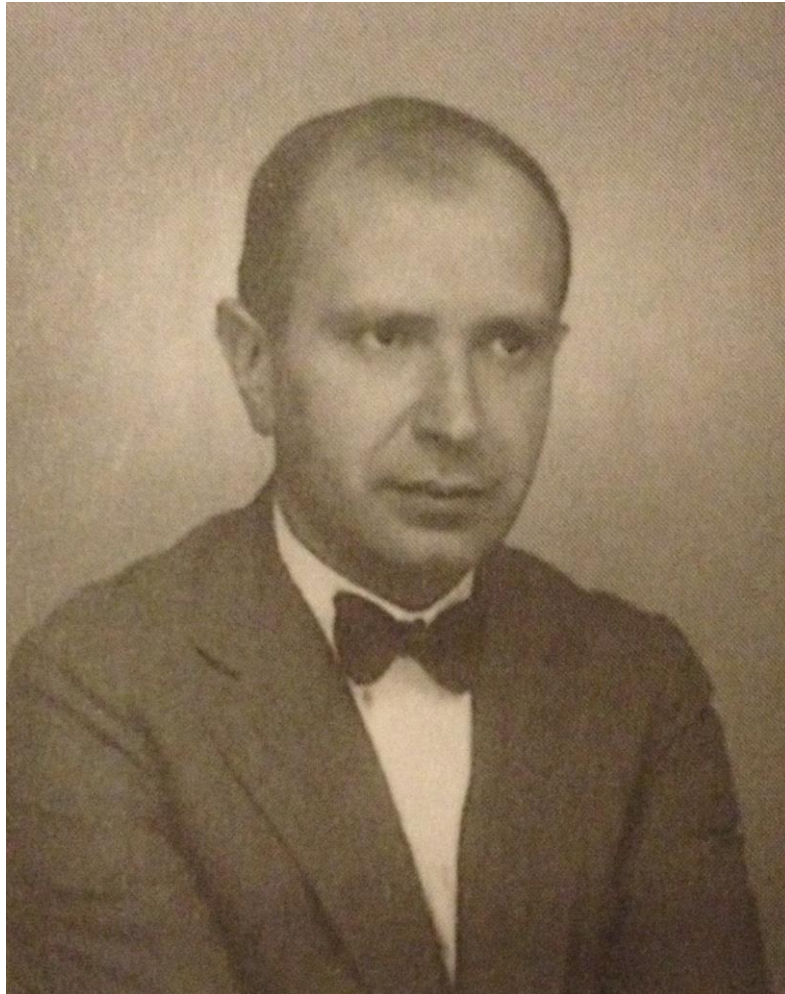


**Emma Edelstein (1904-1958)**

From: T. Frazier with D. Frazier, *Between the Lines* (Oakland: Regent Press, 2001), 73.



**Figure 2**

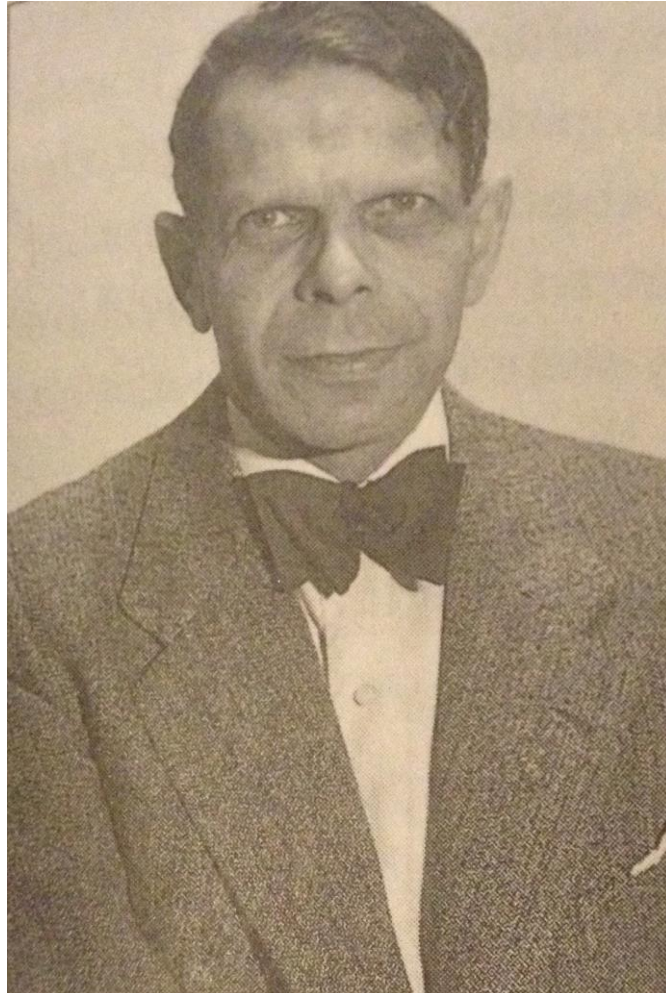


**Ludwig Edelstein (1902-1965)**

From: T. Frazier with D. Frazier, *Between the Lines* (Oakland: Regent Press, 2001), 74



**Figure 3**



**Alexander Levy (unknown-1973)**

From: T. Frazier with D. Frazier, *Between the Lines* (Oakland: Regent Press, 2001), 10

**Figure 4**



**Hugo and Else Levy (dates unknown)**

From: T. Frazier with D. Frazier, *Between the Lines* (Oakland: Regent Press, 2001), 140.

**Figure 5**



**Head of a woman**

Ludwig and Renata Edelstein [date and mode of acquisition unknown]; Walters Art Museum, 1965, by bequest, accessed on: <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/26049/head-of-a-woman-4/> 21/12/2013.

## Appendix D

Plato's Seventh Letter	Authentic	Inauthentic	Dubious
C. Meiners (1783)		*	
Morgenstein (1794)	*		
A. Boeckh and J. Grimm (1815)	*		
F. Ast		*	
J. Socher (1820)		*	
G. Stallbaum (1827)	*		
Salomon (1835)		*	
K. F. Hermann (1839)		*	
W. Wiegand (1859)			Substance of 7th from Plato but edited and put into epistolary form by a member of the school.
G. Grote (1852)	*		
Rose (1854)	*		
F. Ueberweg (1861)		*	
H. T. Karsten (1864)		*	
K. Steinhart (1866)		*	
E. Zeller (1876)		*	
W. Christ (1885)		*	
R. F. Unger (1891)		*	
B. Jowett (1892)		*	
F. Blass (1892)	*		
Reinhold (1896)			7th genuine but a large section of it interpolated.
H. Raeder (1906)	*		
R. Adam (1906)	*		
C. Ritter (1910)	*		Genuine but digression spurious.
R. Hackforth (1913)	*		
U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1920)	*		
W. Andreae (1923)	*		
E. Howald (1923)	*		
L. A. Post (1925)	*		
J. Souilhé (1928)	*		
R. G. Bury (1929)	*		
G. C. Field (1930)	*		

F. Novotny (1930)	*		
J. Harward (1932)	*		
P. Shorey (1933)		*	
G. R. Morrow (1935)	*		
G. Pasquali (1938)	*		
H. Cherniss (1945)		*	
R. S. Bluck (1947)	*		
G. Boas (1948)		*	
A. Maddalena (1948)		*	
G. Müller (1949)		*	
B. Stenzel (1953)	*		
H. Berve (1957)	*		
G. R. Morrow (1962)	*		
G. Ryle (1966)		*	
L. Edelstein (1966)		*	
M. Levison, A.Q. Morton, and A.D. Winspear (1968)		*(digression)	
K. von Fritz (1968)	*		
L. Brandwood (1969)	*		
J. H. Randall Jr. (1970).		*	
N. Gulley (1972)		*	
G. J. D Aalders (1972)	*		
P. Deane (1973)	*		
E. Caskey (1974)		*	
White (1976)	*		
W. K. C. Guthrie (1978)	*		
L. De Blois (1979)	*		
H. Tarrant (1983)		*(digression)	
L. Brisson (1987)	*		
R. Brumbaugh (1988)	*		
H. Thesleff (1989)	* (Though perhaps not entirely written/dictated by Plato, fairly reliable).		
G. Ledger (1989)	*		
T. Penner (1992)	*		
T. Irwin (1992)		*	
P. A. Brunt (1993)	*		
K. Trampedach (1994)		*	
K. Sayre (1996)	*		
C. H. Kahn (1996)	*		
D. Otto (1994)	*		
P. Keyser (1998)		*	

V. Lewis (2000)	*		
M. Schofield (2000)			'Hesitantly' against.
R. Knab (2006)	*		

## Appendix E

**Edelstein's Translation of The Hippocratic Oath from: L. Edelstein, 'The Hippocratic Oath: Text, Translation and Interpretation', in O. Temkin and C. L. Temkin (eds.) *Ancient Medicine: Selected papers of Ludwig Edelstein* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967), 3-63, 6.**

I swear by Apollo Physician and Asclepius and Hygieia and Panacea and all the gods and goddesses, making them my witnesses, that I will fulfil according to my ability and judgment this oath and this covenant:

To hold him who has taught me this art as equal to my parents and to live my life in partnership with him, and if he is in need of money to give him a share of mine, and to regard his offspring as equal to my brothers in male lineage and to teach them this art—if they desire to learn it—without fee and covenant; to give a share of precepts and oral instruction and all the other learning to my sons and to the sons of him who has instructed me and to pupils who have signed the covenant and have taken an oath according to the medical law, but to no one else.

I will apply dietetic measures for the benefit of the sick according to my ability and judgment; I will keep them from harm and injustice.

I will neither give a deadly drug to anybody if asked for it, nor will I make a suggestion to this effect. Similarly I will not give to a woman an abortive remedy. In purity and holiness I will guard my life and my art.

I will not use the knife, not even on sufferers from stone, but will withdraw in favor of such men as are engaged in this work.

Whatever houses I may visit, I will come for the benefit of the sick, remaining free of all intentional injustice, of all mischief and in particular of sexual relations with both male and female persons, be they free or slaves.

What I may see or hear in the course of the treatment or even outside of the treatment in regard to the life of men, which on no account one must spread abroad, I will keep to myself holding such things shameful to be spoken about.

If I fulfil this oath and do not violate it, may it be granted to me to enjoy life and art, being honored with fame among all men for all time to come; if I transgress it and swear falsely, may the opposite of all this be my lot.

## Archival Abbreviations

- Baltimore (1)*: The Johns Hopkins University, The Alan Mason Chesney Archives.
- Baltimore (2)*: Maryland Historical Society, H. Furlong Baldwin Library Special Collections, Sydney Hollander Collection 1926-1972, MS. 2044.
- Baltimore (3)*: The Johns Hopkins University, The Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Special Collections, Arthur O Lovejoy Papers, Ms 38, Correspondence.
- Berkeley*: The University of California, The Bancroft Library.
- Berlin*: Humboldt University Berlin, University Archive, Faculty of Philosophy, No. 134, f. 195 and f.195R.
- Cambridge*: Harvard University, The Houghton Library, Werner Jaeger Papers, \*6/M-269.
- Chicago*: Regenstein Library of the University of Chicago, Department of Special Collections, Leo Strauss Papers, Series I Correspondence.
- Frankfurt a. M.*: Deutsche Bibliothek, Deutsches Exilarchiv 1933-1945, Ernst Moritz Manasse Papers EB 96/277.
- Heidelberg*: Universitätsarchiv.
- Haverford*: Haverford College, Quaker and Special Collections, Levi Arnold Post Papers HC.Coll.1229.
- Ingolstadt*: Medizinhistorisches Museum, Artelt Papers.
- Leipzig*: Leipzig University Archive, Karl Sudhoff Institut.
- Marbach*: Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach, Jaspers Papers, correspondence.
- New Haven*: New Haven, Yale University Library, Manuscripts and Archives, Henry E. Sigerist Papers Acc. 87-M-86 Group 788, Series 3.
- New York (1)*: New York, Leo Baeck Institute, Ernst Kantorowicz Collection 1908-1982.
- New York (2)*: New York Public Library, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Papers of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars, box 6a, file "Edelstein".
- New York (3)*: Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Kristeller Papers, Box 9, Folder Cherniss, H.
- Oxford*: Oxford University, Bodleian Library, Department of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts.
- Philadelphia*: American Philosophical Society, Peyton Rous Papers.
- Princeton*: Correspondence to Eva Gossman (with courtesy from the recipient).



*San Diego*: University of California, Mandeville Special Collections Library, MSS 143, Roy Harvey Pearce Papers, Accession Processed 2007, Correspondence, Box 9, Folder 11.

*Seattle*: University of Washington Library, Special Collections, Solomon Katz Papers, 2325-028, Box 5.

*Sleepy Hollow (1)*: Rockefeller Archive Center, Coll. RU RG 376-2-U, Record Group Faculty Administration, Box 6.

*Sleepy Hollow (2)*: Rockefeller Archive Center, Coll. RF RG, Record Group 1.1, Projects, Series 200, Sub-series A United States, Box 93, Folder 1119.

*Sleepy Hollow (3)*: The Rockefeller Archive Center, Rockefeller University records, Rockefeller University Press, Audiovisual Materials, Lectures and Assorted Events, Ludwig Edelstein – Plato's Seventh letter an example of historic verification, 1964 October 30. Box 5.

*Stanford*: Hoover Institute Archives, Fritz Machlup Collection, Box 35, Folder 15.

*Washington D.C. (1)*: The Library of Congress, Bollingen Foundation Records, Part I: Numerical Office File, 1929-1973, Box I: 22 470.102, Edelstein, Emma. J.

*Washington D.C. (2)*: Washington Center, Archives of American Art, Erwin Panofsky Papers.

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