ART HISTORIAN

Kurt Weitzmann

Interviewed by Taina Rikala de Noriega
and Richard Cándida Smith

Art History Oral Documentation Project

Completed under the auspices
of the
Oral History Program
University of California
Los Angeles
and the
Getty Center for the History of
Art and the Humanities

CONTENTS

BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

PERSONAL HISTORY:

Born: March 7, 1904, Klein Almerode, Germany.

Education: University of Münster, University of Würzburg, University of Vienna, 1923-1929; Ph.D., University of Berlin, 1929.

Spouse: Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler, married 1932.

CAREER HISTORY:

Stipend, German Archaeological Institute, Greece, 1931; Berlin, 1932-34.

Member, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton University, 1935-72; associate professor of art and archaeology, 1945-50; professor, 1950-72; emeritus professor, 1972-93.

Board of Scholars, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Harvard University, 1949-72; visiting scholar, 1972-73.

Visiting lecturer, Yale University, 1954-55.

Visiting professor of art and archaeology, Alexandria University, 1960.

Guest professor of art and archaeology, University of Bonn, 1962.

SELECTED AFFILIATIONS:

American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

American Philosophical Society.

Archaeological Institute of America.

Association internationale des etudes byzantines.

College Art Association of America.

German Archaeological Institute, Berlin.

Medieval Academy of America.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, honorary trustee and consulting curator, 1973-82.

HONORS AND AWARDS:

Honorary doctorate, University of Heidelberg, 1967.

Honorary doctorate, University of Chicago, 1968.

Gustave Schlumberger Prize, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Paris, 1969.

Haskins Medal, Medieval Academy of America, 1974.

Charles Rufus Morey Book Award, College Art Association of America, 1976.

Honorary doctorate, University of Berlin, 1982.

Great Cross of Merit, Federal Republic of Germany, 1986.

Academy of Athens Award, 1991.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS:

Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des 10.-13. Jahrhunderts. With Adolph Goldschmidt. Berlin: B. Cassirer, 1930-34.

Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts. Berlin: G. Mann, 1935.

Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1947.

The Joshua Roll: A Work of the Macedonian Renaissance. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1948.

Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1951.

The Fresco Cycle of Santa Maria di Castelseprio. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1951.

Ancient Book Illumination. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959.

Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der Makedonischen Renaissance. Köln: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1963.

Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971.

The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Church and Fortress of Justinian, Volume 1, Plates. With George H. Forsyth. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1973.

The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons, Volume 1, From the Sixth to the Tenth Century. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976.

Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination. New York: G. Braziller, 1977.

The Icon: Holy Images, Sixth to Fourteenth Century. New York: G. Braziller, 1978.

The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela: Parsinus Graecus 923. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979.

Byzantine Book Illumination and Ivories. London: Variorum Reprints, 1980.

Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels. London: Variorum Reprints, 1980.

Classical Heritage in Byzantine and Near Eastern Art. London: Variorum Reprints, 1981.

Art in the Medieval West and Its Contacts with Byzantium. London: Variorum Reprints, 1982.

Studies in the Arts at Sinai. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982.

The Cotton Genesis: British Library, Codex Cotton Otho B VI. With Herbert L. Kessler. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985.

The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art. With Herbert L. Kessler. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1990.

The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts, Volume 1, From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century. With George Galavaris. Princeton, New Jersey:

Princeton University Press, 1991.

INTERVIEW HISTORY

INTERVIEWERS:

Taina Rikala de Noriega. B.A., Art History and Environmental Studies, University of California, Santa Cruz; M.Sc., Architecture, University College, London; Ph.D., Urban Planning, UCLA.

Richard Cándida Smith, Associate Director/Principal Editor, UCLA Oral History Program. B.A., Theater Arts, UCLA; M.A., Ph.D., United States History, UCLA.

TIME AND SETTING OF INTERVIEW:

Place: Weitzmann's office, Princeton University.

Dates, length of sessions: April 2, 1992 (81 minutes); April 4, 1992 (160); April 7, 1992 (78); April 9, 1992 (75); April 8, 1993 (68).

Total number of recorded hours: 7.7

Persons present during interview: Tapes I, II, and V, Weitzmann and Rikala; Tapes III and IV, Weitzmann, Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler, and Rikala; Tape VI, Weitzmann and Smith.

CONDUCT OF INTERVIEW:

This is one in a series of interviews intended to examine the development of art history as a professional discipline and conducted under the joint auspices of the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities and the UCLA Oral History Program.

The interview is organized chronologically, beginning with Weitzmann's early life and education in Germany and continuing through his immigration to the United States and his career at Princeton University. Major topics covered include prominent German art historians of the twenties; teaching and research at Princeton; émigré scholars; contacts with universities, museums, and libraries in the United States and Europe; the synagogue at Dura Europos and early Christian manuscript illustration; Weitzmann's research at the monastery at Mount Sinai; and methodological approaches to manuscript illustrations.

EDITING:

Alex Cline, editor, edited the interview. He checked the verbatim transcript of the interview against the original tape recordings, edited for punctuation, paragraphing, and spelling, and verified proper names. Words and phrases inserted by the editor have been bracketed.

Weitzmann reviewed the transcript of Tapes I to III before he died in 1993. He verified proper names and made a number of corrections and additions. His wife, Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler, reviewed the remainder of the transcript and answered additional queries.

Teresa Barnett, senior editor, prepared the table of contents, biographical summary, and interview history. The index was compiled by Kristian London, editorial assistant.

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS:

The original tape recordings of the interview are in the university archives and are available under the regulations governing the use of permanent noncurrent records of the university. Records relating to the interview are located in the office of the UCLA Oral History Program.

TAPE NUMBER: I, SIDE ONE

APRIL 2, 1992

RIKALA: We usually start with the most straightforward question, which is when and where were you born?

WEITZMANN: Well, I was born March 7 in 1904 in a very small village [Klein Almerode] where my father [Wilhelm Weitzmann] was a minister, and I am baptized by my own father.

RIKALA: Oh, that's interesting.

WEITZMANN: The whole family comes from Hesse [Germany]. The village I'm born in is not far from Kassel [Germany], and the whole family goes back to Kassel for generations. Also my mother [Antonie Keiper Weitzmann]'s family comes from Hesse. But already, when I was a small child, we moved outside of Hesse, and the place I grew up in is Gelsenkirchen [Germany]. It's in the Ruhr district. I don't know whether you've heard of it. It's one of the biggest coal-mining cities in the world. My father had changed his profession. In the meantime, he became the superintendent of public schools. Well, I grew up in a typical German bourgeois family. Also it was a typical German tradition, with much musical culture. I had two brothers [Ludwig and Walther Weitzmann] who were older. One played the piano, the second played the violin on a very high level. He was an excellent violinist. And I played the flute. My mother was a piano teacher; my father played piano very well. My mother

always had time to accompany us. There was always chamber music in the house. So my best recollection of my parents' house is the music. At the
same time, there was absolutely no stimulation for visual arts.

RIKALA: No?

WEITZMANN: Where I got it, heaven knows.

RIKALA: Did you keep up with the music?

WEITZMANN: No. My flute lies here in the case. Unfortunately, my wife [Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler] doesn't play piano, so I have no chance to be accompanied, and I gave it up. In Gelsenkirchen the only stimulation I got from the fine arts was the family of a physician [Hans Robbers]. They became interested in my art historical interests. They had a small collection, especially of engravings. I learned something about engravings. They gave me books on art. And I went in Gelsenkirchen to the humanistische Gymnasium with lots of Greek and Latin. Nine years Latin and six years Greek. But outside the school, very early, I developed-- I don't know how I got an interest in the arts.

Gelsenkirchen itself had nothing stimulating. But in the summer vacations I was sent to aunts living in Kassel. One day this aunt took me to the Gemäldegalerie, a picture gallery in Kassel. It's a very famous gallery with excellent Dutch paintings, some of the most beautiful Rembrandts. There I fell

in love with Dutch seventeenth-century painting, which still remains one of my fields I am interested in. I also got interested already in medieval art. As a schoolboy, just on weekends, I would take a train to Cologne. I had bought a book about medieval churches of Cologne, visited all the Romanesque and Gothic churches in Cologne and the museums.

Besides, I also developed an interest in contemporary art and especially German expressionism. Now, the stimulation there I got in a place called Hagen. Hagen had the so-called Folkwangmuseum, which was the first public museum in Germany, perhaps the whole world, to exhibit expressionist art. There I saw and got familiar with van Gogh and Gauguin and Munch and also German expressionists, Emil Nolde and many others. The founder of the museum [Karl Osthus] was a private citizen who had money and who had collected and built a beautiful museum and got one of the best architects for his museum, Henry van de Velde.

RIKALA: Oh, De Stijl.

WEITZMANN: Yes. That was all the stimulation I got in that direction. Of course, there were very difficult times during the First World War, which I went through. I was at that time what you might call an undernourished child. So after the war, I was sent by a Red Cross expedition to Sweden with a group of undernourished children. I was for three months sent to Sweden.

RIKALA: How old were you?

WEITZMANN: I was seventeen. I was very lucky. The collecting point was Berlin. There was a group of perhaps one hundred children. We first went by train to Stockholm. I remember there was a tour taking us around Stockholm, and I slipped away from this tour in order to see the museum. There was a special exhibition of the most famous Swedish painter, Anders Zorn. He was a leading Swedish impressionist. I was very, very lucky. I was sent with a few children to the island of Gotland. So I spent three months in Visby. If you know Visby, it's full of ruins of Romanesque and Gothic churches. I was already so much interested in that field that I hired a bicycle and went around Gotland to see Romanesque churches full of Romanesque frescoes, sculpture, stained glass, and so on. So really I led a second life outside the school being interested in the fine arts.

RIKALA: Let's go back a bit. Tell me about your father as a minister. What church did he belong to?

WEITZMANN: Well, Hesse belongs to the Reformed Church. But, of course, Germany had a United Protestant Church. So when we moved to Gelsenkirchen, which is Lutheran, my confirmation was in the Lutheran Church. It didn't make any difference.

RIKALA: And your mother's family? What did they do? What kind of trade or what kind of business?

WEITZMANN: Well, she had no particular training except that

she was very good in music and played beautiful piano.

RIKALA: And your brothers' names? You have two older brothers?

WEITZMANN: Yes, two older brothers.

RIKALA: And what are their names?

WEITZMANN: Yes, one was Ludwig, the elder one, who became an engineer, studied at the technical high school. Statics was his special field. He was in the air ministry in Berlin. The other was in the banking business.

RIKALA: And his name?

WEITZMANN: Walther. Walther was a very, very gifted violinist. He would have even had the talent for a professional artist, but he didn't have enough physical stamina, and so he was advised not to start. There were, in the First World War, great grippe epidemics, and he had it very, very severely and never recovered completely and always remained weak. This is why he was wise not to start an artistic career. But he also was very good in drawing, and he made a portrait of me which will be published in my memoirs.

RIKALA: Oh, that's very exciting. The education that you described going to the Gymnasium, was that a typical education of the time?

WEITZMANN: Yes. Of course, the humanistische Gymnasium was a small, very elite high school compared to the others, and it was very, very good.

RIKALA: You mentioned that you studied languages, but what

else did they bring to the studies at those schools?

WEITZMANN: Well, of course, they have every field, naturally. But I had only moderate interest in my school because I was already so distracted. I was concentrating already on my art historical interests, and this was completely outside the school.

RIKALA: So you decided, when you went to university, to study art history?

WEITZMANN: Yes. When I took my Abitur, it was at the time when the Ruhr district was occupied by the French army, because the Germans couldn't pay reparations, and the French retaliated and occupied the Ruhr. I remember when I went to the school in order to write my exam, in the courtyard of the school were French tanks, and I had to write my exam in the city hall.

RIKALA: What kind of impact does that have on a youth when you see these tanks?

WEITZMANN: Well, we were shut off from the rest of Germany. When I took my Abitur, it was '23. This was the height of the inflation, the most devastating inflation. No possibility to go to a university. A few days after my Abitur, I was a concrete worker in a coal mine. A million marks to buy a loaf of bread--it was the situation at that time. Well, in the fall of that year came the stabilization of the currency through Hjalmar Schacht, and then I could dare to go to the university.

The nearest was [University of] Münster in Westfalen. In order to get there, I had to have a passport to get out of

the occupied zone. One day a friend came with a passport of somebody else. He said, "Do you dare to travel with a false passport? Try to get out. But it expires tomorrow." Without seeing my parents, I packed up and left home to get to Münster. I arrived in Münster without a penny. It was the only time in my life when I really went hungry. For forty-eight hours I had nothing to eat. I didn't know anybody in Münster. But then my parents sent money, and I could start.

When I went to the university, I immediately began my studies on an equal basis in classical archaeology and art history. In both fields, I had very good teachers, one in art history, a man by the name of Wackernagel--he was Swiss--and the archaeologist was Arnold von Salis, who was also Swiss. Since I had already prepared myself and knew a great deal about Germany art history, I passed an examination and was permitted to take a seminar for advanced students. Also, I immediately had good contact with the archaeologist, and I was made a curator of the classical collection of casts. I traveled around a great deal to see German art in Osnabrück and many other places. I got interested particularly in baroque architecture, because the leading architect in Münster was a man named Konrad Schlaun, and I followed up his work and went to many places to see the architecture of Konrad Schlaun.

But then I became restless. The second term I went to another university, to [the University of] Würzburg in Bavaria.

There again, my main interest was just to get to know part of Germany well. My two main interests developed on the spot. One was Balthasar Neumann, the great architect, and the [Würzburg] Residenz is one of the most beautiful baroque buildings anywhere. My other great love was Tilman Riemenschneider.

RIKALA: Oh, I don't--

WEITZMANN: He's a sculptor of the late Gothic period. I traveled to other places where there were Riemenschneider sculptures and also to places where there were buildings of Balthasar Neumann, like Vierzehnheiligen and Neresheim, two of the most famous baroque churches in Germany. Also, having developed many interests, I took a course in catacomb paintings. There was a man teaching early Christian art [Edmund Weigand], my first contact with that field. Also I took a course in architectural drawing to get to know the roots.

RIKALA: Did you like to draw?

WEITZMANN: Yes, of course. Besides, Würzburg had a very developed musical life. One of the most beautiful settings for concerts is in the Residenz, its chief hall with frescoes by Tiepolo. There you hear a Mozart concert in what couldn't be a more perfect setting. [laughter] *[The classical archaeologist in Würzburg was Heinrich Bulle, and he gave an excellent seminar on Greek vase painting, working with original objects in the large vase collection at Würzburg University. The art historian was Knapp, a pupil of Heinrich Wölfflin.

He gave a course on nineteenth- and twentieth-century painting, a subject usually not taught at German universities at that time. But he was a romantic and had no understanding for contemporary art. Speaking about Picasso his only remark was "Picasso, Picasso. Picasso is a swindler."]

Well, then I got restless again, and the third term I was in Berlin. Of course, Berlin was at that time almost the cultural center of Europe. It had three opera houses, all three very excellent, and art exhibitions of a great variety. Berlin had an extraordinary cultural life. In the meantime, I had started to concentrate on medieval art, and the great expert in medieval art was Adolph Goldschmidt. But I was disappointed because Goldschmidt did not take me into his seminar; I was in his view still too young a student. He would take only older students. I had to have at least four terms of studies, which I didn't have yet. So after this one term, I left Berlin disappointed, again to go somewhere else. But in that short term in Berlin, I naturally enjoyed studying the extraordinary riches of the Berlin museums and one of the lasting friendships I developed

* Weitzmann added the following bracketed section during his review of the transcript.

was with Herbert von Einem, who later became the chairman of our department in Bonn. We have been lifelong friends. I'll come back to this.

RIKALA: Yes, I would be interested.

WEITZMANN: So I left for Vienna, and I spent two terms in Vienna. There was a strange situation, art historically speaking. There were two separate institutes. One was headed by Julius von Schlosser; it was centered, naturally, on Renaissance studies. The other was Josef Strzygowski, a man who concentrated on oriental and Eastern art. Well, they were fighting each other. But since I was a German and knew I wouldn't have to pass exams by getting involved in their fight, I went to both. Why not? [laughter] So I was quite happy with Schlosser, but I didn't get very far with Strzygowski, because he gave a course, World Art: "What's the use of a little man like Wölfflin with his two hundred years' Renaissance? We must embrace millennia and the world!" [laughter] So in this course, World Art, he had time to speak about fifteen minutes about Dürer. The problem of Dürer in Venice for 1506, where he made some of the most

* Weitzmann added the following bracketed section during his review of the transcript.

beautiful pictures, was done by Strzygowski in one sentence: "Dürer was spoiled by Italy." I burst into laughter. Strzygowski stopped and said, "If you wish to disturb me, please leave the room." I left the room. It was the last I saw of Strzygowski. [laughter] Of course, what this means was the northern man in the embrace of the southern lure. Strzygowski was at this time already, it's true, infected by Nazism. The last book he wrote was Der Heilbringer [The Savior]. I know you understand this word. Still, Strzygowski was a great scholar in certain fields, especially the Byzantine. On this he had great merits.

When I arrived in Vienna, I first went to the student dormitory to stay there. I lived with ten or twelve students in one room. I knew this wouldn't be an environment I could stay in. By accident I met in the same room a man who also came to study history of art from Germany, a man named Helmut Schlunk. We met each other and became immediately friends, then decided we would rent a room together. The two terms I was in Vienna, I lived together with Schlunk.

From Vienna, I made the first trips to Italy together with Schlunk. On every vacation I spent two or three months in Italy and got to know the country quite systematically. The first trip I went only to upper Italy, because when you come from Vienna, the first city you hit is Venice. There I started to sketch what I saw, but then, after a while, the spirit of Venice

got me so much that I ended in dolce far niènte. A friend had to come from Germany and take me out of Venice. As soon as I left Venice, I was again full of tension. This is what Venice had done to me.

Then I went to Padua, Verona, Milan, and so on. The second trip we made together was to Tuscany and Umbria. I went to Perugia, Cortona, Spoleto, and then, of course, to Florence and all of Tuscany, Lucca, Pistoria, Prato, Pisa. Only on the third trip, I finally got to Rome, and there, naturally, I fell in love with that city. I was happy to have seen Rome in the time before Mussolini had built his Via del Impero and the Forum was still intact. There were still the old houses on the Capitol, which later were torn down by Mussolini. We went through every church and museum and so on. But, also, this was my first visit to Naples and to Pompeii. In Christmas vacation, we went together to Budapest to see museums there. For the rest of the time, always on weekends, I would travel in Austria, to Salzburg, to Innsbruck, and other places.

But I must interject now. Coming back again to my high school days, I was a member of a German-Austrian alpine club, and I made some tours over glaciers.

RIKALA: Was that a walking club?

WEITZMANN: Yes. So of course Grossglockner, Grossvenediger, and down to Carinthia, which I enjoyed tremendously.

RIKALA: So you got to know that area very, very well.

WEITZMANN: Yes, yes, and I love nature. Well, coming back again to my studies-- I took courses with Schlosser, which were very inspiring. The man from whom I learned a great deal was an archaeologist, Emanuel Loewy, who had a wonderful technique to deal with student papers. As a matter of fact, I learned from him a technique which I adopted later when teaching myself. When I had a student giving a paper, I would not interrupt him. I would let him go on to the end, take a few notes, and then I would unroll it again and go over his paper point by point. The other teacher who was very inspiring was Karl Maria Swoboda. As a matter of fact, as soon as I got into close contact with him, I started on a topic for a thesis. It was on the problem of the Tuscan proto-Renaissance. It was a piece called the Pulpit of Cagliari. Cagliari is in Sardinia. If I project into the future, I had contact again with Swoboda many years later. He came to Princeton and offered me the professorship in Vienna to succeed him. But I didn't take it.

RIKALA: You chose not to go.

WEITZMANN: It may come later.

RIKALA: What was he like? What kind of person was he?

WEITZMANN: Swoboda? Well, he was quite an outgoing person and a very good scholar and someone with whom I could really find personal contact.

RIKALA: He showed strong interest in you and your work?

WEITZMANN: Yes. As a matter of fact, he had the proofs for

a second edition of [Alois] Riegl's Spätrömische Kunstindustrie, and Schlunk and I read proofs for him. It was kind of a personal touch. But then Swoboda himself realized that it would not be wise to take an exam in Vienna as a German. He thought we better go back to a German university.

RIKALA: Why? What was the difference of the universities?

WEITZMANN: Well, simply practical reasons. For a career, an Austrian degree would make it more difficult to find a position in Germany.

Now perhaps I'll interject a very personal event. When I came to Münster I had belonged to a student club. The student club had a branch in Vienna, but its members started some anti-Semitic riots, and so, under protest, I left this club. It was the first shadow of Nazism. In '25, when nobody in Germany thought of it yet. But Vienna University was closed ten days because of anti-Semitic riots. I think this is of interest for the history of Nazism.

RIKALA: Yes, it is.

WEITZMANN: Because it was rooted in Austria. After all, Hitler was an Austrian.

Well, from Vienna then I went to Berlin at the advice of Swoboda, who said to me, "Try Goldschmidt again. Perhaps he'll take you now when you go back to Berlin." So I went back to Berlin. Yes, Goldschmidt took me into his seminar, and I read a paper, which apparently he liked, and after the term I was

going to see him about a Ph.D. thesis. He spoke to me about the theme I had started in Vienna, but he didn't like it much. Instead, he came forward with a very tempting offer. He had published four volumes of a corpus of medieval ivories [Die Elfenbeinskulpturen], and he had started to work now on the Byzantine. One volume was to be on the so-called rosette caskets. For this, he had collected material, and now he turned it all over to me as a thesis topic. The main reason to turn over this material to me was that for him art history started in the pre-Carolingian period. He had not much contact with classical archaeology. But this thesis topic involved a knowledge of classical archaeology, and since I had made it clear to him I wanted a topic where I could combine my archaeological training with art history, it intrigued him.

RIKALA: You've framed the discussion that it was your own interest in art and art history that took you this far into your career. But where did you pick up these interests in archaeology? What were the sparks of interest in archaeology?

WEITZMANN: I don't know where it came from. Well, perhaps the first good classical collection I saw was again in Kassel visiting my aunts. I went not only to the picture gallery but also to the museum with a collection of classical sculpture. There is one famous piece of classical sculpture called the Kasseler Apollo, and this statue fascinated me.

RIKALA: As a discipline, was classical archaeology already

a more advanced discipline than art history? As a student, how did you measure those disciplines? Or did you even think about that?

WEITZMANN: Both were highly developed at my time, and art history was a fully developed discipline. It was simply that my whole notion about art was to penetrate as many different aspects and periods as possible. Once I had also taken a seminar in Egyptology in Vienna. It fascinated me. Then, in Berlin, I'd taken a course in numismatics.

RIKALA: In coins.

WEITZMANN: Coins. And in Würzburg I took a course in catacomb art. So I tried to spread out in all directions. When I came to Berlin, because there were rich museums, I tried to cover almost every area. I got also interested in Islamic art. I took a course in Islamic art, which was not yet offered at the university, but the head of the Islamic department, Ernst Kühnel, offered a seminar in the museum. But there we were only three students getting interested in Islamic art at that time. The second was Schlunk, who later chose Spanish art as his special field and got involved in Islamic art.

RIKALA: Who was the third?

WEITZMANN: The third student was a man who was interested primarily in Far Eastern art. So Kühnel made the seminar in a way so it would show how Islamic art touched the Spanish,

the Byzantine, and the Far Eastern fields. It was marvelous. Well, the man specializing in Far Eastern art was Fritz Rumpf. He was a character. He was much older, a much older student. He had lived for many years in Japan and written about Japanese art, about No masks as well as woodcuts and other aspects of Japanese culture. And he had a friend, also an older student who studied with us, Otto Grossmann. And Otto Grossmann--a very interesting character--had been a cavalry officer, but in the First World War he had changed and became a pilot in the air force. Then, after the war, he came to Berlin, and he became a student and a publisher. He published a journal, Yamato, which means "Japan." He published all of Rumpf's work.

I tell this story because I got sufficiently fascinated in Far Eastern art that I tried to organize a student excursion to Japan and was interested to see the treasure houses in Kyoto. By the way, I got all the support; the Japanese government would have us as guests. But then I asked a German steamship company to get some reduced fare for students, and they wouldn't do it, and the students didn't have the money to pay the full fare to Japan. So it all fell through. Also, the director of the Far Eastern museum, a man named Otto Kümmel, just like Kühnel on Islamic art, offered seminars on Far Eastern art in his museum. His field was also not yet taught at the university. But I took two courses, one on Chinese bronzes and one on Chinese brush paintings, and kept my lifelong interest in Far Eastern

art. RIKALA: Describe for me, please, a typical day as a student. Because you are telling me that there were courses at the museums and courses at the university. Maybe a typical week of how you organized, where you would go, and when you would read. WEITZMANN: Well, I would be much in museums, besides the library and the seminar room. But this was typical. Goldschmidt, as a teacher in the seminar, very much emphasized the contact with original works of art. Once I took a seminar with him on Dürer drawings. He was a personal friend of [Max J.] Friedländer from student days in Leipzig, who was the curator of the print room in Berlin. He got the permission that every student should be able to work on an original drawing. Goldschmidt held another seminar on Cologne painters of the fifteenth century at the museum in front of the original paintings. One seminar he made on tombstones. To be admitted to the seminar, we had to pass an exam. The exam was with a sheet of paper and a pencil, and he said, "Make me a quick drawing of this tombstone." He wanted to see whether the student was capable to grasp in a few strokes the essence of a work of art. Goldschmidt himself had started as a painter originally. He was a lifelong friend of Max Liebermann, so much so that when Liebermann died in the Nazi period, the Jewish community came to Goldschmidt to ask him to deliver the funeral speech of Liebermann. It was typical of Goldschmidt when he said, "I will do it only on one condition. I will not talk of Liebermann as a Jew, but only about Liebermann

as an artist." That was typical of Goldschmidt.

RIKALA: And was Goldschmidt Jewish or not?

WEITZMANN: Oh, yes, he was. But still, that was not the point. He never denied his Judaism. Before he got the chair in Berlin, he was a professor in Halle. Then there was a time where the chair was open in Bonn. Bonn was the most prestigious professorship, because Bonn was the university where the imperial princes went. When Goldschmidt was a candidate for Bonn, the ministry suggested he might convert, but he sent a famous telegram to the ministry in Berlin: "Remain in Halle. Remain Jew." This was very typical, too.

RIKALA: Those suggestions, were they subtle or outright, this idea of converting?

WEITZMANN: Well, the imperial university apparently didn't want a Jew at that time.

RIKALA: Well, we'll come back and talk about Goldschmidt as a separate talk maybe tomorrow. Let's go back to your dissertation topic.

WEITZMANN: Yes. He gave me his whole material.

RIKALA: Material of Byzantine-- Again, how common was it to work on Byzantine?

WEITZMANN: Of course, if you want to see the thesis--

RIKALA: Oh, yes.

WEITZMANN: It's one of these folio volumes.

RIKALA: One of these?

WEITZMANN: Yes.

RIKALA: My goodness. This is big. I'll look at it.

WEITZMANN: So he gave me about two-thirds of the material, and I started working, traveling around to collect the remaining third, and then wrote the thesis.

RIKALA: How common was Byzantine scholarship at this time? Was it a common interest?

WEITZMANN: No. There was a man named Oskar Wulff, who was at the museum. He gave a seminar at the university but it was rather boring. I mean, it was just a pure textual affair to translate and comment on the Byzantine writer Nikolaos Mesarites, what he says about the mosaics of Hagia Sophia. It was not inspiring. So I got no stimulation at the university in the Byzantine field, or what I got to know about it. I am a self-made man as a Byzantinist. Of course, I always make very clear that I am not a Byzantinist. I am an art historian who has specialized in Byzantine art. It's quite a difference. As a Byzantinist, you have to cover every aspect of Byzantine culture and civilization, including post-Byzantine. As an art historian, you have to work on Byzantine and Western art alike. I've always worked also in the Western field.

RIKALA: The papers that you presented as students to Goldschmidt, did that work in a seminar situation? Or was that handled on an individual basis? How was a student's relationship with his professor organized?

WEITZMANN: Well, he listened to each paper and then criticized it. In each seminar you had to read a paper.

RIKALA: Did he pick the topics? Or did the students pick their own topics?

WEITZMANN: There was one seminar he gave-- Shortly before that, there had been a famous exhibition here of Rhenish reliquary shrines from Cologne and other places nearby. Each student got one shrine to deal with--iconography and style, everything. I was asked to do a paper on the ornament of all the shrines. So I made lots of drawings about the various patterns. He liked this because of his own love of sketching. This paper helped to establish a personal contact very quickly with him. He was a wonderful teacher, very open-minded. You could contradict him, but you had to have a point. If not, then of course it was out. [laughter]

RIKALA: I guess that's a good skill in life, a life skill, anyway. Yes.

TAPE NUMBER: I, SIDE TWO

APRIL 2, 1992

RIKALA: Did Goldschmidt give you methodology-type advice or a methodological approach to follow? Or was that something that you were learning in the seminars?

WEITZMANN: His method was simply to make you look at a work of art and make you think of every possible angle. This means this was neither purely stylistic nor purely iconographical. Every aspect had to be taken into account, also the historical aspect. Everything. Of course, he had a most extraordinary sharp eye, and he was primarily a stylistic critic. But also, I never forget that he once told me he never wrote an article in his life exclusively based on stylistic criticism, because nobody more than he knew the fallacies of an exclusively stylistic analysis. It was typical Goldschmidt.

RIKALA: How did the dissertation evolve? You went and you looked and gathered other material, and then what question did you set yourself to answer?

WEITZMANN: Well, the thesis deals with ivory caskets covered with scenes and figures derived from classical mythology. The classical archaeologist in Berlin was Ferdinand Noack. He took a great interest in my studies. After I had passed the examination, Noack, who had read the thesis too, encouraged me to apply for a stipend of the German Archaeological Institute. The one stipend

I could apply for was naturally the one for early Christian art, which, according to the rules, was reserved only for theologians. They had to change the rules for me. After me, several art historians got it. So I got a stipend. I'll tell you about this later. As a student I was working intensively and giving papers in the archaeological seminar of Professor Noack as an art historian.

A great attraction in Berlin at that time was the musical life. There were three opera houses and concerts of a great variety. There was [Wilhelm] Furtwängler in Berlin and many, many great artists. There were also exhibitions of a great variety. I mean, besides going regularly to museums, there was the greatest Munch exhibition in Berlin, and this I would cherish very, very much. Another good exhibition was of Lovis Corinth. Does the name mean anything to you? He's a German impressionist. He was one of the leading impressionists, and he had an exhibition. Then there was an exhibition of faked van Goghs by a man by the name of Wacker.

RIKALA: How long did it take you to complete your dissertation?

WEITZMANN: I wrote on it for almost three years. The last year, I took no more courses; I spent the whole year only writing on the thesis. It was such a comprehensive affair. In spite of having written a well-accepted thesis, when I had finished it and passed quite a good exam, I saw no future ahead and found no position. So I said to Goldschmidt, "Well, I think I have

to give up art history. I have nothing to live on." Then he got me a general stipend for a year, and also a second specific one for collaborating with him on the second volume of the Byzantine ivories. So there was a time where I was working on two projects at the same time, first on the ivories and second, after my Ph.D., I had started to expand beyond the ivories and work on illustrated Byzantine manuscripts. My first manuscript experience was naturally in the Prussian State Library in Berlin. The head of the manuscript collection was a man named Albert Böckler, who was a pupil of Goldschmidt. We became close friends, and he helped me to get grounded in a new field. So in those days, then, I worked on two projects practically at the same time, working in the mornings with Goldschmidt on ivories and in the afternoons on manuscripts.

Then, in '31, I got the stipend of the German Archaeological Institute. I laid out a program to study illustrated Byzantine manuscripts. So I went first to Athens, Greece. I stayed in the German Institute and worked in the National Library in Athens. One of the curators was Linos Politis. He took an interest in my studies, and I learned a great deal from him about Greek paleography, which I had not studied in Berlin. So I laid out a program to study Greek manuscripts on a large scale. Even before I went to Greece to work on the manuscripts, Goldschmidt had provided me with several stipends, and I had worked in practically all the big European libraries.

I'd been in Paris, naturally, and in Rome and in Italy and even in Russia, but no studies of the manuscripts in the Greek libraries.

So after Athens, I went to Thessaly to Meteora, to monasteries on the high rocks. There are several monasteries, very famous, in Meteora. Afterwards, I made my first trip to the holy mountain, to Mount Athos. Of course, nobody at the archaeological institute in Athens knew anything about Mount Athos. Nobody could help me even in practical matters, and I didn't know how to get to Athos. So I went to Thessaloniki and found out that I had to have special permission, which had to be gotten from Athens. So the correspondence starts, and I was caught for a while in Thessaloniki. Well, one day a gentleman comes, and he looks at me: "What are you after?" I said, "I want a permit to get to Mount Athos." "Come in my office." He was the governor of Macedonia. His name was Kalligas, and his brother [Marinos Kalligas] was an art historian who was a friend of mine. So this was my first of five Athos trips.

After my return to Athens, I made one more trip and traveled by boat to the Isle of Patmos, Saint John's Monastery in Patmos, which has a very rich library. And there, after two weeks, I didn't feel well and suddenly said to myself, "I must go back to Athens." Well, once a week a boat goes to Athens. I went down to the harbor. They said, "No boat is coming today because you are the only traveler." I said, "I cannot wait another

week." So I hired a fisherman to take me in a boat to the next island, a boat to Leros. Well, I went to Leros immediately to a steamship company. "The boat doesn't stop here today." I looked again for my fisherman. He took me to the next island, to Kalymnos. Well, in Kalymnos I waited till midnight, and there, indeed, I did get the boat. I had one of the most miserable nights in my life.

I arrived in the morning in Piraeus, went back to the German Institute. Then I found myself in the hospital all of a sudden. I was unconscious. I had typhus, which I had contracted in Patmos. So I was four weeks in the hospital in Athens. After this I had to go back to Germany. So, as a matter of fact, I had only for half a year the use of my stipend. At about this time I had planned to go to Istanbul and had already made a reservation at the German Institute in Istanbul. Nothing came of it. Also I wanted at that time to go to Sinai. Nothing came of it.

So I went back to Germany. Then I found a position at the archaeological institute. I was a proofreader and editor for Archäologisches Jahrbuch. This job I held for several years. My chief there was Theodor Wiegand, excavator of Pergamon. He had been the director of the Pergamon Museum and then became the president of the German Archaeological Institute. Because he knew I had lost so much of my stipend, he wanted to make good to some extent and said to me, "Well, now I will send you

for two months to Istanbul to the German Institute to work there."

This was the time that I was working on my book on the Byzantine manuscripts, which was then later published by the archaeological institute under the title Die byzantinische Buchmalerei [des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts (1935)]. Well, under normal circumstances, this book was meant to be what the Germans call a Habilitationsschrift. It means that in order to become a Privatdozent at the university, you had to submit a second book. You see, a doctor's thesis wasn't enough. You had to have the second book, the so-called Habilitationsschrift, and this was supposed to be this book on Byzantine miniatures.

Well, naturally, my first thought was to try Berlin, which was my alma mater. Goldschmidt was no longer the head, and his successor was a man named [Albert Erich] Brinckmann. When I went to see Brinckmann about it, he said to me, "Mr. Weitzmann, I want to be honest with you. I'm not interested in your qualifications. I just do not want a pupil of Goldschmidt here." It was plain.

Well, one of Goldschmidt's pupils was Hans Jantzen, the chairman of the art department in Frankfurt. Of course, Jantzen, with the recommendation of Goldschmidt, was willing to have me as Privatdozent in Frankfurt. Everything was prepared. I was supposed to get a librarian position in the Städel Institute to support me financially.

Well, when I read in the papers one day "No German can become a Privatdozent unless he has absorbed two years of the Nazi indoctrination school in Kiel"-- This I refused to do. So I knew I had no chance in Germany for an academic career. But I was still employed in the archaeological institute, and I could live.

Then something extraordinary happened in my life. One day Goldschmidt comes out of the Prussian Academy in Berlin, where he had met Professor Hans Lietzmann-- Hans Lietzmann was the early Christian archaeologist in Berlin. He had told Goldschmidt a fascinating story. In the early thirties, Yale University had made one of the most important excavations of the century in Dura Europos, finding a synagogue covered with frescoes of Old Testament scenes. One of the excavators by the name of [Paul] Baur was a personal friend of Lietzmann, and he came directly from Dura to Berlin and left him a set of photos of the Dura synagogue frescoes. So Lietzmann announced a seminar about this topic. Goldschmidt said, "Well, this subject should be very interesting for you." So I went to see Lietzmann. I said, "I am no longer a student, but could I take part in your seminar?" He said, "Yes, under one condition: that you read a paper." I agreed to do so.

So I read a paper on one panel of the crossing of the Red Sea. I had studied already Greek manuscripts, the so-called Octateuchs, and found the crossing of the Red Sea in many

iconographical details agreeing with Dura. At that time, it occurred to me that these Greek manuscripts and the Dura frescoes may have the same root. This idea led to a lifelong occupation with the Dura synagogue, and only in 1990 I published a book jointly with Herbert Kessler entitled The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art.

Lietzmann was fascinated by my paper because he knew something about the Octateuchs. He had written himself, together with Georg Karo, an archaeologist, an article about the catenae accompanying the text of the Octateuchs. So he knew the manuscripts very well. He said to me, "I have always hoped I would find somebody who would take an interest in these Octateuchs. Would you be willing to work on the Octateuchs? I promise you the support of the Prussian Academy." This looked like an interesting project and I accepted his proposal.

The first thing to do was to try to get photos of the Octateuchs. Two of the most famous manuscripts are at the Vatican. So I wrote to the prefect of the Vatican, Cardinal [Eugène] Tisserant. I got an answer from Tisserant: Yes, he had no objection to having these manuscripts photographed, but he wanted to let me know that photographs of the manuscripts had been made just recently for Princeton University and that I should write to [Charles] Rufus Morey to get his permission to have prints made. So I wrote to Morey and got an answer that he would not like much to give me the permission because it would lead to duplication.

Princeton had embarked on an even bigger project, not only to publish the illustrated Octateuchs but all illustrated manuscripts of the Septuagint. In this project he, Morey, was supposed to do the Octateuchs. But since he didn't have the time--he had many other projects going on--he would be willing to transfer this project to me if I would come to Princeton. So I came to Princeton. It's quite a story, isn't it. [laughter]

RIKALA: Were you already familiar with Rufus Morey's work?

WEITZMANN: Well, I knew a little. Yes. Morey had written an article on the so-called Paris Psalter, which he had dated to Alexander in the seventeenth century. My first article, in 1929, was on the Paris Psalter. I dated it to the tenth century, making it part of what I termed "the Macedonian Renaissance."

Now, when I had published this article, I went with several reprints to give Goldschmidt a copy. At that moment, I see Goldschmidt coming out of his office with a very distinguished-looking gentleman I had never seen, and I tried to disappear again. Goldschmidt immediately saw what I had. "What do you have there?" I said, "Well, I just want to give you a reprint." "Do you have another one? Please give Mr. Morey one." [laughter] Goldschmidt knew that this article was against Morey. [laughter] But this shows the greatness of Morey. He knew we didn't agree on this point, and still he got me to Princeton. He always fought me publicly on this issue but would nevertheless support, to the utmost, my research. But, of course, he could

always excuse my disagreeing views because I was not his pupil. What hurt him really was that his best pupil, [Albert M.] Friend, didn't share his views but mine. So it was a conflict.

RIKALA: So you had these two offers: one from Lietzmann and the Prussian Academy and one from Princeton.

WEITZMANN: Yes. Since I saw my way blocked in Germany for a career, I was glad, naturally, to accept the Princeton offer. So I wrote to Morey, yes, I would come to Princeton, but I didn't have the money. He would have to pay for it. He wrote back, "Yes. Wait. I will find the money. Don't make any binding engagement in Germany. Wait." So one day, while I was in Istanbul, I got a telegram from Morey: "We have the money. When do you come to Princeton?"

In the meantime I had gone to Istanbul for two months. On my way to Istanbul I stopped in Sofia, Bulgaria, to attend a Byzantine congress. It was the second international Byzantine congress and the first congress I ever attended. Goldschmidt was very eager that I should go. He said, "Well, in the situation you are in now, it would be useful to have foreign contacts." I went to Sofia as a private person. I was keeping away from the German delegation, which was headed by [Franz] Dölger, the head of the Byzantine Institute in Munich. These were interesting times. The congress was opened by the Bulgarian king--he was still at that time--King Boris. The head of the congress was Bogden Filov. He was the leading Byzantinist in Bulgaria. He

was later murdered by the communists. Then came the various representatives of the countries to make speeches. Well, it started with "Allemagne." The representative of the German delegation was Dölger. He was "happy to be here to see so many German delegations, which showed the interest of der Führer in Byzantine studies." Well, everybody felt uncomfortable.

RIKALA: Of course.

WEITZMANN: After Allemagne came Belgique, and one of the leading Byzantinists was Henri Gregoire, a Belgian from the Byzantine Institute in Brussels. He started, "Après le formidable Allemagne, la petite Belgique." And the whole floor roared with laughter. [laughter] I mean, these are all such little things, but still characterizing the situation. Of course at the congress, I kept away from the Germans, but I made friendships with André Grabar, whom I met for the first time, and with Roger Hincks, who was a Britisher with the British Museum and who wrote a book on Carolingian art.

RIKALA: Did you find Istanbul an exotic place?

WEITZMANN: Well, I stayed there at the German Institute. The director was Schede. [tape recorder off]

RIKALA: So I had asked about Istanbul and if it seemed exotic.

WEITZMANN: Well, of course, the greatest attraction was, of course, Hagia Sophia and the work which was done by Thomas Whittemore to free the mosaic from the whitewash. I met Whittemore. He was a strange person. Of course he would show me around,

but would keep me away from the areas in which he was at that time working. He was so jealous that he thought it should not be seen. But he took me up to the gallery, and I'll never forget--Have you ever been there?

RIKALA: No.

WEITZMANN: We stood at the west of the gallery looking through this vast expanse of this church. There was, in the apse--it was still a mosque in those days--a man reading from the Koran with a very low voice, and you could hear a whisper at this extraordinary distance. It makes you believe what the Byzantine writers said about the fantastic acoustics. The choir singing must have been something out of this world. But I'll come back to this later, on a later visit, to tell more about Hagia Sophia, because then I come to Whittemore's successor, [Paul] Underwood. But besides Hagia Sophia, I just fell as much in love with the great mosques. The famous architect Sinan.

But, at the time, I did go to the library of the Seraglio to study the famous Octateuch. When one goes through the various courtyards, in the little last courtyard there's a little rococo marble kiosk which houses the library. They were very accommodating. They got me this precious manuscript. Well, this whole manuscript was loose gatherings wrapped in yellow silk. It had no binding and was damaged by a fungus, this violet fungus. Terrible condition. Well, for my work, of course, I wanted to have photographs of this manuscript made. The second

director of the German Archaeological Institute was Kurt Bittel, and he helped me to get the photographs, but the Seraglio library made one condition: it would permit having photographs made only if the manuscript first be restored at Princeton's expense, and it insisted that the best restorer would have to be gotten. So we got a man, the famous papyrus restorer, a man by the name of Ibscher, from Berlin. He went to restore the manuscript page by page. I've seen it later bound into leather volumes, and all the pages were restored. I have the photographs right here.

While I was in Istanbul, I got the telegram to come to Princeton from Morey. I answered, "Could I come a few months later and not immediately?" Because I wanted to first see my Byzantine Buchmalerei before I left for the States. Yes, this was no difficulty. So in early '35, I left Germany to go to Princeton.

Well, the department didn't have money for research, but Morey always found money. He went to the Institute [for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey] and persuaded [Abraham] Flexner to give me a stipend for a year. So I came to Princeton with an institute stipend, and I was only a few months in this country when I was made a permanent member of the institute.

RIKALA: What was the relationship of the institute with the university?

WEITZMANN: Well, the institute was originally founded in 1932

only as a mathematical section.

RIKALA: That's what I thought.

WEITZMANN: In '35, two new sections were added: one for economics and one for humanistic studies. The one section for economics was founded at the advice of the trustees, who were businessmen. But as far as the School of Humanistic Studies was concerned, Flexner, the director, was advised by Morey. Morey actually built up at the institute the whole faculty, and he had a plan to get representatives in those fields which were not represented at the university. Well, the classics department needed an epigrapher so they got Benjamin Merritt, who was connected with Agora excavations in Athens. Also, they had no paleography. So, with Morey's advice, Elias Loewe, the famous paleographer who had made a corpus of Carolingian manuscripts-- Also, there was no representative of oriental archaeology. There they got Ernst Herzfeld. Ernst Herzfeld became quite a close friend of mine. He had been an excavator in Persepolis and Samarra and a very famous orientalist. Morey was the adviser of Flexner in all these cases. He had tremendous influence. When I came to Princeton, [Erwin] Panofsky was a member of the art department of the university, and he was taken over to the Institute and I too was taken over and became a permanent member of the humanistic school.

RIKALA: Panofsky had also fairly recently come to the United States, maybe a few years before you?

WEITZMANN: Yes, he came a little earlier than I. I think he was even, before he came to Princeton, already at NYU [New York University], if I remember correctly.

RIKALA: Under what circumstances did he come to the United States? Do you know?

WEITZMANN: Well, he was dismissed from his position of Ordinarius in Hamburg. Being a Jew, he had to leave. You see, I was in a somewhat different position. I didn't have to leave Germany. I mean, I left because I just didn't like Mr. Hitler.

RIKALA: That's a pretty strong reason.

WEITZMANN: So I got to know Panofsky very well, naturally. I saw a great deal of him at the institute and the art department.

RIKALA: Before we wrap this part up, perhaps you can tell me a little bit about what things were like in Berlin before you left. What was the tension?

WEITZMANN: Well, of course, the situation had become difficult. Now, you see, when I came to America I was already married. I married my wife in '32. But since I started with only a contract for one year, I didn't know whether I would take roots in America. I didn't take my wife with me. Then I was here only a few months when the department organized a trip to Mount Athos for me, because Friend had collected an enormous collection of Byzantine manuscript photos all from western European libraries. Since I knew Athos, he wanted me to take photos not only for my Octateuch

project but for his own studies. So I went for several months to Mount Athos. I didn't want my wife to come to America while I was traveling in Greece. She still had a position in Berlin with the archaeological seminar of the university. So after Greece, I would go for a few weeks to Berlin before returning to the States. I did this in '35. And again in '36 I traveled once more for several months to Mount Athos, studying and photographing manuscripts.

But then something happened. I took the Orient Express from Athens to Berlin. At five o'clock in the morning I arrived in Berlin, and at eight o'clock I found in the mail a postcard that I had to report to the military authorities. Then, on the first of January, I read in the papers "No German between the ages of eighteen and forty-five is permitted to leave the country without special permission of the military authorities." So now I thought I was caught. Of course, I had to go for registration. But they said, "For the time being you will not be called yet because of your advanced age." I said to myself, "Get out of Germany as quickly as you can." So I changed my ticket for the first boat I could get after the first of January. My wife accompanied me to the boat in Bremerhaven, and she had two passports. Being of Russian descent, she had no German passport but was staatenlos, as we call it. At the same time she did have a German passport through the marriage. While she went with me to the boat, she fussed around with the authorities,

feigning a false passport, and so, in the meantime, I slipped by and was in safe territory on the boat. It really depended on a thin thread. I might have been caught and may never have gotten out of Germany again. Then, the next year, '37, again I went to Europe. I did not, however, go to Germany. I went straight to Switzerland. I met my wife in Lucerne. Then, in '38, the time had come when she would come to join me in Princeton. She came with her mother [Pauline Fiedler], who lived with us. My wife I had met as a student, and she also has a Ph.D. from Goldschmidt.

RIKALA: Oh. Well, we can talk about that.

WEITZMANN: She took her degree one year after me.

TAPE NUMBER: II, SIDE ONE

APRIL 4, 1992

RIKALA: I wanted to follow up on some of the questions from yesterday and some of the things we were talking about after we turned the tape recorder off. You were telling me about [Allan] Marquand, the Marquand library. I was thinking about how he was of this banking family and collected art, and then I was thinking about Adolph Goldschmidt. He, too, if I understand his biography correctly, was of a banking family.

WEITZMANN: Precisely. He was the oldest son of a banker's family in Hamburg and didn't want to become a banker, but all of his brothers became bankers. Well, does the name Aby Warburg mean anything to you?

RIKALA: Yes, of course it does.

WEITZMANN: Aby Warburg and Goldschmidt were close friends. They were schoolmates. Both were sons, the oldest sons, of a banking family. Both renounced their birthright, so to speak, only that Warburg was more clever than Goldschmidt. He said to his brothers, "I renounce my birthright, but you will have to support the Warburg Library," you see. I remember, when I almost stayed every day in the house of Goldschmidt, when he had a birthday, he got a box with a living animal. I don't know if it was a hare or something. He said yes, every year he gets a living animal from Aby Warburg. What the story behind

this is, I don't know.

RIKALA: And what kind of animals?

WEITZMANN: Well, I don't know.

RIKALA: That's a very interesting set of families, then, that provided support for the arts and became involved in art history in a very structural way. I'd like to talk a little bit more about Goldschmidt if we can for a while, to go over his influence--[tape recorder off] Okay. The paper you presented when you received your honorary degree at Bonn, was it--?

WEITZMANN: No, Berlin in 1982.

RIKALA: Berlin, I'm sorry.

WEITZMANN: Berlin was my alma mater. Of course, it was no longer Humboldt Universität; it was now the Freie Universität, the Free University of Berlin, which replaced the old one in West Germany.

RIKALA: This paper is a biography, in a sense.

WEITZMANN: Well, it is about Goldschmidt's activities, you see.

RIKALA: Yes, I will read it.

WEITZMANN: A portrait of Goldschmidt's school in art history in Berlin. I made a few remarks also about his colleagues and so on. But I talked chiefly about Goldschmidt.

RIKALA: The other point I wanted to follow up is that you mentioned that your wife [Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler] was a student of Goldschmidt.

WEITZMANN: Yes.

RIKALA: We were talking about Princeton [University] again, the differences, and that they didn't accept women here. Was it common for women of your wife's generation to do Ph.D. degrees? Was there no problem ever in the universities to accept them?

WEITZMANN: No, not in Berlin at the time. No. But I remember that here in Princeton, when it was discussed in the faculty whether women should be admitted or not and they sent a circular around to various professors to see what they thought about it, I wrote in my answer, "In my opinion you talk about something of yesterday, because when I was a student fifty years ago in Germany, women's studies were taken for granted." That was my answer to the Princeton president. But still, there were comparatively few women who took a degree with Goldschmidt. It had nothing to do with Goldschmidt's antipathy against women, but simply with the fact that at the university at Berlin they had the special requirements of Greek and Latin. And fewer women did have a humanistic education. They came from a lyceum where they had Latin but not Greek. This was why so many of them-- I mean, half his students in Berlin were women, but then they left after several terms to take their Ph.D. in another university because the requirement of Greek was a hurdle in Berlin. But my wife's mother [Pauline Fiedler], she was one of the very first female medical students in Berlin around the turn of the century. Any other questions?

RIKALA: There was one other thing. You talked about Max J. Friedländer and the art collections, art museum, and working with drawings. I have a copy of the book, his remembrances [Genuine and Counterfeit: Experiences of a Connoisseur]. I was wondering if you could just elaborate a little bit more on your memories of Friedländer and his impact and his influence towards working with original pieces of art.

WEITZMANN: Of course, I had met him several times but had no closer contact with him. You see, he was not teaching at the university.

RIKALA: He was at the museum.

WEITZMANN: He was the director of the Kupferstichkabinett. Friedländer and Goldschmidt had studied together in Leipzig under [Anton] Springer. He was their teacher. Springer was a man who, at the time, had done a general book on art history [Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte], and he was the leading art historian of his generation. To this generation of students belonged he and [Gustav] Pauli in Hamburg and Friedrich Sarre, who became head of the Islamic department of the Berlin museum. These four people always remained close friends all their lives.

RIKALA: Yesterday you had told me a little bit about you and your wife getting married and that you had come to Princeton, and you were working at Mount Athos. So I thought we would pick up the interesting question that's a very general question

that we can think about while we're talking about this, which is why does Princeton cultivate such a strong interest in the Byzantine arts? I know the department is both art and archaeology and all these--

WEITZMANN: It was simply the personality of [Charles] Rufus Morey.

RIKALA: But in terms of United States universities, it's really the first and strongest.

WEITZMANN: Well, when Marquand founded it, there was no concentration in medieval.

RIKALA: At all?

WEITZMANN: No. Marquand had written the first book in the English language on ancient architecture [Greek Architecture], but his special field-- He wrote four volumes on the della Robbia family. That was his interest.

RIKALA: The Florentine Renaissance.

WEITZMANN: But Rufus Morey, he came from classical philology, also a Latinist, and then he had spent some time in Rome. There he developed his interest in early Christian art. Then he became Marquand's successor. In Princeton, he built the whole department up with medievalists. He was so strong a personality in that field that all his pupils were writing doctor's theses in medieval art, and soon Princeton became the center especially for early Christian art. Medieval was also taught very well elsewhere, for instance in Romanesque art at Harvard [University]

by [Arthur] Kingsley Porter, but it was more specialized. He did not, so to speak, shape all of Harvard as Morey shaped Princeton. When I came to this department I was one exception: I was not only the only non-American, but the only non-Princetonian.

There were also some women who were interested in the medieval field who came to study with Morey but could not take the exams here. One was Marion Lawrence, who became professor at Barnard [College] in New York. The second was Helen Woodruff, who became the director of the [Princeton] Index [of Christian Art] here. The third was Myrtilla Avery, who became chairman of the art department in Wellesley [College]. So there are three very prominent women. All were Morey's pupils without having been able to take a Princeton degree. They had to take it at other universities. I don't know where. Morey trained medievalists and sent them all over the country. Wherever a university wanted a medievalist, they got somebody from Princeton.

RIKALA: It seems, from what I'm understanding, that Morey, and perhaps Princeton in general, was truly interested in the German academic tradition.

WEITZMANN: No. That's not true.

RIKALA: No?

WEITZMANN: Harvard had some of the German orientation, but not Princeton. Princeton scholars were chiefly oriented toward Italy and France. The real strong German connection came only when Goldschmidt was brought to this country. But this is a

whole story in itself. The man responsible for getting Goldschmidt as guest professor to America was not Morey. The driving force was Friend.

RIKALA: Albert [M.] Friend.

WEITZMANN: Well, this is the story. He had started to write a doctor's thesis under Morey on the Carolingian ivories. In America at the time, nobody knew what was going on in Germany, where Goldschmidt was working on the corpus of ivories. Nobody knew this. Friend had worked for years, and all of a sudden there appeared the first volume of Goldschmidt, to his great surprise, and this deprived him of a possibility to write a thesis on this subject.

But then he shifted from ivories to Carolingian manuscripts and was very intimate with the [Pierpont] Morgan Library. The Morgan Library designed a project where he was supposed to publish the Carolingian manuscripts. So, of course, he knew that one of the leading scholars in the field was Wilhelm Köhler. He came later to Harvard. Wilhelm Köhler worked on the corpus of Carolingian manuscripts. He was professor in Jena and museum director in Weimar. Double position.

So Friend went to Germany after the war to visit Köhler and to get contact with him. Köhler told him, "The man you really should see is Adolph Goldschmidt in Berlin." So Friend took a train to Berlin, called and telephoned Mr. Goldschmidt: "Can I see you?" "Yes, come right away." So he went to see

Goldschmidt one afternoon and left at three o'clock in the morning. They had became friends.

Friend then tried everything to get Goldschmidt as a guest professor in America, but Princeton did not have money for a visiting scholar. So Friend went to Paul [J.] Sachs at Harvard and persuaded Paul Sachs to get Goldschmidt to Harvard. That's how he became a guest professor at Harvard. But he always came on visits to Princeton, and as Goldschmidt himself confided to me, his real home in America was Princeton, because he had Morey and Friend and all of his personal friends in the field. After the First World War, when naturally there was still much discrimination against Germany, Goldschmidt was the first German to get an honorary degree in this country. And where? Here in Princeton. Later he also got an honorary degree during the tricentennial celebration in Harvard.

Then Morey--I think I told you the story yesterday--went to Berlin to see Goldschmidt there. I accidentally met Morey on that occasion. Also, one colleague from the department who regularly visited him was Ernest DeWald. Ernest DeWald was a member, also, of our department, a medievalist, all trained by Morey. He was an interesting person. He was a trained singer. As a matter of fact, he had sung in the opera in Baden-Baden, Germany, the role of Musetto in Don Giovanni. [laughter] I have heard him sing here in the chapel in Bach's Saint John's Passion. And Goldschmidt was very musical too. The biggest

sum of money he ever spent, he told me, was for the best piano he could get. So when DeWald came visiting in Berlin, Goldschmidt always accompanied him on the piano and had him sing.

RIKALA: So the faculty was made up of Morey and DeWald, Friend, and then there was E. Baldwin Smith.

WEITZMANN: Baldwin Smith was the oldest of the younger generation. He had written a thesis under Morey on early Christian ivories but then shifted entirely over to architecture. But, of course, there was, besides Morey, one great archaeologist here, Howard Crosby Butler. He was not connected with the art department but the school of architecture. Do you know anything about Butler?

RIKALA: Just a little bit here from my notes.

WEITZMANN: He's the man who excavated in Syria and made the big publication of Christian churches of Syria. And, if I may make a digression, he was one of the first archaeolo-gists who took students with him to train in the field. Of course, jokingly it was called the "Children's Crusade" here. [laughter]

Well, there was one interesting episode. One of Butler's pupils at this time was Robert Garrett, who became a great banker in Baltimore. Robert Garrett joined him, but on his way to Syria for the excavation, he stopped in Athens and took part in the [1896] Olympic games and got a medal in discus throwing. The interesting story is he had an advantage above all his competitors because he had made for his training a copy of the

disc of the famous discus thrower of a classic statue, you know. This was larger than the ones used in the Olympic games. But then Garrett, to follow up his story, which is interesting, too, became a great collector of manuscripts, particularly Arabic manuscripts. He learned Arabic. But he also bought the very best Byzantine manuscripts, and all his manuscripts he later left to Princeton. They're in our [Harvey S. Firestone Memorial] Library here. But also Baldwin Smith and George [H.] Forsyth were trained in architecture by Butler and in art history as well by Morey and both become successful teachers.

RIKALA: Butler, too, obviously had an interest in Byzantine ruins in the--

WEITZMANN: Oh, yes. In Byzantine architecture. He was dead by the time I arrived in Princeton, but I heard a good many stories about him from Friend. He had been a personal friend of Kaiser Wilhelm [II]. You know, Kaiser Wilhelm was quite an archaeologist himself. He wrote a book on archaeology and had a great many friends among German archaeologists. This is a chapter of German prewar history. Shortly before the outbreak of the war, there was a great fleet parade in Kiel. The story is when the emperor viewed the fleet in his yacht, he had as his private guest Howard Crosby Butler. So in his free hours he would talk archaeology with him. Because of his connection to Kaiser Wilhelm, when the war broke out, British intelligence officers came to Princeton to ask Butler about his relations

to Kaiser Wilhelm. Well, this is all on the sideline.

RIKALA: Oh, but it's very interesting, because the personalities of these people are now very far to reach, far away.

WEITZMANN: The only non-Princetonian in our department here was George [W.] Elderkin. He was a classical archaeologist and came from Johns Hopkins [University]. Of course, Johns Hopkins was one university, the first one in this country, to build up a graduate school in the German tradition--on top of a college.

RIKALA: Let's talk about a few of the other faculty members. There was also Richard Stillwell, who was one of Butler's students.

WEITZMANN: Oh, yes. He was also one of the pupils of Butler and of Morey, of course. He was the excavator of Corinth. As a matter of fact, when I got my stipend in Greece in 1931 and we made a long trip through Greece and visited also Corinth, I was presented to Mr. Stillwell, of course, not imagining there may be a day when he would be a colleague at Princeton. But then Stillwell was later part of the Antioch excavation. This was one of Morey's pet enterprises, Antioch. He was not in charge of digging. This was "Sandy" [W. A.] Campbell from Wellesley College. But Stillwell was in charge of a publication, and I got involved in it. I wrote two contributions in the Antioch volumes of the excavation, one on mosaics with scenes of Homer and Euripides, and the other on some incised sculpture.

And then there was [W. Frederick] Stohlman. He had specialized in medieval enamels. He was supposed to make a big corpus of Limoges enamels but published only a little on this subject, and all of his material was later turned over to Madame [Marie-Madeleine] Gauthier, who was a great expert in Limoges enamels. But when Morey became cultural attaché in Rome, he took Stohlmann with him, and he was his assistant in Rome at the embassy.

And still another one was Donald Egbert. Well, Egbert, too, had studied under Morey, written a thesis on illustrated Gothic manuscripts from the New York Public Library, but he later shifted entirely to modern architecture. He gave up medieval studies altogether.

RIKALA: And we spoke a little bit about Forsyth, didn't we?

WEITZMANN: Well, George Forsyth was an instructor here when I came, but then he was called as a chairman to Ann Arbor [University of Michigan]. He became a chairman of the art department there and built a whole very good department partly with people from Princeton whom I had recommended to him. He liked to have Princeton people there. Marvin Eisenberg was one of them. Of course, later I had to do very much with Forsyth when he invited me to participate in the Sinai enterprise.

RIKALA: Saint Catherine's.

WEITZMANN: We'll talk about Sinai later. But Forsyth had done some fieldwork in France, medieval, at the church of Saint Martin in Angers. He was a wonderful draftsman, and he did some magnificent drawings of the church, which was extraordinary.

RIKALA: We spoke yesterday a bit about the Institute [for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey]. You were going over some of the people who were fellows there. I have a couple of other names that I wanted to ask you about that may not be correct. Was Charles de Tolnay here at some point?

WEITZMANN: Oh, yes.

RIKALA: Was that later?

WEITZMANN: No, he was here in my time. Well, after all, everybody who was in the School of Humanistic Studies was in my time here, because [Erwin] Panofsky and I were the first people at the newly founded School of Humanistic Studies. I got to know de Tolnay very well. De Tolnay had already been under Panofsky Privatdozent in Hamburg. He wrote his books, various volumes on Michelangelo, here in Princeton. But I must say this: the greatest drawback of Panofsky was that he was a personality who did not tolerate any strong person alongside of him. And this is why, after three years, de Tolnay left the Institute. Panofsky had as his assistant Hanns Swarzenski, who also left Princeton and became a curator of medieval art at the Boston Museum [of Fine Arts]. The other person who was at the institute

was Paul Frankl, who had been the chairman of the art department in Halle in Germany and a specialist in Gothic architecture. But also he never got the full, permanent position, only a difficult position--Panofsky did not much like to have competitors--but he did stay until the very last and died here.

RIKALA: But it seems that Frankl would have done something substantially different than Panofsky in his approach and his methods and his interests.

WEITZMANN: Yes. Oh, yes. Frankl had done the big book on Gothic architecture [Gothic Architecture], and Panofsky had done a big book on Abbot Suger [Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint Denis and Its Art Treasures]. It was still that Panofsky wanted to be the only art historian, to dominate his field.

RIKALA: Well, how did you two get along, then, you and Panofsky?

WEITZMANN: Well, of course, my chief interests were here in the department. When I was first called by Morey for one year to Princeton and he got a grant from the institute, the institute made me a permanent member, and for ten years I was exclusively with the institute but working here in the art department. But then, in 1945, when Morey gave up the professorship in order to become the cultural attaché in Rome, his successor as chairman was Baldwin Smith. One of the first actions of Baldwin Smith was to offer me a half-time professorship at the university. Then the chief purpose was that I should take over the German medieval course which Morey had given.

RIKALA: That course didn't go to Friend?

WEITZMANN: Well, no, because Friend then became the director of studies at Dumbarton Oaks [Research Library and Collection]. Otherwise I suppose it would have been Friend. But Friend and I were very close friends, and there was never the slightest disagreement between us. What Morey and Friend had instituted was a seminar in illustrated manuscripts. Then Friend gave a seminar course, a graduate course, in illustrated manuscripts and asked me to participate in it. So the course was divided: he would talk for the first half of the term about portraits of the Evangelists, and I was asked to deal with the narrative cycles of the Bible. But even when Friend became director of Dumbarton Oaks, he still remained a professor in Princeton, but no longer gave an undergraduate course. For ten years, from '35 to '45, I gave the joined seminar. But it was only in '45, when I became professor here, that I was asked to take over the whole manuscript seminar and to give the general course on medieval art in the department.

Well, when I took over Morey's course, Morey was very generous and said to me I should do something quite different. He did not want me to imitate him, and I said that I wouldn't. Well, what I did in the medieval course, first of all, I condensed it. He started with Hellenistic art and ended about 1500. I felt that the Greco-Roman is too much to have included in a course of medieval art. So I eliminated Greco-Roman art and

started with Constantine and took off, at the other end, the fifteenth century because I felt it was the Renaissance. So I gave my course from Constantine to 1400. But I made several changes. The Princeton system--I don't know if you are familiar-- Princeton had its own educational system, the so-called preceptorial system. You know what it means?

RIKALA: Yes, I think so, but please explain it.

WEITZMANN: This whole preceptorial system is typical only for Princeton. This was something which was invented or instituted by Woodrow Wilson when he was president of Princeton University. It meant when I was giving the medieval course, I had, let's say, as an average, sixty students. The class would then be divided in groups of ten, and each group would have one preceptorial discussion. But, naturally, in big courses you couldn't give all the precepts alone, and you had some assistants, either graduate students or colleagues, who would take over some of the preceptorials.

Now, the whole Princeton training was very much with photographs, almost exclusively photographs. It had very little contact with original objects. I made two innovations in my course. Normally, a student had to pass two exams, one midterm exam and one final exam. The midterm exam was, at that time, a questionnaire with thirty questions, yes or no answers. I didn't like this. I said to myself, "I don't want to test memory. I want to test understanding." I canceled this whole exam.

Instead, I introduced something else. I went to the [Princeton University Art] Museum and arranged an exhibition of medieval objects and told the students, "You go in, you choose any object you like, and you write an essay on that object." I thought that an essay would teach a student much more. He would have to look at the original. Of course, it was a great burden on me, because I had to spend two or three weeks going over the essay with every student. When there are fifty essays to read, that is quite a burden, but still I think this was worthwhile, and the students were very grateful for it. I'll never forget the student who came to me, "Sir, you don't know what it means to me to write an essay. I am a student for several years now at Princeton, and this is the first essay I've ever written." He came from another department.

Another innovation I made in the course: I would go to a museum, choose any object, put it in my pocket, and have it on the table so that the students would see and get in their hands an original object. Well, once I remember a Romanesque ivory statue. The man who simply fell in love with it was Thomas Hoving. Actually, this was for him his decision to major in art history. He had come to Princeton not knowing what he was going to concentrate on. Not only did he major in art history, he came to me to write the thesis on ivories with me. When he was director of the Metropolitan Museum [of Art], one of the most important acquisitions he ever made was a huge Romanesque

ivory cross, about which he wrote a whole book, a detective story about how he got ahold of this cross. I remember one of the essay papers was so good that I got it printed. It was a student who wrote on the Chartres glass the museum possesses. You know, we have one original Chartres window here.

RIKALA: Oh, I didn't know that.

WEITZMANN: Yes. It was at the time-- When stained glass windows were restored, the restorer would make two out of one. One he would sell and the other one he would restore to put back in place.

RIKALA: So this medieval course became the core course for the department, didn't it?

WEITZMANN: Yes. I did enjoy this undergraduate teaching, but I still felt that undergraduate teaching can be done just as well by most Americans. But where I had most to give was in the graduate course, because I had a more specialized training in a certain field. So my chief concentration was the manuscript course, especially after Friend had left for Washington. Actually, several Ph.D. theses came out of his course. Three of them were published in this series I had started, Studies in Manuscript Illumination. They're those black volumes that you see on the shelf. Jack [John R.] Martin was one and Herbert [L.] Kessler was one. There was a third by [George] Galavaris. But also, when I started the series with Friend, the first volume was a study by Goldschmidt. He was living in exile

completely shut off from the world, in Switzerland. It was the last thing he wrote, and it was the beginning of the series, to give prestige to it

See, then Friend and I divided this graduate course. He talked about Evangelist portraits and I about narrative Bible illustration. Friend very much encouraged me that I should go further back and find out about the roots of illustrated manuscripts. So I got involved in the classical field--of course, I was a trained archaeologist--and what I ended up with was to reconstruct illustrated Homer and Euripides. I wrote several studies on that subject.

This whole graduate course, in essence, I wrote down in a book [Illustrations in] Roll and Codex: [A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration (1947)], which became, in a way, the textbook for the course. I think Roll and Codex has become the most widely known and the most influential book I wrote. It has recently been translated. Two Italian editions have come out of it and then recently a Spanish edition, and what is in the making right now is a Japanese edition. But what intrigued me to hear, what I found later-- Well, of course, Roll and Codex was the reason why some students came to Princeton. For instance, Galavaris, who was a student in Greece, he told me the story that he went to Rome to an American center where there were books from Princeton [University Press], and there he found Roll and Codex. When he looked into it, he said to

himself, "That's the man I want to study with," and he applied to Princeton. Also my Japanese student [Shigebumi Tsuji], he had found out about Roll and Codex and very much on that basis wanted to come to Princeton and study with me. Now, what has happened more recently, I learned that it is used as a textbook in a course in Florence.

In order to make it accessible to the students--it is required reading--it was translated into Italian. The student who translated it was the best student, Massimo Bernabò. Massimo Bernabò also started to work in Greek manuscripts and got interested in the Octateuchs. And he already wrote an article, which was sent to me. Then I looked for a collaborator. I had already had a colla- borator, which didn't work out. I asked Bernabò. He immediately agreed that he wanted to work with me on the Octateuchs. He's the best collaborator I could find. He has been here in Princeton twice already and is coming next month again to work with me.

TAPE NUMBER: II, SIDE TWO

APRIL 4, 1992

WEITZMANN: So I had quite a number of students also from other departments. For instance, from the music department, our present music historian here, [Kenneth] Levy, he took my course. Yes, it's an interesting story, too, the founding of the music department at the university. There was none when I came to Princeton. Then they decided on founding a music department that would not only call Roger Sessions, quite a famous composer, but a music historian, Oliver Strunk.

RIKALA: I don't know him.

WEITZMANN: Well, Oliver Strunk had been the head of the music department of the Library of Congress, a very prestigious position. But he preferred an academic position and doing research. So when he heard about this new school of music to be founded in Princeton, he tried to get to Princeton. His chief interest had been Byzantine music. At the time he came to be interviewed at Princeton, he had read an article in the New York Times about my expedition to Mount Athos, where it was stated that I had seen musical manuscripts with pictures. So Strunk naturally came to me to see me about it. When he decided to come to Princeton, he had his working place established not with the music historians, but in my manuscript room. We were sitting opposite each other at the same table. This was a start for him to get acquainted

with Greek, and I helped him with his Greek and so on. So we became very close friends. But then the manuscript mentioned in the New York Times he got so interested in that I once spent on Mount Athos in the monastery of Kutlumusi two, three weeks only to photograph this manuscript picture by picture, page by page for publication by Strunk.

The pictures were supposed to be dealt with by Mr. Friend. However, Friend was always a tragic case. He was one of the most gifted persons I ever met in my life, but he was an obsessed perfectionist and wouldn't write. I once said to him, "Bert, you are blasphemous. Leave perfection to God." [laughter] It hit him hard. But he wrote very, very little. I have the proof plates here, but publication was never made.

RIKALA: Was there not a push, though, from the faculty--?

WEITZMANN: No. I tried to push Friend. He would sit down, start for one or two days. Then he was distracted by something else.

RIKALA: But for the faculty at large, there wasn't any sort of challenge to his staying at Princeton?

WEITZMANN: Well, he was such an outstanding person that he would make his career without him ever making a Ph.D. It was still possible at that time. Today it wouldn't be.

He was one of the most stimulating teachers, but at the same time, fatal. Students would start a thesis under him, and Friend would always find something else: "You go on with this and

this and this." There was never one thesis finished under him. But when he died, I took over two of his pupils, and I saw their theses through. One was William Loerke, a man who later was the very successful head of the department in [the University of] Pittsburgh and later director of studies of Dumbarton Oaks. He had worked on a thesis on the so-called Rossano Gospels, a very famous manuscript, which involved not only art history but also the history of liturgy. To see him through the exam, I had as a second reader of the thesis a man whom I got interested in it, the historian Ernst Kantorowicz. He was a very famous historian. He was at the institute. The second man was James Breckenridge, who was later the head of the art department at Northwestern [University]. He died early of a heart attack. But both I saw through their Ph.D.

Now do you want to hear more about my students?

RIKALA: Yes. I think we can talk more about the students. You mentioned Jack Martin.

WEITZMANN: Well, he wrote an excellent thesis. He took my course and afterwards came to me and said, "I want to write a thesis with you on a Byzantine manuscript." The first question I asked was "Do you know any Greek?" He said, "No." "No Greek, no thesis in Byzantine art." "I will learn Greek." A very gifted linguist, he learned Greek in order to be able to write the thesis on the illustrated manuscript of <u>The Heavenly Ladder</u> of John Climacus. But then, soon thereafter, he completely shifted his field

and became a specialist in Flemish painting, especially on Rubens. He gave up Byzantine art entirely. But his thesis was published in this series. I have three theses that came out in this series.

The second was by George Galavaris. He then became a professor in McGill University, where he still is now. At present I have engaged him as my collaborator on my Sinai enterprise. The last book I wrote is a joint one with him. It's on the chair there, The Byzantine Manuscripts of Mount Sinai [The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts, Volume 1, From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century (1991)].

RIKALA: Let's talk a little bit about the importance of photographs. Look at these plates. They're beautiful.

WEITZMANN: Yes, they're excellent plates. He's coming in a week or so, and we are working on the second volume together. Of course, being a Greek, he has a good friendship with monks in Sinai, so he's very much a persona grata in the monastery. And since I am no longer able to travel there, of course, everything that we do together he checks on the spot, and I have somebody now who represents me in Sinai.

RIKALA: Certainly, the advancement of the study of manuscripts must have grown with the use of photographs.

WEITZMANN: Well, when I came to Princeton, Friend had already collected a huge collection of photos of manuscripts, all from European libraries. But Princeton

had had no connections with Greece and the East. So when I came--and one of the Octateuchs is at Mount Athos--I was asked to go to Mount Athos to photograph that manuscript. This was one missing link. When I first came to Princeton, they told me, "We have all the photos." But I found out they did not have the one Octateuch for Mount Athos. So I was only two or three months in Princeton in '35 and I was already sent on an expedition to Mount Athos. I engaged a photographer, Baron [Anatole] von Meibohm, a Russian refugee. [tape recorder off] In this project of the illustrated Septuagint manuscripts, where I was to write
the volume on the Octateuchs, some volumes had already been published on the psalter by Ernest DeWald. So, naturally, he wanted photos of all the psalters from Mount Athos. Friend worked on the Evangelist portraits, and he wanted all the photos of the Evangelist portraits from Mount Athos. So I spent three months on Athos photographing as much as I could. The next year it was repeated; again I went three months. And then the project expanded, and I photographed every illuminated manuscript from Mount Athos in all of the twenty monasteries. Altogether, I made five expeditions to Mount Athos, and in three of them I stayed about three months each time.

RIKALA: When you talk about photographing them, you literally take each manuscript page and photograph it with the help of a professional?

WEITZMANN: Yes. That's the way this was all done. But still it was at the time when there was no color film yet, so it's all in black and white. But on my very first trip, when I was still a student in Berlin, I photographed myself. For my book which I mentioned yesterday, which was supposed to become my Habilitationsschrift, Die byzantinische Buchmalerei [des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts (1935)], a great deal of the photography I've done myself. In those days, one could still photograph in the European libraries. I photographed in the Vatican and in many other libraries.

RIKALA: So, still, getting back to this, it must have been a great advancement to have these photographs and bring them back to the United States. I mean, yes, some people had seen them, but suddenly the proliferation of this material was great, and the use of photographs and slides just in this period of Byzantine scholarship must have been very exciting for people.

WEITZMANN: Oh, yes. Oh, yes.

RIKALA: And somehow that, too, we don't appreciate today.

WEITZMANN: When Friend went to Dumbarton Oaks as director of studies, we talked it over jointly, and he decided that the research program he was going to develop in Dumbarton Oaks would leave out the manuscripts, which would remain the domain of Princeton. For Dumbarton Oaks he worked out a project of publication of fresco and mosaic decoration, and he organized expeditions to have the churches in Greece and Istanbul and

other places photographed.

RIKALA: Had mosaics been as thoroughly investigated?

WEITZMANN: Well, Friend stimulated two great projects in the mosaic field. One was that of Otto Demus, who had written a little book in his early years on San Marco. Friend supported a huge project at Dumbarton Oaks which involved the building of scaffolds and so on, and he saw to it that Demus's text got published. I have seen it. It's in three volumes, a splendid publication of the San Marco mosaics. Otto Demus died recently. In the entrance hall of San Marco are several cupolas with scenes from the Old Testament. They form a special problem. We know that they were copied from a manuscript. So I was asked to write a chapter in the Demus book on these mosaics and their dependence on the miniatures of the so-called Cotton series.

The second project Friend had stimulated were the mosaics of Sicily, which he put Ernst Kitzinger to work on. Kitzinger has published one volume on Sicilian mosaics already, and now the second one has been out. But also-- I think it was mentioned yesterday that a man by the name of Thomas Whittemore had worked on the mosaics in Hagia Sophia in Istanbul. Well, he had founded the Byzantine Institute in Paris. When Whittemore died, everything in this institute was transferred to Harvard and to Dumbarton Oaks, because Dumbarton Oaks is Harvard. And the successor of Whittemore was Paul Underwood. Paul Underwood had been my pupil, too. He had worked here in Princeton but

was also one of those who never finished a thesis and then started a teaching career and then was called by Friend to Dumbarton Oaks. I visited him repeatedly in Istanbul, where he worked not only on the Hagia Sophia mosaics but on a second church, the Kariye Camii, the Kora Church. He uncovered all of its mosaics under the whitewash. Underwood was able to publish these Kariye Camii mosaics in several volumes.

Then Friend had reserved for himself yet another mosaic project. There was a church in Constantinople, the Apostle Church, which no longer exists. But we have extensive descriptions of the mosaics, and we know that this Apostle Church became the model for San Marco in Venice. It was the same kind of five-dome cupola church. So Friend embarked on a reconstruction of its lost mosaics. The description is so detailed that one could find among the Byzantine frescoes and miniatures reflections of the lost mosaics of the Apostle Church. So Friend got Paul Underwood, who was also a trained architect, to do a reconstruction of the Apostle Church, and I got involved, supplying Friend with miniatures for this reconstruction. Again, nothing came out of the project. It's all there in the files. But while he was in Dumbarton Oaks, I was a standing guest there. I had a room reserved. I was very much in Dumbarton Oaks at that time.

Well, shall we perhaps shift to Dumbarton Oaks?

RIKALA: Yes, we can go on to talk about that.

WEITZMANN: Or you had something else first?

RIKALA: No, that would be fine. As I understand, before Friend was made permanent director, the director was a one-year position.

WEITZMANN: That's right.

RIKALA: And that changed.

WEITZMANN: Well, I met Mr. and Mrs. Bliss [Robert Woods Bliss and Mildred Barnes Bliss] for the first time at an exhibition in Worcester, Massachusetts. There was an exhibition, The Dark Ages. The director of the Worcester [Art] Museum was Henry Taylor, who was later the director of the Metropolitan Museum, and he concentrated on two areas for this exhibition: One was the first large display of the Antioch mosaics, which had been found by the Princeton excavation and then distributed all over the country. The second was the first public showing of the Bliss collection. Mrs. Bliss had a special interest in Byzantine art because she had a personal friend who was a gentleman art historian but professionally a diplomat, Royall Tyler. And Royall Tyler was her adviser to buy Byzantine art. So at the time they already had a beautiful collection of Byzantine silver and Byzantine ivories; [those] were their two strong points. When I met Mr. and Mrs. Bliss at this exhibition in Worcester, I was presented to Mr. Bliss. Out of his pocket he pulled an ivory to show me. He wanted my opinion about this ivory. I was startled. "Here is a problem I cannot solve, Mr. Bliss. I am sorry. This piece looks perfectly genuine. I cannot see

anything false. But an absolutely identical piece is in the Germanic Museum in Nuremburg, where I saw it a few months ago." "This is the piece from Nuremburg." Nuremburg had sold the piece. [laughter]

Later, when Mr. Bliss came and decided to buy a first illuminated book, he came to Princeton to show me the book himself. In 1940, the Blisses left their whole collection, everything, to Harvard University and moved out in a smaller house. But before that, when they were living in the house, the Blisses had, on occasion, guest lectures, and I was invited to a lecture even before it was an official institution. Dumbarton Oaks is a huge estate, one of the most beautiful places in Washington. So I gave a lecture, and afterwards there was a dinner, and then Mr. Bliss led me to my bedroom, where I stayed overnight. It was the biggest bedroom I've ever slept in. He said to me, "Mr. Weitzmann, don't leave the room before eight o'clock in the morning. There will be two dogs loose in this house, ferocious dogs." While he was saying this, the trainer came with the two dogs on the leash, barking dogs, and Mr. Bliss said to me, "Even I am not allowed to touch them." That scared me. [laughter]

But then Mrs. Bliss had an assistant, who was Mrs. [Barbara] Sessions. She was the divorced wife of Roger Sessions, the composer. Mrs. Bliss, who had the idea to build up a Byzantine institute, wanted to have a library. Of course, Mrs. Sessions

didn't know much about it. So it was arranged that Mrs. Sessions would come from time to time to me to Princeton to go over catalogs, and I would advise her on the buying of the books. So, actually, I'm respon- sible for the ground stock of the Dumbarton Oaks library.

Of course, Mr. Bliss was a diplomat, had been ambassador in various places--among others, also in South America--and he had gotten a great interest in Mayan art and South American art at large. He brought together an excellent collection of South American art, also, in Dumbarton Oaks. It's housed in a special building.

Dumbarton Oaks as it is has three sections. The core is the Byzantine, the second is Latin American art, and the third is the horticultural collection. It was Mrs. Bliss's very personal concern. [tape recorder off]

It was because Bliss had been an alumnus from Harvard that he and Mrs. Bliss left Dumbarton Oaks and its collections to Harvard. The man, of course, who was the chairman of the art department was Paul Sachs. He arranged everything. When Dumbarton Oaks was founded as a Byzantine institution, there was a big opening in 1940, which I attended. There were just four comprehensive introductory lectures by outstanding scholars. One was Morey, who became the first director of Dumbarton Oaks for one year. The second was Wilhelm Köhler from Harvard. The third was [Henri] Focillon, who was teaching at Yale [University].

And the fourth was Michael Rostovzeff from Yale. Before this opening, there was a special piece performed, the Dumbarton Oaks Concerto, which was composed for the occasion by Stravinsky. And Stravinsky personally came and conducted it. It was very good.

But then the idea came to have a yearly lecture series. For the first symposium with a central theme it was thought up that Friend and I were supposed to give, in a nutshell, our manuscript course in the form of eight lectures. Typical Friend: Friend accepted and backed out of it, so I was left alone. So I did give a series of four or five lectures, and the rest of the symposium was made up by single lectures. In my lectures, I developed all the Roll and Codex ideas. One of the leading ideas in this book is that there exist certain similarities in the way texts and pictures are transmitted. And I adapted from "text recension" the term "picture recension."

Well, then there was a discussion. There was a famous historian, [Leon] Vassilieff, a Russian. He got up and protested and said, "Mr. Weitzmann, what you said about text is all right." I was relieved, because I am not a trained text man. "But what you think about art, the artist is free!" [laughter] He protested against that an artist should follow this copying process. It impeded this inventiveness. But this is of course a romantic idea. Well, I tell this story because I didn't have to defend myself. The man who came to my defense was a classical

philologist who knew better. This man was Werner Jaeger, who was a famous old philologist at Harvard, coming from Berlin. But he had also gotten interested in archaeology. He could see perfectly the parallelism between picture criticism and text criticism.

Well, in the early days, I was much involved in Dumbarton Oaks symposia. A few years later, there was the only other two-man symposium, and this two-man symposium was made up of Carl Kraeling and myself. Carl Kraeling was the man who wrote the basic book on the synagogue at Dura [Europos] frescoes. He was a theologian at the divinity school at Yale and was a great friend of Mr. Friend, came often to Princeton, and I got to know him quite well. Together we worked intensively on the Dura frescoes, and I connected them with miniatures of the Octateuchs. The lectures might have been published afterwards, but Carl Kraeling was involved in preparing his final publication of the Dura frescoes, and I had to wait until this came out before I could publish my part. As a matter of fact, I only published it two or three years ago [The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art (1990)].

RIKALA: After a while, though, there's a shift, it seems, in Dumbarton Oaks from art and art historical interests to more philological texts.

WEITZMANN: Well, this is very recent. Of course, as the Blisses had intended, Dumbarton Oaks should have had its center in art

history. It is not only a research institute, but a museum is also part of it. The director of the museum was Jack [John S.] Thacher, who was a Yale graduate. He was not a trained Byzantinist, but he was very sensitive to art and had a feeling for quality of art. But he also was a wise man in that he did not rely on his judgment alone but got experts in various fields. Naturally, when it came to ivory, he never would buy an ivory without having first consulted me. So I got much involved as an adviser to the Dumbarton Oaks collections.

But then they started a series of catalogs of the collection. Of course, on silver and enamel, the great adviser and great expert was Marvin Ross, who was curator at the Baltimore Walters Art Gallery. He wrote two volumes on the metalwork. Another volume on the classical monuments was written by Gisela Richter, who was a curator of ancient art at the Metropolitan Museum.

So Thacher was much after me that I should write the catalog of ivories. Well, I had many other projects, and also I couldn't take too much time out for traveling to Dumbarton Oaks. But we made a compromise, and he was willing to have objects, piece by piece, lent to Princeton and brought here so that I could study them here, deposit
them in our Princeton museum here. So Mrs. Sessions came from time to time with a few pieces, and I did write the catalog of the Dumbarton Oaks ivories. Besides I

wrote quite a number of articles in the Dumbarton Oaks papers. Also, when they started a new series publishing pamphlets on individual works of art a few years ago, I wrote one.

I always had hammered at them, "The one great object missing in your collection is a large icon." The reason for this omission is very simple. The chief adviser of Mr. Bliss, as I told you, was Royall Tyler. His idea of a museum was to imitate the Cabinet des médailles in Paris [in the Bibliothèque Nationale]. And along that line, he collected.

RIKALA: What was his background?

WEITZMANN: He was a diplomat and a gentleman scholar. In 1931, when Paris made the first big exhibition of Byzantine art, they got Royall Tyler as an adviser. When the publication of this exhibition was made, Royall Tyler wrote the text. Another gentleman scholar had joined him who also was not a professional art historian but knew a very great deal about it, Hayford Peirce, an American who lived in Bangor, Maine. When the Dumbarton Oaks papers were started, the first volume was Peirce and Tyler's.

Finally, some years ago, Dumbarton Oaks bought a beautiful large icon of Saint Peter. I was asked to give a lecture about it, and it was then published in a pamphlet [The Saint Peter Icon of Dumbarton Oaks (1983)].

Then my latest connection is the Dura book [The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art (1990)], written with Herbert Kessler as my collaborator. But it was by accident

that it was published by Dumbarton Oaks, because I had first offered it, which was very natural, to Yale [University Press], because Yale had made the Dura excavation, and they had published Kraeling's book on the Dura synagogue. But Yale had completely abandoned an interest in their own excavation. It's a sad story. Yale had conducted this excavation and had gotten half of the findings from Dura, so half of the synagogue frescoes came to Yale, only later to be returned to Syria. They gave them back. Instead Yale got a whole Mithras sanctuary with frescoes.

When Friend died, his successor at Dumbarton Oaks was Kitzinger. Under him the yearly symposia continued, and each symposium was under the direction of one scholar to organize it. I had one such symposium organized on the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, who was a tenth-century emperor who had created what's now called the Macedonian Renaissance. Later again, I had one symposium organized jointly with Kitzinger on Byzantine art's influence in the Latin West. Then, after Kitzinger, his successor was Loerke, William Loerke, whom I mentioned before as a student in Princeton. After Loerke Harvard then appointed [Giles] Constable, the historian. It was the first time that a non-art historian was elected. Still, Constable was all right because he had enough interest in the arts and protected the interests in them. There was no trouble under Constable.

Going back in time, when Rufus Morey started the Antioch

excavation, the professional archaeologists didn't want to have much to do with it, but he went to various museums and collected money for the excavation. He got his support from the Metropolitan Museum because Henry Taylor was his pupil, and he got some from the Worcester Art Museum and also Baltimore, and Dumbarton Oaks supported him also. What they found was an enormous wealth of floor mosaics. The findings were divided half and half between the Syrian government and Princeton. You know, this building, too, has some mosaics from Antioch. There was a beautiful mosaic in Dumbarton Oaks, also. Unfortunately, they just sold it right now.

Well, so much for Dumbarton Oaks.

TAPE NUMBER: III, SIDE ONE

APRIL 4, 1992

RIKALA: I'd asked you about the relationship of [Adolph] Goldschmidt and [Heinrich] Wöfflin.

WEITZMANN: In those days, in the whole of art history, the predominant field was Italian Renaissance. This was the heritage of Jacob Burckhardt, the founder, actually, of modern art history. When Goldschmidt wanted to become a Privatdozent in Berlin [Humboldt University], the head of the department was a man named [Herman Friedrich] Grimm. He wrote the book Life of Raphael and some others in the field of the Italian Renaissance. He didn't really think that there was a need for a special chair for medieval art. This was not yet taken seriously as a field. Against the chair- man of the department, nevertheless, Goldschmidt got his

position in Berlin. He owed it to one man on the faculty, and he was perhaps the strongest man in the whole of Berlin University. It was Theodor Mommsen, the great historian. Goldschmidt had written his so-called Habilitationsschrift, his thesis for becoming a Privatdozent, on an illustrated English manuscript, the so-called Albani Psalter, an Anglo-Saxon manuscript. For Grimm, it didn't mean anything, but Mommsen knew much about text criticism of medieval manuscripts, and only he could judge the value of the book's problem. So it

was Mommsen who got him through, and Goldschmidt became a Privatdozent. After being Privatdozent, he was then called to become a professor in Halle. There he really built his great school. All his important early pupils were trained in Halle. [tape recorder off]

I told you already yesterday that nothing came out of Goldschmidt's call to Bonn. That was another story. But then he was called to Berlin as successor of Wölfflin, and he told me the story-- He still had some students from Wölfflin who had stayed in Berlin. So he made a seminar on landscape painting with the students and asked one of the students to tell him what he sees. And the student started, in formal Wölfflin style, "I see one diagonal, and I see another diagonal." Then Goldschmidt said, "But I see a little more." [laughter] And this characterizes the whole situation. Then, when Goldschmidt had already started as a Privatdozent in Berlin, it was in the air that illustrated manuscripts would become an important subject. Some of the best students of the early days became very famous art historians. One was Georg Swarzenski, and the other was Otto Homburger.

RIKALA: Oh. I don't know very much about Otto Homburger.

WEITZMANN: He was Goldschmidt's collaborator on the first ivory volumes. He was later curator at the museum in Karlsruhe. During the time of the Nazis he immigrated to Switzerland, and I met him later in Bern. He was employed at the library of the city

of Bern, and he continued to write books on manuscripts in Bern. *[The third of Goldschmidt's pupils who became famous for their publication of illustrated manuscripts was Arthur Haseloff, who became later professor of Kiel University.]

RIKALA: Mrs. Weitzmann, I would like you to just feel free to include yourself in this discussion today.

We're just going over some recollections and the influence of Goldschmidt, and I had asked Professor Weitzmann about the relationship between Goldschmidt and Wölfflin and what their friendship was. Did you know Wölfflin at all when you were a student?

WEITZMANN: You also heard him in Berlin, when he came later for his one year to Berlin.

MRS. WEITZMANN: I heard Wölfflin. I even got somebody who wanted some correspondence between Wölfflin and Goldschmidt, but I didn't have it. I had some. I haven't looked for some correspondence between Wölfflin and [Paul] Frankl, but I don't know if that would be of any interest to you.

RIKALA: Oh, yes, it would.

MRS. WEITZMANN: I don't know, I haven't found it yet. I will tell you why. I had an office in the Institute [for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey] for many years. It was given to me for my work with Dr. Frankl by [Robert] Oppenheimer. I had this office at the institute, I don't know-- I would say since '62, when Frankl died, until one year ago. When we were

away, I came back, and somebody had thrown me out of this office, and all the things that were in it, we cannot find. It wasn't very friendly and nice, but I can tell you, the new generation doesn't understand, and they didn't know anything. [tape recorder off]

WEITZMANN: Just to give you the right perspective, Frankl was here at the institute but worked mostly, naturally, as all art historians did, in McCormick Hall for the reason of the library.

RIKALA: Did the institute have a private building?

WEITZMANN: Yes, but the art historians are dependent on the art historical library. So in our departmental building, we have a special room for institute guests in which institute guests can work. It was excellent. When Frankl was here, he worked chiefly on Gothic architecture, and actually my wife became his assistant.

RIKALA: Now, see, that's very important to know.

MRS. WEITZMANN: I was working on one thing. I saw a manuscript he had there, and he said, "Take it. Read that manuscript; nobody wants it." I had worked on the same subject and had material for that, and I told him. So he said, "We can do it

* Weitzmann added the following bracketed section during his review of the transcript.

together," and we started. I tried to help him. I tried to put it all together with my material. But when it came to be printed, some people in the institute read it and he published it. Only in the introduction he mentioned that I was the one who really made it possible. Never mind. I have not only that. I have published more of Frankl's work later on and did everything, but that has nothing to do-- Why did you bring that up?

RIKALA: We were talking about the relationship of the institute and the art department.

MRS. WEITZMANN: Oh, I see. No, you see, the institute was a great place. When I came here--my husband came three years earlier--it was really a very great idea. It was [Abraham] Flexner who was the director of it, who really knew what he wanted to do. As the paper said, he was eager to get the fruit from the trees that Hitler had thrown down. Do you know the expression better, what he said?

WEITZMANN: It was not Flexner; it was Walter Cook.

RIKALA: That was Walter Cook, yes, at NYU [New York University].

WEITZMANN: I shake the tree and I collect them, the apples.

RIKALA: Yes, "Hitler shook the tree and I collected the apples." It's a marvelous phrase.

MRS. WEITZMANN: Yes. I was talking about Flexner, who did collect them, for he really got the people at that time.

RIKALA: But in a sense, the original reasons and needs of the

institute have changed so dramatically, to give some people a safe place and freedom to do their research.

WEITZMANN: Well, the principle remained the same. It was always meant to have only a very small permanent faculty, and then the early guests, who were from all over the world, were only supposed to get in touch with the permanent members and get some stimulation out of this collaboration.

MRS. WEITZMANN: But this was started with very, very great ideas which have changed completely. What is going on there is more fighting and doing something-- It's regrettable, but-- [tape recorder off]

RIKALA: We talked about Wölfflin.

MRS. WEITZMANN: Yes. I was in Berlin when he was there. He was old already, very old at that time. He disappointed us all very much. What he said was nothing anyone would find interesting, and it was more that he repeated himself. So it was the great Wölfflin we heard, but nothing really came out of it. I think he was only one year, wasn't he?

WEITZMANN: Only for one year, yes.

MRS. WEITZMANN: It was no great impression. My mother [Pauline Fiedler] had heard him, but much earlier. That was a very great impression. She was also in art history.

RIKALA: She was also an art historian?

MRS. WEITZMANN: No, no, but she came to Berlin to study art history.

RIKALA: Well, it has to do with the point we made yesterday. Professor Weitzmann was talking about the fact that women were admitted to Princeton so late. [to Weitzmann] The point you made was that, from your experi-ences, women have always been a part of the university.

WEITZMANN: When my wife came to Princeton, naturally she was disappointed because she couldn't find a position. While in Europe, she did have a position in Berlin.

MRS. WEITZMANN: I was assistant in the [German] Archaeological Institute.

WEITZMANN: I just told that yesterday.

MRS. WEITZMANN: And it was a great honor to even meet other professors. [Gerhart Rodenwaldt, the head of the archaeological institute] went to the minister--Kultur- minister, you know--and the minister gave permission to let me be the first woman professor in archaeology in Berlin. So I was offered that. Then I came here, and, as a woman, I wasn't permitted even to go to the toilet. I mean, it was a little bit different.

RIKALA: What did you do in those years?

MRS. WEITZMANN: I tell you, I think the best solution was one that my mother gave me. She knew that I always wanted to study architecture. In Berlin I couldn't; as a woman, I wasn't permitted. So she said if I could try to get some study in architecture--So I went to the industrial art school in Trenton [New Jersey], and they accepted me. After three years, instead of five years,

I got my diploma in architecture, and I was very happy about it. So I really used the time. I had three years of work in the manuscript room [at Princeton]. I helped them describing all negatives and so on. As a great thank-you to that, I got the desk in the manuscript room. It's given to me for lifetime, in the entrance to the library. So I get a discount at the library forever. They couldn't do anything else with a woman. If I went to the toilet, I had to go home.

RIKALA: [laughter] That's terrible!

MRS. WEITZMANN: I am serious, you know.

RIKALA: No, I laughed because it seems so ridiculous.

MRS. WEITZMANN: One day I told him, "Look, there is a toilet. You get in the door and stay there; I'll go in." [laughter] And he did it. I mean, it worked. It was the same with Mrs. Panofsky when she had some trouble.

WEITZMANN: And then you did do some teaching in Rutgers University.

MRS. WEITZMANN: Later, through one of the students of [Charles Rufus] Morey, I got a professorship in Rutgers. And I liked it very much. But it was quite difficult. When I started, they had no books. They had no slides. They had nothing. I had to carry everything from here to there. They did permit me to get books out from Princeton; that's one thing. I got permission. But I had to carry them. I had no car. I had to go on the bus. And sometimes I came back home at twelve o'clock

or at one o'clock at night. Then I couldn't get a taxi there when it was slippery. And my good husband said, "Look, your mother would [not like to] know that." So I thought it over, and I said--

There was another reason. We had to sign-- You didn't have to sign at a private university, but at a state university we had to sign--

WEITZMANN: Yes, the loyalty oath.

RIKALA: Oh, yes, a loyalty oath.

MRS. WEITZMANN: I said I went through enough about such things in Germany and that I don't want to sign it, and that was the end of the story.

RIKALA: Were you teaching architecture there or art history?

MRS. WEITZMANN: Art history from archaeology to modern times. As they say, from the pyramids to Picasso. I had very nice students who I loved, I must say, and they didn't want to let me go. Instead of Brunswick, they took me to Newark, but that still was worse. I mean, I had to go on the train-- But I am taking your time with nonsense.

RIKALA: No, this is not nonsense, because this is precisely having to do with your lives together here in relationship to the university setting that you participated in. I think this is very interesting.

MRS. WEITZMANN: I'm not talking anymore.

RIKALA: No, no. This is good. Shall we have a break? Let's

have a break. [tape recorder off] You said a very interesting thing, that Goldschmidt had said that there would be no modern art history without Wölfflin. Could you reiterate that story? Because the tape recorder wasn't on.

WEITZMANN: Well, of course, Wölfflin was really fond of stylistic criticism. He was a great style critic, and this influenced the whole of art history. As Goldschmidt said, our generation owes a great deal to Wölfflin. There would be no one in art history without Wölfflin. But at the same time, this naturally was only one aspect, and Goldschmidt himself became an excellent stylistic critic. He was also a general historian and was broader in many ways and had more of a historical approach. That's why Goldschmidt's idea was to analyze the work of art from as many different aspects as possible.

RIKALA: Much more comprehensive history.

WEITZMANN: Much more comprehensive, yes. And this was, of course, what had intrigued old Theodor Mommsen, who insisted on Goldschmidt coming to Berlin. Out of the Goldschmidt school came a great many museum directors, also, not only teachers.

RIKALA: In Germany, particularly.

WEITZMANN: In Germany, yes.

RIKALA: What's interesting, though, is that there seem to have been these two very strong approaches, because Morey was also very much a formalist, very different from-- Or was he?

WEITZMANN: No, no, I wouldn't say that Morey was a formalist. Morey, on the contrary, was a strict historian. He came from philology. Well, naturally, he also did stylistic criticism. You see, the situation in America before the First World War, it was oriented towards France and Italy, and not many people knew anything of what was going on in Germany. It was only, I told you already, after the First World War when Goldschmidt came into the picture. He then became an enormous influence in this country. He was twice a guest teacher at Harvard [University] and also taught at NYU. And, of course, not only Goldschmidt himself but also several of Goldschmidt's pupils came to America to, so to speak, disseminate Goldschimdt's teaching. And besides myself, one of the leading art historians was Ulrich Middeldorf, who was the chairman of the art department in [the University of] Chicago. He was one of Goldschmidt's best pupils. He later went back to Europe to become a director of the German Institute in Florence, but, still, he had a great influence in this country.

RIKALA: I've asked this question before, but I'll ask it again. Do you think there was a particular American interest in the German tradition, in a broader sense, the German academic tradition? What about the Americans? Did they find that interesting?

WEITZMANN: Well, the strong impact of German art history came

naturally with the immigration of the many Germans to this country in the Hitler period. The German influence became almost dominant in this country. There was hardly any major university which did not have a German immigrant teaching. Here in Princeton [University] alone there was [Erwin] Panofsky, there was [Charles] de Tolnay, there was [Hanns] Swarzenski, there was Frankl, and I myself. You see, you have five. And still, another one at the Institute [for Advanced Study]--Coming back to the institute, one of the leading scholars there was Ernst Herzfeld. He was a man of the ancient Orient. And he had an assistant, Richard Ettinghausen, and he became the leading Islamic scholar in this country. So the whole Islamic school in this country is formed by Ettinghausen. And we became very close friends, Ettinghausen and I. But, also, I got very close relations with Herzfeld.

RIKALA: Yes, tell me a little bit about him.

WEITZMANN: Well, you have seen the Roll and Codex book [Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration (1947)]. I had worked on certain bowls which have scenes from the Homeric Iliad and Odyssey and from Euripidian dramas. One day I go into an exhibition of Persian art in New York and I see a silver bowl which has very strange scenes, and it was a Bactrian bowl. You know, Bactria, a province, it was the farthest removed province in the east where Alexander [the Great] went, and the Bactrian art became very Hellenized. I got photos and studied this silver bowl

carefully. It had been studied before by other people, famous people like Michael Rostovzeff, who said that it had something to do with an Indian saga. Well, I wrote an article on the iconography of the bowl, and I defined its iconography as being from dramas of Euripides. This actually was accepted by most orientalists, who had never thought of this before.

RIKALA: Really? Rather than Indian.

WEITZMANN: But while I could deal with iconography, I knew little about Bactrian art as such, and that's where Herzfeld came in and helped me along with the Bactrian art. You see, he was a Persian archaeologist. Herzfeld was one of the most amazing scholars. He was highly intelligent. And he was the only archaeologist I've met who was in a position to make an excavation all by himself and cover every aspect. He was a digger, he was an epigrapher, he was a philologist, an architect-- When he was excavating Persepolis and Samarra, he made beautiful watercolors of the frescoes he had found and so on. Besides, we had him as a guest in our home. Here in this room he was standing and playing Bach's passacaglias on the violin. Mastery. I think I mentioned yesterday, he belonged to a circle of German scholars of that period who were very close friends to Kaiser Wilhelm [II]. In his office here in the institute, he actually had a signed photograph of Kaiser Wilhelm. [laughter]

RIKALA: Under what circumstances did he come to the United

States?

WEITZMANN: Well, he was asked by the institute. Also a wonderful candidate who was recommended by Morey. Morey, naturally, knew about his work.

RIKALA: So Morey was--

WEITZMANN: Morey was really the driving force to build up the humanistic faculty at the institute.

RIKALA: He was the counterpart of Walter Cook at NYU.

WEITZMANN: Yes, yes. Of course, Cook was also a pupil of Morey. Cook started but did not finish his own research project, illustrated Spanish manuscripts, under Morey. Actually, NYU [Institute of Fine Arts] had a whole series of chairmen who were all from Princeton.

RIKALA: Yes, I've learned a little bit about that.

WEITZMANN: Yes. It was Richard Turner, whom I had myself in a course and later went on to become a dean. And then there was Jonathan Brown. See, they were all Princetonians. Of course, Cook had called people from Germany, but he also always wanted the Princeton people to teach in New York. Panofsky did. And he wanted very badly that I should give courses at NYU. But this was prevented by [Albert M.] Friend. Friend didn't want it. He wanted me to stay here in Princeton and concentrate entirely on the research he was interested in. Cook always put a pistol in my chest to force me to come to New York, and I would have done it, but I couldn't help it. I was tied.

RIKALA: Such magnetic personalities pulling you in both directions. [laughter] Did Panofsky, then, eventually go to NYU, though?

WEITZMANN: Oh, yes, he had given courses at NYU.

RIKALA: Did he have a permanent affiliation with Princeton or NYU?

WEITZMANN: Well, the permanent position was the institute. First, when I came, he was in our Princeton department. And, as I mentioned yesterday, I came in early '35, and early in the fall of '35, the institute founded the School of Humanistic Studies. At that time, Panofsky was taken over immediately, and so was I. And then at the advice of-- As I mentioned yesterday, the epigrapher Benjamin Merritt was called and then Elias Loewe, the paleographer, and so on. In those days, the institute was a small group of people, and they knew each other very personally. I knew the mathematicians personally, too. I met [Albert] Einstein repeatedly. I was invited to the house of [John von] Neumann, and [Oswald] Veblen was in his house. It was a very personal relationship. But this all loosened up when the institute grew, of course.

When I came to the institute, I came alone, because I didn't know whether I would stay in this country, I told you yesterday. So I lived for three spring terms in the graduate college. The grad school was not filled. There were at least three members from the institute who had rooms in the graduate college. There

I made many friendships. And one of my wonderful and close friends was an Englishman by the name of Owen Holloway, who had come from the Bodleian Library in Oxford [University]. He was an English literary historian and a very gifted man. For some reason or another, he liked me from the first meeting. Since I had very little English when I came, he took it upon himself to talk with me all day long and corrected my English. Then the first year, when I was asked to give a seminar at the university, Friend told me, "Well, of course, all your colleagues here understand German. You could do it in German." But I said, "No, I will try to do it in English," because I know I was going to stay in this country and must have this experience. So I wrote the paper for this presentation, and Owen Holloway went over it and corrected my English. And then, when we made trips together, he was very much interested also in art history. We went to Boston and to Philadelphia museums. We were great friends.

Just to characterize this whole situation at that time--I was in the graduate college sitting at the dinner table with the students, and the students said to me, "Oh, you come from Germany. Tell us what happened there." So I told them what I thought about our situation in Germany. There was a young assistant professor, a Canadian, sitting alongside of me who said to me, "Have you still relatives in Germany?" I said, "Yes, all my relatives are in Germany." "Then I would be a

little more careful about what you say about Germany." "I'm in a free country. Can't I talk what I like?" "The waiter who stands here reports what you say to Berlin." A German spy among the waiters! You see, that was the situation at the time. [laughter]

RIKALA: That's extraordinary. You would never imagine that a private institute would have--

WEITZMANN: No. No.

RIKALA: An institute, again, that was so concerned with providing a safe and free place for scholars.

WEITZMANN: During the war against the Germans, [Otto] Demus and several other Austrians and Germans all had been interned in England. But there was nothing of the sort in this country. Americans knew perfectly well and made the distinction between Germans who were Nazis and not Nazis, in contradistinction to the First World War, when there was really a strong anti-German wave in America. Where German was spoken in schools, they closed it off. There was nothing of the sort that happened here during World War II, because they felt quite sure they could control it, and they did. There was a so-called Deutscher Bund, who made Nazi propaganda in this country. The day the war broke out, all the German Bund was taken by police and locked up. So we had no actual sabotage. The police had complete control over this. It was quite amazing.

RIKALA: Those first years you [Weitzmann] were here, Mrs.

Weitzmann, you were living in Germany at that time. What memories do you have and what do you recall of the changes that were going on in Germany?

WEITZMANN: You were still there during the Kristallnacht in Berlin.

MRS. WEITZMANN: Of course. It was like day and night. All of a sudden, in one day, everything changed. People you knew before are not talking to you. You wanted to see people and it was too dangerous to see them. The change was tremendous.

RIKALA: What about the changes to academia, in the institute you were at?

MRS. WEITZMANN: Well, for instance, I don't know if you know Madame [Margarete] Bieber. She was a classical archaeologist. She needed some photos and she went to the university. She wasn't permitted to get in. She didn't get the photos, nothing. The photographer met her secretly at the door there and gave her the photos. That was the situation.

I worked with one of the assistants, Mr. Zietschmann, who was a professor there. He was one of the first Nazis. He was number three in the book. He wanted to make me number four. Somehow it would seem like a shock to the world that no one was really reacting normally. Nobody really knew where it was heading. We never could believe that such a thing could have happened.

WEITZMANN: That is what we were guilty of, because we took

it too lightly, because we never thought it could happen. The moment Hitler became chancellor, that very day, was for me the blackest day in my life. I knew at that time that when he would have all the power in his hands, everything was lost. And so it was. As soon as Hitler was chancellor, then everything--

MRS. WEITZMANN: When it happened, everybody thought tomorrow it would change again. It was impossible. It was such a different Germany. One cannot explain. It was one of the greatest, freest, wonderful places to live and to breathe, and, all of a sudden, everything was different. No, to describe it--

WEITZMANN: Here are some more personal experiences. I came from America to Rome, went to the German Archaeological Institute. Of course, I had had a stipend from the German Institute, and I was entitled to live in the institute. Well, the director at the time was [Ludwig] Curtius, who greeted me with open arms and agreed I could work in the institute, and everything was fine. His successor was a man by the name of [Arnim von] Gerkan. When I went to him, he forbade me to enter the institute because he thought I was a Jew. I did not enlighten him that I was not a Jew. I was so disgusted that I left and didn't care about it.

They were so contradictory in many ways. I mentioned yesterday these two students, elder students, one of them [Otto] Grossman, who had been an officer and later was a flyer and then he studied history of art, became a publisher. Well, the

point I want to make is that he became a Nazi, an official Ortsgruppenleiter, a high official, but he still had kept the honor of a German officer and remained loyal to his teacher, Goldschmidt. So even as a Nazi he would visit Goldschmidt at his own risk. Now, at that period, Goldschmidt had his seventieth birthday, and I organized a festschrift for Goldschmidt, where pupils from the last ten years--he had already a festschrift on his sixtieth birthday--were asked to write articles. Well, at that time, several people all of a sudden got afraid to write an article for a Jew. At the same time, the man who printed it, at his own expense, was this man Grossman, who had a publishing firm. [laughter] He would take me to a wine cellar and we'd talk--we were great friends--and he wanted to make a Nazi out of me. He would say, "You don't see the fire because smoke is biting your eyes." But he was the only Nazi to whom I could frankly say what I thought about Hitler, and I was absolutely sure he would not use it against me.

TAPE NUMBER: III, SIDE TWO

APRIL 4, 1992

RIKALA: What allowed Goldschmidt to stay in Germany through the war?

WEITZMANN: Oh, he didn't stay in Germany through the war. He left shortly before the outbreak of the war.

RIKALA: And where did he go?

WEITZMANN: The fact that he really was able to stay as long is almost a miracle. He was a German patriot, after all. He tried desperately to stay there, but then they finally persuaded him to leave. In Basel there was Robert von Hirsch. He was a very wealthy man who had been a great art collector. He got Goldschmidt out of Germany, paid everything and arranged everything. So Goldschmidt lived his last years in Basel. Of course, I still communicated with him. I showed you, in the series Studies in Manuscript Illumination, the first volume is by Goldschmidt. This was written in Basel, and I communicated with him in Basel.

RIKALA: Mrs. Weitzmann, what was it like? You left in '38.

MRS. WEITZMANN: The end of '38 through '39. It was just before Hitler took Austria. Our ship was on the water. It was just leaving Hamburg. I think it was not half a day off the shore. The news came through the radio, and the ship was ordered to come back, for all borders were closed and everything. But

the captain of the ship--

WEITZMANN: The captain disobeyed.

MRS. WEITZMANN: The captain on the ship knew who we had on the boat. There was [Max J.] Friedländer, the great Friedländer. Other people besides. So he didn't answer very quickly. He went on. I don't know, it was thirty kilometers-- The captain simply went on. He said it was too late. So he saved us. But I just followed up the other day. I tried to find out what happened to him. Do you know that when he came back to Germany he was a prisoner and was killed.

RIKALA: The captain?

MRS. WEITZMANN: That captain. I followed up. I was interested in what happened to this man. I mean, that's so typical. Nobody ever thought he was a hero, but he was a hero, a greater hero than any of the others. They are now trying to get some heroes out in the paper. Moltcke was one. I just read about Moltcke. I don't know if you have read--

WEITZMANN: I don't know. Who was he?

MRS. WEITZMANN: When was it? They tried to kill Hitler-- Oh, the plot, when the Hitler plot was. Anyhow, Moltcke was one of them and was killed there. But it is coming out by and by.

There is something different. This is the hundredth birthday of Panofsky, and you had asked me the other day-- I thought you would be interested to look at that.

RIKALA: Oh, yes, an article. Yes, I would be interested to

look at that. Yes, Panofsky is certainly someone whom we should talk about at great length, because--

WEITZMANN: Well, I'll tell you, if you want to, especially about Panofsky, you should wait until you make an interview with [Hugo] Buchthal. He could tell you so much more about Panofsky. I had no contact with Panofsky from Germany before he came to this country. But Buchthal had been his pupil in Hamburg and then he had been in contact with him through all the years.

RIKALA: We've spoken about the early years here at Princeton and the institute, and you spoke about the courses. Let's talk a little bit about the shape that your work, your scholarship, took and how you felt about the work that you were doing in those first ten years or so. And then things changed as you became more involved in teaching. WEITZMANN: Yes, in the ten years before I started giving the medieval course, I worked primarily on the Octateuchs and the Bible manuscripts. I also spent a great deal of time with the graduate course. I did all the study, which then led to Roll and Codex, which is a very complex book which goes very far into various directions. But I had the full support, of course, of Friend, and Friend did everything to advance my work. He spent a great deal buying a library, and he got me everything that I needed. See, what I needed was classic texts, Homeric editions, Euripides editions. Whatever I wanted, Friend bought. And I have passed through,

before entering my office, a library, which is the Friend Library. There is everything together, which really made my Roll and Codex book possible. Then, of course, I did spend a certain degree of my time working not only on the Octateuchs but making these trips to the holy mountain, to Mount Athos, photographing and studying Greek manuscripts on a vast scale, photographing every illustrated manuscript on Mount Athos. Also, I traveled a great deal at the time I was in Europe to work in the European libraries. RIKALA: And there weren't problems traveling during the forties, the early forties, in Europe? Or when the war comes to a close--?

WEITZMANN: No, I could start to travel very soon, actually. Of course, it was difficult to get into Germany then. I had my parents [Wilhelm and Antonie Keiper Weitzmann] still living in Kassel. I had lost contact, naturally, with them. The man who knew about my parents in Kassel was Joseph Patrick Kelleher--I mentioned him yesterday--who was the monuments officer in Wiesbaden taking care of confiscated art. He took it upon himself to travel to Kassel and visit my parents and bring them greetings from me.

RIKALA: How nice.

WEITZMANN: He was extremely nice. But it is worthwhile to speak a little bit about Kelleher, because when he was monuments officer, one day a truck appeared in front of the collecting point which had the sarcophagi of Fredrick the Great and Hindenburg. The

Nazis had hidden them in the salt mines, and they were found by the American military. So here the truck came with the sarcophagi, and they didn't know what to do with them. First they went to the German authorities, naturally, but they didn't want to have anything to do with them. Then they went to the American army, and they said, "Throw them into the river." But Kelleher said, "Well, after all, these sarcophagi are historical documents." He took care of them. Naturally, an Irishman is as Catholic as one can be, but he still knew the Hohenzollerns were Protestants, and their sarcophagi should be buried in a Protestant church. He chose a very prominent church, the Elizabeth Church in Marburg. And there the sarcophagi of Fredrick the Great and Hindenburg were deposited for many years.

But then there was still the German crown prince, who lived in a castle in south Germany. At first Kelleher, naturally, tried to get in contact with the crown prince. It's his family's possession. So there was another pupil of mine, too, who was in the monument service, and Kelleher sent him to Hechingen, the place in south Germany where the crown prince lived, to negotiate where to send the sarcophagi. Kelleher had sent a telegram to the crown prince: "I sent this officer to you in a private matter." Well, the crown prince misunderstood this phrase "private matter," because the daughter of the crown prince was working for Americans, and he thought he wanted to marry

his daughter. [laughter] And so he tried to clear it up. Old jokes. But it shows the situation in Germany at that time.

Then, a year after the end of the war, when still the situation was very confused in Germany, I got the permission to visit Germany. No one could enter Germany yet except for visiting relatives. So I got the permission and had to report, first, to the American military force in Wiesbaden. And there I met with a second student of mine. What was his name? Never mind.

RIKALA: Was it Craig Hugh Smyth?

WEITZMANN: No, not Craig Smyth. Well, never mind. The name will come to me. He took me in his private car to Marburg the next morning, where I was put up in the American officer's quarters in the hotel in Marburg, and then I was permitted to go in the military train to Kassel the next day, because the German railroad didn't work yet. So I finally went to Kassel and saw my parents, who fortunately had lived in the outskirts of Kassel, because Kassel was the most devastated city in Germany. There was massive bombing, and I remember still, shortly after the bombing, I saw a picture of Kassel in the Illustrated London News where the whole city looked like a honeycomb. When I went there, the whole looked like a big hill, buried, just the whole city buried. All the male citizens were conscripted to dig out the streets again. My brother was among them. I went with my father, climbing up the hill, went over it, and there were crosses, and they told me, "Underneath these crosses are still the corpses

which are not dug up yet." The whole area still had the smell of burned flesh. It was a terrible sight. This was my first impression of Germany after the war. It was the last time I saw my father; a year after, he died. But my mother lived much longer. Almost every year I went to Germany, I went to Kassel to visit my mother.

I spent several months every year in Europe and worked all over in the libraries and museums. I made altogether five trips to Mount Athos and lived--if I count it up together--a whole year in the monasteries.

RIKALA: So they must know you very well there.

WEITZMANN: Yes. As a matter of fact, I even became part of a legend.

RIKALA: Yes? Tell me about the legend.

WEITZMANN: I went with a photographer. He was a Russian refugee, Baron von Meibohm. His first name was Anatole. So the Greeks would call him "Kyrios Anatolius." But my first name is Kurt, which sounded strange in the ears of Greeks, so they called me "Monsieur Kurt." Then I said to myself, "I must change my name. I must have a name so that they also would say 'Kyrios' to me." And I made Kodratos out of Kurt, and from then on I was called "Kyrios Kodratos."

Well, when I took my last trip to Athos, in one monastery, Vatopädi, I got very sick with a high fever all of a sudden. A guest doctor from Salonika came and said I had typhus.

Fortunately it wasn't, but I had to leave Mount Athos immediately. So I made arrangements that I would be transported in a little fishing boat from the east coast to the west coast, and Meibohm and I left the monastery of Vatopädi to go to the Russian monastery on the west coast, because the Russian monastery had huge barracks outside the walls of the monastery where one could stay when the monastery was closed. Before the First World War, Athos was a great pilgrimage center for the Russians. There are two monasteries of the Russians on Mount Athos. Athos belongs to all of Orthodoxy. You have a Serbian monastery and so on. While the other Greek monastery closes the doors at sunset and nobody will ever get in it afterwards, the Russians had outside the walls huge barracks, so if someone gets stranded after sunset, he could stay all night in the barracks. And the monastery is not far from the harbor.

So we went to the barracks of the monastery--this was about the third day after I'd become very sick--and all of a sudden, on the third day I felt fine. Well, what I had was a thing called the three-day fever. But, of course, one monk from Vatopädi who loved to come along with us and he wanted to see me safely off, when he saw that I was fine all of a sudden, he had a most simple explanation. The title saint of the Russian monastery is Saint Pantelemon, and Pantelemon is a physician saint. So obviously I was healed by Saint Pantelemon. So when our Vatopädi monk went back on his way, wherever he stopped, he said, "Kyrios

Kodratos was healed by Saint Pantelemon."

RIKALA: When you would go to the monastery and work there, how much of your daily life involved the life of the monks and the monastery?

WEITZMANN: Well, naturally, in the monastery there was one librarian, and he spent as many hours as he could with me in the library, and we photographed there all day long. In order to travel around and do some work, one has to have a passport from the holy government of Mount Athos.

This is what's called dia moneterion, and this had to be sealed. Now, the twenty monasteries have an inner circle of four ruling the whole monastic republic. Each one has a quarter of a seal. And the four must come together and put the seal together and stamp with the seal the dia moneterion, and then one can travel around. One monastery, which has the biggest library, Lavra, also has the most learned monk, Pater Panteleimon, from whom I learned a great deal about paleography.

There was an older monk who had been a professor of philology in Salonika and who had a huge private library still with him in the monastery. Well, he invited me to his place. Just for fun, he had also learned some Albanian and had two young monks serving him. One was an Albanian, so he spoke Albanian. Now, there is in the monastery an old visitor's book. For centuries, guests were putting their name in and would write something in it. But he had difficulty with reading proper names. He

asked me to take a look at them and help him perhaps decipher some of them. Well, I looked at them and could hardly trust my eyes. Among the names, I found the name Weitzmann, and he was a minister from Hesse who no doubt must have been a relative of mine. So two hundred years before me, there was already a Weitzmann in that monastery. [laughter].

This will also give you some idea of what life and the atmosphere in the monastery is like. I was in one monastery on the east coast, and I thought I would like to take a swim in the sea. The monks said, "Oh, no, you shouldn't do that." I said, "Why not? Polluted water?" "No, no. There was a shark who has eaten a deacon." I said, "Funny, I didn't hear anything about sharks in the Mediterranean." But, anyhow, I was not allowed to swim. A couple of weeks later, I went on the other side of Athos. I tried it here again, and I hear the same story. "No, don't swim here. A deacon has been eaten by a shark." "When was that?" "Oh, it was told in a sixteenth-century chronicle." [laughter] This characterizes the atmosphere in Athos. Time means nothing.

RIKALA: That's fabulous. So the research that you did, how was that received back at Mount Athos? They have obviously seen your books and must have copies in their libraries.

WEITZMANN: Well, I don't know. My book came out later, after these trips.

RIKALA: It would be interesting to know and to see what they

feel.

WEITZMANN: I made four trips before the war and only one very short trip afterwards. Then, of course, the other great episode is Mount Sinai.

RIKALA: Yes.

WEITZMANN: Well, when I wrote my book [Die] byzantinische Buchmalerei [des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts (1935)]-- Because in '31 I had traveled, as I told you, to Patmos and to Athos and had planned to also go to Istanbul and to Sinai, and then I got sick from typhus, so nothing came of it. Well, in my studies, I knew that there were two areas that I had not covered in my book: one was Sinai, and the other was the American collections. Of course, I had studied the American collections since I came in this country. Then, after I failed in 1931, I made the second attempt to reach Sinai in '39, together with Friend, and then the world war broke out and nothing came of it.

When I made the third attempt--I've forgot the year, the early fifties--I got even as far as Cairo. I arrived in Cairo in the early morning and walked through the streets of old Cairo. All of a sudden this young Egyptian standing alongside of me said, "Sir, I advise you not to go any further: an Englishman has just been slain at the corner." I didn't know what it meant. "Go to your home." Well, I went to my hotel immediately. "Thank God, you are back." What had happened? That very day, the civil war had broken out. The British had shot seventeen Egyptian

soldiers in the Suez Canal zone. It was the beginning of the civil war. I saw from my hotel window crowds of people milling through the streets smashing all windows which were in Latin script and so on. So Cairo was not safe. Well, I saw the Egyptian authorities, and they simply said, "We're sorry, we cannot give you a desert permit because we cannot guarantee your safety." Still, I stayed a while in Cairo.

I went to see the American ambassador, whose name was Caffrey. He was a personal friend of Mr. [Robert Woods] Bliss, who was a diplomat, and Caffrey was very, very nice to me. He had been on Sinai, too. And he tried to help me. He said, "Oh, well, this will blow over. Just stay a few days in Cairo and you will be able to go." In the meantime, he arranged that I would get Egyptian police protection going through Cairo. So I went to Cairo with this Egyptian policeman and went to a mosque, a ruined old mosque. There was a school in the courtyard, and as soon as a schoolboy saw me, he started throwing stones at me. But one teacher was very good and quick. He took me by the arm, he took me out, and then ordered a taxi, and I jumped into a car. This was the situation in Cairo. Well, I had a woman guide who was an Egyptian lady married to a German musicologist. She took me to some mosque, and when we went into one of the mosques, all of a sudden, I see she gets nervous, makes some signs to me I didn't understand. Well, I was supposed to take off my shoes to go into the mosque. But I didn't say

anything. She said later, "Thank God you didn't say anything. Behind you stood a man with a dagger. Had you spoken a word of English--" See, that was the situation. Well, I had a very good Egyptian friend, Aziz Atiya. He was a professor at Alexandria University. I had met him in his country. He was very helpful. He knew Porphyi Rios, the archbishop of Sinai, personally. He gave me a letter of recommendation, and I actually owe to Atiya that I had open doors in the monastery. Well, Aziz Atiya came to my hotel in Cairo and said, "Your ambassador is not well informed. It will not blow over that soon. I can only advise you to leave Cairo now and come back in another year." So I left Cairo, changed my plans, and went instead to do some work in Sicily. So the third attempt to get to Sinai failed.

Finally, the fourth time, I made it. Well, in '56 Friend died. And one of his pupils and closest friends was George [H.] Forsyth. And George Forsyth came to the funeral--I met him here, and we knew each other very well, we were good friends--and he said to me, "I'm on my way to the Near East. I'm going to look for a place where I can do some fieldwork in Asia Minor and Syria and so on, and at the end of my trip I will be in Sinai. I know you're interested in Sinai. Will you come and join me there?" I said, "Fine." I was in the midst of the term--I couldn't leave right away--but as soon as the term was over, same day, I read the exam papers all night, and the next day

I went to Cairo on the plane. So, finally, I made it.

It was a short trip. We had one photographer with us, Mr. [Fred] Anderegg, who became a wonderful friend and collaborator in our expedition. We went to Sinai and started to do some photographs. He and Forsyth had to leave after a week. I stayed alone for a month in the monastery studying the manuscripts. Atiya always had said to me, "When you go to Sinai, also look at the icons." Well, I said, "All right. I will look at the icons." I didn't think much about it. But when I saw the icons, I just fell overboard. Sinai has the most extraordinary icon collection in the whole world. I saw immediately that for the rest of my life I would spend part of my research on icons. They had icons going back to the fifth and sixth century, i.e., to a time when no other place in the world has icons.

Then we decided to mount a full expedition. We actually made four more expeditions, each time staying about three months in the monastery. So, again, I spent a full year altogether inside the monastery. Now, according to the rules of the monastery, after two years of being in a monastery, one can become a monk, and the monks actually suggested I should stay there with them and become a monk. Because they saw me always going to the library, and they thought, well, it would be extremely useful to have a trained librarian. I said to them, "I am sorry, but I can't stay here. I'm married." "Oh, that doesn't make any difference." [laughter]

MRS. WEITZMANN: But your beard had already grown then.
WEITZMANN: Yes, I grew a beard in the monastery, because the dignity of a man rests, for a monk, in a beard. The abbot allowed me everything. So I could take the icons out of the frames so they could be photographed, could climb scaffolds-- So I had free rein. So in these campaigns we photographed every icon, some with many, many details. There are about two thousand icons. I have all the material here in a cage close to my office. I think I showed you the place.

I've worked on both the illustrated manuscripts and on the icons. The first volume of illustrated manuscripts [The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts, Volume 1, From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century (1991)]--I think I showed you--has come out very recently. Now soon my collaborator, [George] Galavaris, comes to start work on the second volume. Well, I'm getting on in age, as you can see. How much I will be doing on the icons anymore, I don't know. I've written quite a number of articles on the icons and published some very important findings. For instance, a whole group of icons of the thirteen century which were done apparently by Western artists in the monastery at that period. Because in this period, there was a Latin colony of monks in Sinai. They showed me the chapel where the Latin service was still held until the last century.

RIKALA: Are there other students or scholars working in this

area, working on the icons much?

WEITZMANN: Oh, yes. Now it has become a most professional subject, the Byzantine icons. Here is a book which appeared on Sinai. It's a big book. Well, it came out in Greece, a general book on Sinai, which covers everything. I wrote on the mosaics. What I was interested in was the apse mosaic of the Transfiguration, which is the most beautiful mosaic anywhere. It's from the time of Justinian. Justinian was the emperor who founded the Sinai monastery. It's of the same time as the mosaics of Ravenna. But the Sinai mosaic was done by imperial artists from Constantinople. And the miracle is that, while Ravenna has been restored for the last centuries again and again, the Sinai mosaic is in mint condition--never any restoration. It was covered with dust and dirt. But we got the best restorer in mosaics, Ernest Hawkins, who spent all his life cleaning the mosaics in Hagia Sophia in Istanbul. I got Hawkins from Istanbul to clean this mosaic in Sinai, and now it looks like yesterday.

TAPE NUMBER: IV, SIDE ONE

APRIL 7, 1992

RIKALA: You mentioned that you wanted to start by talking about the department [Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University] again.

WEITZMANN: Yes. I had spoken about my colleagues, Mr. [Albert M.] Friend, [Ernest] DeWald, and [Richard] Stillwell. Now, Stillwell presents only one side of archaeology, namely architecture. Over half of archaeology was represented by a very prominent scholar, a Swede, Erik Sjöqvist. Erik Sjöqvist was once asked for a guest term to come to Princeton, and we liked him so much we had to make an effort to get him permanently. At that time he was director of the Swedish school in Rome. So then one summer I went to Rome, and I was asked by my department here to look up Mr. Sjöqvist in the Swedish school and try to persuade him to come permanently to Princeton. Well, I don't, naturally, claim that it's only due to my talk, but, anyhow, he decided and did come to Princeton.

Now, he had previously done fieldwork in various places in Asia Minor, but now he was looking again for a place of excavation for the department. And he chose one place in Sicily. When he dug in it, nobody knew what the place was named. But one of his students [Kenan Erim] who had gone with him had proof on the basis of coins found for the identification of the place

as Morgantina. So it became a famous place now, this Morgantina. Sjöqvist took some students along with him, all of whom I got to know quite well because of my own interest in archaeology. We got to be close friends, Sjöqvist and I. I was sitting in his graduate course listening to the papers of his students and vice versa--he would sit in my course and listen to my students' papers.

Now, there were several very prominent students he trained. One has become his successor here now, Willy [William A. P.] Childs. Of course, I had him in my course, too, and then I had an exhibition. Childs wrote also entries for this catalog. The second very prominent pupil was an Egyptian by the name of Samy Shenouda. Shenouda already had training in archeology before he came to Princeton and had taken part in the excavation of Hermopolis. When he came to Princeton, he also took my course. For some reason or other he decided he would shift and come over to me and write a thesis with me. He was a Copt, and so I put him to work on an illustrated Coptic manuscript as a doctoral thesis.

Later Samy played quite a role in my life when [George] Forsyth and I started our expeditions to Sinai. In the meantime, Samy Shenouda had returned to Egypt after his student times and become a professor in the University of Alexandria. So when I landed in Alexandria to go to Sinai, Samy was on the pier and immediately took me in his car to his university to

present me to the president of Alexandria University, because what was on his mind was to have Alexandria University become a partner in our Sinai expedition. This worked out perfectly. It was called the Alexandria-[University of] Michigan-Princeton expedition to Mount Sinai. This participation of Alexandria had great advantages. As always, if you dig in a foreign country, you should always have somebody representing the country itself.

So I met Egyptian professors of Alexandria University, and they sent some representatives to Sinai to join our expedition. The main representative of Alexandria was a man by the name of [Ahmed] Fikly. He was a Muslim. He persuaded me to get a refrigerator for his whiskey. As he explained to me, being a Muhammadan, the Koran forbids only wine but says nothing about whiskey. [laughter] Also, besides Fikly, Samy Shenouda came on the regular tour, as he wanted to, naturally. And another Egyptian by the name of [Fawzi el] Fakharani. He was a Muslim. I became good friends with both. After the expedition, when I went to stay for two months in Alexandria, I was a guest in their houses. Once I stayed with Shenouda, and another time I stayed with Fakharani. Also, when they made me come to Alexandria after the expedition, I spent a short guest term teaching at Alexandria University.

RIKALA: And did you teach at the graduate level?

WEITZMANN: No, it was just a general public lecture course.

Well, then after our expedition, when I stayed with Shenouda

in Alexandria, we made several trips, and I got to see a great deal of Lower Egypt. We went to Abu Mina, one of the great early Christian sites, where we met a Coptic monk. And he said, "Well, the Coptic patriarch lives nearby. Would you mind coming and paying homage, to pay a visit to the Coptic patriarch?" Of course Samy being a Copt, we very gladly accepted. So we went to see the Coptic patriarch. At Sinai, as I told you, I had embarked on the icons, as much as on the manuscripts. Samy also wanted to do some work on the Coptic icons. So we had a talk with the patriarch. He gave his blessing: "Yes, come if you like. You get the permission to photograph anything you like and study the Coptic icons." Unfortunately, nothing came of all these projects because, after my last trip in '65, I got very sick. I will tell this better later, how it made it impossible for me to go to Egypt anymore.

RIKALA: And Samy Shenouda, does he still--?

WEITZMANN: He's still a professor. As a matter of fact, Egyptians are the highest-educated class in the Muslim countries. Even in other Muslim countries they like to get Egyptians. Shenouda became first a guest professor in the Sudan, in Khartoum, the University of Khartoum. Later he became a guest professor in Libya. And finally he had the guest professorship in Morocco. Naturally, he invited me to come to each of these places to visit him, but I was never able to manage it. He would have liked so much to have taken me around to these three places.

But it was after my illness, which we'll talk about later.

Well, another of Sjöqvist's students, whom I got to know very well myself, too, was a Turk, Kenan Erim. He was the man who had identified the place of Princeton's excavation in Sicily as Morgantina. He did not return to his own country; he stayed in America and became a professor at NYU, New York University. He started his own excavation. This was one of the most successful excavations of our century in the city of the ancient Aphrodisias in Asia Minor. Aphrodisias was already known in antiquity as a center of production of sculpture, so it was no surprise that the excavation would dig up an enormous amount of first-rate classical sculpture. Well, he had to do everything himself. He had no support from the archaeological institute. He had to do his own fund-raising, and in that respect I could help him in one respect. When I was at Sinai, I got a representative of the National Geographic [Society] as a visitor. You know about that organization? They wanted to photograph our fieldwork in Sinai. I got to know the people of the National Geographic, and so I could write every year a letter of strong support for Kenan Erim to get money from the National Geographic for his Aphrodisias dig. Very tragically, about two years ago, very suddenly Kenan Erim died of a heart attack right there in Turkey.

RIKALA: Well, I was going to ask-- The role of archaeology in Princeton seems to be very, very specific in relationship

to art history.

WEITZMANN: Well, that was unique, and that was [Charles Rufus] Morey's idea to have both fields combined. Actually, our title is "professor of art and archaeology," for each teacher in our department. In Morey's time, each student had to cover both fields, which was all right with me, because in Berlin I too had precisely the same training in both fields and had this close connection with archaeology already. As I told you, I studied archaeology on an equal basis as art history all the time in Germany.

RIKALA: So my question is-- Art historical scholarship has been shaped by particular archaeological methods, I would think. The tasks of the archaeologist-art historian are perhaps just a little bit more specific or particular to this kind of art historical scholarship.

WEITZMANN: Well, each university developed its own excavation programs, too. One of the chief archaeological centers in this country became Harvard [University]. The man who was prominent as a digger was a German refugee, George Hanfmann, who also became a great friend of mine. I'll tell you later how I got him involved in my exhibition in New York. He was excavating the city of Sardis in Asia Minor. But the Sardis excavation he made was a continuation of an excavation that Princeton had started.

Then, besides Kenan Erim, still a third excellent

archaeologist trained by Sjöqvist was Malcolm Bell. He's now professor of archaeology in Virginia at the university [University of Virginia]. He is now in charge of the Morgantina enterprise [Morgantina Studies, Princeton University Press], still publishing the findings of this excavation.

RIKALA: Yes, I'm just thinking that--

WEITZMANN: Well, I could do two things. Now I'm thinking, should I talk more about my pupils or about my travel in the United States? They are intertwined, naturally.

RIKALA: Well, then talk about them at the same time. That's fine if they are intertwined. What specifically are you thinking?

WEITZMANN: Well, when I was in Princeton, I got an invitation to take part in a meeting in Oberlin College. Now, this was typical again of the Princeton situation. The chairman of Oberlin College art department-- I've forgotten his name at the moment; my name memory fails me. [Clarence Ward] He was one of the first graduate students in Princeton and built up Oberlin College in art history, which became a very prominent department. When he retired, they made a big celebration. Naturally, he wanted Princeton represented at that celebration. Well, none of my Princeton colleagues wanted to go to Oberlin, so they came to me, "Will you go to Oberlin?" I said, "I'm glad to."

So I went to Oberlin and attended this meeting, and afterwards I took a chance to go and see a little bit of the country.

I went to Cleveland, and there I went to the [Cleveland] Museum [of Art], one of the most beautiful museums. Well, the director of the Cleveland Museum was one of the best museum men in this country by the name of [William M.] Milliken. Milliken had a particular interest in German art. He would go every summer to Europe and visit [Adolph] Goldschmidt in Berlin and ask Goldschmidt to name him a student who would accompany him through Germany, and there he would buy German art. So he would have sculpture. All sorts of things which no other museum had, Cleveland would have it.

The most prominent acquisition he ever made-- There came on the market in Germany the most astounding treasure, the Guelph treasury--the Guelph family from Brunswick from the twelfth century. Milliken bought a few excellent pieces from the Guelph treasury, which are in Cleveland. But soon thereafter, the German government put its hand on this and secured the whole treasure for Berlin. So Berlin has the whole treasure, with the exception of the pieces which are in Cleveland.

Now, when I saw Milliken, he almost had tears in his eyes, embraced me, and said, "You don't know, Mr. Weitzmann, how much it means to me when somebody comes from Princeton. I am a graduate from Princeton, and none of your colleagues have ever come to Cleveland to visit my museum." I mean, normally people didn't travel. So I had a wonderful time in the Cleveland Museum.

The next place I went to was Detroit. The director in

Detroit was a man by the name of [William R.] Valentiner, who was a German. Due to him, the Detroit museum [Detroit Institute of Arts] was the only museum which had a collection of German expressionists. They were not yet fashionable at that time. He also had German romantic paintings and all kinds of things which were only in Detroit at that time.

Then I made my first trip to Chicago. What impressed me was-- Here was a huge museum. I went to see the classical collection, which was small, in one room. It was already too far from Western civilization. At the same time, in its own building was a huge Far Eastern collection. A shift of emphasis the further you go to the West Coast. It was one of my chief impressions in Chicago.

Then I made two more visits in Chicago later. One was a yearly meeting of the American Archaeological Society in Chicago. One of the people in charge of it in Chicago was Carl Kraeling, who when he was digging at Dura [Europos] was still at Yale [University], in the divinity school, but then had become the director of the Oriental Institute in Chicago. He was in the meeting, the yearly meeting. He organized a special session on one topic: narrative art in antiquity. There were five speakers. As was typical of the situation at that time, of his five speakers, one was an American, a lady Egyptologist named [Helen J.] Kantor. The other four were German immigrants. In Chicago itself, at the Oriental Institute, was a man named

[Hans G.] Gueterbock, who was a specialist in Hittite art. The second was [Peter] von Blankenhagen, a German who had a professorship--what we call a special professorship, a research professorship--in Chicago. And I might interject that this professorship had been offered to me before, too. It would have released me of any teaching, but I preferred to stay in Princeton.

RIKALA: And preferred to keep in touch with students, too? Preferred to work with students, as well?

WEITZMANN: Yes, yes. Both. And also my research projects with the Sinai and so on, and that we had built up a huge photo collection. So I stayed for research reasons, too.

Von Blankenhagen taught the Roman period. The Greek period was covered by George Hanfmann [at the American Archaeological Society meeting], whom I've mentioned before. Of course, the Archaeological Institute of America published his oral lectures together in the American Journal of Archaeology. And I spoke about narrative art in early Christendom.

I went to Chicago once more, where I got my first honorary degree, an L.H.D. No, I'll go back to Princeton, to my students. One of my best students here, who was not on the list you have given me, was Herbert [L.] Kessler. He gave an excellent paper in my seminar, and I encouraged him to work it up for a monograph. It was published in this monograph series, where [Illustrations in] Roll and Codex: [A Study of the Origin and Method of Text

Illustration (1947)] is published. It was on Carolingian manuscripts. Shortly after his Ph.D., Kessler was called to [University of] Chicago. Chicago was his hometown. He had come from Chicago as an undergraduate to Princeton. He became the youngest chairman ever in Chicago in the art department. No doubt he was instrumental in getting this honorary degree for me, and he actually made a speech in the chapel when I got the degree. Now, later, he was called to Johns Hopkins [University], where he became the chairman of the art department and where he is now. Of course, two of my latest publications [The Cotton Genesis: British Library, Codex Cotton Otho B VI (1985); The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art (1990)] are made in collaboration with him. I called him as the collaborator.

RIKALA: Also during this time you went, in 1962, to the University of Bonn.

WEITZMANN: Oh, yes. Well, of course, this was-- Let me first stay a while in America, where I traveled, made specific trips. Of course, I went quite regularly to New York to the Metropolitan Museum [of Art], where the director was James Rorimer. We became close friends, and he called me quite often, consulting me on acquisitions in the field of Byzantine art.

RIKALA: Tell me a little bit about him, James Rorimer.

WEITZMANN: Well, he had the training in Harvard [University] and was trained as a pure connoisseur. Of course, this was training different from Princeton. Princeton trained teachers

and Harvard trained museum people. It was the generalization. Paul [J.] Sachs was interested in the museum in Harvard. Morey didn't care much for him, and he was not on good terms with Princeton, but he liked me personally. One day I got a telephone call, "Kurt, would you come to New York? I have one of the most interesting pieces which I want to acquire. Will you look it over?" It was the so-called Chalice of Antioch. It was one of the most famous pieces of early Christian art. It was bought by the Metropolitan Museum.

But then, of course, Rorimer's successor was Tom [Thomas] Hoving.

RIKALA: Yes, and he was one of your students.

WEITZMANN: He was one of my students.

RIKALA: I was going to ask you about this. Because it's from the course on ivories, isn't it, that Thomas Hoving does his dissertation on ivories? The early medieval ivory seminar, you started giving that about 1957, so perhaps you can interject a little bit of a story about that and then go back to Thomas Hoving. Because that was a new graduate seminar then.

WEITZMANN: Yes, yes. I tried not to concentrate entirely on manuscripts, because I had done my thesis on ivories and had become somewhat of an expert on ivories and was consulted by dealers and museum people. Not only the Metropolitan Museum but Dumbarton Oaks [Research Library and Collection] consulted me continuously about ivories. And I told you already, I later

wrote the catalog on ivories for Dumbarton Oaks. But also, in Cleveland, Milliken and his successor, a man by the name of Sherman Lee, came to Princeton with his pieces to show me. Then another one who consulted me was the Walters Art Gallery. But I would like to say a few words about the Walters Art Gallery.

RIKALA: That's Baltimore, yes.

WEITZMANN: Baltimore. See, when I came to this country in '35, it had become a public museum only about two years earlier. The whole thing was a private collection of a man by the name of [Henry] Walters. Now, when I wrote my doctoral thesis on the Byzantine ivory caskets and I heard there were two or three caskets in Baltimore in the Walters Art Gallery, I wrote to Goldschmidt, who was at that time in America, "Go to Walters and look at these caskets." So Goldschmidt went there when Walters was still living there--it was not yet a public museum--and asked about these caskets. He said, "Well, I may have them. There are still fifty boxes unpacked."

So when it became a public museum, we got stuff from some of the most gifted art historians: Marvin Ross, who is a great expert in medieval art; Dorothy Miner, expert in the manuscripts; and Dorothy Hill for antiquity. [tape recorder off] So when I went in '35 to Walters for the first time, Marvin Ross took me to a magazine where boxes had just been unpacked to consult me about things he was facing himself for the first time. I tell you this is interesting for the whole history of making

museums.

Well, the second was Dorothy Miner, one of the greatest experts in illustrated manuscripts. She presented me with an album of about twelve cut-up miniatures, Byzantine miniatures. I was lucky. I could identify every one of the miniatures by the manuscript from which they had been cut out. They were all cut out, with one exception, from manuscripts from Mount Athos. I had been on Mount Athos and knew the Mount Athos material in and out. So naturally it was quite a sensation. Yet I did not want to publish my results at the time, not to call too much attention to the theft from Athos. But later, when the exhibition was made here in Princeton, which we will talk about later, I gave away all the information to people who wrote on these miniatures which were lent to Princeton.

Then there was a great thing to do in Baltimore. I spoke about the Princeton bicentennial conference. Well, at the end of this conference, an excursion was made to Baltimore. The Baltimore Museum [of Art] had, in honor of the Princeton bicentennial, done a huge exhibition of Byzantine art, which was arranged by Marvin Ross and Dorothy Miner. So we went to Baltimore afterward, the whole congress, and we were then put up in private homes. [laughter] I was invited into the house of Mr. Silverstein, who was one of the most interesting-- [tape recorder off] So I was put up in the private home of one of the wealthy Baltimore oil magnates, and he gave a big dinner

party in my honor. [laughter] At this dinner party was the whole Jewish community, because they take me as Weitzmann and thought I was a Jew. Well, when I had to tell the man, naturally, that I wasn't a Jew, he didn't mind. That was fine. He was very, very liberal and also told me that he had been the adviser of President [Franklin D.] Roosevelt and had been with Roosevelt on trips consulting on the oil business.

Among the guests here, I told you, the man who got an honorary degree was Cardinal [Eugène] Tisserant. He had visited me here in Princeton in my office to learn something about my manuscript research. In Baltimore, I was attached as his guide. I took him through the Baltimore Museum, which had a huge exhibit of Antioch mosaics. From Baltimore, the whole congress moved to Dumbarton Oaks, to Washington. There again I led Cardinal Tisserant through the collection, which I knew very well, naturally, and he got fascinated. They had a huge bronze horse from the Hellenistic period from south Arabia, and it had an inscription on it in a Hamitic old Arabian dialect. Tisserant was one of the most gifted orientalists. Remember, there was an Emperor Haile Selassie, last emperor of Abyssinia? To his coronation, Tisserant was sent as a delegate of the Vatican, and he was the only one who would address Abyssinians in the Abyssinian language.

RIKALA: And Tisserant was friends with Goldschmidt and Morey and all these--

WEITZMANN: Of Morey, yes, and so much so that when I came to work in the Vatican library, which had restricted hours, from nine to three o'clock, I got special permission that I could stay the whole afternoon all alone in the Vatican library.

RIKALA: He seems like a very interesting scholar. Now, this was all going on in about '47.

WEITZMANN: Yes. Also traveling in this country, I want to make a special point-- I started at the Metropolitan Museum, but I also want to say a few words about the [Pierpont] Morgan Library. I went to see the Morgan Library quite often. The director of the Morgan Library was Belle da Costa Greene, who was quite a character. She knew that I was a pupil of Goldschmidt. Belle also came from Princeton, and she had been the librarian at Princeton once. So when I got out a manuscript that I wanted to see, when I was studying it, Belle da Costa Greene would come with a pen and a pencil and ask my opinion about every manuscript I saw. Well, it was a little embarrassing, because you want to study it first, because you make a quick judgement. But, still, she insisted on taking notes.

Before the outbreak of the war, there were great Olympic games in Berlin, and Belle da Costa Greene went to Berlin together with Meta Harrsen, who was the second librarian. When they arrived in Berlin, they had reserved a hotel room, and they didn't accept the reservation. She was on the street in overcrowded Berlin. Of course, I met her at the station. I

was, at the time, taking care of Goldschmidt's apartment. Goldschmidt was in America, and I lived in his apartment. So I took it upon myself to take Belle da Costa Greene and Meta Harrsen into Goldschmidt's house. Goldschmidt was on a boat to America. I sent him a telegram on the boat, "Is it all right to have people put up in your house?" I got a telegram back, "Perfectly all right." [laughter]

But so, you see, then I gave my course here, my general course and graduate course. I always insisted that the students also go and visit museums, the aspect which was somewhat neglected in the Princeton education. But one thing that, of course, they couldn't see in a museum, and on which I had put a heavy emphasis, were illustrated manuscripts. So I made two sessions. Once we went here to Princeton to our [Harvey S.] Firestone [Memorial] Library, which had, next to the Morgan Library, the best collection of Byzantine manuscripts, which had all come in as a gift from Robert Garrett, whom I mentioned before. The second trip I always made to the Morgan Library. They were most liberal. I would get the very best manuscripts to show to the students. Of course, no student was to touch them. I would show them the codex, all these things from Saint Gall and from the Carolingian, the most precious and so on. Every manuscript I felt I should show I would show them. This, for many students, remained a great impression.

I had one student whom I like to single out as this one

particular case, as a student--

TAPE NUMBER: IV, SIDE TWO
APRIL 7, 1992

WEITZMANN: I must get the name. Well, the name doesn't matter. Anyhow, he was the son of a famous physician at Johns Hopkins, and he was destined to also become a physician. But the father told him, "As an undergraduate, forget all about the medicine; that you will get at medical school later on. Do what you like as an undergraduate." He fell in love with art history. He took all the courses. When I had him, for instance, taking view of a manuscript in New York, he came to me, "Can I invite my father, too?" I said yes. "My mother, too?" I said yes. So both came and looked over my shoulders and looked at the manuscripts. The next year, when he was no longer a student, he would come again and come with me.

As a student, he went to Italy every summer. He had a little money. He bought little objects of art, and when he came once to me with a gleam in his eye, he had bought an ivory diptych. He said, "I bought it for only twenty-five dollars." I said, "Uh-uh." And of course it was a forgery. "I don't mind; I learned my lesson. Next time I'll be more careful." Sometime later I see--the most popular magazine was Life magazine--a double spread, "A Student Collects." Here was the student surrounded by his objects he collected. And later, unfortunately-- Anyhow, we'll come back to it. Well, I mentioned

this only to show that this part of my teaching was to make him acquainted with such objects as illustrated manuscripts.

RIKALA: Well, yes, and what a pleasurable influence.

WEITZMANN: Well, I mentioned that in our travels in America one of our early trips was to Oberlin College. A few years later, I was called to Oberlin again to give a lecture series, the Martin Classical Lectures series, which is printed as a book, the Ancient Book Illumination [1959], which is an extension of Roll and Codex. I gave four lectures there. There I met one of the very prominent German refugee art historians--of course, if he were alive, he would be on your list, but he is no longer alive--Wolfgang von Stechow. Wolfgang von Stechow was an extremely interesting person, not only as an art historian. He was a great expert on Dutch seventeenth-century art. He was also a trained musicologist, and he gave courses about musicology at Tanglewood. Before he had come to this country, he was a professor in Göttingen. There were two professors in Göttingen; the other was von Hagen, Oskar von Hagen. Von Stechow and von Hagen, they had organized the Handel festivals and founded the Handel Society, and they were the ones who had gotten out Handel operas. They were performed for the first time in Göttingen. When I went to Vienna as a student, I heard one of his operas, Xerxes, which was only after Göttingen then taken to Vienna.

I once got an invitation to give a lecture in Los Angeles.

I've told you already? No.

RIKALA: No, I think you mentioned that you haven't been.

WEITZMANN: No, I didn't, because, in the meantime, I got an invitation to Russia to the Hermitage.

RIKALA: That's right. Now I remember.

WEITZMANN: I mentioned this already. That's why I was never in California.

RIKALA: Was it at UCLA they asked you?

WEITZMANN: Yes, UCLA. But I did go to Toronto twice. And the art historian in [University of] Toronto, who also would be on your list if he was still alive, a prominent German refugee, was Peter Brieger. Peter Brieger was also working on illustrated manuscripts, but Gothic ones. But we had a similar project. He came repeatedly to Princeton to consult on this project, so we got to know each other very well. So he invited me to Toronto twice. Once I gave a very big lecture, and another time I gave a kind of little seminar to his students.

RIKALA: They have the [Pontifical] Institute of Medieval Studies in Toronto. And where had he studied in Germany?

WEITZMANN: He was a professor in Breslau before he came to America. He was older than I; he was head of the professors.

But, of course, my most frequent visits were in Europe, and being always half a year with the Institute [for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey], I was free. I would only teach

in the spring term, and in the fall I would go to Europe every year.

RIKALA: That's wonderful. Did you keep a residence in Europe? Or did you just go to different places?

WEITZMANN: No, different places.

RIKALA: So this was always your home base?

WEITZMANN: Of course, I would, in the beginning, always go to Kassel to see my mother [Antonie Keiper Weitzmann], who was still alive. But when I would travel just for my manuscript research, I would first go to England, spend a certain time in the British Library, work in libraries at Oxford [University] and Cambridge [University]. I must say that it was also a particular pleasure to be back in the British Library. The Britishers are naturally gentlemen, and everything was open. Once I came to the British Library and the keeper of manuscripts was on vacation. There was only his assistant. I wanted to see one of the most precious manuscripts, the so-called Cotton Genesis. I said, "Well, I'm sorry that he's not here; I would have liked to have seen it." He said, "Of course you can see it. We're not the Bibliothèque Nationale."

It turns out that in my travels to Europe, that [the Bibliothèque Nationale] was the only library which refused me certain manuscripts. The first time I went there-- My very first article I published was on the Paris Psalter manuscript. I went to Paris, and the keeper of the manuscript was a very

prominent scholar by the name of Henri Omont. I gave him the reprint of this article and asked for the manuscript. After all, what more qualification can you show? He refused. He dared to act hostile with me. He said, "We have special manuscripts on the reserve and the grand reserve." I did get all the reserve manuscripts. But of the four manuscripts of the grand reserve, he would say to me, "Will you be satisfied if I show you two of the four?" Naturally, I got number three and four; number one and two I didn't see.

His successor was a man named Philippe Lauer. He was even worse. I asked for a manuscript not from the grand reserve but from the reserve, a manuscript which I had already studied several times. It was the [inaudible] on which I later wrote the monograph. He refused me even this reserve manuscript. The worst of it, he wrote later to Princeton a letter of apology saying he had thought that I was a German.

RIKALA: How insulting.

WEITZMANN: If he had known that I was American, he would have shown it to me.

RIKALA: How insulting.

WEITZMANN: But he was an Alsatian German hater. But then, I must add, his successor was Jean Porcher. So when I went to see Porcher, again asking for the two most famous manuscripts, he came into the reading room with open arms and said, "Monsieur Weitzmann, you can see what you want, carte blanche." I said

to him, "I'm very, very grateful, but I will also tell you I will not misuse this privilege. I will only ask for those manuscripts I really need for my research, not ask for some other famous manuscript just because I would like to see it." So I got to see the Paris Psalter.

Once I came with my wife [Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler] to Paris to study in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and I realized it was All Saints Day and the library was closed. I was only in Paris a few days and was dismayed. By accident, Porcher showed up. Although the library was closed, he took me in his office, and all of the texts and manuscripts I wanted to see, I could work on and see them in the library. Later, as I made a symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, the one together with [Ernst] Kitzinger on Byzantium and the West, I invited Porcher to a lecture, to Washington [D.C.]. So he came to Washington, and I later asked him to also come to Princeton, and it was very nice. Later, when we made a festschrift for him, published in the Gazette des Beaux- Arts, I published an article also for Porcher.

RIKALA: When you published your first article on the Paris Psalter, you had not seen it at that point.

WEITZMANN: No. At that time, I hadn't seen it.

RIKALA: So you saw it much later. Did you have any different thoughts about your first article then, once you--?

WEITZMANN: No, no, not on the basis of-- No, I had good photos,

and they served my purpose for the moment.

RIKALA: But it must have been exciting after all that time.

WEITZMANN: Oh, yes. Oh, yes.

RIKALA: Now, I mentioned earlier about going to the University of Bonn. Would that be--?

WEITZMANN: Yes. Well, it was one of the many, many visits to Germany. But in Bonn, the chairman of the department was Herbert von Einem. We had been student friends together the first semester I was in Berlin. Actually, he came to my flat, and he played piano very well. He accompanied me on the piano, to the flute, and we had a third student with a violin. We would play trio. It was all very fun. And also a student at that time was-- What is von Einem's wife's name? [tape recorder off] Jaris, Lotta Jaris. Lotta Jaris. She studied at the same time in Berlin. Her father was the Bürgermeister in Duisburg and was a very prominent diplomat who once was a candidate for the German presidency, a candidate against Paul von Hindenburg. So when we went to vacation together, she went to Duisburg to her parents. She invited me to come to Duisburg, and we went to operas and sat in the Meisterloge and heard opera. Well, Lotta Jaris then became Mrs. von Einem.

But then, later, von Einem was no longer in Berlin when I came the second time. He studied in Göttingen and made his career there. Then he later became the chairman of-- The most prominent art department at that time was Bonn. He became the

chairman of the Bonn art department. As soon as the war was over, he was very eager to have me come to Bonn as a guest professor. Well, the only chance for us was to get the American Fulbright grant. That would have meant that I had to get a recommendation from American colleagues in order to get the professorship in Bonn, and I said, "No, I don't want to do that." I refused. A few years later, I again got a letter saying, "Now we have enough money in Germany. Now we invite you from the German side." So I was glad to come."

So I went and spent a very, very lovely term in Bonn. The students I had there, I am still in contact with most of them today. In this one term, I had such close contacts that for my eightieth birthday eight of the students wrote articles made especially for me, just the Bonn students. And from Bonn I also had a very, very nice colleague, the second man in charge of the art department, Günter Bandmann, who was a specialist on medieval architecture. Von Einem was more Renaissance. I mean, in the field, Bandmann had more contact with me. He had a car, and on weekends he would take me all around in the neighborhood to show me churches in the Rhineland. So I saw a great deal with Günter Bandmann. Also, I went, naturally, quite often to Cologne, Cologne museums, and also there is one museum, the Schnütgen Museum, a special museum with medieval art. The director of this museum was a man by the name of [Hermann] Schniztler, who was one of the most prominent medieval art

historians, and I visited Schniztler. For instance, he invited us to a tour to visit Limbourg, a late Romanesque cathedral which has one of the most beautiful Byzantine works of art, the Staurothèque, a very famous piece. So we went to see this.

RIKALA: Have you ever given any consideration to retiring or returning to Germany?

WEITZMANN: I had three offers to come back to Germany. The first was Marburg, where I also went to give a lecture, and I got to know an art historian who is a medievalist by the name of Hermann Usener. He wanted me to be a professor at Marburg and be director of its European institute. We went to Wiesbaden to see the minister of culture, but in the end I just couldn't give up Princeton with all its enterprise I had started here.

The second offer was, of course, Bonn, and the third was [University of] Vienna. I think I mentioned the third, which was when [Karl Maria] Swoboda had actually come to Princeton to offer me that professorship. Wien [Vienna] was a certain attraction, too, but Wien, as I mentioned already, had the second chair also given to a Byzantinist, and it was senseless to have two Byzantinists.

But while I was in Bonn, of course, I had not only several students but also colleagues in my course. For instance, I had mentioned Mr. [Otto] Homburger, Goldschmidt's pupil in Bern,

who came for a week to Bonn just to sit in and hear my lectures. Well, he was disappointed in my lectures, because he said to me, "You know, it doesn't sound like Goldschmidt." I felt this was a compliment. I didn't want to imitate Goldschmidt. [laughter]

Then I gave a lecture in Mainz. We had two friends there who were archaeologists and art historians. There was an art historian, a man by the name of Brommer, whom I had known before, and an art historian who was a man by the name of [Friedrich] Gerke, who was an early Christian archaeologist when I was a student in Berlin. Actually, while in Berlin, he had actually laid out a program, a corpus of early Christian ivories, and I was supposed to write a volume in that corpus for early Christian. But, of course, then came Nazism, and nothing came of the project. One of the collaborators was actually a Jew who emigrated, and so the whole thing fell apart.

But I was invited to Marburg, of course, to lecture. It was actually a special occasion, where every year or so archaeologists called the Winckelmannfest, met, and I gave the special lecture, the Winckelmann Lecture in Marburg.

Of course, whenever I went, manuscripts and also ivories were naturally always on my mind. While I was in Bonn, the director of the museum in Bonn showed me an ivory, a beautiful plaque. Well, I had seen this big plaque before. I saw it the first time in Lucerne. The man was a big merchant, and his

hobby was a big ivory collection. He had previously also always sent photos to Princeton to get my opinion on his ivories. I had visited him in Zug, and then he showed me this plaque, and I had my doubts. The name will come to me. So, anyhow, it happened accidentally that the Paris dealer who had sold him this plaque was also a guest there. We were both invited to lunch, and I said, "I hope he doesn't raise the question--" Koffler. But, fortunately, the question wasn't raised at the luncheon time, but Koffler gave my expertise back to the dealer and didn't buy it.

Shortly thereafter, coming back to this country, I had a letter with a photo from a museum in Boston which I had been offered--what I thought of it. "Keep your hands away," I said. A few weeks later, I got a letter from Dumbarton Oaks with the photo. "What do you think of this ivory which has been offered to us?" I said, "Better not." Finally, the curator from the Metropolitan Museum came to me in my office here. "We're here to talk about it." I said, "Well, you're a little too late. I have seen it already three times. No more." Well, I saw the piece again in Bonn when I was a guest professor there. The end of the story is that the Louvre bought it! I think they bought a fake. It is a fake.

But then, after my Bonn term, I went to Switzerland. In the meantime, there was this other ivory problem: this huge cross, one of the most prominent pieces, Romanesque pieces,

which a Yugoslav dealer had and which was safe in a bank in Zurich. And the Metropolitan Museum was after it, which means Tom Hoving-- [tape recorder off] This ivory cross, Hoving was after this-- Well, he was still a curator at the time. The director was Rorimer. And Rorimer said to him, "I will not consider this piece unless I have the expertise of Weitzmann." So Hoving was after me that I should go to Zurich and see the cross. "No, now is the term; I can't go right now. I must wait until the term is over, and then I'll go to Zurich."

So I went to Zurich, and this man who owned it, a dealer, a Yugoslav, took me to a bank safe where the cross was and left me with that cross a whole day to study it. I convinced myself that it was genuine for several reasons: the style, which was English, was all right, but also, on the lower stem, it was much touched. You could see it. It was a processional cross much handled there, you see, which could only have happened from a long time of being touched by hands. So this was another proof that this cross was genuine.

So the British Museum was after the piece. Because it was English, they naturally wanted very much to have it. So they said to Hoving, "Well, you have an option up to midnight this and this day, and if you haven't taken it by that time, then the British Museum will get it." So Hoving sat in Zurich up to this date and snatched it and took it from under the nose of the British and took it back.

Well, of course, before he bought it, he had seen me several times at Princeton about this cross. Also, there was actually a base, a square base, which had also been originally in ivory. I remembered that in my photo collection there is such a square plaque. I showed it to Hoving, and he said, yes, it might very well be part of his cross. It was in a private collection. Naturally, Hoving offered, bought it, and mounted it, and it's on the base of his cross.

RIKALA: How well the memory can aid you. That's a wonderful story.

WEITZMANN: In Bonn, I once had to give an official lecture as a guest professor, but they had made such propaganda-- It was a big lecture room. After the lecture was filled, it was closed, and people would no longer be allowed in. People had come from Cologne, from outside, for the lecture. So they were terribly upset about it. And they came to me, "Would you be willing to repeat this lecture in a few days?" I said, "All right." [laughter]

RIKALA: Can you perhaps just briefly compare--or just characterize perhaps is a better word--the art historical scholarship and the students in Germany with the ones here in the U.S.?

WEITZMANN: I'll tell you a very interesting story. I purposely made the same seminar in Bonn which I just had finished in Princeton. I gave the same papers to the students so I would be able to

compare them. The most difficult paper, which was extremely well handled, was by Kessler. I also gave the same topic in Bonn to who was told to me was the best student, a man by the name of Hoffmann. Well, both papers were equally brilliant, but it was clear that the German, with a broader background, could handle it so much easier--had more at the fingertips. The American had to work hard because he could not take the things for granted and dug up and went back deeper into it. So the American paper had certain aspects which the German did not have, but that doesn't make the German less of a good paper.

So, as a whole, my experience is-- Of course, Princeton has a high level of graduate students, naturally, but, also, some are not so good. On the highest level, both are equally good. But on the lower level, Americans are lower. I mean, on occasion you would have American students coming forward with questions which in those days still would not have been possible for a German student. I mean, an American student, for instance, in a precept, where you show the Virgin with a child, would say, "Why must a child always be a boy?" Can you beat that? [laughter]

RIKALA: That person doesn't pass in art history.

WEITZMANN: Why?

RIKALA: Well, because they don't have the cultural context as well, or the access, cultural access.

WEITZMANN: No. Well, still, in my days in Bonn, of course,

most students had the humanities training.

RIKALA: Yes.

WEITZMANN: Very few Americans had it. Of course, students had also had it. But the best training were those students who came from Oberlin College. Oberlin College was one of the best graduate schools in this country. And I had one student from Oberlin College, William Loerke, who was an excellent student. I have mentioned his thesis already.

RIKALA: And he goes on to become a museum director?

WEITZMANN: Well, no. He was the chairman of the art department in [University of] Pittsburgh and later became the director of studies at Dumbarton Oaks.

RIKALA: Yes, that's what I have.

WEITZMANN: And also taught as a sideline at the Catholic University in Washington. He is retired now.

RIKALA: One of the students, if we can digress a bit, whom we haven't talked about who is on my list--and I picked this up from something I read--is Eugene Kleinbauer.

WEITZMANN: Yes. Well, I mentioned several students. But Eugene Kleinbauer, he came to study architecture. Of course, I'm not an architecturist. He wanted to write a thesis on early Christian churches. I said, "All right. I will accept this as a thesis, but I will take it in to collaborate with someone who is an expert in the field," which was Richard Krautheimer in New York. So Krautheimer was the coadviser and also coexaminer

in the thesis.

RIKALA: And Kleinbauer went on to write about--

WEITZMANN: He has also worked on the mosaics and various aspects, but his key field is still architecture.

RIKALA: Yes. That's where I know him from.

WEITZMANN: Then another student who-- I don't know if I mentioned [James] Breckenridge already.

RIKALA: We mentioned him briefly the other day.

WEITZMANN: I see.

RIKALA: But I don't recall what his dissertation was about.

WEITZMANN: Well, he had worked on the iconography of Christ, coins in particular. It was part of a numismatic study, and he became very prominent. He became the chairman of Northwestern University in Chicago and once invited me to give a whole series of lectures, the Harris lectures, at Northwestern.

A very good student I don't know if I mentioned yet was Archer St. Clair.

RIKALA: Yes, I was hoping we could talk about her today.

WEITZMANN: Haven't I mentioned her?

RIKALA: No, we haven't yet.

WEITZMANN: She came to me to work. She had originally been a student of Loerke's in Pittsburgh. No, in Bryn Mawr [College]. Loerke was at Bryn Mawr by that time. Then she came for graduate work to Princeton and wanted to write a thesis with me. She wrote her Ph.D. thesis on early Christian pyxides.

RIKALA: And, at that point, they were obviously accepting women students at Princeton?

WEITZMANN: Yes. [St. Clair wrote] several articles on ivories and plans to make the big corpus of all the early Christian pyxides, for which, of course, she will have to rely on my material, which is at her disposal.

RIKALA: That's very good.

WEITZMANN: In the meantime, at Rutgers [University], where she is also a professor, a few years ago or so she did a special exhibition of ivories, a very nice exhibition with a catalog and had the students write entries. Also there was a conference here in Princeton some years ago, a college meeting, a Byzantine studies conference. We made a special exhibition of Byzantine art in our Princeton [University Art] Museum. Two people worked on this catalog: one was the man who at that time was the chairman of his department, Slobodan _ur_i_. He and Archer made this catalog.

RIKALA: Was that the Byzantium at Princeton exhibition?

WEITZMANN: Yes, yes.

RIKALA: I quite like that title. I thought that was a very good title.

WEITZMANN: Of course _ur_i_ and Archer wrote entries, and I wrote the introduction to it.

RIKALA: Yes. That was actually a very useful piece for me when I was preparing this.

TAPE NUMBER: V, SIDE ONE

APRIL 9, 1992

RIKALA: Shall we start today with--? Well, there are two places we can start. We could either start talking about some of the other universities, as I had mentioned, or we could continue on with some of your travel stories, which you mentioned the last time we wrapped up. It's your preference. The point that I was interested in was you said that Princeton [University] trained teachers and Harvard [University] trained museum people.

WEITZMANN: Yes.

RIKALA: You spent a year at Yale University in 1954 and '55. Did you find an appreciable difference at Yale in the way they were teaching their students or dealing with their students?

WEITZMANN: Well, of course Yale had this special orientation towards French scholarship through [Henri] Focillon. But also Yale had, at the time, Carl Kraeling at the divinity school, who was the excavator of Dura [Europos] and covered this very important aspect in archeology. Also one of the leading scholars in Yale was called [Michael] Rostovzeff. He was a Russian historian. Actually, when I gave together with Kraeling this joint symposium at Dumbarton Oaks [Research Library and Collection], Rostovzeff was supposed to preside

over this symposium, but when he fell ill it was the beginning of a long sickness from which he never recovered again. But he had a very, very heavy impact on ancient history in this country.

RIKALA: What about the approaches to art history and methods? Do you think that Yale had any sort of funda-mental difference in approach through Focillon?

WEITZMANN: Well, you see, I already mentioned the opening of Dumbarton Oaks in 1940. There were inaugural lectures. Of course we got what they considered the four most prominent scholars in the medieval field. One was, of course, [Charles Rufus] Morey from Princeton, who then became the first director at Dumbarton Oaks. The second was Wilhelm Köhler, who was at Harvard, who had been called to Harvard even shortly before the Hitler period. And he also had quite an influence on training scholars in this country. I mean, one of his most prominent scholars became David Wright, who is teaching in [University of California] Berkeley today. The third was Focillon from Yale. The fourth was Rostovzeff.

I think that Focillon's influence in this country remained limited to Yale. One external reason: he taught in French, refused to speak English. See, I was annoyed when I was presented to him and he immediately spoke French with me, so I answered in German. [laughter] I thought, "If he doesn't speak English, I don't speak English." I mean, no scholar from any other country

would have this insistence on this language, which only the French can have. But then, naturally, I don't generalize, because we have French who come to this country and speak fluent English and teach.

One of the very successful French scholars--he didn't teach in this country but was an associate at the Institute [for Advanced Study]--was Henri Seyrig. [tape recorder off] The head of the whole monument service in France, one of the most influential scholars, an Alsatian. I got to know him quite well. I gave a symposium in Dumbarton Oaks on the Dura synagogue. He took a very lively interest in this whole project, because at that time he was head of the French monument service in Syria. Actually, he was instrumental helping Princeton get permission to dig in Antioch. Of course, the Louvre also became a participant in this enterprise. So he had a very deep impact on this.

But then, many of my students now teach at many American universities, and no doubt the German training shows in them, too. Of course I mentioned one of the most successful teachers is Herbert [L.] Kessler at Johns Hopkins [University]; and [George] Galavaris is in McGill [University]; [James] Breckenridge, who was in Northwestern [University]; [William] Loerke, who taught at [University of] Pittsburgh first and later Bryn Mawr [College]. And already-- See, they taught in a way that shows the German training, and pupils of Loerke already now disseminate-- One came to me-- Archer St. Clair took a degree with me, and she's

number one teaching there successfully at Rutgers [University] today. But also, the year before I retired, we made in connection with Archer an exhibition [Byzantium at Princeton] of Byzantine manuscripts here in the Princeton [University Art] Museum, Byzantine manuscripts from the American-Canadian collections. Well, they printed the catalog, and all entries in the catalog are written by my pupils. Another one who is wonderful is [Jeffery] Anderson, who is teaching in Washington University now, George Washington University in Washington [D.C.]. I don't want to enumerate them all now, but--

RIKALA: When you retired, the manuscript seminar came to a close, didn't it?

WEITZMANN: Yes.

RIKALA: Has that been resumed again?

WEITZMANN: No, unfortunately not. It has been, strangely enough, assumed outside my own control in the University of Florence, where an Italian lady teaches a course in manuscripts and has my [Illustrations in] Roll and Codex: [A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration (1947)] as textbook.

RIKALA: That's the one that's being translated?

WEITZMANN: It was translated into Italian. But, otherwise, all that goes on is now correspondence. I continuously receive letters from people who want material, and they consult me. But also, a second time, I had a whole group

of people around me. When I retired in '72-- The retiring age at the university was sixty-eight. I was half with the institute; the institute retired at seventy. So the university was willing to have me two more years if the institute would agree to more teaching. The institute refused. The chairman at the time I think was Wen Fong, a Chinaman, and he was so furious that he said that he would make good for the two years and got for me two half-years at Dumbarton Oaks and two half-years at the Metropolitan Museum [of Art]. Of course, in Dumbarton Oaks at the time, the director of studies was Loerke, a pupil of mine, and the director of the Metropolitan was Tom [Thomas] Hoving, who was a pupil of mine. Hoving not only wanted me to have two half-years with the Metropolitan but wanted me for a particular project, to organize one of the big blockbuster exhibitions called The Age of Spirituality, which was one of the biggest exhibitions of its kind. Actually, then, after two years, I became a consultative curator for the Metropolitan Museum, and this went on for ten years altogether. So, actually, the refusal of the institute was all to my good.

RIKALA: It opened up a whole new career corner.

WEITZMANN: Yes, yes. And for this exhibition, fortunately, I had to go to New York only very rarely. They assigned to me a curator of the Metropolitan Museum as a collaborator, Margaret Frazer, and we worked together. Because it was considered an

exhibition of educational value of this kind of material, all institutions were most generous in lending there. So we got a great number of gifts from the British Museum, from the Louvre, from the Vatican, from Berlin, from all over the world.

RIKALA: How did you find museum life different from university life?

WEITZMANN: Well, as I say, I didn't take much active part in it. I could do the work here in Princeton, and people would come to see me here in Princeton. [laughter] Only on occasion would I go to New York and talk things over with Hoving about the exhibition. But, naturally, I went over to work with the designer for the layout of the exhibition and all of this. Hoving was most generous. He gave me a completely free hand. I could choose from all over, ask for objects that I wanted, and he had only to step in at one moment where we had asked for too much and the financial people came and said, "We're too high. We have to cut." Hoving, most sensibly, cut only two or three pieces which were sarcophagi, because they were especially heavy and expensive to transport. That was all. But all the silver and enamel and gold that I wanted I got.

Well, anyhow, in order to organize this exhibition, I got several of my students to work out certain aspects of the exhibition. For instance, for ancient portraits I gave Breckenridge control, because he had worked on portraits. About Old Testament scenes, I had Herb Kessler being the head. For another aspect, I got

some European friend from the Staatliche Museen, Mr. [Viktor] Elbern. For some classical art, also a pupil from Yale, whom I had in my course when I was a guest professor at Yale, and he was Professor [Richard] Brilliant. He's now a professor at Columbia [University]. So we wrote introductory chapters to certain aspects, and I left it to them to choose collaborators for writing the entries. There were thirty or forty people writing entries to that catalog. And of course my wife [Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler] was wonderful, working hard on some entries, too.

But also, coming back to the Princeton The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art exhibition, we made this catalog and also had the colloquium where we called in four of the most prominent scholars in the field, and their papers were printed in a supplementary volume. I myself wrote a lengthy article. It was "Byzantine Manuscript Studies: Past, Present, and Future." That was the title. I got speakers: [Ernst] Kitzinger and Hugo Buchthal. And who else was there? Somebody else. Yes, and Loerke.

Also, jumping again to the other, to The Age of Spirituality, we also arranged a colloquium in connection with the exhibition and asked people to give lectures. And I chose people, prominent scholars, who were not actively involved in the exhibition but should give more of the general aspects of the period. One of the speakers was a very prominent Italian historian, [Arnaldo]

Momigliano. Another one was Peter Brown, who was at Oxford [University] at that time and whom I got here to this country for the first time. He's now a professor at Princeton. Another one was George Hanfmann, whom I mentioned already. Then, for certain aspects of Byzantine art, I very much wanted to have one of the most prominent scholars, André Grabar. Well, he was at that age where-- First he agreed. Then he called it off because the doctor had said he couldn't travel. Then I also got a very prominent scholar, [Hans Peter] L'Orange, a Norwegian.

RIKALA: I don't know the name.

WEITZMANN: Yes, yes. L'Orange. He was director of a Norwegian school in Rome. Well, L'Orange agreed, but all of a sudden he had an eye operation and had to call it off. And then, at very short notice, only a few months before the exhibition, I got a substitute for him. It was Beat Brenk, a Swiss, whom at some time I had thought of as my successor in Princeton. And if he had agreed to come-- He came to this country and was willing. But when he had questions about too low a salary, he called if off. He didn't come, which was regrettable. Otherwise I would have had a successor today. But we are still close friends. And he gave a lecture. And there were a few others. But, I mean, it's this kind of exhibition which had a tremendous impact in this country.

One of the persons who is not a professional art historian

but knew a great deal about art history whom I got to know was Joseph Alsop. Joseph Alsop was one of the leading journalists in this country and was related to the Roosevelt family. He later wrote a book about Roosevelt. He went in and out of the White House. And he wrote a book on collectors, which interested him. So he came to Princeton and wanted me to consult on medieval art. One day he showed up in my office, and then I said to him, "Can we have lunch together?" I took him for lunch. We went to a

restaurant. And while it wasn't quite his style, I knew he--He said, "Well, when you come to Washington next time, I will ask you to come with me to dinner. I have the best cook of Washington." [laughter] And it was literally true! Well, we actually became great friends, and whenever I was in Washington and had things to do at Dumbarton Oaks, I stayed in the house of Joseph Alsop.

RIKALA: This Metropolitan exhibition, that was the first large exhibition of its kind, wasn't it?

WEITZMANN: Of this subject, yes.

RIKALA: And did it travel at all? Or was it just at the Met?

WEITZMANN: No. Well, first it was planned to go to Paris, but they wanted to have it shortened, cut it. It was too big an exhibition. And on this the Metropolitan didn't agree. Another attempt was made--but then it didn't come off because of financial reasons--with the Hermitage, who very much wanted to have it

in Leningrad. But that also didn't work out, unfortunately.

RIKALA: You mentioned the other day, just on the side here, that you were once offered an invitation to UCLA, but instead you had an invitation at the same time to go to the Hermitage. Could you tell me a little bit about your impressions of the museum and the collections there?

WEITZMANN: Well, I'll tell you-- Yes, I might just talk about Russia. I was in Russia three times. My first visit was in 1931, just two years after my doctorate, and I was still working on ivories and on manuscripts. At the time, I was connected with the [German] Archaeological Institute in Berlin, which is not under the wings of the minister of culture but the foreign office. And this meant that as an employee of the foreign office, I went under green diplomatic passport to Russia and had all the connections with the German general consulate and diplomatic services. Well, I had personal letters of recommendation to the leading archaeologist in Russia, who was the director of antiquities in the Hermitage, a man by the name of Oskar Waldhauer. Oskar Waldhauer, the name is German, but he's Russian. He's a Volga German. But he had studied in Germany under the famous [Adolf] Furtwängler in Munich, and he was the representative of the Russian government at the Berlin Archaeological Institute and such. Because Russia didn't have money at the time, they made catalogs, and these catalogs were printed in Germany by the institute in Berlin. When I went to Leningrad,

Waldhauer took me under his wings. What was most interesting was, first of all, I didn't stay in a hotel but in the House of Scholars. It's where all the Russian scholars stayed. I slept in huge dormitory rooms with twenty people in one room. So from there, it was the huge palace next to the Hermitage, and I went to the Hermitage every day. Well, of course I went to see everything I wanted in the Hermitage. One thing one could not see at that time was a kind of huge safe locked like a bank safe within the Hermitage which was the Scythian gold, one of the most valuable treasures of Russia. And of course, Waldhauer managed it; it was opened, and I got to see this Scythian gold treasure. Now today only a few pieces are exhibited. The rest is in banks or safes, not exhibited. It's too valuable.

Well, Waldhauer also asked me to give a lecture in the Hermitage in German. He said, "All my colleagues all speak German." Of course, his students didn't. I mean, this was really only for colleagues. But this casts some light on the whole situation at that time. Waldhauer said this: "I must get formal permission from the director of the Hermitage." So we went to see the director, who was a boy in his mid-twenties. He was not supposed to know anything about archaeology; he was only in this position to control the personalities of the Hermitage. It was typical of the system.

The chief curator in my field, in the Byzantine field,

had been a man by the name of [Leonid] Matzulevich, who had also written wonderful basic books published in Germany. Well, when I came, Matzulevich had been thrown out of his position, was degraded, because he had made one mistake. He had published an article in the Russian immigrant journal which appeared in Prague. In the revolution, Russia naturally had a very flourishing Byzantine art history study, and the leading scholar was [Nikodim] Kondakov. Kondakov had emigrated to Czechoslovakia, and they built him an institute in Prague which was called the Seminarium Kondakovianum. They also published the journal where Matzulevich made the mistake of publishing something.

This was a very, very difficult time at that time. As Waldhauer told me, about 70 percent of the people had tuberculosis, were all undernourished, and it was a very critical situation at that time, very serious. Well, naturally, I had foreign currency and could buy what I wanted in special stores. So in the evenings Waldhauer invited me to his house, and I would say, "What can I buy you and bring you?" And I expected him to say ham or something. "Vodka." [laughter] Then he told me why he said this. He was married. His wife had been a secretary at the British embassy, and then the relations with Britain went bad one day and she was imprisoned. He said he was really nerve-racked. He said there was a garage at the basement of his house, and at night, whenever he heard a car, he thought,

"Now the secret police come and get me," which was the atmosphere in which we lived.

I saw everything in the Hermitage, particularly the ivories. The curator at that time was a young lady by the name of Alisa Bank. The Byzantine collection was dissolved, but everything was in storage, and whatever I wanted to see, Alisa Bank put out of the storage and I could see it. We became very close friends. But besides the Hermitage, I worked in the public library to see the Greek manuscripts. There the director or the keeper of the manuscripts was the father of Alisa Bank [Vladimir Bank], who gave me all the Greek manuscripts I wanted to see. So that worked very well. Well, so much for the first visit.

The second time, there was the Byzantine congress in Oxford in '56, where I went and gave one of the big lectures of the plenary sessions and so on. I was, in the meantime, elected a member of the international committee of Byzantine studies. We had a meeting, and at that meeting, there was a man sitting opposite me always looking at me. I knew him all right. And he came after and said, "Do you remember me?" "Yes. Victor Lazareff." He was a leading Byzantine art historian. When I was in Leningrad the first time, Victor Lazareff was a curator in the Museum of Decorative Arts, which had icons.

Another aspect: all icons, because of antireligious feelings, were in hiding.

RIKALA: Yes, I wanted to ask you about that.

WEITZMANN: But they did not destroy anything, because they still considered them works of Russian history. I was allowed to go into a huge storage room, a special room next to the Tretyakov Gallery, which is a museum of the nineteenth and twentieth century. And there were thousands of icons, and not only stored, but they were storing them and keeping them in perfect condition.

Well, the second time, I went under the wings of the Oxford congress, and I went to Leningrad afterwards, after the Byzantine congress at Oxford. I took a boat with my wife--she was with me. We took a boat which would first stop a few hours in Copenhagen and then stop a few hours in Stockholm, and in Stockholm there was an exhibition, the exhibition of the Council of Europe. The director of the Stockholm museum [National museum] was a close friend of mine [Carl Nordenfalk]. So in the late afternoon, when the museum was closed, the secretary phoned Nordenfalk, he came from his home, and until the boat left again, he took us through the exhibition.

Then, from there, we stopped for one day in Helsinki. My wife had been in Helsinki before for her own studies when she worked on her project, which was Romanesque bronze bowls. There they're called Hanseatic bowls, because they're distributed all over Hanseatic cities. And from there, we went to Leningrad. Actually, we were the guests of the Russian government, put up in a hotel. Alisa Bank had come to the airport to get us.

I went with special entrance permission into the Hermitage every day.

Well, in Oxford there was, of course, Victor Lazareff and Alisa Bank. But two more Russian scholars who also wanted to go there were not permitted to go. One was a lady, [Tatiana] Ismailova, a scholar in Armenian art, and Boris Marshak, oriental silver. Well, when they heard that I had come from Oxford, they wanted to read their lectures to me. Because they couldn't deliver it at Oxford, so, so to speak, I should hear them. So I spent hours and hours in the office of Alisa Bank.

Then we made excursions from Leningrad. We went to see Novgorod. Novgorod is an old Hanseatic city with very wonderful treasures. But since I had to order a taxi to get me there, I thought, "Well, I will give Alisa Bank a chance to come along." But in the Russian system, she could not dare to go alone with us, but there had to be a second Russian. [laughter] So we took Ismailova along. Of course, the chauffeur was a trained political man who was to supervise us, but he was very nice, and he stayed in the hotel and let us go around freely in Novgorod.

When we went another time, we went to Peterhof, this huge castle outside of Leningrad. It was a summer residence of the czars. This was all in restoration--the sculptures were even newly gilded--and how they restored it was very impressive. It had been bombed by the Germans. Now they restored it,

everything entirely, everything masterly. I mean, they really spent an extraordinary amount of money.

From Leningrad, we went to Moscow. There I was very lucky. Because of these connections with the German diplomatic service, they had arranged that I would be able to see the Kremlin. Now, see, in those days, nobody could enter the Kremlin. Today it's a museum, and the cathedral can be seen. But I saw even more than the museum and the cathedral; I was taken in through the private rooms of the czars and so on. I got an order: ten o'clock in the morning on Friday morning at this and this gate. I went there. There was a Russian lady waiting for me as my guide and two cossacks with pistols who were standing behind me and taking me like a prisoner through the whole Kremlin. But it was extremely impressive, naturally, to see the Kremlin this way.

RIKALA: And then your third trip to the Soviet Union was--?

WEITZMANN: The third trip was when I called off Los Angeles and went to see the Byzantine exhibition. It was a huge Byzantine exhibition in the Hermitage, and they had a little congress and I was invited. So my wife and I, we went. And there was only one other foreigner who came to this meeting, Mr. [John] Beckwith from the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, a very prominent scholar in the field who was a friend of mine. They gave one big dinner one evening with toasting and so on, all the grand style. It was a magnificent exhibition with a

three-volume catalog, which is--

But when I was in Moscow, all of a sudden I didn't feel well. I must tell this, because it was a diarrhea which couldn't be stopped, and I had to spend part of the day at the hotel. Only for four hours could I go and see something before I had to be back at the hotel. So the whole thing was messed up. I could not go to places I wanted to go, to Vladimir and so on. I saw nothing of this.

But I still had the energy to make a trip to Kiev. I wanted to see Kiev very much. So my wife and I, we took a night train into Kiev and saw that place. Then we took the plane back to Moscow, which was many hours late, so the connecting flight to London had gone. But the passport was running out. I had to leave Russia that day. So we were lucky; we still got a place on the night flight to Paris. We arrived in Paris, stayed overnight in Paris, and then went to London the next day.

Then, to make a long story short, I stayed in London for six days before I could be shipped back to America. I went to see the doctor, who couldn't diagnose the case. I had almost given up. I had lost thirty pounds in three weeks, and that was the end of it. In this desperation, I called an old friend of mine who was the chief physician in Germany in a place called Sigmaringen, a man named Hans Robbers. And he said, "Come to Germany immediately. I will take care of you." So I went into Germany, and within twenty-four hours he made the right diagnosis

which the Princeton doctor couldn't make in three weeks. I had pancreatitis. But I was so run down when Dr. Robbers saw me and made the diagnosis within twenty-four hours, at the same time he said this might lead to heart trouble. And then I did get a severe heart attack in the hospital, which was almost the end of me. It's only because of this doctor who took such care of me that my life was saved.

It's quite interesting in a general way to judge the Russian situation at this time.

RIKALA: Well, again, it's a very important point of museum history and the way they've handled their collections there. And I'm very curious to know how things will-- They always treat their artworks very preciously, but, again, if there's this big shift going on, what will it be like there?

TAPE NUMBER: V, SIDE TWO

APRIL 9, 1992

WEITZMANN: Well, I called in collaborators. At the time, we realized that I had started too many big projects and I would be unable to finish them. So I called in several collaborators. Kessler was one. And actually, with him, I have already finished two publications, one on the Cotton Genesis [The Cotton Genesis: British Library, Codex Cotton Otho B VI (1985)] and the other this Dura synagogue book [The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art (1990)]. The second collaborator is George Galavaris, with whom I just published this book on the Sinai manuscripts [The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts, Volume 1, From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century (1991)]. If he comes, we will do a second volume. Then I still have this ivory corpus hanging over from all my lifetime, where I published two volumes. And I inherited everything connected with Adolph Goldschmidt from his corpus. I embarked on making a supplement volume for not only my two Byzantine works but also the four Western volumes. I collected the material. But this also didn't get finished in my lifetime, and for this I have engaged a German, Mr. Koetzsche, Dietrich Koetzsche, who, by the way, is also the man who now started to get out my memoirs in Berlin. He's the curator at the Berlin museums [Staatliche Museen]. He will

also come next year, and we will settle with Koetzsche the supplement of the ivories, and I will hand over to him the material, which he will take back to Germany. I want to see this project, which will start in Germany, also finished and continued and be brought back to Germany. Then still another collaborator now is Italian, Massimo Bernabò. See, one of the projects which brought me to this country was the illustrated Septuagint. This project where I do the Octateuchs, which Morey had planned for himself. He had already transferred it to me, and for which I have the blueprints, if you saw there--

RIKALA: Yes, they're ready to go.

WEITZMANN: I just finished the introduction to this a few days ago. And Bernabò is revising, bringing up to date my descriptions of all of the individual series. He is in Florence, and, fortunately, I got for him a [J. Paul] Getty [Trust] grant for a few years so he can come to Princeton regularly for a few years and we can talk it over and bring this to a conclusion.

RIKALA: In art history in particular, I'm very interested in the nature of collaboration and collaborative studies, because often in the humanities there isn't as much of this kind of collaborative work as there is, say, in the sciences.

WEITZMANN: Of course, see, when I was a student, I was already brought in by Goldschmidt as his collaborator for the ivory corpus [Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des 10.-13.

Jahrhunderts (1930-34)]. So I started my career as a collaborator.

RIKALA: Yes, in that way. So for you it's very natural for you to include people in your work.

WEITZMANN: So I continue the tradition of my teacher in this respect.

RIKALA: I'm just wondering if you ever observed, perhaps, here in the United States that often scholarship, academic scholarship, is very protected by individuals or is competitive.

WEITZMANN: Well, I mean, see, I was in the unique position, in a way, that when I first came to this country, I was spending my time only with research. Then when I came, I started teaching. It became a divided appointment, half university and half institute. I always taught one term. The second term I was off. And simply because of this free time, which none of my colleagues had-- You see, it was a unique position; it was a split appointment. I could devote so much more time to research that I felt obliged to concentrate on major projects and not dissipate my energies in little articles. But then I overdid it and started too many big projects. But still after all, I got several finished, and others will be finished after my death, I'm quite sure. It's very humble when you use collaboration. I always had very good relations with my pupils.

RIKALA: I'm also interested to know--or perhaps you can fill me in on this--what are the interests in Florence-- The Roll and

Codex's being, you said, translated into Italian, and so--

WEITZMANN: Well, this lady who gives a course on illustrated manuscripts--

RIKALA: And is she, perhaps, the only other person doing that right now?

WEITZMANN: She felt that Roll and Codex is a basic book for this field which gives the foundation for an illustrated book--after all, it's all about the origin of an illustrated book--so she made it required reading in her course. Then Massimo Bernabò was asked to translate it into Italian so that the students could use it as a textbook.

RIKALA: Many of the methods you describe in Roll and Codex are in some sense based in hermeneutics, in textual interpretation.

WEITZMANN: Oh, yes.

RIKALA: And then the interpretation of the illustrations, the miniatures--

WEITZMANN: Of course, when I came to this country-- In Germany, I was more oriented towards stylistic art history, which was a tradition of Goldschmidt's school. But the man who had a great influence on me to orient me towards this line was [Albert M.] Friend. Friend was really the man who I told you asked me to jointly give a course with him, a graduate course. He asked me to do the art of illustration and asked to go back beyond the Bible into antiquity. It was really what he wanted

me to contribute to his graduate course. So the Roll and Codex is an outgrowth of a graduate course. It never would have been written, the book, without having given this course.

RIKALA: Yes. So that too is another form of collaboration. Very, very personal collaboration.

WEITZMANN: Oh, yes.

RIKALA: And also his impact in your career, very strong impact of Friend in your career.

WEITZMANN: Oh, yes. Friend had a great impact.

RIKALA: This type of interpretation and method that you describe in Roll and Codex, is that new to art history, in your opinion?

WEITZMANN: In a way, yes. But to some extent, it seemed a method applied simply for classical archaeology. There were antecedents in classical archaeology, a man named Carl Robert, who wrote a book [Archäologische] Hermeneutik: [Anleitung zur Deutung klassischer Bildwerke] where he does precisely this for ancient art. Robert made a corpus of Roman sarcophagi, all ancient. There, already, the impact of narrative illustration-- He saw that many scenes that he saw could be explained by Homer and Euripides, that he saw and already thought, "Well, there may be some connection with the illustrated book," but didn't follow this up very much. The second classic archaeologist who paved the way for it was Otto Jahn, who wrote a book, Griechische Bilderchroniken, where he dealt with certain tablets which have Iliad illustrations. And Jahn sensed, too,

that this might have something to do with the illustrated book.

Then I mentioned I had studied my first term in [University of] Münster, and the archaeologist was [Arnold] von Salis. Well, one day I read an article which von Salis wrote in a festschrift where he published precisely one of the same kind of relief caps which I published and in the footnotes says--Well, it definitely says, "This is from illustrated books" and that he was going to write a book on ancient book illumination, which, however, he never did. But when I had written and published Roll and Codex, I sent von Salis a copy and said, "Now I have simply completed what you had started in your article."

RIKALA: And how was that received? What was his--?

WEITZMANN: Very well. Very well indeed. As a matter of fact, the next time I went to Europe, I went to Zurich to visit him in Switzerland. It was a very cordial meeting. So it's really naturally a new chapter in classical

archaeology also, which was written not by classic-- Well, by half archaeologists. See, I consider myself half an archaeologist and half an art historian.

RIKALA: But any art historian's role is in discussing how the artist brought the story to the narrative, but also the role of the reader, how the reader would understand both the illustration and the text. You migrate between those two positions and bring it into one focus. I find that very, very fascinating. I mean, today there's a very big interest in interpreting the text and understanding the text and the role of the reader.

WEITZMANN: Oh, yes. Oh, yes. Today the illustrated book has become a major interest in medieval art, naturally.

RIKALA: But also in other fields. In literary criticism, the whole discussion of the role of the reader in inter- pretation has evolved very quickly and become its own field.

WEITZMANN: Oh, yes. This book also had an impact on literary historians, too.

RIKALA: I'm also very interested in--I don't know what you'd call it--the use of subjectivity and subject matter, the way that you address it in the Roll and Codex. How do these artists decide which stories they tell and how do they tell these stories? This continued use of the same subject matter, the epic stories, that transpired, what can you say about the artists' intentions?

WEITZMANN: Well, first of all, once a huge manuscript was devised by a great artist as an illustration, after this begins the copying process. And for a long time, no artist would invent it again a second time. I mean, by principle, no artist invents unless he has to. Of course, you do have creative acts of creating a new cycle. In talking about my own biblical illustrations, of course, there are these Octateuchs I'm working on. Well, as I found out, I think the first Octateuch was created in Antioch, and from there it spread and continued. But also other artists started a similar project in Alexandria, and it looked quite different. We also have the Cotton Genesis, which represents Alexandrian tradition. But all the material we have can more or less attach to certain recensions, which are only a few archetypes from which all the rest descends. Cross-references negate one another; it naturally gets complex.

The outcome of my investigation in Roll and Codex was to prove that this kind of illustration, which we knew only from Bible manuscripts, also existed in classic antiquity for Homer and Euripides. This was contrary to the then art historical theory, which suggested that Christian art started with the catacombs with a few scenes in the first and second century and gradually grew through additions into a narrative. My view was no, that immediately-- Because we already had, face-to-face, this huge cycle in classical antiquity which copied this custom of antiquity. There were already these huge cycles from the

very beginning.

What supported me in that view was-- Of course, most art historians based their theories on catacomb paintings, which are the earliest Christian illustrations, but what really revolutionized the whole viewpoint was the Dura synagogue. Here we have it painted middle of the third century A.D., the same time as the catacombs, and fully developed narratives, which the Roman historians always had denied to have existed at the time. Dura is the proof that it had existed. But also, in the meantime, evidence has come from other sides. For instance, there is in Oxford one of the great enterprises to publish Egyptian papyri. There was a famous finding of thousands and thousands of fragments in a place called Fayyum. And they already published, I think, thirty volumes of Fayyum papyri. It was in this Fayyum papyri that we also found one illustrated scene of Heracles. And the man who edited them came to me and asked me to write on this particular papyrus illustration in the Oxford English volume, proving, of course, the existence of ancient illustrated books.

RIKALA: So, basically, the method that you put forward in Roll and Codex changes the whole attitude towards art history completely.

WEITZMANN: In a way, yes. That's the history of the art of illustration, this particular aspect. Oh, yes.

RIKALA: From our last conversation, you mentioned a couple

of other things that you wanted to talk about, and one was the Saint Peter's cathedral.

WEITZMANN: Oh, yes. See, when Goldschmidt published the first volume of his ivory corpus, of the Carolingian ivories, he knew that he had missed one of the most important pieces, namely the cathedral of Saint Peter. In the east, in the apse, is this huge Bernini throne. In that throne is a little chamber which has an ivory chair, which is a great relic. Well, Goldschmidt knew-- Well, it was once exhibited in anno santo, and when the photograph was made, we knew roughly what it looked like. But then it was sealed again and nobody could see it. Now, Goldschmidt was very much after this, of course. In his time, he had an audience with Pope Pius XI, whom he had known when Pius XI, Ambrogio Domiano Ratti, was still the prefect of the Ambrosiana Library in Milan, and from this he had a professional connection. So Goldschmidt went to Rome, asked for a private audience, and gave the pope a copy of my thesis on ivory caskets, because we had scenes, lots of scenes, from the deeds of Heracles, and the throne had scenes of Heracles in front. Well, they had a long conversation, and the pope promised to help, but in the end he didn't. Nothing came of it.

Then in the thirties a German historian by the name of Percy Schramm, who was a historian who had worked on imperial regalia and so on, got interested in the Bernini throne in Rome.

He got the permission to have the throne removed and put at the disposal of scholars to investigate it. Now, Percy Schramm knew about my ivory research connected with the Heracles scenes and thought, well, I would be the man to do the Heracles scenes. So he took care of it. I was made a member of a papal commission to investigate Saint Peter's cathedral. Unfortunately, I couldn't come to the opening when it was taken down. I was invited. But later, after a few months, when I could travel while not teaching, I went to Rome to investigate the throne. It was exhibited in the sacristy at the time. My wife and I went to Rome. I had made arrangements to stay in the American School in Rome, but then, belatedly, an invitation came from the Vatican to stay in Vatican City in their hotel. Naturally, we went to the Vatican. So here was a hotel which was run by the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, and they took care of us. Every morning I would walk to the sacristy and there was the throne, and I could be left alone with the throne the whole day and could study it. Now, this much was absolutely clear. You see, it's a wooden throne and is covered with ivories all over. And there was one ivory in the back of the throne, which it supported, which could be identified as that of the Carolingian king Charles the Bold. So this became absolutely clear. The throne was not going back to Saint Peter's. The tradition was that the throne was given by Constantine the Great to Pope Sylvester when he was baptized a Christian in the early fourth century.

But, of course, this was clearly contradicted by this portrait of Charles the Bold. So everybody then agreed that the throne was made on the occasion of the coronation of Charles the Bold as emperor, crowned by the pope in Rome. He had the throne made in the north of France, taken with him as a gift to the pope, and left it in Rome.

But then there were obviously another type of ivories at the front of the throne, added at some time, engraved with the deeds of Heracles in inlaid gold. Some scholars tried to save this tradition of the throne of Constantine, that this was part of the old throne. There's an Italian lady, Margherita Garducci, who violently defends this theory that here we still have remnants of-- But then I investigated the Heracles plaques, too, and wrote a special article on these Heracles plaques, published in the Art Bulletin, where I tried to prove that they are also Carolingian, connecting with Carolingian manuscripts in style. Finally, when in Rome, we investigated and took them off to look at the back, and two plaques had carvings in the Coptic style at the back which could not be earlier than the sixth or seventh century. So, you see, it was definitely the proof that the carvings on the front side must be later. But still Margherita Garducci, she denies the Coptic date: it's early in the fourth century, and so on. Well, anyhow, nobody takes it seriously anymore.

Then, you see, we put out a special volume with the results.

The Vatican did not interfere in any way with the scholarly results. They took it. But, at the same time, when they talked about making a popular handbook to sell, the Vatican said no. The general public still should believe in the relic. Scholars may believe otherwise. There's something of a double motive in the Catholic Church. [laughter]

RIKALA: There's a bit of a double standard about knowledge there.

WEITZMANN: Well, this is the story of Saint Peter's cathedral. On a scholarly level, the Vatican scholars are absolutely the tops. After all, it is the holiest relic they have, and that for this investigation they would invite two Protestants on their committee to work on it-- Actually, the head of the committee was Percy Schramm, a Protestant, like myself. I have always gotten along extremely well with the Catholic clergy. They always respect scholarship. [tape recorder off]

RIKALA: One of the things I picked up from reading some of your work was a very interesting point, and I thought perhaps you could comment on it. It's a quote from you. It says, "When studying the problem of influence, one should, for reasons of method, deal with iconography and style separately, because the two may not travel well together."

WEITZMANN: Yes.

RIKALA: Now, I learned so much in thinking about this one statement, and it's a simple thought elegantly put together.

But perhaps you can elaborate a bit about--

WEITZMANN: Well, actually, with iconography you get further back than with style. I mean, with the Bibles here, the iconography--that means the compositional layout, how the figures are arranged to each other in a composition--this is fixed and is copied and copied again. But the style may change with each copy. Now, for instance, the figures may have the same positions, but they may change the draperies, which is an element of style. So one has to separate them in investigating. For instance, my biblical manuscripts I have there, by style they're absolutely truly Constan- tinopolitan. But iconographically, I think the archetype leads us back to Antioch. Syria had a somewhat different style from Constantinople.

RIKALA: So even if it leads you to different types of conclusions for different reasons--

WEITZMANN: No, no. They should never contradict each other. It's simply that with iconography you look further back. See, on the basis of style, you could not say this manuscript is that old, because the style had changed in the meantime. On the basis of iconography, one can make such conclusions. Do you follow me?

RIKALA: Yes, yes. And I think, like I said, just from this one quotation, I learned so much to think about art history in this way.

WEITZMANN: Now, for instance, case in point, I have worked

on a chapter in a book by Otto Demus on the mosaics of San Marco in Venice. In the entrance hall are the cupolas, and the cupolas have scenes from the Old Testament. Now, I think one can prove that the model for this was the Cotton Genesis, this very book. All the details in iconography agree. But the style is that of thirteenth-century Venice and no longer this Egyptian style of the Cotton Genesis, which was made in Egypt in the fifth century.

RIKALA: But the story is the same?

WEITZMANN: The story is the same. I mean, in the model of the fifth century, in the Coptic style, there are rather flat and square figures. In the mosaics there is a contemporary drapery style which is much more realistic. You see? But they fill out the same contour, so to speak. I mean, it's one of the most concrete cases, really. We can compare the early Christian with the medieval and analyze from the point of view of iconography and style.

TAPE NUMBER: VI, SIDE ONE

APRIL 8, 1993

SMITH: The first question I wanted to ask you today--and you have discussed this a little bit before when you talked about the changes that you made from the way Dr. [Charles Rufus] Morey taught the class--was, more generally, the differences between the American system of education and the German system of education and how you adapted to that.

WEITZMANN: Well, one of the ways-- Particularly in Berlin, studying with [Adolph] Goldschmidt, we had contact with actual objects of art. At Princeton [University], more specifically, we worked only with photographs. I will tell you an amusing episode which is not in the record, I think. Morey gave a seminar and had a student read a paper on an ivory which was in this Strogonoff collection. This was Mr. David Coffin, who has been a colleague since. He read an excellent paper, and because nobody knew where the collection went Mr. Morey said, "Well, this is just too bad that you don't know where the ivory is." I sat there smiling and Morey called on me and said, "Kurt, do you know where it is?" "Yes," I said. "I saw it in the museum in Philadelphia." [laughter] "Nobody can find it. It has been in the Philadelphia Museum [of Art]."

SMITH: You have a good university museum here on campus.

WEITZMANN: I was the first one to make real use of the museum

for the course. When I gave an undergraduate course, I replaced one paper by having students write an essay on any object in the museum. I had a special exhibition of medieval art in the museum. The student could choose what he liked and write an essay. I had a hard time, naturally, afterwards because I went over, with each student, his paper. I remember still a student from the engineering department said, "Sir, you don't know how much it means to me to have written an essay. I'm now three years at Princeton as a student and I have never written an essay."

SMITH: At Princeton?

WEITZMANN: Yeah. Well, this was the engineering school.

SMITH: Well, of course, yes.

WEITZMANN: But I made a great point in bringing the students into contact with the original works of art. Also, we have here an excellent collection of illustrated manuscripts in the [Harvey S.] Firestone [Memorial] Library. Once we had a session in the Firestone Library and I showed them original manuscripts. This is the kind of object that normally students wouldn't get in touch with. Beyond this, I went with the students every term to New York to the [Pierpont] Morgan Library. The Morgan Library was very liberal at the time. It was liberal because of [Belle da] Costa Greene, the director, whom I knew very well. She lent me everything I wanted and I could show it to the students. So always the best manuscripts were here in the original.

Some students were so fascinated that when I went the next year, they would come again and say, "Could we come again to see it once more?" And once a student came and said, "Can I bring my father too? Can I bring my mother too?" [laughter] And although I'm a medievalist actually, after meeting in the Morgan Library, I would take the students to spend all day in New York in the Metropolitan Museum [of Art] and then to see the seventeenth-century Dutch paintings. The students said, "Why can't you give us a course in seventeenth-century painting?" Well, I mean, now particularly students are so specialized. You see, when I was a student, I had to cover a whole history of art. I was examined not only in medieval art but through Dutch seventeenth-century paintings, which was one of Goldschmidt's specialties.

SMITH: But Julius Held had mentioned to me an interesting thing, that when he first taught painting at Columbia [University] he had not been aware of the difference between Sienese and Florentine painting, because it had never been taught to him in Germany. All he knew was his field of specialty, which was Netherlandish painting in the fifteenth century.

WEITZMANN: Oh, well. We have studied together. I knew Julius Held as a student in Berlin. So I knew quite well that he had started to study Jordaens. This was his particular interest. When I was a student in Berlin, Goldschmidt had one seminar in a museum in front of the paintings of the fifteenth-,

sixteenth-century northern Renaissance. So that a student should get clearly in contact with originals. This was, you see, very much in his mind.

SMITH: I understand there was a conflict between Goldschmidt and [Heinrich] Wölfflin in terms of how they approached art history.

WEITZMANN: In the way, yes. Of course, it was not personal. They were on quite good terms with each other. You know that Wölfflin had been professor in Berlin and went to Munich, and Goldschmidt got the chair which Wölfflin had in Berlin. But it was very typical, the way Goldschmidt taught history. When he took over the first seminar and still had the students from Wölfflin in the seminar, he said to the students, "Describe this Dutch landscape painting." A student said, "I see one diagonal and I see another diagonal." And then Goldschmidt said, "But I see a little more." [laughter] It characterized the difference between them.

SMITH: Well, on the question of seeing, did you find that the Americans, your American students, knew how to see? WEITZMANN: Well, they had little contact with original works of art, and this is what I particularly emphasized.

You see, when I was a student in Berlin, we had to organize trips to museums in other cities and so on. I mean, the contact was very, very elaborate.

SMITH: What about the question of getting students to understand

the problem or the necessity of approaching their material from the point of view of there being a problem in it? Was that easy to convey to American students?

WEITZMANN: Well, basically, there is actually not so great a difference between European and American students.

SMITH: No?

WEITZMANN: And I'll never forget an American student visiting Goldschmidt said to him, "Tell me, what's the difference between an American and a German student?" Goldschmidt said, "Well, there really isn't any. Even in the fifth generation an ass will not turn into a horse."

[laughter]

I made one interesting experiment myself. In '62, I was guest professor in Bonn for one term, and I had a group of brilliant students there. But I purposely gave the same seminar that I had just given in Princeton, and I gave to the best student in Bonn the same topic I had given to the best student here in Princeton to be able to compare the two papers. Well, they were both equally brilliant. Only the German student had a bit of schooling and had a humanistic training so that he could more easily move through things. The American knew that he was lacking certain things and had to work much harder to make up certain things which a German could take for granted. But the intelligence is the same.

SMITH: The American system is based on this idea of the liberal

arts education. The undergrad gets a very broad education that just sort of prepares him or her to function in the--

WEITZMANN: Well, I liked also to give undergraduate courses, and I had no difficulties at all in establishing a contact. Particularly, the Princeton system offers preceptorials. They have brought me in close contact with the students. When you had a small group of ten students, you could discuss with them and bring out of the student what he knows of the subject. Then you could find out,

naturally, what American students know. Well, the difference of level was much greater here. The highest level is equally good, but when, of course, you're a lower level, you wouldn't expect in Germany--I would show them a picture of the Annunciation, and the student would blink at me and say, "Sir, what really is the Annunciation?" I did not answer it but said, "You just take the Bible and read the second chapter in Luke." But, you see, this you wouldn't have met in Germany, naturally. As you see, the difference of level is greater here. But here, as I say, I've had very brilliant students.

SMITH: When you taught your survey classes, how would you structure the course? Would you try to cover a lot of material or would you focus on key monuments, key manuscripts?

WEITZMANN: Well, of course, on the undergraduate level I gave a general course in medieval art, excluding architecture. There was a different course in architecture. I gave the same course

which Morey had given, from early Christian to 1400, and shortened it. Morey had started with the Greco-Roman period and went to 1500. I cut out Renaissance, stopped at 1400. But I covered every field, focusing on the chief monuments naturally.

SMITH: Because one of the things that seemed to happen in the middle of the century is many teachers began to teach fewer monuments. They spent more time on individual objects. Were you doing that as well?

WEITZMANN: No. I think in the undergraduate course I would purposely try to be as broad as possible. Immediately I adapted to the American system. Of course, in Germany I wouldn't have given such a general course of its type.

SMITH: So your goals were that the students should come out with a broad knowledge of the subject. What about the importance of a qualitative evaluation in terms of developing the students' skills? How important now is it for the student to look at a work of art and be able to make a judgment of how important that piece is?

WEITZMANN: Well, besides the manuscript course, I also give a course in ivories, which is one of my specialties. I worked with a two-volume corpus of Byzantine ivories and I gave an ivory course on Western as well as the Eastern material. Then the students had to focus also on the question of quality. I would, for instance, have one session on forgeries. That would teach them something, and we got a great kick out of that

session. I showed them the genuine and the forgery and told them, "Now, you tell me what is the genuine and what is the forgery." You see, you had to form it in your own mind.

SMITH: Were they able to?

WEITZMANN: Oh, yes, many of them would. Not all, but many, yes. Well, we used that part of the training to train the eye.

SMITH: To train the eye. In terms of your own training, in the German university, did you have training in philology?

WEITZMANN: I entered the university two years older than an American student. So I went for nine years of high school in the so-called humanistische Gymnasium, where I had a full training in classical languages. I had nine years of Latin, seven years of Greek, and six years of French. So when I came to the university, I had fulfilled my language requirement. But Berlin was the only university at the time which, for an art historian, required also classical archaeology, a second major field. For this, it required Greek and Latin. But many students-- A particular case is Julius Held. He was studying in Berlin, but he did not take the degree in Berlin. He left Berlin because he didn't have a Graecum and apparently wasn't willing to make up for the Graecum. My wife [Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler] did. She took the Graecum as a student. But I didn't have to because I had to take one in humanistische Gymnasium. I did not take any particular language courses except the root courses for the languages I needed for my field--not ancient languages. I took

a course in Italian, I took a course in modern Greek, I took a course in Arabic. They were all languages I needed for my traveling and research.

SMITH: Did you study linguistic criticism?

WEITZMANN: No.

SMITH: What about the theory of languages?

WEITZMANN: No. I did not really go into languages. The language was only as much as I needed for practical purposes.

SMITH: The point of my question was the degree to which changes in understanding of language and the development of semiotics might have influenced your work, your thinking about the relationship of text and image.

WEITZMANN: Well, in my graduate courses I gave them manuscripts. Of course, it required a great deal of discussion also of the relationships of picture and text. I reconstructed ancient book illumination and I dealt with illustrations of Homer and Euripides, so naturally one had to go into this relation of text and pictures. Then, of course, most basically, I had to deal with the Bible, variations of pictures and text. You see, the whole reason to bring me to Princeton was to collaborate with my colleagues here on the corpus of the illustrated Septuagint. Naturally this was the German training, this stylistic analysis of miniatures, but to study the Septuagint required, of course, more study of the relation of text and picture.

SMITH: Had you studied biblical hermeneutics?

WEITZMANN: There was a famous book by a classical archaeologist, Carl Robert, called [Archäologische] Hermeneutik: [Anleitung zur Deutung klassischer Bildwerke], and this was just interpretation of classical monuments and texts. I studied it very closely as one of my chief guides in the writing of [Illustrations in] Roll and Codex: [A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration (1947)]. SMITH: What they called modernism and biblical scholarship from the nineteenth century, had that been also part of your
examination or your preparation?

WEITZMANN: No. No. This doesn't come much into a problem of illustration of the Bible in the Middle Ages. This is a modern problem.

SMITH: It's my understanding that in the 1920s the Warburg tradition was actually somewhat in the minority in Germany at the time. German art historians did not think as highly of it as-- [tape recorder off]

WEITZMANN: --the concept of the classical, of the Warburg Library, what they called Typenwanderung. Do you understand what it means? The wandering of types. It means certain types. They're used in classic antiquity and used in the Middle Ages. But my approach was that for artists, they looked at the ancient work of art not only for a similar type, but they knew what the meaning of this picture was and also took over the meaning of the picture to some extent. To take one example, Abraham

sacrificing Isaac-- Well, it reminded me that a very similar type is in the ancient Telephus story, where the Telephus boy is saved. My idea is that this Christian artist knew the content of the ancient scene and incorporated purposely this scene for a similar content. Or another example: I write in my Roll and Codex book an analysis of a creation of Adam in three phases. There is animation, including his soul, and so on. Now, these exact three phases are also in the classical illustration of the creation of Prometheus. So I claimed that the Christian artist must have known the Prometheus story and knew what this meaning was. The basic difference from the Warburg system is that it's not just adopting the classical form for formalistic reasons. The Christian artists were still very much aware of what the meaning of the classical model was and adopted also its meaning.

SMITH: And needed to know the meaning.

WEITZMANN: Yes.

SMITH: Of course der Typ has a metaphysical meaning. Was that important to you? The metaphysical aspects of the type?

WEITZMANN: Well, I'd rather state that this was a literal interpretation. I mean, we went far enough that we found quite beyond what scholarship had done so far.

SMITH: A little after you come here, [Erwin] Panofsky comes here as well.

WEITZMANN: Yes.

SMITH: He becomes probably the leading exponent of the Warburg school.

WEITZMANN: Yes.

SMITH: I was wondering, many people have noticed a change in his thinking between Perspective as Symbolic Form and the kind of work he was doing in the United States, such as Renaissance and Renascences. Do you have any perspectives on the change in his approach to art history and the art history problem? Why he became perhaps a little less speculative and a little less philosophical?

WEITZMANN: Well, I imagine it was just an adaptation to the American system. We discussed many things, but when he wrote the book Renaissance and Renascences, of course, I made my comment that he actually missed one of the most essential renaissances--that was the tenth-century renaissance in Byzantium. Well, it was out of his real interest. But in a larger historical context, this is what I called the Macedonian Renaissance. It was just as profound and important as any renaissance.

SMITH: Had you brought that to his attention while he was writing the book?

WEITZMANN: You see, I did give him my writing on the Macedonian Renaissance, but I don't think he was willing just to follow into strange-- Apparently he did not want to go into the Byzantine field. But I made him aware that it existed.

SMITH: Is the distinction between western European and Byzantine art a real distinction, or is there a certain degree of artificial division between them?

WEITZMANN: Well, my teacher, Goldschmidt, already became aware that in Romanesque art--from Carolingian to Romanesque--there was a strong Byzantine influence. But it was not clearly formulated. Naturally, that's where I went much more in this direction, to analyze the relationship between Western and Byzantine art. I want to make one example: When there was an icon exhibition here-- I mentioned when [Wilhelm von] Bode was the director of the Berlin museums [Staatliche Museen], he wouldn't even take an icon as a gift, but he would pay the highest prices for Italian trecento paintings. In today's perspective, the trecento paintings are a reflection of Byzantine models. So you know how deep the influence really was from Byzantium. It has become more and more clear. I think I made my own contribution by working on perhaps the most important icon collection anywhere in the world, at Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai. There I found a whole group of icons which were apparently made by Western artists but in the Byzantine style. There was a deep penetration, where Western artists had gone to Byzantium, had studied there, and had adopted the style. We know that, for instance, during the crusades there was a colony of Latin monks in Sinai. Now, you see, this was a group where we had the close contact between East and West

and adopted to such an extent that it is sometimes difficult to say whether the artist is a Westerner or an Easterner. But they created a certain mixed style. This is all very new. This is all art history in the making, so to speak.

SMITH: Was it difficult for people to see this, or was it actually hidden away?

WEITZMANN: Well, this was entirely new material. It was inaccessible before our expedition.

SMITH: But, for instance, the connections between duecento Italian painting and Byzantine painting--

WEITZMANN: Yes. But this has become very much alive now after more of the Byzantine material has become known. SMITH: I see. When you taught medieval art, did you teach it as a single unit, Western and Byzantine, or did you focus on the Western?

WEITZMANN: No. Both on an equal level.

SMITH: Both on an equal level. What about Slavic? Did you go up into the Slavic realm or--?

WEITZMANN: No. Not in the teaching. No.

SMITH: No. Okay.

WEITZMANN: I went into the Byzantine. I went as far as Byzantine naturally had connection with the Slavic in some lectures and so on. I went into the relation between Byzantine and the Russian, but not in my teaching. I took Byzantine as an empire art which was an enormous radiation. And from Byzantium, it went all over the Mediterranean world. I wrote, for instance, a note

on Coptic art, on Armenian art, on Syrian art, on Nubian art, each case showing a connection with Byzantium.

SMITH: To what degree did you need to know about the individual societies and the cultural and political and social structures of Nubia, of Armenia, etc., in order to write about the art?

WEITZMANN: Well, of course, I did not really make original research. I depended naturally on the historical writings. I hate to go into historical writings, but as I said, I did not do research. It depended on what would happen.

SMITH: So you accepted what the political historians had developed. You previously have--in fact, I guess many times--stated that you are not a historian of Byzantium, you are an art historian.

WEITZMANN: Right. I'm not the Byzantinist but an art historian who has specialized in Byzantine art. I have also written on Western art. Because of my knowledge of ivories, I was elected once to the papal commission to investigate the Chair of Saint Peter, which is the greatest Catholic relic, which is in Rome at Saint Peter's. You see, it's a huge Bernini throne in the apse, and in the Bernini throne is a chamber chair or ivory chair. It is shown only once every hundred years--it is just shown for a day--but then in the time of Pope Paul VI, a German historian, Percy Schramm succeeded in getting the permission to have it taken out for several months and investigated it and published on it. I was also a member of the commission

and then in Rome

stayed as a guest of the Vatican in Vatican City and went every morning to the sacristy to study Saint Peter's kathedra. It was absolutely clear that there was nothing from the time of Saint Peter. What they did was an imperial Carolingian form, as a matter of fact, of Charles the Bold. Charles the Bold in 870 had brought it from France to Rome as a gift. So I investigated the iconography of all this very carefully.

SMITH: I wanted to ask you to what degree you think art history of Byzantium has contributed to Byzantine studies in general. What has the art historian brought to the understanding of Byzantium that had not been there before and would not have been there without the work that you and people like Otto Demus and Hugo Buchthal, etc., had done?

WEITZMANN: Well, art, of course, served much as an intermedium between historian and art historian. You see, the pure Byzantinists had stayed within the framework of historical connections, but art transcends more political limits and shows penetration to cultures so much clearer than any other cultural activity. So I think it's really through the arts that the Westerner has became so much aware of Byzantine culture.

SMITH: That the understanding of Byzantine culture came through the art history. To what degree do theological questions and complications and theological history become an integral part of Byzantine art history?

WEITZMANN: Oh, yes. One has to know a great deal of theological background. Now, when I started to work here on Byzantine manuscripts, together with [Albert M.] Friend-- Friend was very much interested in theology. He bought up a library with a great deal of theological literature that I needed to study iconography.

SMITH: I had wanted to ask you to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of other main figures working in Byzantine art history, what you felt they were able to contribute and the problems that they were not able to solve. And I wanted to start with Otto Demus.

WEITZMANN: Well, Otto Demus was a brilliant scholar, and we knew each other since we were students in Vienna in the twenties. He came out of this school of [Josef] Strzygowski, but he kept free from certain Strzygowski theories which he wouldn't accept, and quite rightly so. You see, Strzygowski became very much a Nazi later. His latest book was Der Heilbringer, on certain theories about northern art as something predominant. Well, to characterize it, one example: When I went as a student in Vienna, I went to hear both [Julius von] Schlosser in one seminar and Strzygowski in the other. Two different seminars. They were antagonistic and kept separate. I went to Strzygowski, and he gave a course, World Art: "What's the use of a little man like Wölfflin with his two centuries of Italian Renaissance? We must embrace the whole world till millennia." This was the

thinking. But when, in this framework, he came to speak ten or fifteen minutes about Dürer and the problem of Dürer in Venice--Dürer made this beautiful picture under the influence of Bellini. Strzygowski said in one sentence, "Dürer was spoiled by Italy." The idea behind it was "Northern man embraces southern decadence." I mean, this is literally Strzygowski's thinking. It sounded to me so ridiculous I burst into laughter. Strzygowski stopped and said, "Please don't disturb me. Please leave the room." I got up and went out, and it was the last thing I saw of Strzygowski. Strzygowski had started as a brilliant Byzantinist and had written excellent books in his earlier time on Byzantine art, on which Demus built. Demus went on to write [with Ernst Diez] first his book on Hosios Lucas and Daphni [Byzantine Mosaics in Greece, Hosios Lucas and Daphni], and then he went to San Marco and spent all his life on San Marco. Of course, I had close contact, you know. I wrote in his final publication. I wrote a chapter in his book. You know San Marco?

SMITH: Yes.

WEITZMANN: Its narthex with cupolas with Old Testament cycles. Of course, it had been known that they were based on a Greek manuscript, the so-called Cotton Genesis, and I went into further detail following this aspect. But it showed Venice was particularly open to the Byzantine influence. Otto Demus was very broad. He was an historian in the university but also the head of a monument service. He had to take care of preservation

of monuments and wrote on Romanesque frescos in Austrian churches [Romanesque Mural Painting]: a very good book. So it was another side of Demus. He wrote a book, a very good book, on the relation of Byzantium and Western art [Byzantine Art and the West]. It's one of the best books in the time.

SMITH: What about Hugo Buchthal's contribution to Byzantine studies? How would you assess that?

WEITZMANN: This is an amusing story. Buchthal wrote his thesis on the so-called Paris Psalter. I don't know if that means anything to you. It's a tenth-century Greek manuscript--a sort of manuscript. The whole debate was that he thought it was very classical in style, that it was a copy of an earlier model. I wrote an article on this and analyzed it as an end product of the tenth-century renaissance.

SMITH: Of the Macedonian Renaissance?

WEITZMANN: Macedonian Renaissance. On this point, Buchthal and I disagreed. But when I came afterward to London, Buchthal invited me to his house and said, "Why can't we be good friends even if we disagreed on some point?" And I liked it very much. We were close friends ever since. Then we sat together and said, "Let's flesh it out and talk about it, about our differences." We realized that both have made some mistakes, and we came closer into an agreement. Well, that's what scholarship should be, but it is a very rare case. I got that from Buchthal. Of course he wrote this excellent book on the school of art of

Jerusalem and manuscripts in the whole event [Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem].

SMITH: What about Ernst Kitzinger?

WEITZMANN: Well, difficult for me to say because he took not a very friendly view to my research. I mean, we were friendly personally but it never was really fleshed out. He never followed my ideas about the Macedonian Renaissance. He also wrote certain things on the origin of Christian art. He said Christian art develops only in the fourth century after the first primitive stage in the catacomb paintings. I developed the theory that this style was already fully developed in the third century in the time of the Dura [Europos] synagogue. This was the middle of the third century, and there is no doubt it was fully developed. And on this point I disagreed with him and the Roman Christian archaeologists.

SMITH: How do you test the validity of these competing theories? What's the evidence that's extant?

WEITZMANN: I always took the viewpoint time will take care of it. Let the next generation work it out. I mean, I purposely never involve myself in controversies. It doesn't lead to anything.

SMITH: But in order to interpret the material, particularly when you're dealing with, as you said in one of your books, little islands in the vast ocean of potential material, you have to extract-- In order to make your interpretation, you

have to often extrapolate from what does not yet exist or what perhaps will never exist.

WEITZMANN: Well, you see, the whole theory of the late development of Christian art erupted at the time when Dura synagogue did not exist. The point is that most Christian archaeologists just ignore Dura. It is uncomfortable. To men like Kitzinger, Dura is uncomfortable, so to speak. But here's something which had interested me from the very beginning, when it was excavated. I started to write a book only two or three years ago on the theory that actually Christian and Jewish art have a common source. After all, we share the Old and the New Testament. They had the same kind of melodies, singing, music in the synagogue and in the church. So why not art? I mean, it was a time where the relations between Jews and Christians were very good, in the third century. The Christians would go into the synagogue to be guided by the rabbi in Syria, particularly in the city of Antioch. The man who had worked this out was a man who had written a book [The Jewish Community at Antioch], Carl Kraeling from Yale [University].

SMITH: Oh, Carl Kraeling. Yes.

WEITZMANN: We were very close friends. He completely accepted also my ideas about the origin of Christian art.

SMITH: Another person I wanted to talk to you about more was Albert Friend.

WEITZMANN: Yes.

SMITH: I understand that he published much less than he might have, which gets me to thinking that perhaps his importance in scholarship was more as a friend to people such as you and the kind of conversations that would take place. I wonder if you could discuss what made him such an important friend to you.

WEITZMANN: Well, he was the most brilliant mind I met in this country. He had a universal knowledge in many fields.

TAPE NUMBER: VI, SIDE TWO

APRIL 8, 1993

WEITZMANN: He started writing and then was diverted again and never could concentrate or finish up or something because he had too many ideas.

SMITH: Was he able to focus, at least, on a theory? Did he--?

WEITZMANN: Yes. Oh, yes. But as far as his perfectionism is concerned-- He was a pious man. I said one day to him--which hurt him--I said, "You are a blasphemist. Leave perfection to God." [laughter]

SMITH: In discussing your work with him, what kinds of criticisms would he give you that you found particularly helpful and meaningful?

WEITZMANN: You see, I owe a great deal to him. I came from Berlin primarily trained as a stylistic critic. Here, all I learned about Bible criticism and so on all came from Friend. You see, he was instrumental in getting me to Princeton to work on this Septuagint project. Well, of course, he started to work on one volume. He never finished one volume. It was fatal with him. But yet he was such a brilliant mind he got away with it. You see, today a man couldn't make it clear to the university why he hadn't published a book, but in his time, he could.

SMITH: But that was because of the kinds of criticisms, the

kinds of discussion he was having.

WEITZMANN: You see, he gave this manuscript seminar and he discussed primarily Evangelist portraits. He had brilliant ideas and published here on the drawing of one collector where every one of the Evangelists is derived from the classical portrait type to be identified for philosophers and for poets. He was brilliant. Just brilliant. But then I came. He invited me to share the seminar with him and asked me why I did not study the illustrations. That's why I started to work on the illustration of the Bible. When I gave this in the first year and the seminar developed what I had put together with the Septuagint manuscript and so on, Friend encouraged me and said, "Well, why don't you try to go back to the sources behind this biblical illustration." So I started to work on ancient illumination. I published a book on ancient book illumination [Ancient Book Illumination (1959)]. It was only a draft naturally. A full history still has to be written. But the course as I gave it was finally put out in the book Roll and Codex. Roll and Codex is really, so to speak, the handbook of the course.

SMITH: Right.

WEITZMANN: Have you ever seen it?

SMITH: Yes. I have looked it up.

WEITZMANN: You see. Well, Roll and Codex now, you see, has come out in two Italian translations, in Spanish translation, and at the moment one is printed in Japanese translation. So

it is the most popular book because it has the broadest implications.

SMITH: You talked a bit about the problem out of which Roll and Codex came. What remained the unsolved problems when you had finished that book? What remained for you the still difficult questions that needed to be pursued?

WEITZMANN: Well, I think I had worked out a great outline, and still it needed to be written out in detail, naturally. Now I've concentrated so much on illustrations of Homer and Euripides. But there's much to ancient book illumination. It is an enormous field which had never fully been covered. Now, you know that still the bucolic poetry is one aspect which, when you feel here and there in the elements, it is all history. There is no history of bucolic illustration. So many aspects are still open, but my idea is that Christian illumination is based on the already existing classical illustration. The Christians did not invent book illustration.

SMITH: Well, you seem to demonstrate that quite clearly.

WEITZMANN: Just based on the secular field or Hellenization of Judaism-- We know, for instance, part of a fragment of a Greek-Jewish drama on Exodus. There is a section that Moses stands on the stage and tells how his nurse had told him how he was found in the Nile. Now, this is a typical Euripidean messenger report. So it means this whole story of Exodus is shaped after a classical drama. This is typical of this whole

atmosphere of absorption of classical culture by Judaism and Christianity at the time. You see, what interested me most--just to show this continuity, how one flows into another--there is no new beginning. Did I make myself clear?

SMITH: Yes. You made yourself very clear.

WEITZMANN: But, you see, my whole orientation of research was changed after I came to this country, under the influence of Friend. I mean, I got into his problems of the origin of the Bible, which I owed to Friend's inspiration.

SMITH: How well developed were his ideas? Did they go beyond the point of being brilliant aperçus, or had he actually taken his ideas quite far along in terms of finding evidence?

WEITZMANN: Well, he had done a very detailed study of classical archaeology. I mean, he wrote two articles on art studies of the Evangelist portraits. Epicurus is only one case he had found. Later, he found that each one of a set of four represented one classical philosopher and then another the four poets. This is still unpublished. He gave a brilliant lecture on this. I have the manuscript. I always wanted to have it brought out. I never got around to that.

SMITH: Would you agree that for each of the Evangelists, there is only one philosopher that is their model?

WEITZMANN: Yes. There were two sets of Evangelists. One had for a friend the poets. Then another four philosophers. Each one can be identified.

SMITH: And has been identified.

WEITZMANN: And has been identified by him, yes, but he went through great detailed studies, old files with ancient portraiture, you see.

SMITH: I wanted to ask you about Otto von Simson's book on Ravenna, The Sacred Fortress.

WEITZMANN: Yes.

SMITH: How did you evaluate that in the way that art history could function as intellectual history, as von Simson tries to do in that book?

WEITZMANN: It was a long time ago that I read it. I was quite impressed. It's a very good book. The ideas he brought in about liturgy, they're quite correct. I mean, he brought in a new interpretation and so on.

SMITH: So it was something that you could incorporate into your teaching.

WEITZMANN: Oh, yes. Yes. I would adopt von Simson's--

SMITH: Though it's a very different approach to art history then what you were doing or what was being taught in Germany.

WEITZMANN: Yes.

SMITH: I would like to go back to Germany of the 1920s. There is a theory that several historians have discussed about German academics as being die Vernünftrepublikaner and that many German academics were opposed to the Weimar Republic and to liberal democracy in general.

WEITZMANN: Yes. Yes, that's quite right.

SMITH: Not necessarily sympathetic to Nazism but--

WEITZMANN: Yes, that's quite true. I remember before I started to study history of art in Westphalia-- I grew up in the coal district. My parents thought I should study law. I had only one lecture of law. It was the most boring subject that I went through. But still the man made known when he was going to stop and would say, "To go on from here, gentlemen, this is forbidden to me by the law of the republic." This was his protest against the Weimar Republic. I was disgusted. I mean, my generation had been trying to create liberalism. This kind of rationalism inside of academic teachers I repudiated.

SMITH: Was your attitude a minority one or would you say most of your fellow students shared your--?

WEITZMANN: Well, it's so difficult to say because it seemed to me at my time that most of them shared it. I mean, all of a sudden, they haunt me with Nazism, which nobody had expected really to come up that fast and that quickly. As a German, I still do not today understand how this could have happened. You see what I mean?

SMITH: Did you know Wilhelm Pinder, for example?

WEITZMANN: Pinder. Yes. I have heard him only once. He gave a lecture. He was brilliant in a way. At a congress in Switzerland, he gave a talk about a German fourteenth-century relief which had just been discovered, which he discussed in detail. He

thought it was his province; he talked as if he had discovered it. Actually, the whole thing had been discussed and written about already by Hermann Schnitzler, and he was the real inventor. He did not mention Schnitzler. I did not find it dignified of a scholar to deny the merit of another. But this is a small point. I know that Pinder has a great many merits in the history of German art. He was also a good musician.

SMITH: I guess his most well known theory is the theory of the Generationsfolge, "successions of generations."

WEITZMANN: Yes, yes.

SMITH: And the degree to which you found that meaningful or useful?

WEITZMANN: Well, to a certain extent it did exist, naturally. Each generation had formed its own sort of ideas, and then came the next generation and tried to supercede it to some extent.

SMITH: Does that apply in a field such as Byzantine art?

WEITZMANN: No. Byzantine art was too new a field. You see, when I was a student, it didn't even exist as a field in Berlin. As a Byzantinist, I'm a self-made man. And I came to the Byzantine field really by accident. You see, as a student, from the very beginning, I studied equally classical archaeology and art history. I set myself a problem: I wanted to write a thesis which would combine the classical tradition and show it reflected in the medieval art. Then I talked with Goldschmidt about this, and he had the idea to let me work on a set of Byzantine ivory caskets,

which became my thesis. Of course, here was a whole group of ivories full with classical types. We really needed archaeological training to understand this, but Goldschmidt himself had little contact with classical archaeology. For him, art history started with pre-Carolingian art and went to nineteenth century. So that's why I then started to work on Byzantine art, in connection with ivories.

When I'd finished the work on ivories, I was then broadening out into the Byzantine field and said, "Well, it's a field where there still is much to be done. There is richer evidence in illustrated manuscripts than can be provided by ivories." Then I conceived of the idea of studying Byzantine manuscripts. Then I got in '31 a stipend from the [German] Archaeological Institute focused on archaeology, and that enabled me to travel in Greece and in the East and see libraries and I became more specialized in it.

SMITH: To what degree did the study of mosaics act as a help and as a hindrance to the study of illuminated manuscripts?

WEITZMANN: Oh, this has nothing to do with it. I mean, I wrote also a chapter on mosaics, and where I got involved is with apse mosaics in the monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai. Actually, this was always well known, but it had been not easily accessible and only bad photographs existed, which were completely darkened. I got a restorer to clean the apse mosaic. It's the Transfiguration mosaic at the time of Justinian. It's the most

beautiful mosaic that exists today. Of course, I wrote about this and it got me into Byzantine mosaic decoration. Today, there is no handbook imaginable which would not have this apse mosaic that is in Saint Catherine's Monastery.

SMITH: What you're saying is you created the field of Byzantine art history almost out of nothing. Not entirely, but-- I wonder how you feel your work has changed other areas of art history--art history in general, how it's taught and thought about. And perhaps how it's changed the way people think about medieval culture in general.

WEITZMANN: Well, yes. And the Byzantine field is most important. It simply can no longer be ignored by any medievalist, even writing in the West. So it had taken root and forced people to broaden their views of medieval art. But also when Byzantine art itself had spread out in several directions, it got me also in contact with Islamic art, and I've written a few articles on Islamic problems. Then, of course, I got into Nubian art and Coptic art and Syrian art and so on. And all as an expansion off the Byzantine. But, as I say, when I was a student there was only one course, a seminar given in the Byzantine field by a man who was the head of the early Christian department in the museum, Oscar Wulff. But he was not an inspiring teacher, and I really didn't learn much from him. So as far as I'm a Byzantinist, I really must say I'm a self-made man.

INDEX