

MARGARETE BIEBER (1879-1978)
By Larissa Bonfante and Matthias Recke

Margarete Bieber: Two Worlds

Larissa Bonfante and Matthias Recke

Introduction

Soon after Margarete Bieber's death in 1979 Larissa Bonfante wrote a short biography of her former teacher, long-time friend and neighbor in New York, which appeared in Claire Richter Sherman's *Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts* (1981). Much of it was based on the unpublished manuscript of Dr. Bieber's *Autobiography of a Female Scholar*, which she gave to the author. This autobiography recounted the story of her life and her work, first in Germany and, after the coming of the Nazi era, in America. Twenty-five years later, these two worlds of the archaeologist, in Germany and America, Giessen and New York, are brought together by the two authors of this chapter.

Matthias Recke became interested in Dr. Bieber's life when he was working on the history of the Archaeological Institute of the University of Giessen in which she played such an important part. His research in the archives of the Institute and the University led to the discovery of important letters, documents and material which illuminate the historical situation and often put the author's actions and interpretation of the facts in a new light. The two authors therefore determined to collaborate on a new account of the life of Margarete Bieber and of her remarkable career, which spanned two continents and almost a hundred years of a dramatic period of history.

Much has changed in the quarter century since Margarete Bieber's death in terms of both information and attitudes. The ten years of the Nazi era, years of such heavy specific gravity, have been the subject of many books and articles. We have become more aware of its results, including two vital aspects of Dr. Bieber's life and career. The first is the extent to which the coming to the United States of the European (and especially German) refugees affected the history of universities and institutions of higher learning in Germany and in the US and transformed the scholarship and educational system.¹ The second is the changed perception of Jewish identity. For the latter, and for the careers of women in archaeology, we are coming to realize more and more how each person's story presents complex and varied answers and questions according to individual character and circumstances.

Early Life (1879-1914)

Margarete Bieber was born 31 July 1879, in Schoenau, Kreis Schwetz, West Prussia (now Przechowo, Kreis Swiece, Poland).² Her father, Jacob Heinrich Bieber, a factory owner, and mother, Valli Bukofzer, were well-off and long able to give her the economic security she needed to prepare for a career. Her mother had an excellent education for a woman of her time, including languages, literature, and music, but Margarete, who was bright and ambitious, was not encouraged in her studies. Instead, she was expected to nurse her asthmatic older sister as well as her mother. She was close to her little sister, Anna.

For six years she attended the Höhere Mädchenschule, a girls' school in Schwetz near her home town of Schoenau. She was then sent, along with her sister, whose health was not as sturdy as Margarete's, to the warmer climate of Dresden and the pension of Frl. Hessling, an international finishing school. She studied literature, history, and music, learned to speak English, and made lifelong friendships.

At the age of sixteen her education was considered to have ended. The family opposed her idea of becoming a doctor. Finally two "suffragettes," as they were then called, Anita Augsburg and Mrs. de Witt, persuaded her mother; her father agreed, provided she study to become not a doctor but a schoolteacher.

Berlin

After some private instruction and further delays, Margarete went off to Berlin. It was 1899; she was almost twenty. For a year she attended the Gymnasialkurse, a private school for girls founded by feminist educator Helene Lange. Soon she decided to prepare privately for the Abiturium, the qualifying examination that would allow her to attend the university. She studied with Professor Kurt Busse, who awakened in her a love for classical antiquity.³ Her German tutor, Hildegard Wegscheider-Ziegler, was the first woman ever to pass the difficult German state and doctoral exams. In 1901 Dr. Bieber passed the Maturitätsprüfung (examination) in Thorn, the first woman of her home province of West Prussia to do so.

She registered at the University of Berlin. Since women were not allowed to enroll at Prussian universities before the fall semester 1908–09, Margarete Bieber was unable to attend classes as a regular university student. She was forced to pursue her studies as an auditor needing a professor's permission before she could take his course. That decision could be granted or denied at will, so her choice of subjects was dependent on external circumstances. When the professor of German language and literature, for instance, refused his permission, Margarete Bieber applied at the relatively liberal Department of Classics, where she was accepted. She attended lectures by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf and Hermann Diels. Other professors with whom she studied in Berlin

included Richard Heinze, Wilhelm Oskar Helm, Eduard Meyer, Friedrich Paulsen, and Georg Simmel.⁴

She found she was more interested in the art of classical antiquity than in philology and philosophy. Attracted by the collection of ancient art in the Altes Museum in Berlin, she registered for a course in Greek sculpture with the director, Reinhard Kekulé von Stradonitz. But she soon found this celebrated scholar's lectures, like those of Diels, dry and uninspiring.

Bonn

She had heard that Georg Loeschke was the most inspiring teacher of ancient art.⁵ So she went to Bonn to study with him, in accordance with the German system of students moving from one university to another to find the teacher with whom they want to work.⁶ She was not disappointed. In 1904 she settled down in Bonn, where she studied Greek art with Georg Loeschke and with Georg Karo, himself a pupil of Loeschke. Karo, like Bieber, was of Jewish origin, but, unlike her, he did not suffer adverse effects: when he topped the list of successors for Bruno Sauer in Giessen in 1909, his Jewish origin was not even mentioned during the negotiations for his appointment.

Among her other professors were the well-known Paul Clemen for history of art, and Franz Buecheler, who introduced her to Plautus and to the ancient theater. She also studied with Ludwig Deubner, August Brinkmann, and Felix Solmsen. But Loeschke above all became her inspiration and model. Years later, in her New York apartment, his portrait hung opposite her chair; she would ask first-time archaeological visitors to identify the works of art hidden in the picture. (The green curtain in the background was the drapery of the charioteer of Delphi; the white column was the kouros of Tenea.) A report she gave in his seminar on a relief in Dresden depicting an actor became the subject of her doctoral dissertation. This she finished, with characteristic efficiency, during the summer vacation of 1906.⁷ On 19 December 1906 Margarete Bieber took the comprehensive doctoral exams. She received her Ph.D. on 24 June 1907 — only the second woman to do so at the entire Faculty of Languages in Bonn. She thus became Dr. Bieber (**figure xx**), the title she proudly used for the rest of her life.

Wanderjahre

Bieber now needed to spend some years abroad, the German *Wanderjahre*, to become familiar with Greek and Roman monuments first hand. In 1907, financed by her father, she set off for Rome. The next seven years (1907-1914) she spent in classical lands, returning in the summer to see her family and Loeschke.

In 1908, while back in Germany, Margarete Bieber examined the collection of antiques of Arnold Vogell in Karlsruhe, when it was exhibited prior to being put up for auction.⁸ In an article for the *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst (Journal of Visual Arts)* she provided a general introduction to the collection and published several of the antiques. At the auction in 1908 the pieces were acquired by large German museums and university collections in

Bonn, Frankfurt, Göttingen, Heidelberg, Munich, and Würzburg. The Archaeological Institute at the University of Giessen, of which Margarete Bieber eventually was to be in charge for many years, also acquired vases from this collection through Professor Bruno Sauer, the Institute's founder.

In Rome Bieber lived in a small Italian pensione within the ruins of the Capitoline Hill, with a view of the Roman Forum and the Palatine. She visited museums, the Forum, the Palatine, the Colosseum, the Pantheon, the Villa Albani. She made notes for later papers. Walther Amelung, the author of the Vatican catalog of ancient sculpture, took her and others to see statues in museums and at dealers. She met Amelung's friends, Professor Friedrich Spiro, editor of Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, and his Russian-born wife, Assia, a violinist; attended musical evenings in the beautiful Villino Assia; and met Ottorino Respighi, Ettore Romagnoli, and other Italian and international artists, musicians, and archaeologists. Sundays were spent with Amelung, the Spiros, Ernst Noether, a portrait painter, and his wife, a pianist, in the Villino Antonia of Amelung or in the Noethers' old-fashioned apartment, both full of precious works of art. The six of them went to movies and restaurants and on excursions to the Alban Hills, Tivoli, and Hadrian's Villa.

In 1909 came a new triumph: Bieber received the German Archaeological Institute's travel grant, the prestigious fellowship awarded yearly to four promising young archaeologists.⁹ Her first application for 1908-09 had been rejected. When she received the annual travel grant for the following year, exactly fifty years after it was first established, she became the first woman in the history of the Institute to be awarded the fellowship.¹⁰ It was restricted for travels to Greece and Rome. Unlike today, the fellowship served not only to expand the fellows' scope of knowledge. Fellows were also expected to take notes for the executive office's major collection efforts for the Berlin Academy, including Etruscan mirrors and urns, ancient terra-cotta pieces, Roman sarcophagi, and Greek sepulchral reliefs or inscriptions. Fellows were furthermore expected to participate in the Institute's excavations, which today is strictly prohibited.

Three men had been awarded the travel grant at the same time as Bieber: Heinrich Lattermann, Georg Lippold, and Gerhart Rodenwaldt. Her encounters with prejudice were not over: the other fellows at first rejected her,¹¹ so initially she traveled by herself. The responses to her trips differed widely. Erich Pernice, at the time a full professor at Greifswald, who took part in the excavations in Miletus led by Theodor Wiegand, wrote about her stay there: "*There is really no end of visitors here—the presence of Miss Bieber was particularly dreadful. ...*"

At Pergamon, on the other hand, Bieber was received kindly by Wilhelm Dörpfeld. With this great archaeologist, then also the director of the German Archaeological Institute, she visited other sites: Olympia, the Acropolis of Athens, the theater of Epidauros, Troy and Mycenae, which he had excavated with Schliemann. She went to Didyma with Theodor Wiegand, to Miletus with Hubert Knackfuss and Erich Pernice, to Smyrna, Priene, and others. In Crete, Sir Arthur Evans entertained them at the Villa Ariadne.

Georg Karo, who was soon to become director, welcomed her to the German Archaeological Institute at Athens. There began the friendship with the youngest of her colleagues, Gerhart Rodenwaldt, which was to have such a decisive impact on her life. Dr. Bieber, on her rented piano, would accompany Rodenwaldt, who sang German Lieder, and soon all the fellows joined in. These young men, who now traveled all over Greece together with the thirty-year-old Dr. Bieber, were destined to become well-known scholars. Gerhart Rodenwaldt became a professor in Giessen and Berlin and director of the German Institute.¹² Georg Lippold edited publications of ancient sculptures¹³ and became a professor in Erlangen. Eduard Schmidt, the author of important works on archaic art, became a professor at the University of Kiel, as did Hugo Prinz, who wrote on astronomical symbols.¹⁴ Later a fifth "son," Hans Nachod, joined the group.¹⁵

Together with Rodenwaldt in Rome Bieber wrote an essay, "Die Mosaiken des Dioskurides von Samos,"¹⁶ on two mosaics from Pompeii with scenes from the theater.

Even after the expiration of her travel grant, until the spring of 1914, Bieber alternated between Bonn and Athens during the winter months so as to continue her archaeological work. In the years 1911–1912 she was hired as Assistent at the German Archaeological Institute: her job was the scholarly analysis and categorization of the Institute's thirteen thousand photo negatives — a task she accomplished in an astonishingly short time and so accurately that her catalogue is used by scholars to this day. Her work was regarded as a testament to her impressive gift of working quickly and systematically, just as it was later on, when she catalogued the bronzes and sculptures in Kassel.

Bieber worked indefatigably, and in the years 1910-1913 published many articles in the German Institute's publications. She wrote on satyr play vases¹⁷ and on the medallions of the arch of Constantine, which she correctly dated to the Hadrianic period.¹⁸ Margarete Bieber's achievements were acknowledged in 1912–1913, when she was accepted as a corresponding member of the German Archaeological Institute, the first German woman archaeologist ever to be elected.¹⁹ One of the greatest honors to which a German archaeologist could aspire, it brought with it very real advantages. For the next two years (1912-1913), she could live at the German Institute in Rome, on the Capitoline Hill (1877-1915).

The following summers Bieber spent in Kassel working on a catalogue of the museum's small but choice collection of ancient sculptures. The project, which involved restoring missing pieces with casts of better preserved copies and setting heads and limbs at proper angle,²⁰ gave her that intimate and practical knowledge of sculpture, copy and original, drapery and portrait, that was central to all her work. The account she gives in her autobiography shows how risky the work was: under her direction the celebrated Kassel Apollo was taken apart, its upper part hung in chains in order to restore its legs properly. Her method was later used in Dresden, Berlin, and the Metropolitan Museum.

The catalogue of ancient sculptures in the Kassel museum was finished in 1914 and appeared in 1915.²¹ Bieber had hoped to finish a new project on theater masks at the Villa Falconeri in Frascati, a home for artists and scholars, bought in 1905 by the Jewish

banker Ernst von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and donated in 1907 to the German emperor Wilhelm II. "Life in this earthly paradise was enchanting. But when I had just celebrated my thirty-fifth birthday, World War I broke out and destroyed, like a bomb, our enchanted life."

Career in Germany (1914-1933)

During World War I Margarete Bieber had gone to Berlin (Easter 1915) to work for the Red Cross. It became her permanent residence. Her doctoral advisor from Bonn, Professor Loeschcke, had been appointed full professor in Berlin after Kekulé's death in 1911 and worked there from 1912 until his death. Among other projects, she had begun to put together a collection of small ancient objets d'art for teaching purposes.

Rodenwaldt, who was Loeschcke's assistant, had been drafted, and so had the official substitute assistant, Valentin Müller—like Bieber a pupil of Loeschcke.²² As it turned out, Bieber took the place of Rodenwaldt, her co-fellow from 1908–1909 and close confidant. Feeling personally obligated to Loeschcke, she assisted him free of charge so Valentin Müller, who had to take care of his mother, would not lose his salary. She was Assistant at Berlin's Archaeological Department under Privy Councilor Loeschcke from Easter 1915 on. She prepared his classes, which she knew so well. When Loeschcke began to suffer serious health problems following a stroke shortly afterwards, on Pentecost 1915, the directors of the Institute of Classical Studies, Wilamowitz, Diels, Norden, and Eduard Meyer, complied with his specific request to have Margarete Bieber conduct the archaeological seminars. In addition, she took care of her revered teacher until he died on 26 November 1915. After his death she continued her seminar work.

Rodenwaldt had been offered a professorship at Giessen for the fall semester 1916, but could not take up his position until one year later, because he was still in the army. Ferdinand Noack, who had previously taught in Kiel and Tübingen, was chosen as Loeschcke's successor in Berlin: he forbade Bieber to teach and would not even let her use the department's facilities.²³

With her father's financial support and encouragement, Bieber moved into her own four-room apartment in the Familienheim, a residence for single ladies in the Marchstrasse, near the former house of the historian Mommsen. She had organized a smoothly running Archaeological Institute, free of debts, and a well-educated student body. Yet she could not, as a woman, under the Empire, officially become an instructor or "Privatdozent."

No longer able to conduct archaeological seminars and to lecture, she left the university,²⁴ Bieber became a private tutor at the request of the students, who had become used to the inspiring way of teaching characteristic of Loeschcke as well as his pupils. In her home, during those war years, 1916-1918, she met with an outstanding group, some of whom she was to see many years later in the United States: Erwin Panofsky, later professor at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton;²⁵ his wife, then Dora Mosse; and Elizabeth Jastrow, later an assistant professor in Giessen.²⁶ She introduced her young friend Jane van Heuckelum to Gerhart Rodenwaldt: within two weeks they were engaged. "They

lived happily until they died hand in hand, in 1945, when the Russians broke into their house..."²⁷ The political situation and the death of their much-loved only son drove them to this action.

Some of her most important publications date from this period. They deal with theater masks, the portraits of Socrates and Aristophanes, the origin of the costume of tragedy, and the chiton of the statues of the Amazons attributed to Polycleitus, Phidias, and Kresilas,²⁸ all of them subjects she was to pursue more deeply in the following years. She attended meetings of the Archaeological Institute, and of the Archaeological Society, whose director was Theodor Wiegand and whose secretary was her friend and colleague Anton Neugebauer.

Her home in the Marchstrasse was a lively place. Old friends like Amelung and the Spiros came to visit, and new "sons," like Bernhard Schweitzer,²⁹ who played on her grand piano, accompanying singers and violinists at her musical evenings. There now came into her life Katharina Freytag, her loyal companion.³⁰ Dr. Bieber had a plan: Fräulein Freytag, an experienced governess, would help her educate the child she hoped to adopt.

As much as she enjoyed these private events, Bieber yearned to pursue her activities in an official capacity and within the framework of an academic career. Yet she had to wait until the end of World War II before she could obtain further credentials as a scholar. As a woman she was not allowed to write a dissertation qualifying to become a professor—a so-called "habilitation thesis"—during the era of the empire. Finally the liberal Weimar Republic opened university teaching professions to women: women were officially allowed to qualify for professorships in 1920. Her dream, to become a lecturer at a German university, could now come true.

A year after the war, in 1919, Bieber heeded her friend Gerhart Rodenwaldt's advice and applied for permission to write her habilitation thesis in Giessen. There had been several previous, futile attempts at various other universities, endorsed by friends who were well disposed toward her. A note concerning Margarete Bieber's desire to get permission to become a professor, contained in a letter dated 15 May 1919 by Professor Ludwig Curtius in Freiburg to Professor Paul Wolters in Munich, is telling³¹: "Yesterday a female Jewish esthete from Berlin called on me to ask at Dr. Bieber's request what my stand on the issue of that lady's desire to obtain the qualifications for a professorship in Freiburg.... The last thing I need is to saddle myself with a Berlin Jewess for the rest of my life." This statement—not meant for the public at large—clearly expresses the attitude that no woman, and certainly no Jewish woman, would ever be offered a tenured position at Freiburg.

In Giessen,³² however, her close friend Gerhart Rodenwaldt not only held his motherly friend Bieber in high esteem, but also enjoyed great respect within the circle of his colleagues and knew how to take advantage of the influence he exerted. Bieber accordingly sent off her application, as well as the manuscript of her book on the ancient theater as the prescribed Habilitationsschrift. The list of publications accompanying the

1919 application contained no less than eighteen titles. She did not even include six of her articles, so that the number of her scholarly publications was an impressive twenty-four. The dean in Giessen at this time was the classical philologist Rudolf Herzog, who had worked as an archaeologist, having excavated and in fact discovered the Asclepius sanctuary at Kos. With him, too, Margarete Bieber was to form a lifelong friendship.

Yet despite the active support of her friend Rodenwaldt, who was assigned the task of reporting “on the applicant’s character and achievements,” the decision on Bieber’s application was delayed because the School of Humanities did not know how to deal with a woman’s wish to become a professor. The committee formed to evaluate Bieber’s qualifications³³ decided to obtain a legal opinion, and to ask Germany’s universities to provide written statements of principle on the matter. On 11 March 1919 a form letter was mailed to nearly all universities in Germany, nineteen of which responded. Responses were guarded and vague, but by no means disapproving. Since none opposed the admittance of women, and the since the Law School had also come to the conclusion that women could be allowed to become professors, therefore, her application was approved. This resolution had a significance far beyond the specific case of Margarete Bieber.³⁴ Giessen became the pioneer in women’s emancipation in the academic field.

Bieber wrote her habilitation thesis on *Monuments in the Ancient Theater I: Theater Buildings*;³⁵ her test lecture on May 14 was on “Greek Women’s Clothing.” On 28 May 1919, she became a Privatdozentin, with permission to lecture, as a member of the faculty of the University of Giessen.

These years at Giessen, from the fall semester 1919–1920 on, saw the high point of her career. She set up housekeeping in Wilhelmstrasse 41/III, where she stayed until her dismissal in 1933. At first Bieber was a “private lecturer” or unsalaried professor, but in 1922 she became a salaried lecturer. Just in time, since her family had lost all its estates in Poland following the Treaty of Versailles, and the inflation in Germany had forced her father to halt his financial support.³⁶

When Rodenwaldt was elected secretary general of the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin and left Giessen for that position Margarete Bieber, despite her great success as a teacher and several new publications, was not considered as his potential successor for reasons of principle—because she was a woman.³⁷ Eventually Richard Delbrueck was offered the vacancy, a move Bieber had strongly supported because of his merits in the study of late Roman art.³⁸

Rudolf Herzog, the dean who in 1919 had recommended her for permission to become a professor, assigned her to work on the sculptures discovered at the Asclepieion on Kos.³⁹ In 1925 she traveled to Athens and Constantinople in order to study the Kos sculptures that were kept in Istanbul.⁴⁰ During that trip Bieber celebrated her birthday in the German Archaeological Institute in Athens—quite mirthfully, according to the memoirs of archaeologist Friedrich Matz: “Everyone wore violet wreaths, which [Wilhelm von] Massow had procured. The following morning Josef Vogt and Massow went from room to room, clad in hospital gowns, with stethoscopes, ‘in order to check on the patients.’”

Only Margarete Bieber didn't want to open her door, they later told us.”

Even though Margarete Bieber considered it a distinction to have been appointed associate professor and was grateful to Delbrueck for having made that possible, tension developed between the two and evolved into downright mutual animosity.⁴¹ The devoted friendship between Bieber and Herzog was probably chief among the things that bothered Delbrueck. In her 1961 *Autobiography* Bieber leveled serious charges against Delbrueck, accusing him of embezzling some of the Institute's monies as well as photographic accessories. She claimed that when Delbrueck left for Bonn, he took along a large part of the mintages she needed for her numismatic seminars. He had, she charged, begun to massively intrigue against her appointment as his successor and systematically slandered her..⁴²

During the negotiations for Delbrueck's successor—he had accepted a position in Bonn—Margarete Bieber did not make the list of candidates⁴³, even though Herzog had submitted a special report in her behalf.⁴⁴ “We need not emphasize that these objections ... are not related to the issue of appointing a woman in general.”⁴⁵

In the end, the ministry cut the position due to the difficult financial situation and appointed Margarete Bieber as a substitute.⁴⁶ She shouldered Delbrueck's responsibilities from October 1928 until the end of September 1931. Her inspiring, even electrifying work as a teacher helped the Institute tremendously. Enrollment figures continued to climb. “Not only during the semester, but during semester breaks too, a great deal of work is being done. ... The number of doctoral candidates in Marburg is smaller than in Giessen.” Among Bieber's students in Giessen were Karl Bettermann, Julius Fröber, Hermann Klöter⁴⁷, with many who had Delbrueck as their official doctoral adviser but who regarded themselves as pupils of Bieber, under whose supervision they worked. There were also some whose major was Classical Philology or History, such as Giessen's later ancient historian H. G. Gundel.⁴⁸ In *Griechische Kleidung* (*Greek Clothing*) (1928), photographs taken at the Institute's facilities show live models demonstrating the way Greek clothing was worn. Some of the photographs were taken by Gerhart Rodenwaldt's wife, Jane van Heuckelum. Bieber had also dressed live models for her 1934 book *Geschichte der griechischen Tracht* (*History of Greek Costumes*), in which she discussed Roman copies in addition to Greek originals. She planned to write a book on Roman copies along with Bruno Schröder. Schröder, a student of Loeschke like herself, an accomplished artist, was to provide the illustrations.⁴⁹ These two areas, ancient theater and Greek clothing, remained a recurring theme of Bieber's research.⁵⁰

In 1927, when Delbrueck left Giessen to become a professor in Bonn, Dr. Bieber was in charge of the Archaeological Institute of the University of Giessen. At Delbrueck's suggestion, she had been made Professor Extraordinarius, an honor after only two years, which made her the **second woman professor in Germany**, the first being Emma Noether in Göttingen. On 1 October 1931 Margarete Bieber's broad knowledge, her outstanding talent and gift for teaching, as well as her great popularity with students and colleagues resulted in her appointment as regular associate professor⁵¹ — **the first woman in Germany**.

She took part in the lively social life of the university, led by Richard Laqueur, the ancient historian, and the professors' wives. Otto Behaghel, the celebrated Germanist — "the Nestor of the Faculty of Philosophy" — and Karl Kalbfleisch, the papyrologist, became her close friends.⁵² She developed an interest in Roman provincial art and organized field trips in which students and colleagues participated: in 1928 to Trier with Wilhelm Gundel, to the Wiesbaden Museum and sites of the Roman *limes* or ancient army posts.⁵³ She published articles showing the change from Greek to Roman to medieval forms on tomb reliefs. She also published articles on Greek sculpture, on the university's pottery collection, which she rearranged, and on the Villa of the Mysteries.

Margarete Bieber used the collection of casts, especially of Greek sculptures,⁵⁴ for her lectures and seminars at Giessen, and together with the ancient historian, Fritz Moritz Heichelheim, an acknowledged expert on ancient economic history, the collection of coins. Among the pieces she published from the collection of antiquities were five marble objects in Arndt-Amelung's *Einzelaufnahmen* (1931).⁵⁵

A report on the state of the Institute and its collection in May 1932 describes the professorship and the collection in particular at this time as "linked to the professor personally," that is to say, to Bieber herself. It continues: "The professorial position for Archeology in Giessen has existed since 1809. It is the oldest of its kind in Germany and had for decades been filled with scholars such as Watzinger, Rodenwaldt, and Delbrueck, who were among the most eminent in their field. Professors Sauer, Watzinger, and Rodenwaldt (the latter being the current president of the German Reich's Archaeological Institute) have assembled a body of teachers that is the foremost among the smaller universities and in some respects—for instance, the systematically accumulated collection of transparencies, the small, select collection of original Greek objets d'art, and the collection of coins—even surpasses and is the envy of many a large university. The current professor of Archeology is also constantly endeavoring to take care of these collections and, within the modest financial means at her disposal, to which the Society of Universities has occasionally made a contribution, to prudently augment, sort, and classify them."

In the face of incessant disadvantages due to her gender, Margarete Bieber achieved the highest rank possible as a woman archaeologist. When she finally succeeded, it was all she had hoped for and more. She had gifted students. The Institute was flourishing. Cooperating with the departments of classical philology and ancient history, it had more students than the larger neighboring universities of Frankfurt and Marburg. Under her care, students and professors went on archaeological excursions and became a close-knit group. Her students in Giessen, like Hans Gundel until his recent death in 1999, affectionately called her *die Bieberin*. On her fiftieth birthday, they serenaded her under her window.

An International Fellowship of the AAUW, the American Association of University Women, allowed Bieber, in 1931-1932, to travel in London, Paris, and Rome--where she met Ludwig Curtius, the successor to Amelung, in the new building of the German

Archaeological Institute in Via Sardegna 79--and to finish her book on the historical development of Greek dress.⁵⁶

In 1932 she was named full professor for the following year, with a salary guaranteed for life, as is the rule in German universities. Secure at last in position and finances, she adopted little Ingeborg, with her dark, wistful eyes and blond hair.⁵⁷ Dr. Bieber planned for Inge to go to Giessen's excellent medical school and felt her life at last had its final form. "Nobody could be more wrong, for in the Spring of 1933 Hitler came to power and catastrophe engulfed me like so many others."

Hitler's Racial Laws: Flight and a New Life (1933-1948)

Dr. Bieber was apolitical, but history and politics shaped the pattern of her life. The Weimar Republic made her career possible. Hitler destroyed it. Yet this was not clear at once. Engrossed in her teaching, her research, and the education of Inge, she was not at first overly concerned by the ascendance of Hitler as leader of the German Reich. She was shocked when the Jewish members of the faculty were dismissed; it had never occurred to her it could happen to her.

On 1 September 1933 Margarete Bieber was due to be appointed full professor. Quite suddenly, at the height of her happiness and success, the German government leveled a charge against her that instantly turned her life around: that she was a Jew. While Margarete Bieber was indeed of Jewish origin, she did not consider herself to be Jewish. She had long, by choice, been a member of the old-Catholic parish in Frankfurt on the Main.⁵⁸

On 29 June 1933 there came an order dismissing Bieber because of her Jewish ancestry —“due to political unreliability” — and forcing her retirement effective 1 July.⁵⁹ On 24 April 1934 her dismissal was transformed into a regular retirement pursuant to par. 3 of the German Civil Law (Non-Aryan Origin); on 28 December 1934 she lost her pension. Her colleague, the ancient historian Fritz Heichelheim, was dismissed in 1933, after lecturing for nearly four years. The National Socialists' “cleansing” of the universities, with the “Law on the Restoration of Professional Civil Servanthood” of 7 April 1933, served to remove non-Aryans and political opponents from their positions.⁶⁰

The university's partially extant personnel files attest to Margarete Bieber's desperate attempts to have her dismissal rescinded. Bieber insisted that she would raise her adopted daughter Ingeborg in the National Socialist spirit. She pointed out that during World War I she had, at the behest of the Red Cross, run a workshop for the manufacture of soldiers' underwear. She tried hard to prove her German way of thinking. In addition, she regularly supported a sewing workshop of the National Socialist Women's League that was run by Professor Herzog's wife. She attached to her application the receipt of a donation of one mark to the *Waffen SS*.

In a letter dated March 1934 she sent from Berlin to the Hessian Ministry of State Bieber described her own position, which was characteristic of many German Jews —: “... you

can see that my parents raised me as a true German, that we have always held up, in word and in deed, National Socialist beliefs, that common welfare supersedes personal welfare, and that I find it virtually unbearable no longer to be allowed to contribute my part to the common good in an official capacity.¹ As a private citizen I will always remain a good German, and I still consider, as I always have, my work as a contribution to the advancement of Germany's concerns. (signed) Margarete Bieber.”

The economist Paul Karl Mombert (1876-1938), the physicist George Israel (Cecil) Jaffé (1880-1965), and the Orientalist Julius Lewy, who were also dismissed, had their Judaism to give them strength.⁶¹ For Dr. Bieber, the blow was totally unexpected. Her first thought was suicide. She recovered her courage, helped not only by the thought that Nazism would soon blow over but by the reaction of colleagues and students to her dismissal. Horneffer, the Anglicist Walther Fischer (1889-1961), Herzog, and Karl Kalbfleisch stood by her. So did her students: she always treasured a letter they wrote expressing their devotion and admiration.⁶² Her own first thought was for her students. On June 29 and 30, before her dismissal became effective, she gave the state and doctoral exams to all those who were ready, with Herzog and Kalbfleisch alternating as supervisors in order to maintain the legality of the proceedings.⁶³

Bieber now considered the alternatives open to her. She could stay in Germany. In Berlin and in Bonn she had friends and family; she could go to Heidelberg, where Arnold von Salis was Professor of Archaeology, though she might damage his position. She could also leave her country and go abroad. By September, she had received two offers, from Sofia and from Oxford. In Sofia, a Swiss fellowship would allow her to work for one year in that city's museum; the offer was tempting, for her sister's family was there, but the money was insufficient. Oxford at least promised lodgings for the three of them — herself, Fräulein Freytag, and little Inge. In November 1933, she sold the grand piano and the fine arts—but not the archaeological—books to Frau Gemeinrat Merck of the Merck Farben-Fabrik, the great German company. She also sold her collection of antiquities, including vases, terracottas, and small marble objects. Having left the remaining books and furniture in care of a friend, she set off with her little family to England.

At Oxford there were disappointments. The family was separated. She went daily to the warm study assigned her and read proofs for her *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, the book on the history of Greek dress. Dr. Bieber could not lecture and therefore received no salary. At Somerville College, where he was an honorary fellow there was already a Reader in Archaeology, Helen L. Lorimer. Fortunately, the Dean of St. Hilda's College asked her to tutor the students; and Professor J.D. Beazley, the foremost English archaeologist, whose legendary eye and understanding revolutionized the study of Greek vases, arranged for her to lecture at the Ashmolean Museum. Fräulein Freytag worked as a cook in a boardinghouse to put Inge in boarding school. Being a refugee was hard. At Christmas, Inge received many toys, but only one practical gift, warm slippers from Mrs. Beazley, who loved knitting. On Christmas Eve, Dr. Bieber entertained two lonely colleagues, Fritz M. Heichelheim from Giessen⁶⁴ and Melitta Gerhard, who later taught in the United

States. Two Oxford colleagues received her kindly: Sir Arthur Evans, whom she had met in Crete, and who now showed her through his property and collection of antiquities, containing gems and other objects, and Professor Gilbert Murray, whose translations of Greek plays she was later to use at Columbia University.

But the family situation was painful. Bieber had hoped to return to Germany, but national Socialism was becoming worse and worse. She hoped to remain in Oxford with a research fellowship, but it went to Helen Lorimer. Then she was invited to come for a year as visiting lecturer to Barnard College, whose Dean, Virginia Gildersleeve, a former president of the AAUW, knew Dr. Bieber as the recipient of an award ten years earlier. Three American colleagues also recommended her: Gisela Richter of the Metropolitan Museum, who had met her in London; Mary Swindler of Bryn Mawr, author of *Ancient Painting*; and Hetty Goldman, the eminent excavator of Tarsus, who would generously help Bieber in later difficulties. First, she went to see her ninety-year-old father in Berlin, as well as her surviving family. It gave her some small satisfaction, by voting in her father's place, to be part of the 5 percent who voted against Hitler. When, in September, Bieber embarked for the United States, she took with her *Mein Kampf*, to try to understand what kind of man Hitler was. Repulsed by content and style, she wondered "how a clever people with an intelligent culture could ever have fallen for Hitler and his ideas."

Bieber landed in New York on 21 September 1934 and was enchanted by the ride along Riverside Drive. Gisela Richter and Marion Lawrence of the Fine Arts Department welcomed her to New York. In Barnard College she had a suite of her own. The temperature, Fahrenheit and emotional, was far warmer than in England. She liked the friendly informality of social life, so different from cool English politeness. Bieber collaborated with Gisela Richter in teaching courses and on the exhibition of sculpture at the Metropolitan Museum, where she was treated like a member of the staff: labels were changed at her suggestion, and methods of reconstruction used in Kassel applied to statues in the Museum's collection.

The first academic year in New York, 1934/35, was a busy one. Bieber lectured—in English, an unfamiliar language — on Greek sculpture, ancient painting, and the Greek and Roman theater. The latter she put into historical perspective, as she had done for Greek dress, in her book, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, published by Princeton University Press in 1939. In the Spring of 1935, encouraged by Edith Hall Dohan and other friends, she decided to stay in America.

Barnard's invitation for the following year had been renewed at the same salary of \$2,000, so she earned extra money by lecturing. A fee of fifty dollars seemed stupendous. After difficulties and delays, Inge and Fräulein Freytag arrived on the *Europa*, bringing with them thirty boxes of books and furniture, which went into the apartment at 605 West 113th Street. There was bad news from home: she learned of the deaths of her brother and her little sister Anna. In 1937 her father died.

After two years at Barnard, Bieber joined the Department of Fine Arts and Archaeology of Columbia University — later Art History and Archaeology — under the chairmanship of William B. Dinsmoor, first as Visiting Professor, then as Assistant and Associate Professor (1935-1948).⁶⁵ Her colleagues were her friend Marion Lawrence, Julius Held, Millard Meiss, Meyer Schapiro, Emerson Swift. She attended official and unofficial events at Barnard College. For twenty years she helped plan the costumes for the yearly Greek Games, a competition between the Barnard freshmen and sophomore classes, pleased to see the garments and the statues she had studied come to life.

Bieber was invited to join the Archaeological Club, a private, select group of some twenty members, where she met with the outstanding scholars in her field:⁶⁶ Leslie Shear, the excavator of the Athenian Agora, and his wife Josephine; Benjamin Meritt, the epigraphist; Hetty Goldman, Gisela Richter, William Dinsmoor, and Edith Hall Dohan; and archaeologist couples such as George and Kate Elderkin, Richard Stillwell and his wife Agnes, and later Toni and Isabel Raubitschek. The Raubitschek children soon called her Grandma Bieber, as generations of children were to do. The club met at the house of members or at the Numismatic Society, whose director was Professor Newell, the numismatist and collector, and where Albert Gallatin invited the members to a sumptuous feast.

The end of one world coincided with the beginning of a new one. Inge was registered in the Horace Mann School of Columbia. Her new life was not easy. She was shy, after difficult years and five different schools in two years, her Oxford English was forgotten, and there was no one who knew German to help her.⁶⁷

Dr. Bieber's loyalties were now directed toward Columbia University's Department of Fine Arts and Archaeology, even though its absent-minded or single-minded chairman William Dinsmoor forgot to raise her salary, and promoted her only in answer to a rival offer: that of Professor Westermann, the eminent papyrologist, who suggested that she teach archaeology in the Department of Greek and Latin. Columbia University's international reputation in those days was largely due to the European contacts of its president, Nicholas Murray Butler. When he received her along with other foreign scholars in his residence on Morningside Drive, she was moved to see hanging on the wall the picture of his friend Gustav Stresemann. Dr. Bieber had long admired Stresemann as apostle of peace and founder of the liberal Deutsche Volkspartei in Germany.⁶⁸

Bieber's work was strenuous and rewarding. She collaborated with Professor Emerson Swift in the teaching of Roman Art in the Department. Since it stressed independent research and publication over teaching, the students were often given short shrift, and they welcomed Bieber's energetic efforts and interest. Two small books reflect her contact with graduate students and her concern for their training. She founded a new course, "Reading German for Art Historians," for which she prepared a special set of texts on the history of archaeology, *German Readings in the History and Theory of Fine Arts* (New York, 1946).⁶⁹ *Laocoon: The Influence of the Group Since its Rediscovery*, illustrated with new detailed photographs obtained from Ernest Nash in Rome, as well as

charming reproductions of etchings and engravings, was, as she wrote in the preface, the result of the convergence of different studies, on the character of late Hellenistic art, on the views of ancient art of three great German "classical" authors, Winckelmann, Lessing, and Goethe, and on the best way of illustrating lectures on ancient art. As usual Dr. Bieber saw the subject from several points of view. At the suggestion of her old friend, Erwin Panofsky, she added the section on the effect of the Laocoon on the artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁷⁰

Bieber's list of publications during these years is impressive. While she continued to write for German publications,⁷¹ from 1936 on her reviews and articles appeared more and more frequently in American scholarly journals. She felt she had to work twice as hard to make up for having to start all over again. Not being committed, like Americans and Englishmen, to taking weekends and vacations off, she devoted her time to research, work, friends, and students. The latter often became her friends, and she derived much satisfaction from their successes.⁷² She was proudest of Evelyn Harrison, her student and, in the German tradition, her successor at Columbia before going on to Princeton and then the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University.

Her contacts and loyalty to German scholarship never wavered.⁷³ Her bibliography (1969) bears the seals of Giessen and Columbia, the two universities that received so much of her knowledge and affection. After the war, she was made Senator for life of the University of Giessen. Bieber always felt bound to Giessen and was glad to hear from former students there.⁷⁴ German colleagues who came to New York always visited her. She was not equally eager to see them all, but in 1938 she welcomed Robert Zahn, and Hans Dragendorff, the great authority on Roman relief ware or *terra sigillata*.

Martin Schede, who had supported Margarete Bieber's appointment at the Antiquities Collection in Berlin and who had succeeded Wiegand as president of the German Archaeological Institute in 1938, had to send Bieber, who was meanwhile living in New York, a questionnaire. It concerned the Reich Ministry's decree of 28 April 1939 on the expulsion of Jewish members, and was submitted to all members of Jewish origin. Bieber's response was unequivocal: "I am not a Jew and don't consider myself a Jew. I have always felt as a German. I do, however, believe that I am Jewish according to the Reich Citizens' Code of Law. In any event, I will soon no longer be a German but, from 1940 on, a proud citizen of the free country of the United States of America. I will leave it up to you whether you want to keep me or expel me. I would not accept being reelected at a later time. I have always been proud to be a regular member of the Archaeological Institute of the German Reich. Yet if you now bow to the pressure to expel me, the shame is not on me. I know that my American colleagues think the way I do."⁷⁵ Bieber never forgave him for sending that questionnaire. When Schede's wife asked her after the war for a written confirmation that her husband had never been a Nazi, Bieber refused her support, mentioning that query; still, Schede's death by starvation in a Russian POW camp was a shock to her.

Otto Brendel, when he was in Rome as the assistant of Ludwig Curtius, director of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, had sent Bieber a letter of appreciation for her

"Venus Genetrix des Arkesilaos" of 1933. She and Brendel were destined to be in close contact when he came to Columbia University as Professor of Archaeology in 1956, inaugurating, with Rudolf Wittkover, a new and brilliant period for the department.⁷⁶

World War II (1939-1945) brought a transformation. In 1939 she applied for American citizenship.⁷⁷ She worked hard for the examination, studied American history along with Inge, and became enthusiastic about the Constitution and democratic government, with its roots in the Athenian democracy of the fifth century B.C. During her early years in New York, she had felt "like a split person, with one leg still in Germany across the ocean": Now she drew, in her own words, her second leg energetically over the ocean to America. Most of her family had also emigrated, several, like Dr. Bieber, faring better in the United States and Canada than in England. After the war, news of calamities came in a steady stream. She learned of the Rodenwaldts' suicide and of the death of their only son. Karl Anton Neugebauer died soon after his return from Russia. Her friend and former colleague Karl Kalbfleisch and his wife fled from a burning Giessen, and he died in 1946. One hundred and fifty German cities were destroyed by Allied bombers.

Bieber helped family and friends. During all of 1946 and 1947, she and Fräulein Freytag sent hundreds of parcels to former students, colleagues, and old friends. Many Germans accused of war crimes, threatened with losing their jobs, tried to find Nazi victims who would testify in their favor. People wrote from whom she had not heard since she emigrated, asking her for "cleansing papers," putting her in a curious reversal of power. Her former colleague Fritz Heichelheim, who went to Toronto, refused to write in favor of Rudolf Herzog, their former dean at Giessen, but Bieber wrote a sympathetic defense.

Her published work in this period, prolific as ever in spite of all this activity, reflected both her new interests and her influence on American archaeology. Her pragmatic approach, as seen in the numerous articles she published on works of art, particularly sculpture, agreed with the down-to-earth character of archaeology in America. Once isolated statues in Boston, Toledo, Buffalo, Cleveland, and Chicago were put into a historical context. Ahead of its time was a paper she read at the Annual meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America in 1941, appropriately entitled, "Excavations in American Museums."⁷⁸

Her reviews of German books and the necrologies Bieber wrote for the *American Journal of Archaeology* and *the American Journal of Philology* on German scholars contributed to the influx of German art-historical scholarship that enriched American archaeology and classical studies in this period.⁷⁹

The History of the Greek and Roman Theater (Princeton, 1939, revised ed. 1961), long used in theater courses throughout the country, has not been replaced. As usual, Bieber's interdisciplinary approach earned her the gratitude of a wider public to which specialized knowledge became available for the first time. It also opened her work to scholarly criticism: in general, archaeologists had reservations about the archaeological material in her books but praised the philological sections, while philologists found the archaeological sections excellent.⁸⁰ Another German émigré, Erwin Panofsky, describes

the euphoric reaction of German art historians of his generation to the heady atmosphere of the New World: "We suddenly found the courage to write books on whole periods instead of--or besides--writing a dozen specialized articles. . . ." ⁸¹ Actually Dr. Bieber had already had the courage, before leaving Germany, to write the definitive book on Greek dress in its historical context: *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht* (Berlin, 1934). With this book, as well as with her later—and last — book on *Copies* (1977), she joined the list of the many women scholars who had written the standard works in archaeology: Marion E. Blake, Esther Boise von Deman, Mary Swindler, Eugenie Strong, and Gisela Richter. ⁸²

Retirement and Another New Life (1948-1978)

When age limits forced Dr. Bieber to retire from Columbia in 1948, the blow was nearly as cruel as her Nazi dismissal in 1933. She had hoped to stay on until she was seventy, including a sabbatical leave, like William Dinsmoor. Bieber was working with graduate students on their master's and doctor's theses. Her research involved expenses for photographs, secretarial help, and travel. Inge was still in high school and would need money for college. President Butler, who had himself stayed on long past the normal retirement age, was unfortunately no longer there to support her.

Once again, time marked a new beginning. The remarkable productivity of her last thirty years makes one wonder whether the word "retirement" is appropriate. Today, she would have been allowed to teach for many more years, at a time when, as she says, "I might do better work than ever before." ⁸³ A grant from the Bollingen Foundation enabled her to write *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1955) and have it adequately illustrated, giving her a new lease on life. But she missed the students. She wanted to go on teaching, not only because of the money but because it was a central part of her life. The chairman of the Department of Fine Arts at Columbia, William Dinsmoor, had never promoted her to full professor, so she could not be an "Emerita" and continue teaching her courses. As it turned out, the next few years were busier than ever. During the six-week summer session at Columbia, where she had been teaching since 1940, she held classes all day. She taught at the New School for Social Research, founded by Alvin Johnson, ⁸⁴ for the express purpose of hiring scholars persecuted by Hitler (1948-1950); at Barnard College; and at the newly founded School of General Studies at Columbia (1948-1956).

In 1949 Bieber was surprised and delighted to be invited as a visiting lecturer to Princeton, where no women, except some language teachers, had ever taught. She was to take the place of Professor Eric Sjöqvist, on leave in Rome as head of the International Institute, the old German Archaeological Institute, who was staying on there for another year at the request of the Crown Prince of Sweden. The only person who could take this one year vacancy at the last minute was Dr. Bieber. She now commuted two days a week to Princeton, where she enjoyed the contact with her colleagues, Professor Albert M. Friend, the head of the Art Department, "whose name was true to his character;" Richard Stillwell and his wife, Agnes; Kurt Weitzmann, with whom she discussed problems of late Roman art; and Frances Jones and Ernest T. DeWald, both of the Princeton

University Art Museum. She also saw old friends now at the Institute for Advanced Study, Hetty Goldman and the Panofskys. At the end of the second year, when the old king died and Sjöqvist came back, Bieber had to leave, her fate depending, as she ruefully noted, on the life and death of the Swedish ruler.

The students at Princeton gave Dr. Bieber great satisfaction. She also rejoiced in the variety of students she had in New York after her "retirement." Her life and her house were as always full of young people--including Inge's boyfriends--whose lives and careers concerned her closely. She loved to tell the story of the dentist who took her course in Greek art at the New School and wrote a term paper on "The Smile through the Ages," or of the delicate-looking girl she interviewed for an American Association of University Women grant, whose subject was "Despair in English Literature."

Her contacts with Europe were still close. On her seventieth birthday, 31 July 1949, she received as a *Festschrift* a box with books, articles, papers, photographs, and poems from former colleagues and students, a *Who's Who* of German archaeologists and intellectuals, as well as such European greats as J.D. Beazley. Then, in 1951/52, she went to Italy for the last time.

During those busy years of teaching Bieber had decided to clear her desk, giving away several collections of material. Photographs and notes for a book on ancient portraits she now gave to Gisela Richter, who used it in her book on Greek portraiture.⁸⁵ Two other projects still remained unpublished. To Mrs. Semne Karouzou in Athens went material for an article on some torsos from the storerooms in Athens similar to some excavated in the Athenian Agora. The manuscript of the finds from Kos--finished in 1927 and never published--was sent to Carl Weickert at the German Archaeological Institute, in hopes that a young archaeologist would update and publish this material.⁸⁶

Some projects, however, Bieber could not hand over to anyone else. Thirty years before, in Germany, she had started working on Roman copies of Greek draped statues.⁸⁷ To finish this project she needed to go back to Rome. This Bieber decided to do with the help of a small travel grant from the American Philosophical Society, supplemented with savings and the proceeds from the sale of part of her library.⁸⁸ On 25 September 1951, she sailed on the *Liberté*, formerly the *Europa*, the same ship that had brought Inge and Fräulein Freytag to America.

There were changes, but many old friends and old memories. In Paris Bieber ran into her old friend Hans Möbius in the Bibliothèque Nationale. She arrived in Rome in October, and found that the German Archaeological Institute was under the trusteeship of the United Nations. The library was still there, "thanks to Friedrich Deichmann, who had saved it from the Nazis, and Charles Rufus Morey, who had saved it from the Allies", but it could not be used. During the week she worked in museums. On Sundays she roamed around, once again visited the Pantheon, munched roasted chestnuts for lunch. In the Museo Nazionale Romano she saw Salvatore Aurigemma, Enrico Paribeni, and Bianca Maria Felletti Maj, meeting the new generation of archaeologists.⁸⁹ In the Photographic Archives of the German Institute she saw Raissa Calza, former wife of the painter de

Chirico and widow of the excavator of Ostia Antica, which the Calzas had made a secret haven for hundreds sought by the Nazis during the German occupation.⁹⁰ With Hermine Speier, curator of the Vatican collection and editor of the new edition of Helbig's catalogue of Rome's.⁹¹ she became close friends despite, as she says, the difference in their religions, for Hermine Speier had converted to Catholicism, while Dr Bieber belonged to the Protestant Alt-Katholik sect. Ludwig Curtius, former director of the German Institute, was there, and Guido Kaschnitz von Weinberg, its director when it reopened in 1954. At the American Academy she was welcomed by the director, Frank Brown, and the librarian, Inez Longobardi. She saw her German colleagues, Reinhard Herbig and Georg Lippold, who had changed so little, "with his boyish expression and blue eyes, only his red hair was now white," and her American colleague Kurt Weitzmann. Bieber met Luisa Banti, Etruscologist and Minoan scholar, who excavated with Luigi Pernier in Crete and who came to Barnard the following year as a visiting professor; and Paola Zancani Montuoro, who excavated the astonishing archaic temples at the mouth of the river Sele in southern Italy.⁹²

Then Bieber went down to Naples, to see Amedeo Maiuri, and the mosaics in the museum, to Pompeii and the Villa of the Mysteries, about which she had written important articles.⁹³ Naples was changed, the Aquarium neglected, the animals starved. Yet her eyes caught the old Naples and the South Italy of antiquity: "the street life was still amusing, with singers and little scenes improvised as in ancient times." Although she was invited to come to Germany on her way back, she refused to do so. One of her friends in Bonn, Else Mülhaupt, borrowed money in order to meet Dr. Bieber in Florence.

And so, on board the *Constitution* and home again, back to New York and Bieber's busy life. She continued to teach in Columbia's School of General Studies until 1955 and in its Summer Session until 1956. Putting her books through the press took much time and energy. *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* was chosen as one of twelve books to be printed in the Columbia University Bicentennial Editions and Studies as examples of current scholarship. At the Bicentennial Convocation, on 31 October 1954, she was awarded the title of Doctor of Literature Honoris Causa, one of forty honorary degree candidates including the Queen Mother Elizabeth of England, Adlai Stevenson, and the noted classicist Lily Ross Taylor.

"Old Age" is the title of the chapter referring to the years 1956-1960, in the "Autobiography of a Female Scholar," which she wrote in her eightieth year. But old age did not arrive then, as she thought it would. Even after her retirement from Columbia and the loss of her office, she still felt very much a part of the University. As member of the Seminar on Classical Civilization, founded by Otto Brendel --which she attended as long as she was able to leave the house and with which she always kept in touch--Bieber figured officially in the Columbia University address book.

Her warm West Side apartment on West 113th Street near Broadway, with its long book-filled corridor and the bright sunny room, recently painted despite her protest, was a salon where one could meet scholars from all over the world. On the table beside her was the

yearly listing of the members of the German Archaeological Institute, whose addresses she would consult in the course of her many archaeological correspondences.

Because her books--on the ancient theater, on Alexander the Great (1964), on Laocoon, and others--made available material in a form comprehensible to a wider public, among her visitors were non-scholars, journalists like Joseph Alsop, and poets and artists like Ruth Vollmer and Vera Lachmann. Her opinions were as realistic as her life, which she had so independently arranged. Bieber's publications never exhibited that European tendency to demolish the work of previous scholars. As Salomon Reinach long ago noted in a review,⁹⁴ when she disagreed with another scholar's interpretation she simply ignored it, thus saving the reader time and patience. That was surely one reason that she produced so much, dealing so efficiently with such remarkable collections of material as those on the ancient theater, or Hellenistic sculpture, or Greek dress, or Roman copies, each one of which might justify a single scholar's life's work.

When Bieber was awarded the Gold Medal for Distinguished Archaeological Achievement of the Archaeological Institute of America at the society's Christmas meetings in 1974, the citation noted that "this sense of reality is perhaps her most precious gift to archaeology. Classical drapery, in her works, is still clothing, even when it reaches the heights of formal beauty and expressive power. Classical drama is a union of the several arts which went into its presentation and is never wholly cut off from its early simple roots." In her acceptance speech to this award, which meant more to her than any other, Dr. Bieber modestly replied, "My sense is that I should not be receiving a distinction for something that is the joy and happiness of my life."⁹⁵ She was delighted to accept this honor, she said, and would do her best to deserve it. That was in her ninety-fifth year; and she was true to her word.

After a fall in front of her house she went out rarely, though she was active enough within the apartment and regularly made her own breakfast after Fräulein Freytag's death in 1968. Her assistants, graduate students at Columbia in the Department of Art History and Archaeology, brought her the books she needed from the Columbia libraries. An assistant once brought to her house, on a field trip, the students with whom he was reading in Latin Cicero's treatise on old age, *De Senectute*. She was delighted and, turning the tables on them, interviewed them all closely, giving this writer a detailed report the next day about each one's projects and ambitions.

In 1959 the University of Giessen named Bieber honorary senator. In 1970 she was elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In fact, after she reached the age of ninety, honors, awards, and some degree of fame came to her as they never had before (figure xx). She received from the National Endowment for the Humanities a research grant for 1976 to work on her next book, on Greek, Etruscan, and Roman dress.⁹⁶ More involved, as usual, in new projects than in old ones, during the last few years, she surrounded herself with numismatic books and catalogues, as she worked on articles on portraits on coins.⁹⁷

An article about Dr. Bieber's life published in the *New York Times* gave new hope to old people, and many wrote to tell her that her example was an inspiration.⁹⁸ On 31 July she had celebrated her birthday quietly at home, happily receiving visits and good wishes from her family — her daughter, son-in-law, and grandchildren — and many friends, old and new. In October 1976, in her ninety-eighth year, she retired at last to her daughter and son-in-law's house in New Canaan, Connecticut. Here she kept up with her correspondence, spoke German once more with her daughter, enjoyed the company of her three grandchildren, and watched the changing colors of garden and country. She read Kleist, and Shaw's *Man and Superman*. In May 1977, she received the first copies of her last book, *Ancient Copies. Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art*. She died in her sleep on 25 February 1978.

Conclusion

Working with people was always important to Dr. Bieber. In childhood she fiercely protected her little sister; later, and throughout her life within the stability and security of the scholarly world, she created "families" of bright young archaeologists at the German Institutes in Rome and Athens, of her students at Giessen, Columbia, and elsewhere, of assistants and younger colleagues in New York. This "family" feeling was characteristic of both her life and work, and in fact bound the two together. As soon as she had attained independence and a stable position, she adopted her daughter: her life was not complete without a family of her own. Teaching allowed her to educate the young, to take care of them, to follow their progress and enjoy their successes. In her publications, too, she was teaching, making material available for others to work on.

Perhaps if she had been a little more aloof, more professionally calculating, she might have received recognition earlier, when it would have made her life easier. In the face of enormous difficulties—starting with being a woman to whom educational and professional opportunities were closed and through politics, poverty, war, and exile—her accomplishments, as a person and as a scholar, were remarkable. Difficulties seemed to make her stronger. Never resigned or bitter, she did not envy those who had gained more success, money, or recognition. She remained independent, spiritually and economically, working in her field and earning enough money to maintain herself and her family with dignity.

Bieber's work, free from the mystifying abstractions of the European tradition as well as from the dry factuality of the American, was effective in both worlds, Germany and the United States. Her practical sense, her feeling for the reality of an object, a person, or a work of art allowed her to feel at home in America. Coincidentally, the German scholarly world in which she had grown up was transplanted to America, and formed a context in which her work and her influence could thrive. She preserved as a precious gift that solidity which she brought over with her from the nineteenth century; for she never lost the nineteenth-century taste for *realia*, the study of ancient life and society, which is returning after the heady philosophy of the 1930s.

Dr. Bieber had the ability to simplify an apparently bewildering variety, both in material and in ideas, and bring it into some kind of order. She had the courage to deal in larger areas, moving outside safe compartments of specialization. The fear of making mistakes never held her back, but neither did the wish to appear "brilliant" mislead her to express audaciously controversial theories.

Eminently practical and positive, Bieber collected, remembered, and organized. But one must not confuse her interest in facts with lack of imagination. When she first started to work on her last book, *Ancient Copies. Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art* (1977), some fifty years before it appeared, scholars were studying Roman copies almost exclusively as reflections of the more "sublime" Greek art. Only recently has the view that Roman copies were first of all Roman art become acceptable among art historians. Dr. Bieber pioneered in this as in so many other areas of life and scholarship. Unfortunately, lack of resources forced her to postpone its publication until it almost too late to have it published, and too late for recognition.⁹⁹

During the past few years Margarete Bieber has received a great deal of attention, especially in Germany. One reason for this is her fate during the Third Reich. Another is the recent surge of women's studies. As the first woman ever to teach at the University of Giessen, and the third woman at a university in all of Germany, Bieber was a pioneer. Only recently the City of Giessen named a street Margarete-Bieber-Weg, and in 1997 the University of Giessen renamed the old Art History Auditorium at 34 Ludwigstrasse — where Bieber never taught — Margarete-Bieber-Saal.

In 1998, on the occasion of the ninetieth anniversary of women's official admittance to universities in Prussia and Hesse, Giessen University's commissioner on women's issues held a series of interdisciplinary lectures at the Margarete Bieber Hall. The end of the same year saw the opening, in the University's main building, of the exhibition "90 Years of Women's Enrollment," in which Margarete Bieber occupied a prominent place. In the 1988 book, *Archäologenbildnisse* (Portraits of Archaeologists), which contains 160 short biographies of German archaeologists, Margarete Bieber is the only woman next to Gerda Bruns (1905–1970).

In looking at her life as she lived it in her world from the viewpoint of the present — 2003, more than a century after her birth — two considerations come to mind. The first has to do with Bieber's Jewish origins, the second with the fact that she was a woman. They were surely closely connected. They also surely looked different then. That she did not consider herself Jewish is clear from her letters and conversations. She was proud of being a Professor, of having made it as a woman in the world of German scholarship. She felt she had to be not only twice as good, twice as productive, but also in some way twice as German. Her childhood may also have contributed to this view of herself. In Westpreussen, later Poland, where she grew up, to be German was to be Protestant as against the Catholicism of the Polish peasants. Her identity simply did not include the category of being Jewish, a concept which Hitler forced upon her, as so many others. She sometimes claimed, or at least implied, that she had been dismissed because she was a woman. That would have been a reason which, all things considered, and given her

experience, she would have understood.

The question of her feminine identity, though complex, does not seem to have been a problem for her. Motherhood was important, and her adoption of Inge, and later her love for her grandchildren fulfilled a very special and essential part of her life plan. She was independent and self-directed. Bieber had made it in a man's world and could support a family; though she had the help of a companion, it was always clear she was the mother.

Her autobiography ends with a question: What would her life have been like had Hitler not forced her to emigrate? She would have travelled in classical lands, risen to the top of her career in Rome or in Berlin. She would have been a full professor, her handsome salary allowing her to pursue her research without financial worries, Her daughter Inge might have studied medicine, as she had dreamed, and married one of her former students. On the other hand, she mused, they might have been killed or crippled during World War II; and she would not have had the experience of living in the United States and meeting so many friends and colleagues. On the whole, it was an interesting life. If Bieber never quite reached the top, she said with characteristic pride, it was not because of external circumstances: it was because she did not fight hard enough.

In fact, Bieber did fight hard, for others as well as for herself. She pioneered in many areas: in education, in a fuller life for women, combining career with motherhood, as a single mother; in the interdisciplinary study which she encouraged in her teaching and embodied in her books; in communicating knowledge to a wider public while maintaining high standards of scholarship; in the study and restoration of ancient statues; in making people aware of the contributions of people over seventy. She was tenacious but not hard, flexible but not soft. Her example still inspires, and the influence of her teaching and her work enriches the profession that meant so much to her.

¹ Views on the effect of the German refugees in the intellectual life of America vary, and probably depend at least in part on the personal experience of the author. For the view that they had only a slight effect, see Colin Eisler, "Kunstgeschichte American Style: A Study in Migration," in *The Intellectual Migration. Europe and America, 1930-1960*, edited by Donald Fleming and Bernard Baylyn (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1969) 544-629, esp. xx.

² The major sources of Margarete Bieber's biography are her unpublished biography, "Memoirs of a Female Scholar," written in 1959, with a chapter added in 1960, the documents and letters in the archives of the University of Giessen, her papers in the library of Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana, and conversations with one of the authors. Larissa Bonfante is grateful to Colin Eisler for his pertinent questions and useful suggestions.

³ Later director of the Askanische Gymnasium in Berlin.

⁴ Friedrich Paulsen, 1846-1908, a philosopher, championed the cause of Neocriticism. Eduard Meyer (1855-1930)

Even classicists were often reluctant to teach women. For Wilamowitz on teaching women, see William M. Calder III, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 81 (1977) 277, note 13. For Loeschcke's students, however, see **note .5**.

⁵ Georg Loeschcke (1852-1915), editor, with Adolf Furtwängler, of *Mykenische Vasen* (1886), author of works on ancient Greek and provincial Roman art. Of his influence Margarete Bieber said (*American Journal of Archaeology* 79 [1975], 147): "The method of teaching which I learned from my teacher in Bonn, the eminent Professor Georg Loeschcke, I have transferred to my students here. This method consists of studying the character, intelligence, and inclinations of the individual students and then giving them work in a field consistent with their special qualities." See Paul Friedländer, "Erinnerung an Georg Loeschcke," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 152 (1952), 13-16; and Franz Oelmann, "Zum hundertsten Geburtstag Georg Loeschckes," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 152 (1952), 1-12. Franz Oelmann includes a list of Loeschcke's students (11), a photograph of his portrait, and a useful bibliography (12). Friedländer (15) remembers Loeschcke's remark to him, "I'm not a scholar, I'm a teacher": "Ich bin ja kein Gelehrter, ich bin ein Lehrer!"). Of course he was a great scholar; but much of his warmth and energy went into teaching, with evident success.

⁶ "One basic difference between academic life in the United States and Germany (I wish to limit myself to first-hand experience) is that in Germany the professors are stationary and the students mobile, while the opposite is true in the United States... The German student, ...his *abiturium* (final diploma of a recognized secondary school) entitling him to enroll at whatever university he pleases, spends one semester and another there until he has found a teacher under whose direction he wishes to prepare his doctoral thesis... and who accepts him, so to speak, as a personal pupil." Panofsky, "Three Decades of Art History," 333-334.

⁷ *Das Dresdner Schauspielerrelief. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des tragischen Costüms und der griechischen Kunst*, published in 1907.

⁸ Robert Zahn, who was then assistant director at the Berlin Museum's antiquities department and in 1931 became the institution's executive director, had been given the opportunity to examine the Vogell collection at the same time as Margarete Bieber and to publish parts of it before it was sold: "Hellenistische Reliefgefäße aus Südrussland," *JdI* 23 (1908) 121-129.

⁹ According to her "Memoirs," when she had applied before, Ernst Fabricius had had been against having any woman receive that fellowship while he was director of the German Archaeological Institute. Now that he had been overridden, she had the pleasure of reading his signature on the form letter, "I am happy to inform you..." In 1908-09, however, the year Bieber's application had been denied, the theologian Carola Barth had received the fellowship for Christian archaeology. The next time a woman received the fellowship was not until 1931-32.

¹⁰ The travel grant had been first awarded in 1860, to Alexander Conze and Adolf Michaelis.

¹¹ Was she ostracized as a woman, as she claims in her "Memoirs," or as a Jew, as has been suggested?

¹² Rodenwaldt went to Berlin in 1922; in 1945 he committed suicide (see text).

¹³ Georg Lippold edited Paul Arndt, Friedrich Bruckmann, *Griechische und römische Porträts* (Munich, 1891-1942); and with Paul Arndt and Walther Amelung, *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen* (Munich, 1893-1941).

- ¹⁴ Eduard Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* (Munich, 1922). Hugo Prinz (1883-1934), *Funde aus Naukratis* (Leipzig, 1908).
- ¹⁵ Hans Nachod (1885-1958), *Der Rennwagen bei den Italikern und ihren Nachbarn* (Diss. Leipzig, 1909). A photograph in Dr. Bieber's collection (**figure 1**) shows some of the group striking classical poses in the German Institute in Athens, ca. 1910. They are dressed as famous Greek archaic statues, displayed on their bases: Georg Lippold as a kouros, Eduard Schmidt as the winged sphinx from Naxos, and Camillo Praschniker as another statue. Otto Walter acts as the museum guard.
- ¹⁶ "Die Mosaiken des Dioskurides von Samos," *Jdl* 26 (1911) 1-22.
- ¹⁷ "Wiederholungen einer Satyrspiellase in Athen und Bonn," *AthMitt* 36 (1911) 269-77.
- ¹⁸ "Die Medallions am Konstantinbogen," *RömMitt* 26 (1911) 214-37.
- ¹⁹ In 1913 she was elected corresponding member of the German Archaeological Institute, the first female archaeologist elected corresponding member; a year before Elvira Fölzer, who in 1906, one year before Bieber, had been the first woman to earn her doctorate from the Philosophical Faculty. She became a regular member in 1922.
- ²⁰ "Bericht über Arbeiten im Museum von Kassel," *ArchAnz* 29 (1914) 1-32.
- ²¹ *Die antiken Skulpturen und Bronzen des Kgl. Museum Fridericianum in Cassel* (Marburg, 1915). Each piece is still neatly labeled with "Bieber Nr."
- ²² Valentin Müller was later to teach at Bryn Mawr College (1930-1947).
- ²³ See Bieber's note: "When Noack arrived, he was infuriated to find a woman there." When Valentin Müller returned from the war, he too had great difficulties with Noack.
- ²⁴ During the war she also gave private lecture courses, served as a guide of Berlin's museums²⁴; and occasionally taught at schools.²⁴
- ²⁵ Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968). For his own account of his career in Germany and the United States, see "Epilogue. Three Decades of Art History in the U.S.: Impressions of a Transplanted European," *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (New York, 1955) 321-46; originally published as "The History of Art" in *The Cultural Migration: The European Scholar in America*, W.R. Crawford, ed. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953) 82-111. See also Colin Eisler, "Kunstgeschichte American Style, 544-629, esp. 582.
- ²⁶ Elisabeth Jastrow earned her doctorate during World War I on southern Italian terracotta altars. She took M. Bieber's seminar in Berlin, and was later Professor Jacobsthal's assistant in Marburg and Professor Rauch's in Giessen. From the fall semester 1919-1920 to 1922 she was an assistant at the Institute of Archeology and Art History at Giessen; previously, since 1916, she was assistant under Studniczka in Leipzig. From 1925 on she was hired to work, together with Reinhard Herbig, on the *Realkatalog* — the catalogue of the German Archaeological Institute's library in Rome, which until 1930 was paid for by the Emergency Association of German Science. Like Margarete Bieber, she immigrated during the Third Reich to the United States, where the two met again. After World War II she taught at the Women's College of North Carolina at Greensboro (1941-61).
- ²⁷ Unpublished *Autobiography*.
- ²⁸ "Ikonographische Miszellen. I. Das Porträt des Sokrates. 2. Aristophanes. 3. Das Relief aus dem attischen Ölwald," *RömMitt* 32 (1917) 117-46. "Die Herkunft des tragischen Kostüms," *Jdl* 32 (1917) 15-104. "Der Chiton der ephesischen Amazonen," *Jdl* 33 (1918) 49-75.
- ²⁹ Later Professor of Archaeology at Tübingen.
- ³⁰ She came in 1917 and stayed with Dr. Bieber until her death in New York in 1968, at the age of 84.
- ³¹ Paul Wolters, A. Furtwängler's successor as professor of Classical Archeology at Munich, was the brother-in-law of Bruno Sauer, who had been professor at Giessen until 1909.
- ³² The application for permission to become eligible for a professorship is dated 24 February 1919. Cf. Bieber's written assurance that she had not submitted a similar application elsewhere.
- ³³ The committee consisted of Rodenwaldt, Kalbfleisch, Behrens, and Herzog.
- ³⁴ In connection with Bieber's appointment to supernumerary associate professor we read: "It is the first time a woman is supposed to receive the title supernumerary professor. Therefore this case sets a precedence. In my opinion this step may be taken without hesitation: since the position with that title is nothing but a professional lectureship, it is but a logical step after accepting women as lecturers.
- ³⁵ In 1918 Margarete Bieber had been awarded a grant from the German Archaeological Institute for one thousand Reichsmarks. The money was intended for the acquisition of material for her collection of

monuments on ancient theater (c.v., 1919), which eventually developed into her habilitation thesis, *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1920).

³⁶ Rodenwaldt had petitioned for her promotion two years earlier, in 1920, but the powers that be in Darmstadt had rejected the request at that time. In 1924, for financial reasons, the full lectureship was turned into a private lectureship, which drastically reduced her salary.

³⁷ “Since at this time woman lecturers can most likely not become regular professors for reasons of principle, Dr. Margarete Bieber cannot be considered, even though her scholarly achievements and success as a teacher at our state university have earned high praise.”

³⁸ Richard Delbrueck (1874-1957), *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (Berlin, 1929).

³⁹ Classical philologist R. Herzog had done field studies on Kos, to collect ancient inscriptions and to conduct systematic excavations, in the course of which he had discovered the Hellenistic Asclepius sanctuary, known to exist from ancient literature but never located. Back in 1907 Herzog had been able to gain the archaeologist Kurt Müller to work on the individual discoveries, but World War I as well as Müller’s appointment to professor in Göttingen delayed the project, so that in 1925 Herzog officially assigned the task to Bieber.

⁴⁰ One result of this trip was Bieber’s contribution on “Late Hellenistic Female Statues from Kos” in the *Festschrift* for Walther Amelung: “Späthellenistische Frauenstatuen aus Kos,” *Antike Plastik. Walther Amelung zum 60. Geburtstag* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928) 16-24. “Die koische Aphrodite des Praxiteles,” *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 34 (1923) 315-20. Her expected monograph on the Asclepieion discoveries, however, never came about, and Margarete Bieber returned the entire Kos manuscript to the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin. The Hellenistic sculptures of the island of Kos have meanwhile been presented by Renate Kabus-Preisshofen in *Die hellenistische Plastik der Insel Kos* (Berlin 1989), for which the author used Bieber’s collection of material. Since several of the pieces included by Bieber have been lost, her preliminary work is highly valuable today, even though it was never published.

⁴¹ She considered leaving Giessen and going to Kiel as early as 1925. The founder of the Giessen Institute, Bruno Sauer, whom she had met in Marburg in 1914 and who had been teaching at Kiel since 1909, had died there in 1919, but his daughter Hertha, who had lived by herself in Giessen during World War I and was also an archaeologist, was living there now.

⁴² Even Noack in Berlin, who had prevented Bieber from setting foot in the Berlin department after Loeschke’s death in 1915, “likes me because he knows that I am suffering under D.,”⁴² she wrote. Her plight was noticed outside of Giessen as well. Around 1925 Martin Schede wrote to Theodor Wiegand, then director of Berlin’s Collection of Antiquities: “Despite some obvious reservations, can’t you use Bieber in some capacity? In this case, the catalog of sculptures would be completed in no time; she is desperately unhappy in Giessen, feeling that Delbrueck is treating her badly. ...”⁴² Wiegand, however, who was wary of her known friend Rodenwaldt’s impact on Berlin’s museums, shunned the suggestion.

⁴³ = [FN 68] On top of the list of finalists for R. V. Delbrueck’s position was Herbert Koch (Jena), then came Georg Lippold (Erlangen), third was Ernst Langlotz (Würzburg), and fourth, Andreas Rumpf (Leipzig).

⁴⁴ = [FN 67] ** “... In evaluating her character as a scholar even the harshest critics, who deny that she rises above a decent average, commend her for being a hard worker, for her diligence, and her love of science, and expressly admit that she can match herself against many a full professor and, based on her accomplishments, surely would be a full professor herself by now if she were a man. However, the quite understandable bias against women as regular professors, which is difficult to eradicate from people’s minds, must not be the basis for a list of candidates. This mindset has been left behind legally by the constitution, and meanwhile by reality as well, since women have received appointments as full professors both in Germany and abroad. Margarete Bieber’s work on costumes illustrates that a woman can advance scholarship precisely on account of her feminine intuition into the past.” This special report also expresses the worry that the successor about to be appointed might use Giessen as a launching pad and, like Rodenwaldt and Delbrueck, leave Giessen after only a short while: “In our opinion, no one should ... regard the professorship for archeology at Giessen as a position for a researcher suitable—especially for young, promising talents—as a stepping stone for one’s career, as a transition stage just right for completing a larger work that is supposed to soon lead to another appointment. In special cases this may be true; we appointed Rodenwaldt with that understanding; and we recommended the substitute who is now leaving *unico loco* in order to bring a major scholarly force back into academia.”

⁴⁵ In his report Dr. Herzog also acknowledges that Dr. Bieber is lacking any trait of the genius and of the pioneer. "...in contrast to Dr. Bieber's main method of collecting, Langlotz seems to have a strong synthetic gift of dealing with minute details and viewing his work from the perspective of art theory, and he seems to be much richer in talent"

⁴⁶ Subsequently Herzog tried again and again to get a full professorship for Margarete Bieber. This becomes apparent in a confidential letter from Rodenwaldt to Herzog. Referring to his close personal friendship with Bieber, Rodenwaldt then cautiously distanced himself from her. He envisioned in advance the possibility that if Bieber were offered a position at Giessen, the regular professorship would be cut and the teaching position itself seriously jeopardized. "Various people had asked my opinion on the issue previously, but I always pointed out how complex this case is for me personally, and invariably refused to render my opinion. The issue is so complicated because Miss Bieber and I have been friends for a long time and I appreciate her accomplishments, and so I do hope that she will get a secure, tenured position. On the other hand, I believe it is in the interest of the university and our entire field, and therefore it is my wish, like yours, to leave all possibilities open in order to save the full professorship. ... As I told you in Hamburg, my opinion can be summarized quite succinctly as follows: As long as there is any chance of getting the full professorship back, one shouldn't do anything that might obstruct that possibility. Should it turn out to be entirely illusory, obtaining a regular associate professorship for Miss Bieber would seem the right thing to me. Yet putting this opinion down in writing is in this case particularly difficult, as the School of Humanities disagrees with me. ...I regret not being able to grant your request all the more so since I feel my share of responsibility for the entire matter on account of Bieber having qualified for a professorial position."

⁴⁷ Among her pupils was Joseph Schilp, who in the early '30s studied at Giessen under Margarete Bieber but also attended seminars and lectures of the Department of Classical Philology. A letter from Margarete Bieber to Herzog indicates that in 1930 Schilp was supposed to earn his doctorate under her: "Just to fill you in: I gave Schilp the topic 'The So-called Belgian Ware of the First Century A.D. in Mainz.' I didn't have the chance to see you discuss this topic. ..." This did not happen, for reasons we no longer know, but it could hardly have been Bieber's dismissal in 1933, since in those days dissertations did not take three years to complete. After the war, in 1947, Schilp earned his doctorate in Marburg with a study on "The Political Ideas and Problems during the Era of Domitian, as Contained in the Works of the Contemporary Poets Martial, Statius, and Silius Italicus." Subsequently he was a high school principal at the Rudolf-Koch-Gymnasium in Offenbach. Recently four Apulian vases were purchased for Giessen's collection of antiquities from Schilp's estate. Under Bieber's successor in Giessen, W.-H. Schuchardt, but inspired by Bieber, Hans E. Angermeier received his doctorate in 1935 with a dissertation on "The Alabastron: A Contribution to Lecythoi Research" (published in 1936 in Giessen).

⁴⁸ Wilhelm Gundel (1880-1945), *Dekane und dekanensternbilder* (Hamburg, 1936). Hans Georg Gundel (1912-1999), *Zodiakos. Tierkreisbilder im Altertum: kosmische Bezüge und Jenseitsvorstellungen im antiken Alltagsleben* (Mainz, 1992).

⁴⁹ Rodenwaldt wrote an obituary on Bruno Schröder, who was director of the national collection of sculptures of the Albertinum in Dresden from 1925 until his death in 1934. When Schröder was offered the position in Dresden, Martin Schede suggested that Margarete Bieber succeed him in Berlin.

⁵⁰ In the book *Ancient Copies: Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art* (1977), which appeared one year before her death, when she was ninety-eight years old, Margarete Bieber offers a review of her nearly life-long interest in ancient Greek clothing. Cf. her postcard from Berlin addressed to R. Herzog: "Today I demonstrated Greek clothing for a performance of *Orpheus and Eurydice* for an hour and a half to the choreographer, the head of the costume designer, a director, and a dancer of the Charlottenburg Opera. In return I received free tickets for myself and my nephew for an opera performance tomorrow. Tonight supper at Rodenwaldt's, yesterday at Neugebauer's. Otherwise only family so far, no museums." The topic was by no means an exclusive preoccupation: at the 1930 annual meeting of the German Association of Classical Philologists, which took place on 24 April 1930 in Bensheim on the Bergstrasse, for instance, she lectured on "Cretan-Mycenaean and Homeric Culture."

⁵¹ "There is no contradiction between Dr. Bieber not being considered in 1928 for the vacancy of regular professor of archeology and her now being the sole candidate. For one thing, no one on the earlier list of candidates is available for Giessen any longer; second, Dr. Bieber has published ... a number of particularly valuable articles since 1928 ...; finally, since according to the committee report no one is

superior to Dr. Bieber in terms of scholarly achievements and accomplishments as a teacher, her being the sole finalist is justified.”

⁵² Wilhelm Gundel, well-known historian of science, was her colleague at Giessen. Siegfried Loeschcke was the son of her former professor, and also an archaeologist; Bieber wrote his obituary, *AJA* 62 (1958) 105.

⁵³ Her publications reflect this new interest: “Die ältesten bildlichen Darstellungen der Hessen,” *Heimat im Bilde* (Giessen) No. 48, 29/11/1928. In this too she was probably influenced by Loeschcke.

⁵⁴ In the spring semesters 1925 and 1926 she conducted guided tours through the collection of casts, with an emphasis on works from the classical period; in the fall semester 1931–1932 she held a “Seminar for Beginners in the Museum of Casts of Greek Sculptures.” She also offered seminars for advanced students, along with F. Heichelheim: spring semester 1930, Greek and Roman Coins; spring semester 1931, Roman Coins; fall semester 1931–1932, Coins from the Roman Empire. Fritz Heichelheim was a pupil of the ancient historian Richard Laqueur at Giessen, who had supervised his Habilitation thesis. He taught mainly ancient history of economy as a “private lecturer” at Giessen from 1929 until his emigration in 1933. He died as a professor at the University of Toronto in 1968.

⁵⁵ She had become familiar with pieces of the Giessen collection—if only indirectly—for the first time in 1908 when the Vogell collection was up for sale. At that time—one year after receiving her Ph.D. —Margarete Bieber had published the most important vases, glasses, and terra-cotta statuettes from the Vogell collection in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst* (Magazine of Visual Arts). For the *Einzelaufnahmen* see supra, **note 13**. The series of “Single Photographic Frames of Ancient Sculptures” with commentaries was intended as the beginning of a “corpus statuarum antiquarum” and therefore comprised not only the inventory of the museum but also works circulating in the art trade as well as privately owned pieces. Photographs 3367 and 3368 depict three marble sculptures from Margarete Bieber’s own collection; their present location, like that of the collection’s other antiquities, is unknown.

⁵⁶ *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht* (Berlin, 1934; 2nd edition, 1967).

⁵⁷ Letter dated 25 February 1933 from Bieber to the president of the university: “I herewith wish to inform you that I have had a foster daughter, Ingeborg, b. 9 February 1927, since 17 December 1932. I will adopt her on 15 March 1933.”

⁵⁸ “She used to be of Jewish faith but left that community and is a member of the Ancient-Catholic parish in Frankfurt on the Main.” Report to the Senate of Giessen University, 30 March, 1919, concerning Margarete Bieber’s application for the Habilitation: Archive of the University, Giessen (UAG PrA Phil. 3.130 vom 30.3.1919). As a young adult, when she was attending the University in Bonn, she had joined the *Altkatholiken*, a group which broke with Rome over the issue of papal infallibility in 1870. She enjoyed reading the Bible and discussing theological questions, intellectually rather than passionately, and had a distaste for the Catholic religion.

⁵⁹ Record of the Reich Governor of 26 June 1933, effective 1 July 1933, pursuant to par. 4 of Germany’s Civil Code (Political Unreliability).

⁶⁰ Rudolf Herzog, who had to enforce the “Law on the Restoration of Professional Civil Servanthood” at Giessen University, clashed with the system. Although a member of the Nazi party since 1931, he had bestowed the degree of Philosophical Doctor on two “non-Aryans” (Eilhard Schlesinger and Grete Rosenberger) in 1932. Furthermore, as chancellor he had tried to prevent radical National Socialist students from systematically disturbing the lectures of politically disagreeable professors. When Herzog was (falsely) denounced to the authorities for having a Jewish mother-in-law, he was dismissed as chancellor on 13 October 1933.

⁶¹ George Jaffé and Julius Lewy went to the United States, Jaffé to become a professor at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and then to retire to Berkeley; Lewy to Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati.

⁶² Dear, highly esteemed Professor,

We have to our profound regret learned about your leaving the faculty of the University. We, your students, feel the urgent need at this time to assure you publicly of our unceasing loyalty to and reverence for you.

During our years as students we have come to know you as an excellent professor who, through her diligence, determination, and scientific method was a shining example of German scholarship to us. In your lectures you conveyed to us living knowledge of ancient life and ancient art, and in your seminars you gave us instructions on the scientific method and research. We are thinking with gratitude of the many

superbly organized and conducted excursions to the museums of western Germany that introduced us to the monuments of early Germany history and classic art. We are furthermore thinking of the many wonderful personal character traits you possess as a human being, which have drawn us to you and enabled us to assemble a work group that is based on mutual trust. You have understood every single one of us and helped each individual student by dispensing advice and by guiding him or her. We can safely state that the teacher-student relationship was nowhere as cordial as it was in the Archeology Department.

Finally, we still recall your patriotic attitude. We know that back when our native German soil was snatched away from us through the dictatorial order of Versailles you had rather sacrifice all your possessions than renounce your German citizenship. Dear Professor Bieber, please rest assured that calling ourselves your students will always fill us with pride and joy.

⁶³ On the PhD exams of students ousted by the laws of Spring 1933, still possible in the initial stages of the Nazi regime, see Panofsky, "Three Decades Art History," 321-22.

⁶⁴ Fritz M. Heichelheim later became professor of ancient history at Toronto and published a very successful textbook: Fritz Heichelheim and Cedric A. Yeo, *A History of the Roman People* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1962).

⁶⁵ For Dr. Bieber's career at Columbia University, see William Bell Dinsmoor, "The Department of Fine Arts and Archaeology," in *A History of the Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University* (New York, 1957) 252-69, especially 262-63. The Faculty Fellowship Fund of Columbia had provided the funds to invite four displaced scholars as "faculty guests": Margarete Bieber, the theologian Paul Tillich, the anthropologist Julius Lips, and the mathematician Stephan Warschawski: Donald Fleming, Bernard Baylin, *The Intellectual Migration* (Cambridge, MA, 1969) 212-213.

⁶⁶ The Archaeological Club was founded in 1921: Gisela M. A. Richter, *My Memoirs: Recollections of an Archaeologist's Life* (Rome, 1972) 34-35.

⁶⁷ Inge graduated from High School and college, married Dr. William S. Sachs and became the mother of Dr. Bieber's adored grandsons.

⁶⁸ Gustav Stresemann, 1878-1929, German Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1923-1929. Butler, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, 1890-1901, and President of the University, 1901-1945, tells of his friendship with Stresemann in his memoirs, *Recollections and Reflections: Across the Busy Years* (New York and London, 1940), 144, 303-04. The picture Dr. Bieber saw is probably the photograph, signed by Stresemann, reproduced facing page 144.

⁶⁹ *German Readings in the History and Theory of Fine Arts. I. Greek and Roman Art* (New York, 1946; rev. ed. 1950, 1958, reprint, 1968). Her friend Alice Muehsam, who taught the course after Bieber's retirement, added *German Readings II*, for medieval through modern art.

⁷⁰ *Laocoon: The Influence of the Group Since its Rediscovery* (New York, 1942; rev. ed. Detroit, 1967). See now Richard Brilliant, *My Laocoon: Alternative Claims to the Interpretation of Artworks*. California Studies in the History of Art. Discovery series 8 (Berkeley, CA, 2000).

⁷¹ For example the dictionary of ancient artists, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, edited by Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, writing all the articles on Greek sculptors from K to Z after Walther Amelung had given up doing them; and the *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen*, edited by her friend Georg Lippold after the illness and death of Paul Amdt. See bibliography, 1929, 1931, 1933, 1937, 1947 (Thieme-Becker), cf. *Colliers Encyclopedia* 1956; 1938, 1940, 1943, 1947 (*Einzelaufnahmen*).

⁷² In her "Memoirs" she wrote at length of her students: Sidney Markman, who wrote his dissertation on *The Horse in Greek Art* (Baltimore, 1943); Penelope Dimitrov and her unpublished dissertation on *Color in Greek Sculpture*, Thalia Phillis Howe, Alfred Russell, Cecil Golann, Cecilia Sieu-Ling Zung, and others.

⁷³ She wrote necrologies in the *American Journal of Archaeology* and the *American Journal of Philology* for Ernst Pfuhl (1941), Johannes Boehlau (1942), Gerhart Rodenwaldt, Heinrich Bulle, Karl Anton Neugebauer (1946), Hans Schrader, Ernst Fiechter (1949), Camillo Praschniker, Carl Watzinger (1950), Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1953), Ludwig Curtius, Georg Lippold (1955), Siegfried Loeschke, Arnold von Salis (1958), and Franz Oelmann (1964); for Alice Muehsam in the *Art Journal* (1968). Her last publication was "Otto Brendel: A Memorial Notice," in *Archaeological News* 5 (1976) 3-4.

⁷⁴ Many, like Hans Gundel, son of the famous historian of science and himself also a professor at Giessen, long kept in touch with her. Closest to her were three doctoral students: Ernst Rink, her assistant, who wrote on the representation of the personification of the Roman Genius (1933). Karl Bettermann, who wrote

on Roman ceramics in Germany (1932), died in World War II. Julius Froeber wrote an important work on archaic and early classical Greek metopes (1933). Hermann Klöter wrote on the Greek sculptor Myron; Alfons Beck, who started work with her but finished under another professor, wrote on the Christian angels and their pagan prototypes (1936).

⁷⁵ Schede had evidently tried to avoid terminating Margarete Bieber as a member of the German Archaeological Institute. According to his denazification documents in the archive of the Antiquities Collection in Berlin, his endeavors were successful.

⁷⁶ For Otto J. Brendel (1901-1973), see William M. Calder III, in Larissa Bonfante, Helga von Heintze, eds., *In Memoriam Otto J. Brendel. Essays in Archaeology and the Humanities* (Mainz, 1976) x-xi. Brendel, who died a year after his retirement, was the author of *Etruscan Art* (Harmondsworth, 1978, 2nd ed. New Haven, CT, 1995). *Prolegomena to a Book on Roman Art*. *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 1953; expanded to *Prolegomena to the Study of Roman Art* (New Haven, CT, 1979). "The Scope and Temperament of Erotic Art in the Greco-Roman World," in Theodore Bowie, Cornelia V. Christenson, eds., *Studies in Erotic Art* (New York, London, 1970) 3-107. Rudolf Wittkower (1901-1971), "a dynamic scholar from Germany, who became a giant in English art history before repeating that achievement in America" (Eisler, *Kunstgeschichte American Style*" 609), was the author of *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600-1750* (1958, often reprinted, to 1999), *Born Under Saturn* (New York, 1963), *Gian Lorenzo Bernini: the Sculptor of the Roman Baroque* (1955).

⁷⁷ She became a United States citizen 26 September 1940.

⁷⁸ *AJA* 46 (1942) 146. On "Anglo-Saxon positivism which is, in principle, distrustful of abstract speculation," see Panofsky, "Three Decades of Art History," 329.

⁷⁹ Panofsky, "Three Decades of Art History," 321-46; Eisler, "*Kunstgeschichte American Style*," 544-629.

⁸⁰ She received such apparently contradictory criticism as the following: "Controversy lurks on almost every page. . . . In general, Miss Bieber's positions are marked by conservatism and caution," Roy C. Flickinger, review of *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (1939), in *Classical Weekly* 35 (1940) 71.

⁸¹ "Three Decades of Art History," 333.

⁸² I owe this observation to my colleague, Kenan Erim. Of *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, to which he constantly referred in his study of the sculpture from his excavation at Aphrodisias, he said "Everyone criticized it, and everyone used it."

⁸³ *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1955; rev. ed. 1961) vii.

⁸⁴ On the role of the New School for Social Research and its director, Alvin Johnson, who founded it in order to help refugee scholars carry on their academic careers, see Maurice R. Davie, *Refugees in America* (New York and London, 1947) 303, 317. Donald Fleming, Bernard Baylin, *The Intellectual Migration* (Cambridge, MA, 1969) 212, 384, 391.

⁸⁵ G.M.A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* (London, 1965).

⁸⁶ **Supra, notes 39-40.**

⁸⁷ *Ancient Copies: Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art* (New York, 1977) Preface, v: "I had already written some chapters in German when I had to leave Germany and emigrated to the United States. Bruno Schröder [the scholar and artist with whom she had been collaborating] took his life when he was persecuted by the Nazis for his anti-Hitler attitude."

⁸⁸ *Antike Denkmäler* went to Cuba, purchased by the Count de Lagunies, a collector, then Minister of Education in Cuba.

⁸⁹ Bianca Maria Felletti Maj (1908-1979), *La tradizione italica nell'arte romana* (Rome, 1977).

⁹⁰ Raissa Calza, *Ostia* (Florence, 1959); *Scavi di Ostia: I ritratti* (Rome, 1964-1977); *Iconografia romana imperiale* (Rome, 1972).

⁹¹ Wolfgang Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, Hermine Speier, ed. (4th ed., Tübingen, 1963-72).

⁹² Luisa Banti (1894-1978) taught at Columbia as visiting professor 1953-54. She died 17 February 1978, a week before Margarete Bieber, at her home in Florence, after having finished her book on the excavations of Haghia Triada. Paola Zancani Montuoro, Umberto Zanotti-Bianco, *L'Heraion alla foce del Sele* (Rome, 1951-1954).

⁹³ "Der Mysteriensaal der Villa Item," *Jdl* 43 (1928) 298-330; "The Mystery Frescoes in the Mystery Villa of Pompeii," *Review of Religion* 2 (1937) 3-11.

⁹⁴ Salomon Reinach, review of *Griechische Kleidung* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928), *Revue Archéologique* 28 (1928) 164. When Dr. Bieber went to Paris after World War I, Salomon Reinach came to meet her at the train station. She was afraid to find the French scholars hostile to her as a German, but Reinach allayed her fears at once, saying, "Madame, tous les savants vous attendent avec impatience."

⁹⁵ *AJA* 79 (1975) 147.

⁹⁶ National Endowment for the Humanities; renewed for 1977. "NEH Grant Profiles: The Senioreest Fellow," *National Endowment for the Humanities* 11, 2 (March 1972) 3.

⁹⁷ The first appeared in 1973: "The Development of Portraiture on Roman Republican Coins," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. Hildegard Temporini, I.4 (Berlin, 1973) 871-98. The other two, on coins of the Principate and of the later Empire, she would have finished had her numismatic assistant not left.

⁹⁸ Rita Rief, "At 91, A Historian Relates the Story of Her Own Life," *New York Times*, 22 May 1971.

⁹⁹ "Roman Copies as Roman Art," *Columbia Forum* 13 (1970) 36-39. *Ancient Copies: Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art* (New York, 1977). The book was criticized: scholarship and ideas were said to be dated. Soon after came Brunilde S. Ridgway's *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture: the Problem of the Originals*. Jerome lectures, 15th series (Ann Arbor, MI, 1984).