# **Curt (Kurt) Sigmar Gutkind**

#### Go to personal file

He considered Fascist Italy his «true homeland», where he was a student of philology and a lecturer in German. He was in Paris when he was expelled from the University of Heidelberg in 1933. He searched for jobs in France and then in England using his personal connections and through the many organizations that existed for German refugees. He also asked for help from both William Beveridge and Benito Mussolini, whom he admired unconditionally. Due to special merits, he was granted Italian citizenship in 1936 while living in Oxford, but with the racial laws, his citizenship was taken away. After the war declaration, he was considered an *enemy alien*.

A student passionate about Italy

Curt Gutkind was born in Mannheim on 29 September 1896 to Albert and Emile Brückmann. Both were physicians and of Jewish religion, as declared on his birth certificate<sup>1</sup>. He had graduated from the Großherzoglichen Karl Friedrichs-Gymnasium. After a period on the front as a soldier, he resumed his studies in Romance languages and Italian in 1919, first in Frankfurt and later in Heidelberg, where he obtained his doctorate in 1922. In fact, between these two academic experiences in Germany, he spent some time in Florence, where he stayed with Professor Giuseppe Rosselli on Via Sant'llario a Colombaia 4 bis, near Porta Romana. In October 1920, he applied to the Facoltà di filosofia e filologia [School of Philosophy and Philology] at the Istituto di studi superiori [Institute for Advanced Studies] for the 1920-21 academic year. He was not admitted as a third-year student as he had requested, but rather as a second-year student because it turned out that he had not completed his second year of studies at Heidelberg. However, he Link to other connected Lives on the move:

Gino Arias Vinicio Barocas Franco Bruno Averardi Marion Cave Rosselli Ernst Heinitz Leonardo Olschki

<sup>1</sup> ASUFI, AC, SS, f. «Gutkind, Curt», the birth certificate in German, presented for matriculation in Florence, is dated Mannheim, 30 October 1920.

changed his mind six months later and withdrew his application, claiming that he wanted to return to Mannheim, where his parents resided, and that he wanted to re-enroll at the university in Heidelberg<sup>2</sup>. Here, in 1922, he defended a doctoral thesis titled «Die heroisch-komischen Stilelemente in den "Maccheronee" des Teofilo Folengo (Merlin Cocai) mit Ausblicken auf Alessandro Tassoni und Nicolas Boileau»; Leonardo Olschki served as his advisor. For a brief time, he taught at a high school in Baden, and then returned to Florence.

In November 1923, Giorgio Pasquali, who was professor of Greek literature and, since 1924, of classical philology at the Istituto di studi superiori, nominated him to the Facoltà for the position of lecturer in German, a position that Pasquali himself had held during the 1918-20 biennium. Pasquali's nomination passed from the dean of the Facoltà to the Istituto's superintendent, who then passed it onto the Minister of Education; it was approved effective from 1 January 1924 until 30 September<sup>3</sup>. Gutkind was already confirmed to receive the yearly pay of 6,000 liras until the 1926-1927 academic year, but as of 1 April 1927 the German language course was assigned to Franco Bruno Averardi (who, in turn, left for the United States two years later) because Gutkind had resigned earlier, between January and February<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., his first application for admission addressed to the superintendent of the Istituto di studi superiori, n.p., 20 October 1920, shows a note in pencil on why he should be admitted as a second-year rather than a third-year student. This document is followed by his certified application for admission addressed to the dean of the Facoltà di Filosofia e filologia, Florence, 16 December 1920, and the withdrawal of his application, Florence, 18 May 1921. His address and family data are on his matriculation document, n.d., ivi.

<sup>3</sup> ASUFI, AC, ISS, *Carteggio generale*, 10c, 1923, Olinto Marinelli to the superintendent, Florence, 23 November 1923; response from the Ministry of Education, Rome, 5 January 1924; and of superintendent Filippo Torrigiani to the dean, n.p., 10 January 1924.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 10c, 1925, Olinto Marinelli, communication of the Facoltà's resolution to the rector of the University of Florence, Florence, 30 May 1935; ibid., 10c, 1926, rectorial decree of 23 March 1926, recorded in vol. I, p. 126; note on teaching assignments of the dean, Paolo Emilio Pavolini, to the rector, Florence, [?] September 1926; ibid., 10c, 1927, note of the dean, Paolo Emilio Pavolini, to the rector, Florence, April 12, 1927, on Gutkind's resignation.

## Admirer of *il Duce*

In 1927, in fact, Gutkind had a primary goal: to release what he, as the editor, defined as «a decisively pro-fascist book». The text was Mussolini e il suo fascismo, a collection of writings from various Italian intellectuals who were close to the Duce, which was published with an introduction written by Mussolini himself, in Italian first and then in German<sup>5</sup>. The first author was Gino Arias who had been, since 1924, full professor at the Facoltà di Giurisprudenza [School of Law] of the university of Florence, where the climate had rapidly changed in a few years' time. Salvemini was professor at the Facoltà di Lettere [School of Letters], where many had signed the Croce manifesto (including the then-antifascist Pasquali), until 1925. In 1926, the dean was Paolo Emilio Pavolini, a scholar of Sanskrit and the father of the squadrista Alessandro. The English lecturer Marion Rosselli (née Cave), a notorious antifascist, immediately submitted her resignation<sup>6</sup>. So did Gutkind later on but for completely different reasons, as a German lecturer who admired Mussolini as a leader, as the reincarnation of a Renaissance condottiero<sup>7</sup>.

In 1928, at the age of 32, Gutkind returned to Mannheim. He founded, with others, the Dolmetscher Institut, the first European school of translation and interpretation at the Handelshochschule Mannheim. He became a professor there and its director, while concurrently lecturing at the University of Heidelberg<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Gino Arias, Balbino Giuliano, Ernesto Codignola, Alberto De Stefani, *Mussolini e il suo fascismo*, edited by Curt Gutkind with an introduction by Benito Mussolini, Florence, Le Monnier, 1927, and trans. *Mussolini und sein Fascismus*, hrsg. von Curt Sigmar Gutkind, eingeleitet von Benito Mussolini, Heidelberg, Merlinverlag, 1928.

<sup>6</sup> ASUFi, AC, *Carteggio Generale*, 10c, 1926, note on the teaching assignments from the dean, Emilio Paolo Pavolini, to the rector, Florence, [...] September 1926.

<sup>7</sup> C. Gutkind (edited by), *Mussolini e il suo fascismo*, cit., pp. 19 and 28-30.

<sup>8</sup> *Curt Sigmar Gutkind* <<u>https://de.wikipedia.org</u>> (accessed 22 January 2019); Andreas F. Kelletat, *Curt Sigmar Gutkind*, 1896-1940, in *Germersheimar Übersetzerlexikon* <<u>http://www.uelex.de</u>> (accessed on January 22, 2019).

### Fired by Hitler. Helped by Mussolini?

He learned that, on account of not being Aryan, he had been fired from the University of Heidelberg between April and May of 1933, while he was in Paris conducting research at the National library. This information appears in the file that the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars opened on Gutkind after his case was flagged to Stephen Duggan, in April 1933, by Horatio Krans, an American professor of literature and, since 1930, the director of the American University Union in Paris, where he lived for a decade<sup>9</sup>. Among Gutkind's merits, Krans considered his recent discovery of a rare commentary on Dante and the fact that his father-in-law served as the mayor of Mannheim for many years. However, he had a dependent wife and mother, despite the fact that his wife, Laura Maria Kutzer, was an esteemed professional translator of French and Italian, of work, for example, by Luigi Russo and Ugo Ojetti<sup>10</sup>.

Gutkind was notified of the April 6 ministerial decree of expulsion on the 17th of May. He took immediate action to find other accommodations through organizations that helped German refugees such as the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the National Coordinating Committee for Aid to Refugees and Emigrants Coming from Germany, and the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society of America. The New York-based general manager of the HIASA reported his case to the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars. In November of 1933, he began to work in Paris as an interpreter at HICEM, a group which comprised of the aforementioned

<sup>9</sup> NYPL, MAD, ECADFS, I.B. *Non grantees*, b. 66, f. 45, «Gutkind, Curt Sigmar», 1933-37, letter by Horatio Krans to Stephen Duggan, 11 April 1933, and unsigned record card, n.d., indicating H. Krans as a source. Krans was also the director of the Columbia University War Service Bureau in Paris from 1918-19.

<sup>10</sup> At the time, for example, she had already translated Luigi Russo, *Italienische Erzähler (1860-1926)*, Heidelberg, Groos, 1927 («Aus dem Italienischen übertragen und nach Angaben der Verfassers vervollständigt von Laura M. Kutzer»).

Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society of America, the Jewish Colonization Association of Paris, and the Emigdirect of Berlin<sup>11</sup>.

Gutkind also wrote directly to Mussolini. His private secretarial office forwarded requests from important German Jewish refugees, who asked to settle in Italy, to the Foreign Ministry. Among the many requests, in 1933, Gutkind's letter appears to be the only letter to arrive in the Duce's hands, as he certainly remembered the editor of the volume for which he himself had written an introduction<sup>12</sup>. Gutkind himself reminded Mussolini, highlighting how his German colleagues in the Weimar Republic would never forgive him for having celebrated *Mussolini e il suo fascismo* and denied him the right to hold a university post (although in other documents he claimed the contrary). Having lost his job in Germany, he wanted to found, either in Rome or in another Italian city, an institute for translators similar to the one he directed in Mannheim. Mussolini noted in the margins of his response letter that Gutkind «could come to Rome if he wants to». However, as it was specified to the Italian consul to Mannheim, he should not count on the support of the head of state for his project<sup>13</sup>.

#### **Recommended to Beveridge**

On 15 June 1934, his position as HICEM's interpreter in Paris came to an end – it lasted exactly seven months. He had to find another job, and possibly not in France. The president of the JCA and the German Jewish Emigration Council in London, located at Upper Woburn Place, sent Gutkind's curriculum

<sup>11</sup> NYPL, MAD, ECADFS, I.B. *Non grantees*, b. 66, f. 45, «Gutkind, Curt Sigmar», 1933-1937, presentation letters to the ECADGS for Gutkind are dated 8 April 1934 and 4 May 1934. The HIAS or Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, still active, is a non-profit organization that was instituted in 1881; the acronym HICEM derived from the names of the three entities that made it up, the HIAS, the JCA, and the Emigdirect. Gutkind's position at the HICEM is reported in BLO, MS, SPSL, b. 495/1, f. «Gutkind, Curt Sigmar», a questionnaire that he filled out and undersigned on 5 September 1934.

<sup>12</sup> See on this specifically Klaus Voigt, *Il rifiugiato precario. Gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945*, vol. I, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1993, pp. 22-23.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 23n, citing the papers from the Archivio storico diplomatico of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

vitae to the secretary general of the Academic Assistance Council. In his letter, the Baron Osmond D'Avigdor Goldsmid referenced the excellent work that the German professor was doing in Paris for Jewish refugees, and implored Walter Adams to remind Sir William Beveridge about Gutkind, as he understood that the two knew each other personally. Five days later, the secretary general thanked the baronet, assuring him that he was paying special attention to this case and that he had already reported it to Beveridge<sup>14</sup>.

The news was evidently relayed to Gutkind, who on 8 May, wrote a letter directly to the already then very well-known Beveridge. Gutkind reminded him that he had the honor of meeting him three years prior, to enter into an agreement for a student exchange program between the London School of Economics, where Beveridge served as president, and Mannheim's Handelshochschule, where Gutkind served as director. The exchange at the time was greatly successful, and he now hoped that due to the political situation that had developed in Germany for non-Aryans, the president could help him find a fitting job in academia<sup>15</sup>. Here was his response:

I was very sorry to hear that you had had to leave Germany and that you have been ill since and wish there were something encouraging I could say to you. I am afraid, however, that there are no openings at all here at the School, and the only thing I can do is to pass your letter and the particulars you sent me on to the Academic Assistance Council, which was established for the purpose of helping displaced teachers<sup>16</sup>.

Sir Beveridge did not hesitate to add that the AAC has limited funds, and that there likely would not be much that they could do. Beveridge sent to the Academic Assistance Council not only Gutkind's letter, whose original can be found in the SPSL file, but also a copy of his response. One wonders whether he submitted his reply because he wanted his message of substantial closure

<sup>14</sup> NYPL, MAD, ECADFS, I.B. *Non grantees*, b. 66, f. 45, «Gutkind, Curt Sigmar», 1933-1937, letter from Osmond D'Avigdor Goldsmid to Walter Adams, n.p., but London, 19 April 1934, and response from W. Adams, London, 24 May 1934.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., C. Gutkind to W. Beveridge, Bois-Colombes, 8 May 1934, letter in French.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., W. Beveridge to C. Gutkind, 11 May 1934.

to be read also by the executives of the British organization who had given him the case of this German philologist.

The fact of the matter is that Gutkind did not receive any support even from them.

## The international network for German refugees

In the meantime, the only result that he was able to achieve for his request was the possibility of teaching a course, unpaid, on humanism in France and Italy for the School of Letters of the Sorbonne. He was given a certificate for this that was signed, without a word of praise, by L. Delacroix on 28 June 1934; he immediately sent it to the secretary of the Academic Assistance Council as they seem to have agreed upon in previous exchanges not documented in the file. Based on Walter Adams' response of 19 July, we know that Gutkind asked to be financed by the AAC so that he could keep teaching that course in Paris without pay.

His request was rejected. Adams wished that he could receive something from Bernard Kahn (thus referring to the American Joint Distribution Committee in Paris)<sup>17</sup>. Gutkind also asked for help in Geneva. From there Walter Kotschnig, an Austrian Jew who was the director of the High Commission for Refugees (Jews and Others) Coming from Germany, suggested that he be added to the special list of 25 *displaced German scholars* who had received no assistance with food or else, and for whom they were considering making an international appeal. Would the Academic Assistance Council have been fine with this<sup>18</sup>? The is no answer.

<sup>17</sup> BLO, MS, SPSL, b. 495/1, f. «Gutkind, Curt Sigmar», letter from C. Futman to W. Adams, 30 June 1934, with attached the certificate of L. Delacroix, 28 June 1934, and the response from the secretary general W. Adams to C. Gutkind, 19 July 1934. As regards the identification of Kahn, see James Grover McDonald, *Archives of the Holocaust. An International Collection of Selected Documents*, vol. VII, New York, Garland, 1990, p. 128.

<sup>18</sup> lbid., letter from Walter Kotschnig to W. Adams, Geneva 24 July 1934. Kotschnig (1901-1985) was the secretary general of the International Student Service (ISS) in Geneva from 1927 to 1934 and in 1934-35, was a member of the Society of Nations as the director of the High commission for German refugees (Jews and non-Jews). The following year, he emigrated with his wife to the United States where in 1942 he obtained citizenship. In 1981, he gifted the

On 5 September 1934, when he finally formally applied for assistance to the London AAC and filled out their questionnaire, he stated that with his savings, he could have survived for a few more months<sup>19</sup>. He filled out his application in German, writing down seven names that AAC could use as references. The only Italians on the list were Giulio Bertoni and Cesare Foligno, who was at Oxford. He stated he knew eight languages, and was a philologist specializing in Italian and French. However, he also proposed that he could work for industrial or commercial businesses as an interpreter, and cited his experiences in this field. He was willing to move to any country, except where the weather was too hot, to Japan but not to China, to South America or the Soviet Union if necessary<sup>20</sup>.

Two months later, on 5 November 1934, he also sent an application to the Emergency Committee of New York. This time he only included three Italians as references: the usual Giulio Bertoni from the University of Rome and two former ministers who had a strong fascist reputation, Giovanni Gentile and Giuliano Balbino, the latter was the co-author of his book on Mussolini<sup>21</sup>. On 10 November, he sent another letter to the secretary general of the Academic Assistance Council, written in French and in a state of desperation: while in Paris, he had gotten sick with pneumonia and had thus been unable to search for work. He was in an extreme state of need and urged the council to consider him, and possibly recommend him for a position as an Italian lecturer at the University of Cape Town in South Africa, a job posting that he saw in «The Times» on 7 November<sup>22</sup>.

*Walter Maria Kotschnig Papers* (1923-1984) to the M.E. Grenander Department of Special Collections & Archives, University Libraries, University at Albany, State University of New York <<u>https://library.albany.edu</u>> (accessed 21 November 2018).

<sup>19</sup> BLO, MS, SPSL, b. 495/1, f. «Gutkind, Curt Sigmar», questionnaire completed and undersigned on 5 September 1934.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., all documentation cited in the text.

<sup>21</sup> NYPL, MAD, ECADFS, I.B. *Non grantees*, b. 66, f. 45, «Gutkind, Curt Sigmar», 1933-37, letter from C. Gutkind, 5 November 1934.

<sup>22</sup> BLO, MS, SPSL, b. 495/1, f. «Gutkind, Curt Sigmar», letter from C. Gutkind to the Academic Assistance Council, 10 November 1934.

The international appeal that was being discussed for months among various international organizations assisting German refugees had not officially been launched yet, and it was unclear as to whether it ever would. But should this have happened, Gutkind could be sure that his appeal would be included. This was the only promise that the Academic Assistance Council, in fact its *assistant secretary*, made him in 1934<sup>23</sup>.

## From Paris to Oxford: practically no chance

A new opportunity came up for Curt Gutkind – teaching a course as an Italian lecturer at Oxford with a small salary. It was better than getting no money at all at the Sorbonne, but still not enough. To get help, Gutkind turned to the Fellowship Program for the Social Sciences in Europe for the Rockefeller Foundation, that was headquartered in Paris. Even his wife pleaded his case, calling the American administrator Tracy Barrett Kittredge, who in turn submitted the request to the Academic Assistance Council, although knowing that they had already seen this case and had thus far not deemed it eligible<sup>24</sup>. Gutkind did not wait for a reply and on 15 January 1935, he went to the office of William Adams in London, where he had just arrived. The next day, Adams wrote again to Kittredge for clarification: he could not have told Gutkind what he had reported, namely that Oxford had to ask the AAC or the Rockefeller Foundation for a financial contribution on Gutkind's behalf. In his opinion, the German scholar had misunderstood, even in regard to his salary which he declared to be 100 pounds at one time and 200 pounds at another time. On the other hand, Gutkind's interlocutors had kept passing his case back and forth for months to no end. He and his wife were in dire need because

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., letter from C.M. Skepper to C. Gutkind, 28 November 1934.

<sup>24</sup> lbid., note from Tracy Barrett Kittredge about a telephone interview with Mrs. Gutkind, sent to C.M. Skepper from the AAC, Paris, 19 December 1934. Tracy Barrett Kittredge (1891-1957), scholar of social sciences, taught anthropology at Oxford and history in California. He had considerable experience as a member of the American Commission for Relief in Belgium during the Great War and afterwards in the League of Red Cross Societies. See Hoover Institution Archives, *Tracy Barrett Kittredge papers (1910-1957)* <a href="http://oac.cdlib.org">http://oac.cdlib.org</a>> (accessed 21 November 2018).

that salary would have arrived in any case at the end of the term, as the German refugee explained while assuring that Oxford Professor Hermann Fiedler was available to release his references<sup>25</sup>. Kittredge's unequivocal response was on official letterhead from New York's Rockefeller Foundation: there was «no possibility [...] of our making a grant to Oxford University to supplement the salary of Dr. Gutkind as lecturer in Italian»<sup>26</sup>.

One of the Council's internal notes, from 22 May 1935, reaffirmed that there was «practically no chance of an AAC grant» for Gutkind<sup>27</sup>. The writer of the note, whose initials are illegible, predicted that Gutkind would soon ask for more assistance. Unofficially, it was already known that Oxford would not give him a permanent position. The listed source was «Pelizzi (UCL)», namely Camillo Pellizzi, a devout Catholic professor of Italian at University College London and state delegate of the Fasci in Great Britain and Ireland. He told Adams that he could give the German lecturer a position as a tutor once a week at University College, but nothing more<sup>28</sup>.

## A future in Italy?

Two days later, the official news was that his current job would be renewed for another year, and therefore Pellizzi could have easily «used Gutkind's services». Gutkind seems to have been applying for Italian citizenship: this was a two-year-long process, but at the end, he could be considered for an academic position in Italy. So Gutkind believed with a certain optimism<sup>29</sup>. By law, one could be naturalized if he or she had been an Italian resident for five years, or two years for those who were married to an Italian, as was the case

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., the papers that are being referred to in the order are, copied with only initials, W. A[dams], London, 16 January 1935; C. Gutkind to the general secretary AAC [W. Adams], 16 January 1934 where he mentions the German scholar Hermann Georg Fiedler (1862-1945), naturalized as English in 1911.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., letter from T.B. Kittredge to W. Adams, 1 February 1935.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., note, n.p., 22 May 1935, which records an encounter between W. A.[dams] and C. Pellizzi about Gutkind, and a letter from W. Adams to C. Pellizzi, 24 May 1935.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., note, n.p., 22 May 1935.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

for Ernst Heintz, or for someone who had «rendered notable service to Italy». However, a regulation was passed in December of 1934 that gave the government permission to grant citizenship without any of the aforementioned requirements, making it totally up to its discretion<sup>30</sup>. Nevertheless, it was unrealistic that Italian universities might easily recruit German individuals expelled by the Nationalist Socialist regime even if they were naturalized and fervent fascists, such as Curt Gutkind. Pellizzi too was trying to return to Italy after many years spent in England, and he succeeded. He would hold the chair of Fascist history and doctrine in Florence in 1939, after having held this position in Messina in 1938<sup>31</sup>. In 1936, Gutkind joined London's Fascio, which was founded by Pellizzi himself, and in April of that same year, he immediately obtained Italian citizenship, likely out of some merit<sup>32</sup>.

But he never returned to Italy because in that same period, he was called to Bedford College for the *readership* in Italian language and literature effective 1 October 1936, as stated in a short article published by «The Times» in May. Bedford was merely an all-girls college, but founded in 1859, it was the oldest college in the area and was in the midst of a period of growth. At the age of forty, Gutkind had finally found himself a professional occupation. It seems that the Council learned about this news through the media, and the ECADGS in New York received vague information the following year<sup>33</sup>. Gutkind went also back to writing: his book titled *Cosimo de' Medici, pater patriae* was released by Oxford University Press in 1938.

<sup>30</sup> RDL n. 1997, 1 December 1934. See on this K. Voigt, *Il rifugio precario*, cit., pp. 41-42.

<sup>31</sup> Mariuccia Salviati, *Pellizzi, Camillo*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 82, Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2015 <<u>http://www.treccani.it</u>> (accessed 22 November 2018), and Sandro Rogari, *Il Cesare Alfieri da Istituto a Facoltà di Scienze Politiche*, in *L'università degli studi di Firenze 1924-2004*, Florence, Olschki, 2004, pp. 677-739: 695-696.

<sup>32</sup> Cfr. K. Voigt, *Il rifugio precario*, cit., p. 42.

<sup>33</sup> BLO, MS, SPSL, b. 495/1, f. «Gutkind, Curt Sigmar», copy of the short article of «The Times», 23 May 1936. A slightly vague update on Gutkind's position also in the NYPL, MAD, ECADFS, I.B. *Non grantees*, b. 66, f. 45, «Gutkind, Curt Sigmar», 1933-37, letter from J. Whythe to the Chancellor of Washington University in Saint Louis George R. Troop, 14 May 1937.

## From Italian citizen to a stateless enemy alien

In 1938, however, the situation suddenly deteriorated: with the promulgation of the racial laws, he lost his citizenship. He could not even re-enter Italy where his Catholic wife had a home near Bassano, in Veneto, where they went every year<sup>34</sup>. Gutkind turned to the Duce, stressing that he had always publicly manifested his faith in Fascist Italy and that he considered it to be his «true homeland». Both he and his wife pleaded with Balbino Giuliano, whom they knew at least since 1927 and who had a notable political career<sup>35</sup>. Having become stateless, Curt Gutkind decided to apply for English citizenship in January of 1940, on the basis of having already resided in the country for five years. His application was still unanswered when he found himself to be considered an enemy alien. On 11 June 1940, the day after Italy's entrance in World War II, he was arrested and sent to an internment camp in Bury, Lancashire. He remained there for three weeks, and it was impossible for his wife to see him during this time. The president of Bedford College for Women filed a request with the Minister of the Interior that Curt Gutkind's situation be reconsidered on account of his status as a «distinguished scholar». Evidently, Miss Geraldine Jebb was familiar with the regulations that could be appealed to release German and Italian scholars and scientists who fled to England<sup>36</sup>, as was the case with Vinicio Barocas.

There was not enough time. Jebb's letter arrived on the 6th of July; just a few days prior, Gutkind had embarked on the British ship Arandora Star, which was going to deport him to a prison camp in Canada.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., note, n.p., 22 May 1935, on the house in Bassano; see Christopher Duggan, *Il popolo del Duce. Storia emotiva dell'Italia fascista*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2013, *ad indicem*.

<sup>35</sup> C. Gutkind to B. Mussolini, 3 September 1938, in Paola Frandini, *Ebreo, tu non esisti! Le vittime delle Leggi razziali scrivono a Mussolini*, Rome, Manni, 2007, pp. 95-96.

<sup>36</sup> Geraldine Emma May Jebb (aka Gem) (1886-1959) with an education in economics studies, directed Bedford College from 1929 to 1951. She was active in the movement that assisted refugees from Nazism, and the cousin of Eglantyne Jebb (1876-1928), the founder of Save the Children. For the *Bedford College Papers*, see <<u>http://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk</u>> (accessed 30 January 2019).

He died while on board the ship on 2 July 1940 – the Germans torpedoed his ship in the Atlantic Ocean<sup>37</sup>. Along with him, another 800 interned Italians and Germans lost their lives. Gutkind's body was never found.

The secretary of the SPRL, Miss Esther Simpson, did not believe that there were any Italian refugees on board the Arandora. In her heartfelt note to the president of Bedford College (who advised her of this disaster), she observed: «Dr. Gutkind was not considered an Italian refugee and the fact that he was a refugee from Germany was overlooked»<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> In the list of the Anglo-Italian Family History Society, *Arandora Star Italian Victims*, residing in the UK, including Gutkind <<u>http://anglo-italianfhs.org.uk</u>> (accessed 25 January 2019). Vinicio Barocas had better fate, as he embarked on the following ship.

<sup>38</sup> BLO, MS, SPSL, b. 495/1, f. «Gutkind, Curt Sigmar», letter from Esther Simpson to G. Jebb, 16 July 1940.

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- With Karl Wolfskehl, *Das Buch vom Wein. Aus allen Zeiten und Breiten*, München, Im Hyperion Verlag, 1927.
- With Rudolf Ibel, Luc Durtain, *Fritz von Unruh. Auseinandersetzung mit dem Werk*, Frankfurt am Main, Frankfurter Societäts-Druckerei, 1927.
- Das Buch der Tafelfreuden. Aus allen Zeiten und Breiten gesammelt, Leipzig, Hyperion, 1927.
- Gino Arias, Balbino Giuliano, Ernesto Codignola, Alberto De Stefani, *Mussolini e il suo fascismo*, edited by Curt Gutkind, with an introduction by Benito Mussolini, Heidelberg-Florence, Merlin-Le Monnier, 1927.
- Gino Arias et alii, *Mussolini und sein Fascismus*, herausgegeben von Curt Sigmar Gutkind, eingeleitet von Benito Mussolini, Heidelberg, Merlin, 1928.
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Translated by Domenic Campagna Setaro

Cite as: Patrizia Guarnieri, *Curt (Kurt) Sigmar Gutkind*, in Ead., *Intellectuals Displaced from Fascist Italy. Migrants, Exiles and Refugees Fleeing for Political and Racial Reasons,* Firenze, Firenze University Press, 2019-<<u>http://intellettualinfuga.fupress.com/en></u> e-ISBN: 978-88-6453-872-3 © 2019- Author(s) Open Access article published under license CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Publication date: 16 February 2020.