

Daniel R. Schwartz

Between Jewish Posen and Scholarly Berlin

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The Life and Letters of Philipp Jaffé

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In Memory of Herbert Arthur Strauss (1918–2005)

ת.נ.צ.ב.ה

May his soul be bound up in the bundle of the living



Philipp Jaffé, 1819–1870

Preface

This volume offers a reconstruction of the life and career of a German Jewish medievalist and a collection of his letters. It seems that I should explain, in this preface, how this project on the nineteenth century grew out of my work in my regular field, which is the study of ancient Jewish history.

More than a decade ago, in the context of my work on the latter half of the Second Temple period (second century BCE–first century CE), I was struck by two changes that a great nineteenth-century historian of the Jews, Heinrich Graetz, made in the third (1878) edition of the third volume of his *Geschichte der Juden*. Namely, Graetz replaced the standard nomenclature that he had used in the first two editions, “Juden” and “jüdisch” (Jews and Jewish), with “Judäer” and “judäisch” (Judeans, Judean), and he also eliminated or toned down his original formulations that claimed that Josephus, the first-century Jewish historian who went from Jewish rebel general to Roman historian, had been treasonous and cowardly.

Since Graetz, as far as I found, supplied no explicit explanation for these changes, I sought out reviews of earlier volumes of his work, on the notion that they might have elicited the editing. That, in short order, led me to an anonymous, and quite nasty, review of one of Graetz’s volumes that appeared in a major German literary review, the *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland*, on 14 January 1871. The reviewer, who signed only as M.L., was very angry about Graetz, and about German Jews in general, whom he characterized as demanding full rights as Germans but not ready really to become Germans; in particular he complained about their widespread dodging of military service. That led me to hypothesize that Graetz’s moves were meant to react to that type of criticism: Graetz’s use of “Judäer” instead of “Juden” was perhaps meant to allow him to admit that the Judeans had once had a state of their own without associating the Jews of Germany with it, and giving up on the treacherous and cowardly Josephus could be understood as part of an attempt by Graetz to distance all Jews from such characteristics. Those were hypotheses that I eventually developed; but that is another story.¹ What is important here is that when I discovered from the relevant literature that the identity of the reviewer (“M. L.”) was unknown, the challenge of identifying him was too tantalizing to ignore.

¹ See my *Judeans and Jews: Four Faces of Dichotomy in Ancient Jewish History* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 2014), 62–82, also “A Breslau Translation of Josephus’s Minor Works,” in *Juden und Christen unter römischer Herrschaft* (ed. N. Förster and J. C. de Vos; Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2015), 187–200.

When after some detective work I was able to establish that the reviewer was Max Lehmann (1845–1929), who eventually became a professor of German history at the University of Göttingen,² I turned to see what I could find out about him, at that early stage of his career (1871), so as to understand why he wrote so angrily about German Jews. The most interesting datum I found in that connection was the fact that, until just a few months prior to composing the review, Lehmann had been a disciple and close collaborator of a Jewish medievalist of whom I had never heard, who had committed suicide in April 1870: Prof. Philipp Jaffé of the University of Berlin (1819–1870).

At that point, my quest split into two parts. On the one hand, I wanted to know why Lehmann, who had worked so closely with a Jewish mentor, wrote so angrily about Jews only eight or nine months after the latter's death. After pursuing that issue I published two studies that explain it as best I can, and also trace the broader implications, for the history of modern German anti-Semitism, of the fact that Jaffé's death "orphaned" Lehmann in the academic world.³ On the other hand, once I learned of Jaffé and his tragic end, and started looking into why he committed suicide, the quest to learn more about him, which led me into the life of a Polish Jew in Berlin but also into a case-study in the dynamics of hardball scholarship, took on a life of its own. The present work is the result.

I will also note, however, that although specializing in antiquity, since the 1970s I have also had a "minor" in modern German-Jewish historical scholarship. It began more or less by chance when, looking for a job in New York City to support myself while pursuing my doctorate in ancient Jewish history, I found a position working on a biographical dictionary of German-speaking emigrés.⁴ That project, which not only sustained me for two years, but also gave me intensive experience in the nuts and bolts of research in modern German-Jewish history, was initiated and directed by Professor Herbert A. Strauss of the City University of New York. Strauss (1918–2005) was a fascinating character, who had everything to do with

² An identification that had already been posited by some earlier scholars, including M. A. Meyer, "Great Debate on Antisemitism: Jewish Reaction to New Hostility in Germany, 1879–1881," *YBLBI* 11 (1966): 154. For my demonstration of the identification, see pp. 244–246 of the first article mentioned in the next note.

³ See my "From Feuding Medievalists to the Berlin Antisemitismstreit of 1879–1881," *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* 21 (2012): 239–67, and a supplement to it: "On a Desperate Postdoc and the Emergence of Modern German Antisemitism," in *The Individual in History: Essays in Honor of Jehuda Reinharz* (ed. C. Y. Freeze, S. F. Fried, and E. R. Sheppard; Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis Univ., 2015), 447–459. For a summary, see below, 81–82.

⁴ *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933 = International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés, 1933–1945* (ed. H. A. Strauss; 3 vols. in 4; München: Saur, 1980–1983).

Berlin: in the first phase of his life he was one of the last students at the liberal rabbinical seminary in Berlin (Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums) until he went underground and saved himself by flight to Switzerland in 1943;⁵ decades later he was to be the founder (1982) and director (until 1990) of the Center for Research on Antisemitism at the Technische Universität in Berlin. As such, Strauss embodied something of the tragic past of German-Jewish scholarship, but also made a significant contribution to its future. For me personally, at that formative stage of my career in the 1970s, he was a warm and positive source of support and encouragement. I dedicate this volume to his memory.

Many people and institutions have helped me in this project, and I have tried to remember to thank them all in the appropriate contexts. But several come in for special mention. A 2012–2014 research budget from my academic home for the past forty-five years, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and one (no. 62/14) for 2014–2016 from the Israel Science Foundation, allowed me to carry out the project, particularly insofar as they allowed me to employ three graduate students as research assistants: Senta Reisenbüchler in Berlin and Munich, and Lotem Pinchover and Hadass Shambadal in Jerusalem. Those grants also allowed me to enjoy the help of several experts in transcribing and elucidating Jaffé's letters, as is detailed in the introduction to the second part of this volume; without them this project would have been a non-starter. Karsten Krieger and Ulrich Wyrwa in Berlin, and Christhard Hoffmann in Bergen (Norway), all experts in modern German-Jewish history, were always willing to help me, and my medievalist advisor here in Jerusalem, Benjamin Z. Kedar, was enthusiastically supportive all along the way. Ben Frankel and Robert Brody helped me proofread the first part of this volume. Moshe and Shani Kruskal of Jerusalem, who made Jaffé's letters to his parents available to me, along with the photographs of Jaffé and his brother-in-law, deserve special thanks for their generosity and hospitality. I am also happy to thank the friendly and efficient staff of De Gruyter, especially Julia Brauch and Lucas Meinhardt, with whom it was a pleasure to work.

Last but not at all least, I should thank the creators, funders, and administrators of such wonderful online resources as Compact Memory, Die digitalen Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Geschichtsquellen des deutschen Mittelalters,

5 For this story, see H. A. Strauss, *Über dem Abgrund: Eine jüdische Jugend in Deutschland, 1918–1943* (Frankfurt: Campus, 1997). In English: *In the Eye of the Storm: Growing up Jewish in Germany, 1918–1943: A Memoir* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999). More generally on Strauss, see C. Hoffmann and W. Burgmann, “Herbert A. Strauss: Eine wissenschaftliche Biographie,” *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* 14 (2005): 17–38, and the contributions assembled in *The Herbert A. Strauss Memorial Seminar at the Leo Baeck Institute, New York, March 29, 2006* (ed. W. Bergmann, C. Hoffmann, and D. E. Rohrbaugh; Berlin: Metropol, 2006).

Internet Archive, the Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum's Digitale Bibliothek, Regesta imperii, and Wikisource. Without them, and other similar projects, this volume would have been impossible; with them, nineteenth-century publications that, a decade ago, were hardly accessible anywhere, are accessible within seconds anywhere where there is Internet. Having begun my work on this type of thing working for Strauss's biographical handbook in the pre-computer age, and having begun my work even on this project with the need to travel to particular libraries in order to thumb through and read journals that I can now read online, and search electronically, in my office in Jerusalem, I can only express wonder and gratitude for how much things have changed.

A decade ago, a scholar writing on papal epistolography of the eighth century, for whom Jaffé's work was very important, wrote that "a thorough (*gründliche*) biography of this unusual scholar is still a desideratum."⁶ After pursuing this project for more than a decade, I must admit that that desideratum still remains one, if only due to my lack of training and experience as a medievalist and to my inability to find evidence that could resolve those questions that my project still leaves open, not to mention other questions that I assume are there and I did not even notice them. Nevertheless, I hope that the present work will make such a project easier for the next one to take up the challenge, and I feel confident in recommending the project as one that will be quite interesting.

Daniel R. Schwartz
Jerusalem, July 2016

⁶ A. T. Hack, *Codex Carolinus: Päpstliche Epistolographie im 8. Jahrhundert*, I (Päpste und Papsttum 35/1; Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2006), 39, n. 207.

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Abbreviations

<i>ADB</i>	<i>Allgemeine deutsche Biographie</i>
<i>AdW</i>	<i>Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
<i>Archiv</i>	<i>Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde</i>
<i>ASI</i>	<i>Archivio storico italiano</i>
<i>AZJ</i>	<i>Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums</i>
<i>BEC</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes</i>
<i>Bresslau, GMGH</i>	H. Bresslau, <i>Geschichte der Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> (<i>Neues Archiv</i> 42; Hannover: Hahn, 1921)
<i>BRG</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum</i>
<i>DBI</i>	<i>Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani</i>
<i>EHKB</i>	Einzelveröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin
<i>FDG</i>	<i>Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte</i>
<i>Fuhrmann, Menschen</i>	H. Fuhrmann, <i>"Sind eben alles Menschen gewesen": Gelehrtenleben im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, dargestellt am Beispiel der Monumenta Germaniae Historica und ihrer Mitarbeiter</i> (München: Beck, 1996)
<i>GGA</i>	<i>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen</i>
<i>GS</i>	T. Mommsen, <i>Gesammelte Schriften</i> (8 vols., 1905–1913)
<i>HZ</i>	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>LBI</i>	Leo Baeck Institute
<i>LBIYB</i>	<i>Year Book of the Leo Baeck Institute</i>
<i>LCD</i>	<i>Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland</i>
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>NDB</i>	<i>Neue deutsche Biographie</i>
<i>Neues Archiv</i>	<i>Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde</i>
<i>PJL</i>	Philipp Jaffé Letters (in the present volume, cited by number)
<i>PrJb</i>	<i>Preußische Jahrbücher</i>
<i>SB</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte</i>
<i>SHKBAW</i>	Schriftenreihe der historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
<i>SWALBI</i>	Schriftenreihe Wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des LBIs
<i>VHKB</i>	Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin
<i>ZDA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum</i>
<i>ZGW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft</i>
<i>ZöG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien</i>
<i>ZSS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte</i>

For abbreviations of archival collections, see pp. 94–95.

I Philipp Jaffé, 1819–1870

Introduction

Posen (today Poznań, Poland) is a large city located some 170 miles east of Berlin. Wittenberge—not to be confused with Luther’s Wittenberg—is a town in Brandenburg, on the Elbe, around eighty miles northwest of Berlin. Philipp Jaffé (1819–1870), one of the foremost students of medieval Germany and its literature in his day and virtually the first Jewish professor at the University of Berlin,⁷ was born near Posen, spent most of his life in Berlin, and, although apparently at the peak of his career, committed suicide in a Wittenberge guesthouse on 3 April 1870, not long after his fifty-first birthday.

According to the Wittenberge police’s report of the suicide (Appendix 1), Jaffé left a will (*Testament*) and literary papers (*Nachlass*). Had they survived, perhaps they would have supplied some explanation for the tragedy. However, Jaffé’s will has not survived in any of the official archives that might be expected to have it,⁸ and his papers, which according to the terms of the will went to his publisher, the Weidmannsche Buchhandlung of Berlin,⁹ were destroyed during the bombings of Berlin in World War II.¹⁰ The present study is, from one point of view, an attempt to understand what brought Jaffé’s career and life to its tragic conclusion.

Beyond that narrow goal, however, the study of Jaffé’s career is also important from at least two other, and broader, points of view. Of these, the first is the encounter of central European Jewry with modernity in general and German culture in particular. Although that is a field that has been studied quite inten-

7 On his forerunners, all in medicine, see below, n. 176.

8 According to Thomas Ulbrich of the Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv, Jaffé’s will should have been treated as one from Wittenberge and therefore stored in that Landesarchiv, but it could not be located there. I also checked with the Berlin Landesarchiv and the Wittenberge Stadtarchiv, but Gisela Erler of the former and Susanne Flügge of the latter both reported, after searching, that they found nothing. My thanks to all three for their efforts. Similarly, although the 1875 article cited in the next footnote reports that a copy of Jaffé’s will, dated 12 March 1870, was presented to the Königliches Stadtgericht zu Berlin in June 1875, Ms. Erler informed me that the records of that court are “Kriegsverlust.” See Addenda below, p. 87.

9 As is reported by T. Mommsen, “Die deutschen Pseudodoktoren,” *PrJb* 37 (1876): 18 (= idem, *Reden und Aufsätze* [ed. O. Hirschfeld; Berlin: Weidmann, 1905], 403), on the basis of: “Rechtsfälle,” *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel*, 1875, no. 301 (29 Dec. 1875): 4786–4787. See also the notice of the publisher, H[ans] Reimer, in *LCD* 1874: 1374, in which he identifies himself as Jaffé’s heir and recipient of his “wissenschaftlicher Nachlass.” Those publications were occasioned by a case of plagiarism discussed below, at n. 186.

10 As I was kindly informed by Mirjam Burgdorf of the Georg Olms Verlag (Hildesheim), which took over the Weidmann firm in the 1980s. Note, however, that some of Jaffé’s papers were disposed of by his friend Ernst Dümmler; see below, n. 255.

sively, Jaffé is virtually never mentioned in modern scholarship on the subject.¹¹ Indeed, in general he has received much less attention than he deserves. There is no memorial volume for Philipp Jaffé, no collection of his studies nor even any published list of them,¹² no monograph about him; the substantial entry about him in Brockhaus's 1884 *Conversations-Lexikon* shrank thereafter from edition to edition until it finally disappeared;¹³ important Jewish encyclopedias ignore him, perhaps due to the fact that he was baptized two years before his death;¹⁴ even his grave no longer exists.¹⁵ True, Jaffé's work as an editor of medieval Latin texts lives on, both in the volumes of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* to which he contributed¹⁶ and in the six substantial volumes of his own *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum* (1864–1873),¹⁷ which all remain among the basic tools of medieval scholarship, just as his massive collection of summaries of papal

11 Thus, for example, Jaffé is not mentioned in: M. Richarz, *Der Eintritt der Juden in die akademischen Berufe: Jüdische Studenten und Akademiker in Deutschland, 1678–1848* (SWALBI 28; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1974); J. Reinharz and W. Schatzberg (ed.), *The Jewish Response to German Culture: From the Enlightenment to the Second World War* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1985); A. Ehmann et al., *Juden in Berlin, 1671–1945: Ein Lesebuch* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1988); N. Stulz-Herrnstadt, *Berliner Bürgertum im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (VHKB 99; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2002); S. Lässig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum: Kulturelles Kapital und sozialer Aufstieg im 19. Jahrhundert* (Bürgertum Neue Folge: Studien zur Zivilgesellschaft 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004); and U. Jensen, *Gebildete Doppelgänger: Bürgerliche Juden und Protestanten im 19. Jahrhundert* (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft 167; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2005). Jaffé does get a few lines in J. Toury, *Soziale und politische Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland, 1847–1871* (Veröffentlichungen des Diaspora Research Institute 20; Düsseldorf: Droste, 1977), 202.

12 The closest we come is in the entry on him in R. Heuer (ed.), *Lexikon deutsch-jüdischer Autoren* (21 vols.; München: Saur, 1992–2013), 13.39–43, and in the online catalogue of “Regesta imperii”; the latter lists 133 publications by Jaffé, and even it is not complete (see below, n. 19). Cf. below, n. 170.

13 From twenty-nine lines in the 1884 edition of Brockhaus' *Conversations-Lexikon*, the entry shrank to fourteen lines by 1931 (now *Der grosse Brockhaus*) and five by 1970; by the 1990 edition it was gone.

14 The *Jewish Encyclopedia* (vol. 7, 1904), *Jüdisches Lexikon* (vol. 3, 1929), and *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (vol. 6, 1942) have brief entries about Jaffé, but there is none in the 1931 German *Encyclopedia Judaica*, in the 1972 English one, or in the 1949–1980 Israeli *Ha-Enziklopedia Ha-Ivrit*.

15 My thanks to Reinhard Jaap, administrator of the Wittenberge cemetery, who found the ledger listing Jaffé's burial there on 6 April 1870. For the listing, see below, n. 319. Jaffé was buried in a churchyard long since covered over by the city's Clara-Zetkin-Park.

16 For some details see below, n. 129.

17 Which average around 700 pages each. As for their continued importance, note, for example, that in the 1967 compendium cited in n. 300, four of the eight documents in the relevant chapter (pp. 23–49) are translated from Jaffé's editions. The six volumes of Jaffé's *Bibliotheca* were reprinted by the Scientia publishing house (Aalen, Germany) in 1964.

documents, *Regesta pontificum romanorum* (1851), is still an “indispensable tool for research.”¹⁸ Even in this respect, however, Jaffé’s contribution has been under-recognized, if only because it appeared, so often, in contributions to works published by others.¹⁹ More important, however, is the fact that as an object of historical study, whether of modern German history or of modern Jewish history, even of modern Jewish apostasy,²⁰ Jaffé has been largely ignored.²¹

This is especially surprising insofar as Jaffé was, on the one hand, apart from the field of medicine, the first Jewish professor at the University of Berlin,

18 So H. Weigl, “Papal Bulls,” in *Handbook of Medieval Studies* (ed. A. Classen; 3 vols.; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 3.1964. Note, for example, that Stroll’s monograph mentioned in n. 300 has numerous references to Jaffé’s *Regesta*, and that Anton’s monograph cited in a note to PjL 128 is devoted to one particular document condemned as spurious in the *Regesta* and is built from beginning to end on references to that work; see also above, n. 6. Similarly, after the editor of a 1994 volume on Lothar III noted, in its foreword, that he did not list all the places where the various documents had been published, but only those that, in his judgment, were “wesentlich” (essential) for the needs of users, Jaffé’s *Regesta* is the first item among those he retained (*Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Lothar III. und Konrad III.*, I [ed. W. Petke; Weimar: Böhlau, 1994], viii). Correspondingly, the long-term project of the Göttingen Academy of Sciences to replace Jaffé’s *Regesta* is termed “Der neue Jaffé”; see the webpage of its “Papsturkunden” project. For the foundation document of that very longterm project, see P. Kehr, “Ueber den Plan einer kritischen Ausgabe der Papsturkunden bis Innocenz III.,” *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Geschäftliche Mittheilungen*, 1896: 72–86. A second edition of the *Regesta* was published in two volumes in 1885–1888 and reprinted in 1956 by the Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt (Graz, Austria). See Addenda, p. 87.

19 For a typical example, see J. Herrmann, *Kleine Schriften zur Rechtsgeschichte* (ed. G. Schiemann; Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 83; München: Beck, 1990), 143: Herrmann notes that “Die von Mommsen besorgte Revision der Textlesung [scil. of the Pommersfelden papyri’s fragments of Justinian’s *Digest*] scheint jeder Nachprüfung standzuhalten,” but does not note that that successful “Besorgung” was based on Jaffé’s work, although Jaffé’s name appears nine times in the facsimile from Mommsen’s edition that Herrmann reproduced (*ibid.*, 145); see PjL 184. Similarly, note that Jaffé’s contribution to Mommsen’s publications of 1861, 1863 and 1867, cited below in n. 170, are not listed in the tables of contents of those volumes and are not listed, accordingly, even in detailed bibliographical compilations such as *Regesta Imperii*.

20 See below, n. 267.

21 Apart from obituaries that appeared right after his death (by A. Dove and E. Dümmler in the *Berlin National-Zeitung* [12 and 15 April 1870, respectively], and by O. Lorenz [see n. 121]), the only two significant exceptions deal with Jaffé in the context of the MGH: Bresslau, *GMGH*, esp. at pp. 326–330, 377–385, and 461–468 (around his appointment to the MGH, his departure from it, and his feuding with Pertz, respectively), and Fuhrmann, longtime president of the MGH, devoted several pages to “Der Fall Philipp Jaffé” and to Jaffé’s letters in his *Menschen*, 108–115, 147–153. Fuhrmann’s *Nachlass*, now in the archives of the MGH, includes numerous materials he collected about Jaffé (shelfmark K 204/4).

indeed—in all of Prussia,²² an achievement that was received with satisfaction by Jews of the day.²³ But he was also, on the other hand, a tenth-generation descendant of Rabbi Mordechai Jaffé (ca. 1530–1612, known, by the name of his most famous work, as “the *Levush*”)—one of Poland’s greatest authorities of Jewish law, whose career had culminated as rabbi of Posen.²⁴ Somewhat more than two hundred years later, Philipp Jaffé grew up in Posen in an age of intense competition between Jewish tradition and Enlightenment.²⁵ The contrast between Jaffé’s antecedents, among the staunchest and most prestigious defenders of Jewish tradition, and his accomplishments, which placed him high in the highest ranks of non-Jewish scholarship in his day, should spur interest in him all the more.

Once such an interest is pursued, even at the distance of almost a century and a half, a considerable amount of material becomes available. The hundreds of letters that I have been able to collect over the past decade, especially from archives in Germany but also elsewhere in Europe, America, and Israel, including more than a hundred to his own family in Posen on the one hand, and another hundred to other scholars, including many to such a key figure as Theodor Mommsen,²⁶ allow us a view into Jaffé’s life and feelings which is virtually beyond compare.²⁷ When the letters are put together with Jaffé’s manifold scholarly publications, and located in the context of those of others, it becomes possible to reconstruct, in large measure if not completely without frustrating lacunae and question marks, a picture of him that goes far toward explaining his suicide. It

22 See C. Pinn, “Jüdische Dozenten an der Berliner Universität,” *Ost und West* 10 (1910): 639–654, and A. D. Ebert, *Jüdische Hochschullehrer an preußischen Universitäten (1870–1924): Eine quantitative Untersuchung mit biografischen Skizzen* (Frankfurt am Main: Mabuse-Verlag, 2008), 238–243 (on Jaffé). For details about predecessors in the field of medicine, and in Germany outside of Prussia, see below, nn. 176 and 127, respectively.

23 See, for example, *AZJ*, 20 May 1862: 271–272, also *AZJ*, 10 June 1862: 320.

24 On him, see L. Kaplan, “Rabbi Mordechai Jaffe and the Evolution of Jewish Culture in Poland in the Sixteenth Century,” in *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (ed. B. D. Cooperman; Harvard Judaica Texts and Studies 2; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1983), 266–282; also M. Raffeld, “Yafeh, Mordechai ben Avraham,” in *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (ed. G. D. Hundert; 2 vols.; New Haven: Yale, 2008), 2.2045–2046. For an idea of the prestige that still attached to his name among Polish Jews in the nineteenth century, see n. 45 and I. Lewin, *Los Judíos en la Polonia de Antaño* (Buenos Aires: Unión Central Israelita Polaca en la Argentina, 1962), 154–159 (in Yiddish). For genealogical details linking our Jaffé to his ancestor, see below, n. 31.

25 See below, nn. 36, 46.

26 For literature on this great historian, and 1902 Nobel laureate in literature, see below, n. 168.

27 As Fuhrmann put it (*Menschen*, 111), Jaffé’s letters to his parents are “von einer Bildhaftigkeit und Berichtsfülle, deren wir im audiovisuellen Zeitalter weitgehend entwöhnt sind.” In terms of quantity too, there are not many nineteenth-century Jews whose letters are so numerous.

also allows us to see and understand him, more generally, as a rather extreme case among Jews who moved westward and “made it,” or almost did, or seemed to, in the most respectable circles of their adopted world.

As for the other point of view from which Jaffé’s life is interesting: it presents a relatively well-documented case of a scholarly career that flourished until the structural limits that confined it (in this case: restrictions on the employment of Jews in academia) could no longer be tolerated, at which point it morphed, painfully, into a very well-documented case of competition and acerbic antagonism among scholars who plowed the same fields and took their work and themselves very seriously. Together, those scholars created and were trapped in a conflict that eventually drove one of the main antagonists (Jaffé) to his death; the other (Georg Heinrich Pertz) to his downfall; and the latter’s son and intended heir (Karl Pertz) to an early death, perhaps by suicide, in an insane asylum.²⁸ Moreover, the secondary results of that conflict were to have significant, indeed conclusive, influence both upon the organization of historical scholarship and upon the rise of modern antisemitism.²⁹ Finally, along the way, the conflict served to foster and energize much medieval scholarship which is of great importance for its own sake, but which cannot be understood without reference to the vexed and partisan context in which it was produced. This case-study is interesting and instructive for the modern heirs and students of those early years of modern historical science, displaying in all its starkness the interplay of human considerations and historical research and willy-nilly bringing us to contemplate its implications and lessons for us, their colleagues today.³⁰

Jaffé’s short life is best understood in four chapters, each of which ended with a crucial decision. The first defined his career; the second—really a short but crucial interlude—endangered it but ended with it being rescued “at the twelfth hour”; the third saw him gain widespread recognition as master of his trade; and the fourth granted him independence and brought him to his greatest achievements and recognition. But that independence also entailed isolation, and he soon came to a tragic end.

28 On the downfall of the Pertzes, father and son, see below, nn. 153 and 157, also my “From Feuding Medievalists” (above, n. 3), 258–261.

29 Those secondary effects of the conflict were the subject of my studies mentioned above, n. 3.

30 As has rightly been observed, “academic feuding deserves investigation in its own right” (T. Caplow and R. J. McGee, *The Academic Marketplace* [NY: Basic, 1959], 193). Abundant material is available; probably most professors have relevant stories to tell. However, it is in the nature of things that the instances about which we know the most are usually the ones concerning which we have the least perspective and, for that reason, and also due to our rules of confidentiality and the need to consider living individuals, we cannot or may not describe them accurately. Hence the usefulness of case-studies from other times and places.

Chapter I

From Posen to Berlin

From Jewish History to German History, and from Historian to Historical Philologist

The second partition of Poland, in 1793, which annexed parts of Poland to Russia, the Habsburg Empire, and Prussia, assigned Posen to Prussia. Thus it happened that when Elias Marcus Jaffé was born in Posen in 1794,³¹ it was into a province that was a part of Poland in the process of becoming Prussianized.³² And that process was, of course, all the further along when, a quarter of a century later (after the resumption of Prussian rule following the Napoleonic interlude), Elias's first son was born. Philipp Jaffé, the eldest of Elias's five children,³³ was born on

31 Genealogical data on the Jaffé family are taken, as a rule, from an unpublished 120-page photocopied typescript dated August 1983 and entitled "One Line of the Rabbi Mordecai Jaffé Pedigree," compiled meticulously by Johanna Eva Jaffé. My thanks to Rachel Posner of Jerusalem, who made it available to me. Three other resources that I consulted, but which are less complete and at times less reliable, are a photocopied Hebrew booklet edited by Zvi Yaffé and "published" by the Jaffé Family Association in 1990 (with supplements, many handwritten, added 1993–1996): *Megillat Yaḥas shel Mishpahaṭ Yaffé* (I used the copy in the library of Bar-Ilan University) and two websites: "The Micha Cohn Genealogy" at Geni.com and "Gladys and David Blank's Genealogy." The two typescript booklets by P. J. Jacobi, entitled *The Jaffé Family* (December 1992), in the National Library in Jerusalem, focus on earlier centuries.

32 For a view of this by a son of Philipp's first cousin (see PJJ 70), see M. Jaffé, *Die Stadt Posen unter preussischen Herrschaft: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Ostens* (Leipzig: Dunker & Humblot, 1909). More recently, see J. Bartýs, "Grand Duchy of Poznań under Prussian Rule: Changes in the Economic Position of the Jewish Population, 1815–1848," *YBLBI* 17 (1972): 191–204; W. W. Hagen, *Germans, Poles, and Jews: The Nationality Conflict in the Prussian East, 1772–1914* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1980), 71–117; S. Kemlein, *Die Posener Juden 1815–1848: Entwicklungsprozesse einer polnischen Judenheit unter preußischer Herrschaft* (Hamburg: Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte Mittel- und Osteuropas 3; Hamburg: Dölling und Galita, 1997); and R. E. Alvis, *Religion and the Rise of Nationalism: A Profile of an East-Central European City* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005).

33 Elias was married twice. His first wife was Philipp's mother; she died in giving birth to his sister, Ernestine, in 1821. That datum is stated clearly by J. E. Jaffé in a letter of 4 June 1982 to the archivist of the Leo Baeck Institute in New York (in its file AR 4037). In his letters, Jaffé consistently relates to his stepmother as if she were his mother (and so his letters are addressed to his "dear parents"), just as he refers to his half-sisters as his "lieben Schwestern"; but note his reference in PJJ 80 to the death of his own mother. In her letter, J. E. Jaffé offered the reasonable conjecture that Philipp's mother's maiden name was Ernestine Thorner: "Ernestine" since that was the name given to her daughter, at whose death she died, and "Thorner" because that would explain Jaffé's references to his Uncle Thorner (PJJ 1–3, 6)—he would be his maternal uncle. Elias later remarried, and it was the second wife, Pauline Berlack (1809–1900), who gave birth to Philipp's

17 February 1819 in Schwersenz (today: Swarzędz, Poland)—a town located some six miles east of the city of Posen, the main city of the province. When Philipp was growing up, the city of Posen, to which the family eventually moved, was already the home of two Prussian gymnasia.³⁴ But it was also the home of Rabbi Akiva Eger, who was probably, at the time, the Jewish world's most famous scholar and defender of Orthodoxy. Eger was rabbi of Posen from 1815 until his death in 1837, and his yeshiva was a large and thriving institution.³⁵ For Jewish youths such as Philipp Jaffé, the contrast between Prussia and Poland must have been encapsulated in that between gymnasium and enlightenment, on the one hand, and yeshiva and Jewish tradition, on the other.³⁶

Jaffé grew up in a very Jewish context. Schwersenz had a substantial Jewish community, around half of the entire population of the town,³⁷ and it had its

three half-sisters, Clara, Emmy, and Fanny (in 1835, 1837, and 1840, respectively). I have not discovered the date of Elias's second marriage, but given Pauline's year of birth and those of her daughters, it is likely that Philip was without a mother or step-mother for a decade, if not more.

34 In 1824 the city's single gymnasium split into two: the original institution, the Marien-Gymnasium, was for Catholics, while the new Friedrich-Wilhelm Gymnasium, was for Protestants. See Alvis, *Religion and the Rise of Nationalism*, 66, and K. Wendt, "Schulnachrichten...für Michaelis 1834 bis Ostern 1836," in *Zu der öffentlichen Prüfung der Schüler des Königlichen Friedrichs-Wilhelms-Gymnasiums zu Posen am 28^{sten}, 29^{sten} und 30^{sten} März 1836...* (Posen: Decker [1836]), vii.

35 On him, see J. Bleich, "Rabbi Akiva Eger and the Nascent Reform Movement," *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, vol. B3 (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1986), 1–8, and A. S. Ferziger, *Exclusion and Hierarchy: Orthodoxy, Nonobservance, and the Emergence of Modern Jewish Identity* (Jewish Culture and Contexts; Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania, 2005), 77–83. On the robustness of traditional Judaism in Posen in the nineteenth century, see also Y. Wolfsberg, "Popular Orthodoxy," *YBLBI* 1 (1956): 243–245.

36 On the beginnings of Reform Judaism in Posen (and, accordingly, on serious opposition to Eger's appointment as rabbi of the city), see P. Bloch, "Die ersten Culturbestrebungen der jüdischen Gemeinde Posen unter preussischer Herrschaft," in *Jubelschrift zum 70. Geburtstag des Professors Dr. Heinrich Graetz* (Breslau: Schottlaender, 1887), 194–217. For the Prussian impact on elementary Jewish education in Posen, see A. Warschauer, "Die Erziehung der Juden in der Provinz Posen durch das Elementarschulwesen," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 3 (1889): 29–63, esp. 44–53 (on 1816–1833, when Philipp was a child). On Germanization and the rise of Reform Judaism even further east in Poland, around the same time, and the conflicts they could engender, see M. Stanislawski, *A Murder in Lemberg: Politics, Religion, and Violence in Modern Jewish History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), esp. 23–64. More generally, see M. Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 152–157.

37 In the late eighteenth century, 1277 of Schwersenz's 2130 inhabitants were Jewish; so H. Wuttke, *Städtebuch des Landes Posen* (Leipzig: Fries, 1864), 452. Similarly, around 1840 the Jewish population was above 1600, out of around 3000; see Wuttke (*ibid.*) and *Die Juden und die jüdischen Gemeinden Preußens in amtlichen Enquêtes des Vormärz, Teil 3: Enquête des Ministeriums der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinal-Angelegenheiten über die Kultus-, Schul- und Rechts-*

full complement of Jewish institutions, including rabbi, synagogue, study hall, bathhouse, slaughterhouse, cemetery, and charitable organizations.³⁸ Indeed, his letters offer some evidence for traditional Jewish observance in his household: he refers at one point to the week of heavy cleaning before Passover (PJL 48, “Scheuerwoche”), and it is clear from PJL 57 that his parents would be embarrassed if he were to travel to or from their house on a Jewish holiday or the Sabbath.³⁹ Jaffé was, in fact, born into one of the more prominent families of the Jewish community. His paternal grandfather (Marcus Elias Jaffé, 1764–1842) was one of the three representatives of the Schwersenz Jewish community who, in 1807, signed, on its behalf, an agreement regulating its relationship with the Jewish community of Posen,⁴⁰ and one of Philipp’s paternal uncles, Ludwig Jaffé, was a prominent physician in Schwersenz while Philipp was growing up.⁴¹ Other members of the family remained prominent in more traditional roles: Mordechai Jaffé (1740–1813), a cousin who died a few years before Philipp was born, had been the chief rabbi of the grand duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin for more than forty years,⁴² and the latter’s son, Moritz Jaffé (1795–1881), whose life overlapped Philipp’s, had a long career as a Jewish educator all around the region.⁴³ Similarly, even in Berlin, another cousin, Esaias Jaffé, was one of the prime functionaries (*ne’eman*, “trustee”) of the Jewish community.⁴⁴ This was all as should be expected from a family whose name readily identified it, for all Polish Jews, as descending from one of Poland’s most important rabbis.⁴⁵

verhältnisse der jüdischen Gemeinden in den preußischen Provinzen 1843–1845 (ed. M. Jehle; München: Saur, 1998), 905, with *ibid.*, n. 2.

38 *Ibid.*, 905–6, along with 906, n. 3.

39 See n. 49.

40 A. Heppner and J. Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Juden und der jüdischen Gemeinden in den Posener Landen* (2 vols.; Breslau: Selbstverlag, 1927), 2.974.

41 According to Heppner and Herzberg, *ibid.* 981, n. 21, Ludwig practiced in Schwersenz from 1822 until 1842, and thereafter in Posen. True, Fuhrmann (*Menschen*, 176, n. 89) states that Jaffé had two uncles who were physicians, one unnamed in Schwersenz and the other, Salomon J., in Posen. But the dedication of Jaffé’s 1851 doctoral dissertation (below, n. 109) to his father and two uncles reads “Patri dilectissimo atque Ludwico Jaffé med. Dri. et Salomoni Jaffé patruis carissimis,” which pretty clearly shows that Ludwig was a physician but Salomon was not, and the same is also indicated by PJL 15 and 54: both refer to two uncles of whom only one is termed “Dr.”

42 See M. Stern, *Der Schweriner Oberrabbiner Mordechai Jaffé: Seine Ahnen und seine Nachkommen* (Berlin: Hausfreund, 1933).

43 M. Yaffe, “Moritz Jaffe: Das Lebensbild eines jüdischen Lehrers in der Provinz Posen in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts,” *Bulletin des LBIs* 8 (1965): 207–226.

44 See a description of him by A. H. Heymann (1803–1880) in *Jüdische Memoiren aus drei Jahrhunderten* (ed. H. Bach; Berlin: Schocken, 1936), 113–115.

45 The first sentence of Stern’s booklet (above, n. 42) defines the Jaffé family as one that belongs to Jewish “spiritual nobility (“Geistesadel”), explaining in the next that it descends from “no less

However, the winds of change, which were sweeping through the Jewish communities of central Europe, were blowing in Schwersenz as well. Jaffé did not grow up in a traditional *shtetl*, and already by 1843, a few years after Jaffé moved to Berlin, the Schwersenz rabbi is reported to have begun giving sermons in German, rather than Yiddish.⁴⁶ That was then taken to be one of the clearest and most demonstrative signs of an anti-traditional orientation.⁴⁷ Moreover, it seems that Jaffé did not study in a *heider*. Although there is indirect evidence that he got some Jewish education,⁴⁸ and it is also clear that he was familiar with the basics of a traditional Jewish lifestyle and parlance,⁴⁹ nevertheless the name

than” (“kein geringerer als”) the sixteenth-century R. Mordechai Jaffé. On him, see above, n. 24.

46 So Jehle, *Juden und die jüdischen Gemeinden Preußens*, 3.906.

47 See, for an example elsewhere in Poland, Stanislawski, *Murder in Lemberg*, 26–28, 54–55. In general, see Lässig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum* (n. 11), 290–325.

48 As is indicated by his Judeo-German postscriptum to his grandparents in an 1842 letter to his parents (PJL 5), also by the knowledge of Hebrew he displayed in his 1867 article on the *Schlummerlied* (below, at n. 216). Indeed, in his work on Conrad III Jaffé even undertook to emend a Hebrew text, suggesting that a reference to the suffering of Jews “in Soli” (בסולי) in 1146 (according to a medieval chronicle) should, given the fact that a place named סולי is unknown, be turned into בפרלין—“in Poland” (*Geschichte des deutschen Reiches unter Conrad dem Dritten* [Hannover: Hahn, 1845], 109, n. 11). Cf. below, n. 75.

49 A few examples: (1) In PJL 3 Jaffé comments that his wallet is as empty as a Jew’s stomach on Yom Kippur, just as PJL 55 refers to his forced inactivity, due to lack of employment, as “sabbathliche Unthätigkeit”; (2) he regularly exchanges with his parents greetings for the Jewish New Year (see PJL 95, 107, 155), and they regularly send him cakes for the Jewish holidays (PJL 38, 43, 83–84, 95, 153, 155); (3) he knows his mother will be cleaning intensively in the week before Passover (PJL 48); (4) in his letters to his parents (but not to his colleagues!) he not infrequently thanks God or “heaven” and relates to what “Heaven” or God will do (PJL 17, 26, 27, 81–83, 156); often, especially in the context of war or sickness, the latter are outright prayers, and they read quite sincerely (see PJL 17, 26–28, 36, 53, 97, 98, 124, 130, 153), although there is nothing particularly Jewish about them (or about his sermonizing in PJL 82); (5) most interestingly, in PJL 57 (May 1854) he asks his parents to decide whether it is more appropriate (“passend”) for him to arrive in Posen before or after “Pfingsten,” noting that, accordingly, he would begin his travel either on 31 May or on 4 June. Since in 1854 Pfingsten (Christian Pentecost) and Pfingstmontag were on Sunday–Monday, June 4–5, it follows that by “Pfingsten” Jaffé means Shavuot, which in 1854 was on Friday–Saturday, June 2–3. (For such usage, rather than Hebrew/Yiddish “Schawu- os” or German “Wochenfest,” even by Jews who observed Jewish holidays, see the memoirs of Moritz Lazarus [1824–1903], in idem, *Treu und frei: Gesammelte Reden und Vorträge über Juden und Judenthum* [Leipzig: Wintersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1887], 307 = *Jüdische Memoiren aus drei Jahrhunderten*, 180: news of the death of King Friedrich Wilhelm III [7 June 1840] arrived in a town in Posen while the Jews were in the synagogue, awaiting the concluding prayers of the festival “am zweiten Pfingsttage gegen Abend,” i.e., on June 8, the second day of Shavuot.) Thus, although PJL 57 shows that Jaffé himself had no problem with traveling on a major Jewish holiday, on which Jewish law forbids travel (just as PJL 38, a year earlier, shows that he had not noticed the holiday until a cake reminded him), it also shows that he was familiar with the holiday,

“Philipp,” just as the names of his sisters (Ernestine, Clara, Emma, Fanny), points in another direction,⁵⁰ as does the fact that there is nothing in Jaffé’s letters that points toward any particular attachment to Jewish piety in his parents’ home. Indeed, the years in which Jaffé grew up saw concerted attempts by the Prussian authorities, often with the support of the Jewish communities, to introduce modern German education into Posen and to encourage or even force the Jews to educate their children in the new schools established for the purpose.⁵¹ Philipp was clearly among those affected very thoroughly by that process: a Jewish school in accordance with the Prussian requirements, and with a Protestant pastor as *Schulinspektor*, opened in Schwersenz in 1824,⁵² just in time for Philipp to begin his elementary studies, and it is likely that he studied there. More importantly, however, there is, in any case, explicit evidence for his having studied at both gymnasia in Posen.⁵³

knew how to ascertain its date that year, and knew that it was unthinkable that he would arrive at his parents’ house (i.e., be seen arriving) on the holiday itself. Indeed, his suggestion that his parents might find it more appropriate that he arrive only after the holiday apparently indicates his awareness that his parents might be embarrassed by the presence, during the holiday, of an obviously non-religious son. Cf. PJL 151, in which Jaffé reports his plan to travel to Posen on a Thursday, remain there Friday and Saturday, and return to Berlin early on Sunday. For the record, finally, note that Dr. Mach observed that Jaffé’s frequent usage of “darf nicht” in the sense of “must not” (rather than “may not”; see, for example, PLJ 27, 43, 58, 122) may indicate Yiddish impact upon his diction. But this is the only such instance we have noted.

50 Although two of his sisters, Clara and Emma, married (successively) an Orthodox Jewish businessman in Hamburg, Heimann Noa Oettinger; see J. Sielemann, *Aber seid alle beruhigt: Briefe von Regina van Son an ihre Familie, 1941–1942* (Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2005), 19–22. Note that Oettinger crossed out the entry on Philipp (“Pinḥas”; cf. PJL 5) in a handwritten Hebrew-German list of dates of weddings and birthdays (the first document in LBI Archives Jaffé family file [AR 4037])—evidently a demonstratively Jewish response to Jaffé’s conversion to Christianity. For a photograph of Oettinger, see p. 85.

51 See Yaffe, “Moritz Jaffe,” esp. 208–211, also Warschauer (above, n. 36). More generally on the Jews of Posen, see A. Michalowska-Mycielska, “Poznań,” in *YIVO Encyclopedia* (above, n. 24), 2.1444–1446, also Breslauer’s article cited at the end of n. 53, below. On Prussian policy vis-à-vis the Jews of Posen in this period, see A. H. Brammer, *Judenpolitik und Judengesetzgebung in Preußen, 1812 bis 1847* (Berlin: Schelzky & Jeep, 1987), 168–180.

52 Heppner and Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 2.982; Jehle, *Die Juden und die jüdischen Gemeinden Preußens*, 3.906, n. a.

53 According to S. Löwenfeld (who too was a Jew from Posen, and who is best known for his work on the 1885–1888 second edition of Jaffé’s *Regesta*, which is therefore usually cited as JL), Jaffé attended Posen’s Marien-Gymnasium until the age of fifteen, and then its Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium; see Löwenfeld, “Vier Briefe aus der Jugendzeit Philipp Jaffé’s,” *Im neuen Reich* 19 (1880): 451. The move from one gymnasium to the other was, apparently, simply a result of the split of the first into two; see above, n. 34. For a detailed account of studies at the latter in those years, see Wendt, “Schulnachrichten,” i–xii. Wendt (1803–1859), the principal, was also

Jaffé is reported to have shown only indifferent talent in his gymnasium studies, although he did display great interest in literature, just as later, in his first years in Berlin, he is said to have devoted time to “his novels” (which have not survived) and other literature.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, he certainly gained a mastery of Latin, as he would soon demonstrate amply in Berlin; throughout his studies and career as an historian, virtually all the sources he would study, and his own most important publications, were written in Latin. But learning Latin of course entailed learning the classics as well, and his great familiarity with them would stand him in good stead in later years.⁵⁵

However, it appears that Jaffé did not graduate from any gymnasium. His name does not appear in the lists of the graduates of Posen gymnasia,⁵⁶ and in

responsible for instruction in Latin and Greek, which would prove so important for Jaffé; see the entry on Wendt in F. Kössler, *Personenlexikon von Lehrern des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Universität Giessen, Giessener elektronische Bibliothek, 2008 [online, viewed 22 April 2015]). For testimony to the very high level of classical studies at that gymnasium in a slightly later period, see also W. Breslauer, “Jews of the City of Posen One Hundred Years Ago,” *YBLBI* 8 (1963): 233.

54 See Dove in *ADB* 13.636. Jaffé’s letters of 1838–1839 (PJL 1–3) include reports about reading Cervantes, spending his free time in the mornings reading “und arbeite an meinen Novellen,” and going to a production of Shakespeare’s “Romeo and Juliet” and wondering how it happened that there was only one Shakespeare, “nur der eine Riese unter den vielen Pygmäen.” For striking examples of Jaffé’s ability to write elevated German prose, see e.g. PJL 2 and 69, also 82.

55 Note especially Jaffé’s expertise in recognizing the heavy influence of classical literature upon medieval works—which often led him, as an historian, to relegate to the realm of literature, rather than history, something reported in a medieval source. Two examples: BRG 4.500–503 (on very numerous echoes of Suetonius, especially from his life of Augustus, in Einhard’s life of Charlemagne; on the importance of Jaffé’s discovery, see esp. G. Minois, *Charlemagne* [Paris: Perrin, 2010], 99), and “Zur älteren Lebensbeschreibung der Königin Mathilde,” *FDG* 9 (1869): 343–345 (on echoes of Terence in a life of a medieval queen). The former case engendered, as so often, a wave of further scholarship: “Jaffé hat zuerst in seiner Ausgabe die zahlreichen Parallelen angeführt, Wattenbach und Waitz haben diese Nachweisungen in den neueren Auflagen vervollständigt, noch einiges ist von Schmidt [reference, 1880] ...und von Manitius [reference, 1882] hinzugefügt” (E. Bernheim, “Die Vita Karoli Magni als Ausgangspunkt zur literarischen Beurtheilung des Historikers Einhard,” in *Historische Aufsätze dem Andenken an Georg Waitz gewidmet* [Hannover: Hahn, 1886], 74).

56 As the list provided in Makowski’s article cited at the end of this note shows, students who passed the *Abitur* were almost always 18 or older; the three listed by Wendt, “Schulnachrichten,” ix, are 18½ or 19. I checked and double-checked all the lists for 1836–1844 (when Jaffé was between 18 and 26 years old) preserved in the file entitled “Acta betr. die Abiturienten Prüfungen und die Einsendung der diesfalsigen Nachweisungen aus der Provinz Posen” at the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin (shelfmark: I. HA, Rep. 76 VI, Sekt. 6z, Nr. 4), and Jaffé’s name does not appear. My thanks to Albrecht Eckhardt of the Geheimes Staatsarchiv for his help in locating this file. For an article based on it, which addresses the general issue of Jewish graduates, see K. Makowski, “Verzeichnis der israelitischen Absolventen von Gymnasien im

all the references that I have found, by him and by others, to his studies in Posen, there are only broad statements about his having studied there, but nothing about graduation or passing the *Abitur* (final examinations).⁵⁷ The *Abitur* was, however, since a law of 1834 (just in time to be relevant for Philipp), supposed to be a *conditio sine qua non* for admission to a Prussian university.⁵⁸ If Philipp indeed failed to meet this condition, it would explain why, despite his studies in Posen and his great success in his studies in Berlin, and despite his hope to complete a doctoral dissertation in history there,⁵⁹ that did not happen.⁶⁰

Given the fact that by the spring of 1838, when Jaffé had just turned 19, the age when others were taking their *Abitur* examinations (see n. 56), we find him in Berlin, beginning his training in a career in business,⁶¹ it seems likely that, as

Großherzogtum Posen in den Jahren 1815–1848,” *Nordost-Archiv* 1 (1992): 457–460. Note, moreover, that if it is true that, as is said in PJL 56, in 1854, Jaffé, at the age of thirty-five, could look back at eighteen years since he came to Berlin, it would be all the less likely that he managed first to finish the *Abitur* in Posen.

57 True, the Berlin matriculation register (see below, n. 65) records “Z.R.” in the appropriate column, i.e., that he was accepted on the basis of a *Zeugnis der Reife*, which normally means *Abitur*. However, even in the curriculum vitae he eventually appended to his medical dissertation (see below, n. 109), all Jaffé wrote is “primis literis in gymnasio Posnaniensi instructus”—which laconic formulation says no more than Dove’s statement that he “durchgemacht” a gymnasium in Posen (*ADB* 13.636) and the *NDB*’s “besuchte” (G. Silagi, *NDB* 10.292). Similarly, Löwenfeld was quite knowledgeable about Jaffé, but the most he has to say is that he “besuchte” the two gymnasia in Posen (“Vier Briefe,” 451).

58 For the “Reglement für die Prüfung der zu den Universitäten abgehenden Schüler” of June 1834 see A. J. Mannkopff (ed.), *Ergänzungen und Abänderungen der Preussischen Gesetzbücher*, III (Berlin: Nauckschen, 1835), 378–400 or *Amtsblatt der Königlichen Regierung zu Potsdam und der Stadt Berlin*, Jg. 1834, after p. 278 (Beilage zum 39. Stück). On it, and its effect, see F. Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, II (3rd ed., by R. Lehmann; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1921), 347–349, also J. C. Albisetti, *Secondary School Reform in Imperial Germany* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1983), 22–23.

59 For Jaffé’s assumption that he would be able to turn his Latin prize essay (see below) into a doctoral dissertation, see PJL 5.

60 Although some sources do state that he received a doctorate in history in 1844, that is only a natural but false inference from the facts that he completed his studies and published two historical monographs around then, and that he eventually received the title “Dr.” Note, instead, the silence of the *Verzeichnis* cited in n. 241 and of the curriculum vitae in his 1853 medical dissertation cited in n. 109, and the fact that, even in the publications of the MGH, where a degree in history would be apposite, Jaffé lists himself as “Philippus Jaffé M.D.” (so, for example, *Scriptores* XII [1856], 284).

61 Dove, in *ADB* 13.636, reports that Jaffé began his training at a Berlin *Bank- und Getreidegeschäft* around Easter of 1838. The identity of the bank may be deduced by combining the following data: in PJL 3 Jaffé refers to his address as “chez Monsieur le banquier K.” and alludes to the business as being one that deals with “Getraide” (sic); Löwenfeld, writing in 1880, writes that

Dove and Löwenfeld report,⁶² it was the wishes of Jaffé's parents that, despite his talent, put an end to his studies. Elias Jaffé was a businessman,⁶³ and it is not difficult to imagine that he would want his literarily-oriented son to begin to take up something practical. However, although the young Jaffé agreed to his father's wishes (as he admits, and regrets, towards the end of PJL 3), two of Jaffé's letters of 1838–1839 show that he suffered greatly behind the counter of the bank where he was apprenticed, and viewed a career in business as a tyrannical subjugation of his spirit (PJL 2–3). He was sure he was cut out for something else, and after two years he became a fulltime student at the University of Berlin. Indeed, he reports already earlier that he was using his lunch breaks and other free time to attend lectures at the University of Berlin, mostly in the field of modern history, but also in a variety of other subjects, including legal history and botany.⁶⁴ Beginning in April 1840, he registered as a full-time student and began to focus on medieval German history, including participation in Leopold von Ranke's *Übungen* (seminars). If indeed he had no *Abitur*, as suggested above, it is interesting to speculate how he managed to do so. Although formally he registered as a student of law

it was a "heut noch bestehendes hochangesehenes Bank- und Getreidegeschäft in Berlin" (*Im neuen Reich* 19 [1880]: 451–452); and of the names of Berlin bankers beginning with K listed in *J. W. Boike's Allgemeiner Wohnungsanzeiger für Berlin, Charlottenburg und Umgebungen auf das Jahr 1838* (Berlin: Veit, 1838), Teil IV, p. 437, only one, Köhne, reappears in the parallel list for 1880 in *Berliner Adress-Buch für das Jahr 1880*, Teil III, p. 431 (which lists "L. M. Kohne of Voßstr. 31; Teil I, p. 479, lists L. M. Köhne, with the umlaut, at the same address). The 1838 directory lists the proprietor as A. Köhne of Bischofstr. 7; *ibid.*, Teil I, p. 179, gives the same address and also a middle initial: A. C. Köhne. That the latter was Jaffé's employer is all the more probable given the fact that in PJL 12 Jaffé refers to his failed attempt to intervene with an otherwise unidentified "Herr Koehne" in order to extend a loan for an acquaintance. Koehne was probably Jewish; see below, n. 67.

⁶² In their accounts cited in the preceding note.

⁶³ He is listed as a "Kaufmann" in an 1834 record of his naturalization: *The Naturalized Jews of the Grand Duchy of Posen in 1834 and 1835* (compiled by E. D. Luft; Brown Studies on the Jews and Their Societies 4; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 40, also in both listings for Jaffé in the matriculation records of the Univ. of Berlin (see below, nn. 65, 102) and in Jaffé's baptismal record (below, n. 266).

⁶⁴ See PJL 1 (2 July 1838: "Mittags höre ich bei [Friedrich von] Raumer neuere Geschichte"); PJL 2 (10 May 1839: "höre ich noch Professor Ranke, der neuere Geschichte liest, Mittags von 12 bis 1" [while Raumer was away]). On Raumer, whose lectures particularly captivated Jaffé (see the end of the last-mentioned letter) and his *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*, see W. Kudrycz, *The Historical Present: Medievalism and Modernity* (London: Continuum, 2011), 83–90. Other lectures are also mentioned, especially botany and legal history and theory. Concerning the latter, taught by Eduard Gans, it is interesting that Jaffé saw fit to disparage him as a popularizer who played for the crowds, but makes no allusion to the fact that he had once been among the founders of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Berlin but eventually converted to Christianity. On Gans, see the notes to PJL 2.

and government (*Jura* and *Kameralia*),⁶⁵ he was soon to become one of Ranke's prime students—and Ranke is generally recognized as one of the founding fathers of German historical science, especially in its emphasis on dependence upon primary sources, and a central figure among the Berlin historians at the time.⁶⁶

The first half of the 1840s, when Jaffé was in his early twenties, was thus a critical period of transition for him. On the one hand, he was still dependent upon his parents, and his life was still quite significantly in a Jewish context. As a business apprentice he had worked, it seems, for a Jewish banker in a very Jewish neighborhood.⁶⁷ Moreover, in 1844 the oldest of his sisters, Ernestine, had married and moved to Berlin, where she had a son the next year,⁶⁸ and Jaffé regularly visited her and fulfilled his role as uncle to her son;⁶⁹ she too lived in a very Jewish neighborhood.⁷⁰ And even as an historian, Jaffé began his career in these

65 *Die Matrikel der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin 1810–1850* (3 vols.; ed. P. Bahl and W. Ribbe; EHKB 86; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 2.853.

66 Jaffé studied in Ranke's *Übungen* from 1840/41 until 1842/43, according to G. Berg, *Leopold von Ranke als akademischer Lehrer: Studien zu seinen Vorlesungen und seinem Geschichtsdenken* (SHKBAW 9; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1968), 230. On Ranke's seminars in the 1830s and 1840s, see *ibid.*, 51–56 (including, at 52–53, n. 4, a long list of his students' accounts of the seminars). For a view of Ranke and his colleagues around the time Jaffé began his studies, see “Die berliner Historiker,” *Hallische Jahrbücher*, 1841: 421–422, 425–427, 429–439 (430–436 on Ranke; according to Berg [*Leopold von Ranke*, 57], the author of that anonymous survey was Friedrich Köppen [sic]). For a more recent view of Ranke's school, see Kudrycz, *Historical Present*, 105–114.

67 For Bischofstrasse (Koehne's address; above, n. 61) being heavily Jewish, see: <http://www.diegeschichteberlins.de/geschichteberlins/berlin-abc/stichworteag/657-bischofstrasse.html> (accessed 23 April 2015). Moreover, note the 1822 listing for a Berlin “Banquier” named Baruch Kohne in *General-Adreßbuch der Königl. Haupt- und Residenzstadt Berlin 1822* (Berlin: Wegener, [1822?]), 276.

68 Ernestine's birth in 1821, marriage to Joel Perl in Schwertsenz in 1844, and the birth of her son Moritz Leopold in Berlin in 1845, are all recorded in J. E. Jaffé, “One Line,” 7, along with the fact that Ernestine and her second baby, Fritz, both died in 1851. See also PJL 18.

69 See PJL 11: three visits per week in 1851.

70 According to a letter from Karsten Krieger, Rosenthalerstrasse (where Perl lived, according to J. Jacobson [ed.], *Die Judenbürgerbücher der Stadt Berlin 1809–1851, mit Ergänzungen für die Jahre 1791–1809* [VHKB 4, Quellenwerke 1; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1962], 438, no. 2354) was located on what used to be the border between Spandauer Vorstadt (west), where essential parts of Berlin's Jewish establishment lived, and the notorious Scheunenviertel (barns quarter/ east), which was the home of many Jewish immigrants, especially from Posen. (The Rosenthaler Tor was, in the eighteenth century, the only gate through which Jews were allowed into Berlin—the background of the well-known scene of Moses Mendelssohn's entry into the city in 1743.) Note, in this connection, that the Perls' son Moritz Leopold (who usually went by Leopold), born in 1845, remained Jewish: in the c.v. in his 1866 medical dissertation he declared that “Fidei addictus sum veteri” (*De caloris organici incremento...* [Diss. Berlin; Berlin: Lange, 1866], 31), and the “Leopold Perl

years (just a year or two into his studies!) with a a totally Jewish orientation: his first publication, in *Der Orient* between November 1842 and December 1843, was a series of twenty Latin texts relating to medieval Jewish history, accompanied by his own German translations.⁷¹ *Der Orient* (subtitled “*Berichte, Studien und Kritiken für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*”), edited by Julius Fürst (1805–1873), was a journal that bespoke the orientation of a fledgling organization of a group of Jewish students in Berlin who were interested in furthering Jewish culture, with some proto-Zionist interest as well.⁷² Jaffé was evidently associated with that circle, although perhaps not formally a member,⁷³ and we may surmise that he viewed his collection of sources as a first step toward eventual preparation of a corpus of such texts. Indeed, shortly after the completion of the series of publications in *Der Orient*, Fürst republished all of Jaffé’s texts in a 73-page booklet optimistically entitled *Urkunden zur Geschichte der Juden...: Erstes Heft* (Leipzig: Hunger, 1844), concluding its preface (p. viii), which emphasizes the great utility of such corpora, with the hope that this “first fascicle” would quite soon (“recht bald”) be followed by a second one. Such a work would have been part of the groundwork for the construction of Jewish history during the Middle Ages, and producing it would have placed Jaffé among the pioneers of modern study of Jewish history, along with such near-contemporaries as H. Graetz and M. Stein-

Family Collection, 1845–1962” at the Center for Jewish History in New York includes his marriage document that lists him, twelve years later (1878), as of “Mosaic religion.”

71 The twenty installments of this series were published under the general heading: “Licht- und Schattenbilder aus der jüdischen Vergangenheit und Gegenwart: Urkunden zur Geschichte der Juden im Mittelalter.”

72 See N. M. Gelber, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Zionismus* (Wien: Phaidon-Verlag, 1927), 208–212. On *Der Orient* as the group’s unofficial organ (“eigentliches Sprachrohr”), see Gelber, *ibid.*, 211; see also B. Suchy, “Die jüdischen wissenschaftlichen Zeitschriften in Deutschland von den Anfängen bis zum ersten Weltkrieg: Ein Überblick,” in *Wissenschaft des Judentums: Anfänge der Judaistik in Europa* (ed. J. Carlebach; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992), 188. This Jewish student organization in Berlin, founded by Moritz Steinschneider (with whom Jaffé would later have some dealings; see below, n. 281), is to be distinguished from the Jewish “Cultur-Verein” founded around the same time, also in Berlin, by Leopold Zunz; see “Der Cultur-Verein zu Berlin,” *Israelitische Annalen*, 4 June 1841: 177–179 (opening declaration and list of board members), also M. A. Meyer, “‘Ganz nach dem alten Herkommen’? The Spiritual Life of Berlin Jewry Following the Edict of 1823,” *Bild und Selbstbild der Juden Berlins zwischen Aufklärung und Romantik* (ed. M. Awerbuch and S. Jersch-Wenzel; EHK 75; Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1992), 242. As Ismar Schorsch pointed out to me, in private correspondence, Zunz’s group was composed of well-established Berlin Jews, while Steinschneider’s was more a collection of students and new arrivals, such as Jaffé.

73 His name does not appear in a list of its members in an 1842 police report; see Gelber, *Vorgeschichte des Zionismus*, 308–9, n. 172. There is no overlap between this list and that of the Verein’s board mentioned in n. 72.

schneider.⁷⁴ In particular, one thinks here of later works in pursuit of the same project: M. Wiener's *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland während des Mittelalters* (1862), J. Aronius's *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden in fränkischen und deutschen Reiche bis 1273* (1902), and the volumes of *Germania Judaica* that began to appear in 1917.

However, despite its optimistic title the first volume of Fürst's compendium of Jaffé's texts was also its last, for Jaffé's work took him into other circles and other directions.⁷⁵ In Ranke's seminars Jaffé met colleagues who were to be at the forefront of the study of medieval *German* history, and he was swept up into their projects. This was a generation in which such study was, in general, part of the exhilarating development of German national self-consciousness,⁷⁶ and Jaffé enthusiastically became a part of this,⁷⁷ especially as he discovered that he could be very successful as an historical philologist, or philological historian, of the German Middle Ages. Just as Ranke himself and his first students were already at work preparing their respective volumes in the "Jahrbücher des deutschen Reichs" series,⁷⁸ so too Jaffé: already in 1842 he composed, at Ranke's suggestion, a Latin study of the twelfth-century emperor Lothar of Saxony. That 57-page essay

74 On the beginnings of Jewish historical scholarship in Germany, see N. H. Roemer, *Jewish Scholarship and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Germany: Between History and Faith* (Studies in German Jewish Cultural History and Literature; Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), and M. Brenner, *Prophets of the Past: Interpreters of Jewish History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

75 As an example of the fact that Jaffé did not remain part of the scholarly community involved in *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, note that his abovementioned emendation of a medieval Hebrew chronicle (see n. 48) went unnoticed, despite the detailed attention that has been directed to the same text. See the learned discussions in H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, VI (Leipzig: Ries, 1861), 433, n. 1 (= 2nd ed.; Leipzig: Leiner, n.d. [1871], 401, n. 1); H. Gross, *Gallia Judaica: Dictionnaire géographique de la France d'après les sources rabbiniques* (Paris: Cerf, 1897), 434–436; and S. Eidelberg, *The Jews and the Crusaders* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin, 1977), 175–176, n. 43. My thanks to Roberto Bonfil and Katelyn Mesler for help with this point.

76 For an idea of the great energy of German historical studies in those years, see, for example, two surveys in the journal created by Ranke's students, Jaffé's fellows: K. Klüpfel, "Die historischen Vereine und Zeitschriften Deutschlands," *ZGW* 1 (1844): 518–559, and "Über die neueren Urkundensammlungen zur deutschen Geschichte," *ZGW* 3 (1845): 485–540. On the *ZGW*, see below, at n. 84. See also Köppen's article cited above, n. 67, and n. 137.

77 For Ranke on Jaffé's outstanding enthusiasm, see below, n. 308.

78 Beginning with Ranke's own 3-volume *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter dem sächsischen Hause* (1837–1840) and G. Waitz's *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter der Herrschaft König Heinrichs I.* (1837). This series edited by Ranke, and its successor, the *Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte*, was to remain a central project of positivist historical study of medieval Germany for almost a century.

won Jaffé a prize from the Berlin University's Faculty of Philosophy,⁷⁹ and the next year Jaffé's full-length (280-page) German version of the work was published by Ranke's publisher, the Moritz Veit Verlag.⁸⁰ Two years later Jaffé followed that up with another book-length monograph in the same style on Lothar's successor, Conrad III,⁸¹ dedicating it warmly to Georg Heinrich Pertz, the director of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica—the research center dedicated to the publication of medieval texts pertaining to German history;⁸² that dedication probably had everything to do with the fact that Jaffé's volume was published by the MGH's publisher, namely, the Hahn publishing house in Hanover. That is, Jaffé was becoming a member of the guild, as we may also observe in the fact that, in preparing his volume on Conrad, he turned to several colleagues for their help, and received it.⁸³ Similarly, during these years Jaffé published no more in *Der Orient* or (as far as I have found) in other Jewish journals, but he did begin to publish regularly—reviews, articles, and even an angry response to a critique of his volume on Lothar—in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* (1844–1845); that journal had been created by Ranke's students and was sponsored by several more senior historians in Berlin, including Pertz and Ranke.⁸⁴ And it is noteworthy that although that journal regularly included books pertaining to Jewish history among the works it reviewed, they were not assigned to Jaffé.

Thus, whatever Jewish connections Jaffé maintained, it was not in medieval Jewish history, but in medieval German history, that he was making his mark, just

⁷⁹ See PjL 4–5.

⁸⁰ *Geschichte des deutschen Reiches unter Lothar dem Sachsen: Eine von der philosophischen Fakultät zu Berlin gekrönte Preisschrift* (Berlin: Veit, 1843). It is likely that Ranke's connections with Veit, who was soon to publish Ranke's *Neun Bücher preussischer Geschichte* (1847–1848), were helpful in arranging for the publication of Jaffé's monograph. On Veit, see also n. 195 to PjL 39.

⁸¹ See above, end of n. 48.

⁸² “Dr. G. H. Pertz aus innigster Verehrung gewidmet vom Verfasser.” On Pertz, who was also chief librarian of the royal library in Berlin since 1842, see A. Oertel, “Georg Heinrich Pertz,” in *Berliner Lebensbilder: Geisteswissenschaftler* (ed. M. Erbe; EHKB 60; Berlin: Colloquium, 1989), 87–108, also below, n. 149. For Jaffé's defense of the authenticity of a document published by Pertz, around the same time, see ZGW 4 (1845): 274–275. On the MGH, see below, n. 120.

⁸³ See PjL 8–9 (to Böhmer and Klüpfel) and Jaffé, *Geschichte...unter Conrad*, 12–14 (philological help from Jacob Grimm) and 217–218 (documents “gütigst” copied for him by scholars in Magdeburg and Wolfenbüttel).

⁸⁴ I count four contributions by Jaffé in ZGW 1–4 (1844–1845), including his “Antikritik” in vol. 2 (1844): 91–94, which responded to R. Köpke's “Lothar der Sachse und die neuesten Bearbeiter seiner Geschichte,” ZGW 1 (1844): esp. 229–236. See also his detailed review of a work by J. Grimm, on medieval poetry, in *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Geschichte* [the continuation of ZGW] 5 (1846): 477–484.

as the connections he made, in producing these volumes, were with practitioners in that field.

Similarly, Jaffé's greatest achievement in this early part of his career, prepared at the suggestion of Pertz,⁸⁵ who also arranged for financial support for Jaffé (from the publisher) while he worked on the project,⁸⁶ was devoted not to sources pertaining to Jews but, rather, to the papacy: a massive Latin volume of *Regesta* (summaries) of more than eleven thousand papal documents, culled from more than five hundred volumes, down to the year 1198.⁸⁷ This volume too, written in the wake of Ranke's monumental *Die römischen Päpste* (1844) and in the image of J. F. Böhmer's *Regesta Imperii* (1839–), squarely placed Jaffé's work in the mainstream of German medieval studies.⁸⁸

Thus, the 1840s saw the first major turning point in Jaffé's life: a definitive move from Posen to Berlin, late in the 1830s, was now complemented by moves from business into history and, in turn, from medieval Jewish history to medieval German history.

Moreover, this decade also saw the finalization of Jaffé's professional orientation as an historian. He was to be an historical *philologist*: his work would focus on the medieval Latin texts themselves, the building blocks of historical work on the German Middle Ages. As we have seen, he began the decade (and his career as an historian) with a small documentary project in *Der Orient*, and he ended the decade with a major documentary project, his *Regesta*. True, in the middle of the decade he had tried his hand at historical analysis and synthesis: his volumes on Lothar and on Conrad were monographs on the lives and reigns of those monarchs, histories of the *deutsche Reich* in their days. But it seems to have been generally agreed that while Jaffé's work on the philological nitty gritty, such as source criticism (establishing the sources on which a work depends), the

⁸⁵ For Böhmer's and Pertz's recognition already in the 1820s that such a project was an important desideratum, see E. Kleinstück, *Johann Friedrich Böhmer* (Frankfurt am Main: Kramer, 1959), 230–232. According to Bresslau (*GMGH*, 327), it was in Pertz's seminar that Jaffé got the idea. For Jaffé's early interest in papal documents note also the end of PJJL 8.

⁸⁶ As is reported by Bresslau, *GMGH*, 327–328. *Ibid.*, 328, n. 1, Bresslau reports the terms of Jaffé's 9 September 1846 contract with the publisher, according to which he would receive 200 thalers per year for three years.

⁸⁷ *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII* (Berlin: Veit, 1851). For its "Index librorum adhibitorum" see pp. xi–xx. The cutoff at 1198, after almost a thousand pages, was due to the fact that the Vatican's own volumes of *Regesta* began at that point, with the accession of Innocent III. For reviews of the *Regesta*, see below, n. 96; for its lasting importance, see above, n. 18.

⁸⁸ For an apparent example of Jaffé's authority on the basis of this work even before it was published, see n. 590 to PJJL 128. On other international connections that preparation of the *Regesta* occasioned, see p. v of its preface.

establishment of authentic texts, determination of chronology, and the like, was very successful,⁸⁹ he did not do as well when it came to historical analysis and synthesis, or to writing in a lively and interesting style. Whether one put that aggressively, as a reviewer of one of Jaffé's monographs who, alongside praise for Jaffé's work on details of text and documents, complained that such are "dead" because the work that Jaffé composed on their basis is devoid of life and spirit;⁹⁰ or proclaimed that the details are not very important ("nicht von eingreifender Bedeutung sind") and so Jaffé's work is to be viewed only as a diligent critical compilation ("nur eine fleissige kritische Compilation") which is without "spirit" and avoids any attempt to go beyond what the sources themselves offer;⁹¹ or rather made the same point more sympathetically, as Jaffé's student Alfred Dove eventually would,⁹² or diplomatically, as did Wilhelm Bernhardi⁹³ —however it

89 Apart from the literature quoted in the next footnotes, see for example J. Janssen, *Wibald von Stablo und Corvey (1098–1158): Abt, Staatsmann und Gelehrter* (Münster: Coppenrath, 1854), 13, n. 12: "Anselm's Staatsleben geht aus den bei Jaffé Lothar III. 261. XV. und Conrad III, 278, XVII. mit so dankenswerthem Fleiße und grosser Genauigkeit zusammengestellten Documenten hervor." For Jaffé's work being the beginning of scholarly discussion of Conrad III, see W. Ziegler, *König Konrad III. (1138–1152): Hof, Urkunden und Politik* (Wien: Böhlau, 2008), 15.

90 Köpke, *ZGW* 1 (1844): 231 (in a review of Jaffé's work on Lothar): "aber was helfen uns todte Einzelheiten, wenn sie sich nicht zu einem Bilde abrunden, aus dessen Zügen Geist und Leben zu uns sprechen? was hilft uns das wohlgeordnete Fachwerk der Chronologie, das, wenn es auch die Theile giebt, doch des geistigen Bandes entbehrt?"

91 E. Gervais, *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, October 1846: 745–749, 759–760 (review of Jaffé's book on Conrad). After introducing his review with a general statement about historians of earlier generations who were readable and interesting despite their mistakes in details, in contrast to modern heirs who often correct details but are less interesting, Gervais offers the lapidary declaration that "Ein Buch, das nicht wesentlich neue Resultate liefert, bleibt besser ungeschrieben." Then he goes on to present Jaffé's work as representative of the downside of Ranke's "Schule," which, in insisting on accounts based on sources, overreacted to the "Schwatzhaftigkeit" of earlier historians and condemned itself to rejecting all conjectures and being no more than compilers. Note that Gervais was the author of a work on Lothar that was a central butt of Jaffé's criticism in his own monograph on that king (see its preface, iii–vi), and that Köpke, in his review of the latter (cited in n. 84), had defended Gervais on precisely the same grounds.

92 *ADB* 13.637: "Worauf es bei diesem grundlegenden Unternehmen abgesehen war: vollständige Sammlung des zugänglichen Materials, sorgfältige Prüfung der Quellen im ganzen und einzelnen, genaue Feststellung der Thatfachen und ihres nachweisbaren Zusammenhangs, schlichte Klarheit in der knappen, annalistisch geordneten Erzählung,—alles das hat auch J. in seinen Reichsgeschichten geleistet, freilich auch grundsätzlich um kein Haarbreit mehr [...]."

93 In his review of scholarly literature on Lothar, Bernhardi wrote that Gervais wrote about the king "in lebhaften Farben und warmer Empfindung, aber durch Sorgfalt und Sicherheit der kritischen Untersuchung wurde er von Jaffé...bei weitem übertroffen" (*Lothar von Supplinburg* [Jahrbücher der Deutschen Geschichte; Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1879], v. For a similar assessment, see n. 97 to *PJL* 16.

was phrased, it appears that the assessment was generally recognized. By Jaffé too; the experiments of the mid-40s were not to be repeated. Rather, having found his métier in what were coming to be called “auxiliary historical sciences” (*historische Hilfswissenschaften*)⁹⁴—the location, decipherment, identification, editing, elucidation, and publishing of medieval texts, thus making them accessible to others—Jaffé would go on to become master of that trade.⁹⁵ But to become a master of helping others is not without its ambiguities, and perhaps also—its frustrations.

⁹⁴ On their history, especially in Berlin, see E. Henning, “Die historischen Hilfswissenschaften in Berlin,” *Geschichtswissenschaft in Berlin in 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Persönlichkeiten und Institutionen* (ed. R. Hansen and W. Ribbe; VHKB 82; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1992), 365–408.

⁹⁵ As Dove put it, after the observations cited in n. 92: “...stellt er von nun an seine Phantasie in den Dienst seines kritischen Verstandes; alle Wärme seines Herzens scheint hinfort in das kolossale Feuer seines Fleißes aufzugehen. Der Geschichtschreibung entsagt er ganz und zieht sich auch in der reinen Forschung mehr und mehr von der Ermittlung des Factischen auf dessen materielle Begründung zurück; er sammelt, sichtet, läutert und reproducirt alsdann die Ueberlieferung an sich...”

Chapter II

Staying in Berlin and in German History (1850–1854)

An Interlude

Despite the widespread recognition Jaffé's *Regesta* brought him, as is shown by numerous enthusiastic reviews,⁹⁶ by the Berlin Academy of Science's decision (at Pertz's suggestion) to give him a subvention to further his work,⁹⁷ and even by a special citation from the Vatican,⁹⁸ the tome did not secure him any position. And any pipe dream that the Vatican might support a continuation of the project beyond 1198 (a notion that was apparently proposed by Jaffé himself and floated by Pertz) was quite reasonably rejected out of hand by an MGH operative in Rome, given the fact that Jaffé was not a Catholic.⁹⁹ Indeed, if there had ever been a

96 See esp. G. Waitz, *GGA* 1851: 1993–2008, also [K. E. F.] Rosshirt, *Heidelberger Jahrbücher der Literatur* 13 (1852): 201; L. Delisle, *BEC* 13 (1852): 479–481; and anonymous reviews in *Journal des Savants* 1852: 60–61; *LCD*, Dec. 20 1851: 843; *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland* 28 (1851): 733–736 (includes the remark that it is embarrassing for Catholics that it was done by a Jewish scholar and Jewish publisher; cf. Böhmer's exclamation, "Daß dieses wissenschaftliche Verdienst ein Jude sich erwerben mußte!," at p. 14 of his 1850 letter cited below, n. 99, responding to news that Jaffé's work was being printed); and *Gelehrte Anzeigen* (München) 33 (1852): 161–165 and 174–176. For references to other reviews, including one by Alfred von Reumont in the *Beilage of Allgemeine Zeitung* (Augsburg) of 30 October 1851 (no. 303), which is, as Jaffé characterizes it in PJJ 18, "überaus freundlich," see PJJ 16, 18, and 43. Reumont will play a role later in Jaffé's career; see below, nn. 139, 143–145 (and for Jaffé visiting him as early as 1853, see PJJ 39). On an isolated case of sharp but unfounded criticism of Jaffé's work, see Appendix 5.

97 See PJJ 22, which quotes Pertz's statement that he had initiated the subvention. For the official approval of the Akademie's grant by the relevant minister, see *Bericht über die zur Bekanntmachung geeigneten Verhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. AdW zu Berlin*, 1852: 149.

98 For the Latin text of this document, dated 31 March 1852, see PJJ 24, also *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes*, 6 July 1852: 324. It was reprinted, along with a German translation, by H. Baerwald, "Juden als deutsche Historiker," *Jahrbuch für Israeliten* 5619 (Wien 1858): 153–154, n. 3 (in the course of his long report about Jaffé, pp. 146–158).

99 See Bresslau, *GMGH*, 328–329, also Fuhrmann, *Menschen*, 167, n. 34, on the basis of correspondence of September–October 1851 between Pertz and Ludwig Bethmann. Pertz thought there was a chance of getting papal support for such work by Jaffé, but Bethmann, in Rome, thought the idea was naïve and ridiculous, and would not have occurred to anyone apart from "der kindliche Jaffé." Note that Ranke too, as a Protestant, had been denied access to the Vatican archives when preparing his history of the papacy; see his introduction to his *History of the Popes: Their Church and State* (3 vols.; revised ed.; New York: Colonial Press, 1901), 1.xx. For the similar experience of yet another German historian around the same time, see the complaints in *Joh. Friedrich Böhmer's Briefe und kleinere Schriften*, II (= *Joh. Friedrich Böhmer's Leben, Briefe*

chance that the Vatican would allow Jaffé access to its archives, it was definitively quashed by the fact that his mentor's work on the history of the papacy had just created a furor in Rome and been put on the Vatican's *Index librorum prohibitorum*.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, it is reported that an attempt (by Pertz?) to find Jaffé a job in the royal library in Berlin also failed, due to his being Jewish.¹⁰¹ Already past thirty, Jaffé was badly in need of a livelihood—and the result was a major detour in his career.

In June 1850, even before completing the *Regesta*, Jaffé, following in his uncle's path, began medical studies at the University of Berlin.¹⁰² The next year, upon discovering that such studies, and the cost of living in general, were much less expensive in Vienna, and after ascertaining that his medical studies in Vienna would be recognized in Berlin,¹⁰³ Jaffé moved to Vienna and studied there for three semesters, eventually specializing in the treatment of eye diseases.¹⁰⁴ Perhaps he was influenced by the model and advice of his friend Ludwig Traube (1818–1876), who a decade earlier had studied medicine in Berlin but had supplemented that with medical studies in Vienna, about which he was much more enthusiastic.¹⁰⁵ Although Jaffé did not abandon his historical interests, and managed to collect

und kleinere Schriften, III; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1868), 13 (no. 291, 10 February 1850). As the anonymous reviewer of Jaffé's *Regesta* put it in *LCD* 1851: 843, "die neuesten Bestimmungen der Vatikanischen Bibliothek sind vollkommen geeignet, vor sanguinischen Hoffnungen auf die Ausführbarkeit eines solches Unternehmens [scil., a continuation of the *Regesta* past 1198] zu bewahren."

100 See H. Wolf, D. Burkard, and E. Muhlack, *Ranke's "Päpste" auf dem Index: Dogma und Historie im Widerstreit* (Römische Inquisition und Indexkongregation 3; Paderborn: Schöningh, 2003).

101 See below, n. 126.

102 See the Berlin *Matrikel* (above, n. 65), 2.1263. Unfortunately, due to the general lack of letters between 1844 and 1851 I have discovered no text in which Jaffé sets out his reasons for beginning medical studies.

103 For a June 1851 exposition of his considerations for the move, see PJJ 11.

104 For his arrival in Vienna in September 1851, see PJJ 15. Concerning his studies in Vienna, see especially PJJ 17 and 25; for his specialization in opthamology, see PJJ 33 and 57. This was a very dynamic period of reform in the history of medical education in Vienna; see E. Lesky, *The Vienna Medical School of the 19th Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), esp. 96–106. For a lithograph that identifies the professors of the medical school in 1853, see *ibid.*, Illustration 17. I am also grateful to Barbara Bieringer, of the Vienna University archives, who sent me copies of Jaffé's registration forms for the three semesters he studied at its medical school. For some remnants of his specialization, see PJJ 83 (a self-diagnosis) and PJJ 212 (on a magnifying glass for Mommsen).

105 See H. Morrison, "Ludwig Traube," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* 196 (1927): 1097, and M. Brännig, *Ludwig (Louis) Traube, 1818–1876: Arzt und Hochschullehrer—Begründer der experimentellen Pathologie* (Jüdische Miniaturen 71; Berlin: Hentrich und Hentrich, 2008), 14. On Traube's friendship with Jaffé, see below, n. 276.

in Vienna (with the help of collaborators around Europe) a good bit of material towards a supplement to his *Regesta* (see esp. PJJ 23, 33, and 43),¹⁰⁶ nevertheless he focused diligently on his medical studies. After an intensive year and a half in Vienna, boarding in rooms near the medical school (PJJ 15, 29), by March 1853 he was able to move back to Berlin,¹⁰⁷ complete his doctoral degree as a physician (in August 1853),¹⁰⁸ and successfully complete his licensing examinations. By mid-March 1854 he could proclaim to his parents that the dreary examinations were behind him and he was now officially a physician (PJJ 50).

Perhaps predictably, however, Jaffé's doctoral dissertation was actually in the field of medical history, indeed—medieval medical history.¹⁰⁹ And perhaps just as predictably, the private practice he opened in Berlin, upon completing his examinations in March 1854 (PJJ 50), was a total flop. Whether because there was too much competition, or because his heart was elsewhere, Jaffé managed to find only a very few patients, and his expenses far outran his income. Thus, on April 26 he reports a five-day period with no patients (PJJ 54), by May 12 that had become three patient-less weeks (PJJ 56), and by the next letter that had become a month with only one patient (PJJ 57). Thus, by April–May 1854, somewhat more than a year after his return to Berlin, Jaffé was desperate. After considering various

106 We may also surmise that it was during this period in Vienna that he became friendly with Ottokar Lorenz (1832–1904), who seems to have been one of his closest confidants and would be the most vociferous defender of his memory; see n. 121. According to S. Backs (*NDB* 15.171), Lorenz studied at the University of Vienna from 1851, i.e. just as Jaffé began his three semesters there. For an 1857 letter from Lorenz to Theodor Sickel, in which he expresses his regret that Sickel (due to travels) would not be able to meet Jaffé during a working visit in Vienna, see W. Erben (ed.), *Theodor Sickel: Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Werdezeit eines deutschen Geschichtsforschers* (München: Oldenbourg, 1926), 186.

107 See PJJ 35 (21 March 1853): “Gott lob dass ich endlich in Berlin bin [...] Wie freue ich mich Oestereich hinter dem Rücken zu haben.”

108 The title page of the dissertation (see n. 109) notes it was successfully defended, and the degree was therefore awarded, on 27 August 1853. See PJJ 41, written to his parents the same day, in which Jaffé complains about his expenses for the traditional reception following the defense.

109 *De arte medica saeculi XII. Dissertatio* (Diss. med. Berlin; Berolini: Fratres Schlesinger, 1853). For a survey of the topics dealt with in this dissertation, see [Heinrich] Haeser, “Bericht über die Leistungen in der Geschichte der Medicin,” *Canstatt's Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der gesamten Medicin in allen Ländern im Jahre 1853, II: Allgemeine Pathologie* (1854): 6–7. This detailed review opens with the statement that Jaffé's dissertation is among the few that deserves not to be forgotten, and goes on to survey various issues handled in the dissertation, at one point even accepting Jaffé's correction of something published by the reviewer himself, who was a professor of medicine in Greifswald. On the publication of Jaffé's dissertation, which was entrusted to a Berlin publishing house run by Jews from Posen with whom Jaffé was friendly (see PJJ 39 and 163), see A. Corcella, *Friedrich Spiro, filologo e libraio: Per una storia della S. Calvary & Co.* (Bari: Dedalo, 2014), 61–63.

options, including signing up as an army physician (PJL 54), he decided to return to Posen and open up a medical practice there, the notion being that there would be less competition there and that he could live with his parents and thereby reduce his expenses.¹¹⁰ He also expected to be assisted by his uncle Ludwig who, as we have seen, was a physician with much experience in the region.¹¹¹

Jaffé's letters show quite clearly that he truly planned to take this major step, however unenthusiastically: he gave up his lease in Berlin as of May 31, just as his parents, in Posen, ousted a boarder so as to make room for him (PJL 57–58). But just in the nick of time he was rescued, both from medicine and from Posen, by a job offer that turned his life around: in “the twelfth hour,” as Jaffé put it in PJL 58, just as he was ready to leave Berlin, he was offered a job at the MGH by his old patron, Georg Heinrich Pertz. Pertz had helped Jaffé in the production of his volumes on Lothar, Conrad, and the papal documents, and Jaffé had reciprocated with effusive words of gratitude and praise,¹¹² just as Pertz had publicly expressed pride in the fact that Jaffé had completed his *Regesta* in the royal library.¹¹³ Again, as we have seen, Pertz had moved the royal academy of sciences to help fund Jaffé's work on the *Regesta*, and had at least tried to find a future for Jaffé in Rome;¹¹⁴ since Jaffé returned to Berlin Pertz had turned to him for some translations.¹¹⁵ Now, therefore, it was not at all out of the blue that Pertz stepped in and offered Jaffé a position at the MGH. Moreover, as it happened, just a few months earlier the MGH had secured its financial basis for the next decade and now Pertz was able to think about taking on new staff,¹¹⁶ and Pertz was also about to lose Wilhelm Wattenbach, a trusted and experienced worker, who was also a good friend of Jaffé. Both the need to replace Wattenbach and the latter's friend-

110 He sets out his considerations in the letters mentioned in the last few lines (PJL 54–57).

111 See above, n. 41.

112 See above, at n. 82. Pertz is also the first of those thanked, lavishly, in Jaffé's preface to his 1851 *Regesta* (p. iv).

113 G. Pertz, “Ueber die königliche öffentliche Bibliothek zu Berlin und deren Bereicherungen seit den letzten fünf Jahren,” *Serapeum* 13 (1852): 23–24; after referring generally to the important research (“die grossen wissenschaftlichen Leistungen Berlins”) made possible by the library's collections, Jaffé's “ganz in der Bibliothek erwachsene” *Regesta* is the only example that Pertz mentions specifically. (According to the notice *ibid.*, p. 3, this report already appeared in the *Königlich Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger* 1851, no. 124 [i.e., on 21 November 1851, as Jaffé noted a few weeks later in PJL 18]; it was also published separately as *Die königliche Bibliothek in Berlin in den Jahren 1846–1850* [Berlin: Decker, 1851].)

114 See above, at n. 99.

115 See Bresslau, *GMGH*, 329.

116 *Ibid.*, 292–296 and 325–326.