

## New Light and Remaining Questions Concerning the Death of Philipp Jaffé\*

by

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Just before 10 a.m. on Sunday, April 3, 1870, a police officer in Wittenberge sent the following telegram to the police of Berlin: “This morning, Prof. Jaffé of Matthäikirchstraße 27 [Berlin] shot himself here at Wilke’s [guesthouse]. Please send his relations hither. He possessed 272 Thalers, a will (*Testament*), a registration form from March 22, and papers (*Nachlass*); wants to be buried here”.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Philipp Jaffé, *professor extraordinarius* of historical auxiliary sciences (*Hilfswissenschaften*) at the University of Berlin, virtually the first Jewish professor in a Prussian university and – first as compiler of his *Regesta pontificum romanorum* (1851), then as the mainstay of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*,<sup>2</sup> and finally as the creator of the *Bibliotheca Rerum*

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\* This report on work-in-progress and appeal for assistance, summarized at its conclusion, is part of my work on producing a monograph about Philipp Jaffé and an anthology of his letters. The project is supported by grant no. 62/14 from the Israel Science Foundation. Abbreviations used in this paper, apart from those listed in the MGH “Abkürzungs- und Sigelverzeichnis” (<http://www.mgh.de/fileadmin/Downloads/pdf/Merkblatt-DA-Siglen.pdf>): BRG – Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum; FDG – Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte; LCD – Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland.

<sup>1</sup> “... Heute Morgen hat sich der Professor Jaffé Matthäikirchstraße 27, hier bei Wilke erschossen, bitte Angehörige herzusenden. Besitzt 272 Thaler und Testament. Annahmeschein von 22 Maerz 1870, schriftlicher Nachlaß: will hier beerdigt sein ...” A copy of this telegram is preserved as item no. 35 in the Jaffé file of Mommsen’s *Nachlass* in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (see Appendix I). For the identification of “Wilke” as a “Gasthof”, see ALFRED DOVE, Jaffé, Philipp, in: ADB 13 (1881) pp. 636–642, here p. 641; for a March 1860 reference to “die durch den Bürger Wilke betriebene Gaststätte” see the “Chronik” for Wittenberge in the “Findcity” website.

<sup>2</sup> “Fanden die Beiträge Jaffés zum siebzehnten Band der *Scriptores* so allgemeine Anerkennung, daß er unbestritten als die wichtigste Stütze der *Monumenta* angesehen werden mußte, so war es ...” (HARRY BRESSLAU, *Geschichte der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, in: NA 42 [1921] p. 378); Jaffé’s contributions account for about 40% of MGH SS 17, which

Germanicarum – one of Germany’s foremost editors of medieval Latin texts, was buried in Wittenberge three days later, some six weeks after his fifty-first birthday.<sup>3</sup>

What brought Jaffé to shoot himself? And that, at a time when, as his friend Theodor Mommsen later put it, he had finally overcome all obstacles to his career and had found security<sup>4</sup> – probably a reference to the January 1870 decision of the University of Bonn’s Faculty of Philosophy to appoint him to a regular professorship?<sup>5</sup> Had Jaffé’s *Testament* or *Nachlass* survived, perhaps they would have shed some light; but it seems that neither has survived.<sup>6</sup> Various Jewish observers connected the suicide, one way or another, to

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appeared in 1861. See also HERMANN USENER, *Philologie und Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1882, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> For basic information about Jaffé, see especially DOVE, Jaffé (as in note 1) pp. 636–642 and OTTOKAR LORENZ, Philipp Jaffé †, in: *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* 21 (1870) pp. 276–284. Several other sources are listed in DANIEL R. SCHWARTZ, From Feuding Medievalists to the Berlin Antisemitismstreit of 1879–1881, in: *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* 21 (2012) pp. 239–267, here p. 248, n. 42. For the record in Wittenberge’s Kirchenbuch of Jaffé’s suicide on April 3 and burial on April 6, see his entry in the “Family Search” website; it adds, to data available elsewhere, the fact that it was around 6:30 a.m. that Jaffé shot himself.

<sup>4</sup> THEODOR MOMMSEN, Die deutschen Pseudodoktoren, in: *Preußische Jahrbücher* 37/1 (January 1876) pp. 17–22, here p. 17 (= IDEM, *Reden und Aufsätze*, ed. OTTO HIRSCHFELD, 1905, pp. 402–409, here p. 402): “Mit tapferem Muthe hatte er die schweren Kämpfe bestanden, in denen er sich seine Lebensstellung gewann; als er äußerlich geborgen war, erfolgte die Katastrophe ...” On the continuation of this sentence, see below, part IV.

<sup>5</sup> For the Faculty’s letter of January 26, 1870, to the university’s rector, including “Der europäische Ruhm desselben überhebt uns jeder näheren Begründung unseres Antrags”, see PAUL E. HÜBINGER, *Das historische Seminar der Rheinisch Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn. Vorläufer, Gründung, Entwicklung – Ein Wegstück deutscher Universitätsgeschichte* (Bonner Historische Forschungen 20) 1963, pp. 293–294. As for what kept the appointment from coming to fruition, we have no specific information apart from the statement in the Faculty’s renewed application for a professor of historical *Hilfswissenschaften*, on May 16, 1871, that it was (only) Jaffé’s death that dashed the earlier initiative; probably we need look no further than the usual delays of university bureaucracy. My thanks to Mr. Michael Holz of the Bonn University archives, who located the 1871 document in its very thin Jaffé file (shelf-mark: UAB: PF-PA 238 Jaffé).

<sup>6</sup> 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 Ms. Gisela Erler of the former and Ms. 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 n. 18 reports that a copy of Jaffé’s will was presented to the Königliches Stadtgericht zu Berlin in June 1875, Ms. Erler informed me that the records of that court are “Kriegsverlust”. As for Jaffé’s *Nachlass*: in accordance with his *Testament* it went (as we shall see in Part I) to Jaffé’s publisher, the Weidmannsche Buchhandlung (Berlin); as I was kindly informed by, Ms. Mirjam Burgdorf of the Georg Olms Verlag, which took over the Weidmann firm in the 1980s, the *Nachlass* was destroyed during the World War II bombings of Berlin.

Jaffé's conversion to Christianity some two years earlier,<sup>7</sup> suggesting either that he was guilt-ridden about it<sup>8</sup> or that it isolated him,<sup>9</sup> or instead that he was frustrated because it had not improved his career, since he remained only an *extraordinarius*.<sup>10</sup> Such assessments seem, however, to be not much more than self-serving guesses by outsiders who had no real knowledge; certainly those who offered the last-mentioned interpretation were not aware of the Bonn initiative. In contrast, Ottokar Lorenz of Vienna, a younger medievalist who was close to Jaffé,<sup>11</sup> was convinced that Jaffé had “really” been a Christian for a long time and had had no problems with his conversion (although he had put it off to a year after his father's death); rather, Lorenz linked the suicide to Jaffé's long and notorious feud with his former employer, Georg Heinrich Pertz, the head of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica (MGH).<sup>12</sup> According to Lorenz, a new round of hostility with Pertz had begun in the spring of 1869, when Pertz accused Jaffé of once having worked secretly for the Prussian police; that outrage gave Jaffé some new energy, but eventually a longer-term despondency raised its head again and brought him to his end.<sup>13</sup> This explanation has found widespread acceptance, and is at

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<sup>7</sup> My thanks to Mr. Bert Buchholz of the Evangelisches Landeskirchliches Archiv in Berlin, who supplied me with a copy of the listing of “Otto” Philipp Jaffé's baptism at Berlin's Petri-Kirche on February 6, 1868.

<sup>8</sup> According to DOVE, Jaffé (as in note 1) p. 641, the view that Jaffé “sich in Reue über seine Taufe verzehrt habe” was found in Jewish circles but was a “völlig unbegründete Hypothese”.

<sup>9</sup> So *Der Israelit*, April 13, 1870, 2. Beilage, p. 285: “... die ehemaligen Glaubensgenossen erschienen ihm jetzt als Feinde und die neuen Glaubensbrüder betrachteten seine Conversion mit einem gewissen Misstrauen”.

<sup>10</sup> So ADOLPH KOHUT, *Berühmte Israelitische Männer und Frauen in der Kulturgeschichte der Menschen* 2, 1901, p. 203 (baptism due to “Carrière-macherei”, suicide due to “Verzweiflung”), also GEORG HERLITZ, *Philipp Jaffé*, in: *Jüdisches Lexikon* 3 (1929) p. 128: “der Verdacht, daß J. diesen Schritt getan hat, weil er trotz seiner 1868 erfolgten Taufe das von ihm erhoffte akademische Ziel nicht erreicht hatte, ist nicht von der Hand zu weisen”.

<sup>11</sup> They both studied at the University of Vienna in the early 1850s. 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 to Vienna, see WILHELM ERBEN (Ed.), *Theodor Sickel. Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Werdezeit eines deutschen Geschichtsforschers* (1926) p. 186.

<sup>12</sup> Jaffé had worked at the MGH for almost a decade, but broke with Pertz in 1862 and began feuding with him; on this feud, see esp. BRESSLAU, *Geschichte der MGH* (as in note 2) pp. 378–385, 462–468, also SCHWARTZ, *From Feuding Medievalists* (as in note 3) pp. 250–263.

<sup>13</sup> LORENZ, *Philipp Jaffé* (as in note 3) p. 283. For another friend's account of Jaffé's mental imbalance in 1868, as a result of his feud with Pertz, see HERMANN HÜFFER, *Lebenserinnerungen* (Ed. ERNST SIEPER), 1914, pp. 203–204.

times even upgraded, especially by those who thought that Jaffé was too sensitive, into a formal Latin diagnosis of *delirium persecutionis*.<sup>14</sup>

However, Jaffé's feud with Pertz had been going on for some seven or eight years, ever since Jaffé submitted his resignation from the MGH in the summer of 1862 and began preparing his own competing series, the *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum* (BRG), of which he managed to publish five volumes (1864–1869).<sup>15</sup> Similarly, Jaffé's conversion preceded his suicide by more than two years, just as Jaffé's estrangement from his Jewish family had been progressing for years; it had come to a peak already in 1865, when he learned that his mother had visited Berlin for a few days and avoided him.<sup>16</sup> So while such long-term reasons may well have laid the foundation for Jaffé's eventual suicide, it is often the case that suicide, even among people who suffer from mental illness, is triggered by something more proximate.<sup>17</sup>

In the course of preparing a monograph on Jaffé and an anthology of his letters (to his family, to Mommsen, and to others), I have come across some data that have not been noticed. They can supply some clarity, but will also focus attention upon some questions that are still open and documents that are missing. I will present this report on work-in-progress under four headings, along the way pointing out some desiderata, and will be grateful if anyone can help fill in the blanks.

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<sup>14</sup> So FREDERICK T. HANEMAN, M.D., Philipp Jaffé, in: *The Jewish Encyclopedia* 7 (1907) p. 62. This opinion has now been canonized by acceptance into the article on Jaffé in Wikipedia.

<sup>15</sup> A sixth volume was published posthumously by two of Jaffé's friends, Wilhelm Wattenbach and Ernst Dümmler, in 1873.

<sup>16</sup> On this and other evidence for Jaffé's *Entfremdung* from his parents in 1865–1866, see HORST FUHRMANN, "Sind eben alles Menschen gewesen". *Gelehrtenleben im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, dargestellt am Beispiel der Monumenta Germaniae Historica und ihrer Mitarbeiter*, 1996, pp. 113–114.

<sup>17</sup> This is more or less intuitive, but also confirmed by research: "Among 26 patient suicides studied, the therapists identified a precipitating event in 25 cases; in 19 of these, supporting evidence linked the identified event to the suicide" (JOHN T. MALTSBERGER et al., *Determination of Precipitating Events in the Suicide of Psychiatric Patients*, in: *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior* 33/2 [Summer 2003] pp. 111–119). My thanks to Prof. Henri Zukier for help with this issue.

### I. Jaffé's will

Although Jaffé's will (mentioned by the Wittenberge police) is apparently lost, its date is known. That is because, in his will, Jaffé ordained that his literary *Nachlass* would go to his publisher, the Weidmannsche Buchhandlung – and so it happened that a certified copy of the will was presented to a Berlin court in 1875 in the context of Weidmann's complaint against one of Jaffé's students who had plagiarized his lecture notes, and the published account of the court's verdict luckily states the will's date: March 12, 1870.<sup>18</sup> This means that three weeks before his death Jaffé was getting practical about planning it, a conclusion that conforms very well to the fact that Jaffé took the will with him to Wittenberge, where (as the police telegram reports) he spent most of his last two weeks. **Discovery of the will itself could enhance the picture or change it, but I have no more ideas as to where to look for it (see above, n. 6).**

### II. Jaffé vs. Waitz in March 1870

As noted above, Jaffé's death is usually linked to his feud with Pertz, and with good reason. However, it now seems that the role played by Georg Waitz (1813–1886) should not be overlooked.<sup>19</sup> Waitz, professor in Göttingen, who was by the 1860s the leading German medieval historian of his generation,<sup>20</sup> had begun his career with Pertz and remained loyal to him throughout.<sup>21</sup> That may well have made him an ally of Pertz in his feud with Jaffé as well.

In the present context, a footnote by Waitz, which relates to a letter Jaffé sent him on March 14, 1870, less than three weeks before his death, is very suggestive. Waitz's footnote, reproduced below as Appendix IIa, comes at the

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<sup>18</sup> Rechtsfälle, in: Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel, 1875, no. 301 (Dec. 29, 1875) pp. 4786–4787.

<sup>19</sup> As I overlooked it in SCHWARTZ, *From Feuding Medievalists* (cited in note 3).

<sup>20</sup> On Waitz, see, in general, ROBERT L. BENSON and LOREN J. WEBER, Georg Waitz (1813–1886), in: HELEN DAMICO, JOSEPH B. ZAVADIL (Ed.), *Medieval Scholarship. Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline I: History* (Garland Reference Library of the Humanities 1350) 2013, pp. 63–75, and FERDINAND FRENSDORFF, Waitz, Georg, in: ADB 40 (1896) pp. 602–629.

<sup>21</sup> See, inter alia, FRENSDORFF, Waitz (as in note 20) p. 618, and WILHELM WATTENBACH, Pertz, Georg Heinrich, in: ADB 25 (1887) pp. 406–410, here p. 410 (“Waitz, der anfangs der hervorragendste Mitarbeiter gewesen, und immer in freundschaftlichen Beziehungen geblieben war”). For Waitz on Pertz, see his Georg Heinrich Pertz und die Monumenta Germaniae historica, in: NA 2 (1877) pp. 451–473, also the autobiographical introduction to his *Deutsche Kaiser von Karl dem Großen bis Maximilian*, 1862, pp. xi–xii.

outset of his study, *Das Dekret des Papstes Nicolaus II. über die Papstwahl im Codex Udalrici*, which appeared in FDG 10 (1870). To understand the issue, we should note that Nicholas II's decree of 1059 had been subjected to quite intensive study in the 1860s. These studies (including two by Waitz, in the FDG of 1864 and 1867) had concluded that the decree had survived in two main versions, termed I and II. This was the world of scholarship into which Jaffé entered when he published, in his BRG 5 (1869), his edition of the decree, noting in an introductory comment (p. 41, n. 1), somewhat dismissively, that earlier scholars (including Waitz), had not been able to elucidate all the issues pertaining to the decree, and that they had dealt only with the two other versions and not taken cognizance of the significantly different version that he was presenting.<sup>22</sup> That was provocative enough; but the matter was exacerbated by the fact that, in his detailed discussion of the decree that appeared immediately after BRG 5, a prominent church historian, Prof. Paul Hinschius of Kiel, indeed welcomed Jaffé's version of the text as a third ("III") and better one.<sup>23</sup> Waitz had to respond.

Not surprisingly, Waitz was far from convinced. In his study in FDG 1870 he sets out his criticism of Hinschius's assessment of Jaffé's text and, more importantly, of Jaffé's text itself, opening his study with a footnote in which he reports that he had written Jaffé and informed him that he planned to publish a critique of his edition of the decree. In his footnote, Waitz cites nineteen lines from Jaffé's reply of March 14, and then responds to it. With regard to their content and their tone, it seems that this footnote, and the article it opens, warrant notice from our present point of view.

Jaffé's text of the decree came in the section of his BRG 5 that presented the documents compiled in a twelfth-century work from Bamberg known as the *Codex Udalrici*; Jaffé presented the text of the decree on the basis of the manuscripts of that compilation, but also on the basis of an additional twelfth-century manuscript from Bamberg that he dubbed "B". Since this volume of the BRG is *Monumenta Bambergensia*, one can understand this focus on witnesses from that city. However, Waitz complained quite stridently that

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<sup>22</sup> "De diversis legis huius exemplis egerunt Waitz (in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* IV 105 sq.) Will (ibid. 537 sq.) Giesebrecht (in: *Münchener Historisches Jahrbuch für 1866* p. 156 sq.); neque rem ad liquidum perduxerunt. At quantam ea, quam hic propono, legis forma differat cum duabus formis adhuc respectis, facile apparet".

<sup>23</sup> PAUL HINSCHIUS, *Das Kirchenrecht der Katholiken und Protestanten in Deutschland* 1, 1869, pp. 248–261.

Jaffé had in fact confused matters, both by misrepresenting what he had done and by botching it. First, he argued that Jaffé should have chosen between two alternatives: (a) reconstructing the text of the decree as preserved in the Codex Udalrici, or (b) reconstructing the original text of the decree. In fact, however, by considering B as well, Jaffé had created a text that was not merely that of the Codex Udalrici; but by considering only B, apart from the Codex, Jaffé had ignored most of the evidence for the text of the decree. Jaffé's text was, in other words, neither fish nor fowl, a mishmash represented as if it were both less than it is and more than it is. In fact, Waitz argues that the evidence of B, which often agrees with witnesses for version I, should have led Jaffé to realize that B was not a witness to the text of the Codex. Rather, the Codex and B were both witnesses to the same lost text (which Waitz terms "A"), which was simply another witness to version I; therefore it is not justified to elevate Jaffé's text to the status of a third version, "III". Waitz illustrates the problem especially at p. 617, where he points to a case in which Jaffé's adoption of the unique text of the Codex, rather than that of B which conformed to other testimony, changed the meaning of the decree significantly. Waitz emphasizes that Jaffé's decision "widerspricht allen Grundsätzen der Kritik" unless, of course, Jaffé had only intended to reproduce the Codex's text, which was evidently not the case.

This is very severe criticism.<sup>24</sup> And, however surprisingly, it appears, to judge from Waitz's opening footnote, that Jaffé could respond only lamely. According to his letter of March 14, 1870, cited by Waitz (p. 614, n. 1 [below, Appendix IIa]), Jaffé responded only that (a) his intention had been merely to give the text of Nicholas's decree as preserved by the Codex Udalrici; (b) that he did not think the text of the decree preserved by that Codex was the original; and (c) that he doubted that the original text of this important document, which had undergone so much tampering, could be recovered. That is, Jaffé dissociated himself from all the positions that Waitz had ascribed to him and then attacked. But it seems clear that, although Jaffé had not explicitly taken those positions, Waitz's understanding of Jaffé, which was basically Hinschius's understanding of Jaffé, was based on a natural reading of what Jaffé had written. Accordingly, in his footnote, after quoting Jaffé's response, Waitz responded (a) that in fact Jaffé had not just given the text of the Codex

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<sup>24</sup> It had been anticipated, in several points (including the focus on the example Waitz addressed at p. 617), in Rudolf Usinger's review of BRG 5 in: *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1870 (Stück 4, Jan. 26), esp. pp. 128–133. But that review is much milder.

Udalrici; (b) that Jaffé's characterization of his intention, in his letter, was somewhat different from what he had announced in the volume itself (here Waitz is apparently referring, as at p. 615 of his article, to BRG 5, pp. 4–5, where Jaffé indicated he would try to restore the original texts); and (c) that since he found in Jaffé's letter nothing that brought him to change the text of his own draft, he was publishing it unchanged.

We thus see that, two days after he wrote his will, Jaffé was forced to write a very lame response to a severely critical review of his work, and to realize that the weakness of his work would soon be displayed before the scholarly world. Such humiliation can be devastating, especially for someone who, like Jaffé, was estranged from his parents and had no family of his own (which is why the Wittenberge police's telegram looking for Jaffé's *Angehörige* ended up among Mommsen's papers); his work was his life. Moreover, since it is unlikely that Jaffé would respond to Waitz's unsettling letter immediately upon receiving it (especially if that letter included a draft of his article or a summary of its arguments, but even if did not), we can suspect that the relation between the will and the draft was in fact the opposite: that the letter he would have to write was already on his mind when writing his will – and might have contributed to his decision to compose it.

Before leaving this episode, I would underline the fact that, beyond the specific arguments in Waitz's article, its opening footnote bespeaks an attitude vis-à-vis Jaffé that is, to my mind, shockingly cold. Given the footnote's statement that the article had been ready since the previous winter, and given its reference to Jaffé's letter of March 14, 1870, it seems clear that the footnote was composed after Jaffé died. But even if not, Waitz was the chief editor of the FDG and could easily revise his contributions to the volume long after their composition; indeed, in a moment we will see that he was making changes in this volume as late as mid-August 1870. Nevertheless, Waitz offers not even a word that indicates his knowledge that Jaffé had since died. There is no reference to "tragic circumstances" or to loss or sadness, no *leider* and not even *verstorbene*, not to mention any of the other usual respectful formulations (such as *verdienstvoll* or *frühzeitig*) – nothing. But it is not as if Waitz thought such remarks were out of place in a scholarly publication; note, for example, that in August 1870 he intervened in the page-proofs of the very same volume of FDG in order to add two full and emotional sentences in

memory of a student of his who had fallen in battle (see Appendix IIb).<sup>25</sup> While we need not expect anything so warm or eloquent about Jaffé, the extreme contrast between what Waitz wrote about his student, on the one hand, and his total silence concerning the passing of someone who had been his colleague for decades, on the other, indicates, to my mind, that, beyond the specific dispute, something deeper and darker was going on between Waitz and Jaffé.

Probably the basic datum here is the fact that Waitz and Jaffé were both students of Leopold von Ranke. Both were especially respected by him;<sup>26</sup> early on both wrote *Preisschriften* under his aegis;<sup>27</sup> and the two were, therefore, in a general way, competitors. Although earlier they had both written favorable reviews of each other's work,<sup>28</sup> and even when Jaffé devoted an entire article

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<sup>25</sup> "On the day that I proofread this printer's folio I received the shocking news that Pabst had fallen in the battle near Metz on August 16. With him scholarship lost one of its most talented young historians, one on whom the highest hopes had been pinned! G.W." That Waitz was the editor of FDG 10 (1870) seems not to be noted in the volume itself, but is clearly stated in the retrospective report in FDG 26 (1886) p. 656 and in WILHELM VON GIESEBRECHT'S obituary for Waitz, *ibid.*, p. 660.

<sup>26</sup> According to DOVE (Jaffé [as in note 1] p. 637), Ranke reported that Jaffé surpassed all of his other students in his "burning zeal" (*brennenden Eifer*) for his studies; for Ranke's central role in the creation of Jaffé's 1862 professorship in Berlin, see BRESSLAU, *Geschichte der MGH* (as in note 2) p. 382. As for Waitz, note for example the following lines in his above-mentioned autobiographical sketch (*Deutsche Kaiser* [as in note 21], p. x): "Vor Allem war es ja aber Ranke, der mich anzog, fesselte, durch seine Vorlesungen und Uebungen, dazu durch die persönliche Gunst und Freundschaft, die er mir schenkte, mich hob und leitete und lebenslang an sich knüpfte".

<sup>27</sup> On Waitz's 1835 *Preisschrift* on Heinrich I see Ranke's preface (to the first edition) of WAITZ, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reichs unter König Heinrich 1*,<sup>3</sup> 1885, p. xi. That Jaffé's *Geschichte des deutschen Reiches unter Lothar dem Sachsen* (1843) is a German version of his 1842 Latin *Preisschrift* is noted on its title page; cf. Jaffé's letter to his parents in FUHRMANN, *Sind eben alles Menschen gewesen* (as in note 16) pp. 147–149, including a glowing report of his meeting with Ranke in connection with that monograph.

<sup>28</sup> For Jaffé on Waitz, see *inter alia*, *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 4 (1845) p. 272, also LCD 1861, cols. 582–583, and 1862, cols. 691–693. In the first-named passage Jaffé characterized a work co-authored by Waitz as the "tüchtigste und gründlichste" on the subject and defended its position against a critic; the latter two are Jaffé's highly enthusiastic reviews of the third and fourth volumes of WAITZ, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*. (The latter two reviews are anonymous, but Jaffé's authorship of the review of vol. 4, which appeared in the August 16, 1862, issue of LCD, is demonstrated by a cover letter of July 24, 1862, with which he submitted to the editor, Friedrich Zarncke, a review "des Waitzischen Werks" [the letter is found in the University of Leipzig's Zarncke collection; my thanks to Steffen Hoffmann, of that library's special collections department, who kindly supplied me a copy], and the fact that Jaffé wrote the review of vol. 3 as well is indicated by the way the review of vol. 4 opens with a retrospective reference to it as by the same reviewer.) For Waitz on Jaffé, see already *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1851, 1993–2008 (an enthusiastic review of Jaffé's *Regesta pontificum romanorum*), also HZ 11 (1864) pp. 426–427 (a brief but very laudatory notice about Jaffé's textbook, *Diplomata quadraginta*).

to reaffirming a thesis that Waitz had doubted, his study was totally devoid of polemics,<sup>29</sup> by the late 1860s things seem to have been going downhill. Apart from the usual competition between Berlin and Göttingen, probably the fact that Pertz (b. 1795) was getting old and so the question, who would succeed him at the helm of the MGH, was becoming more and more real, played a role, for Jaffé and Waitz were the main candidates.<sup>30</sup> In any case, it seems that the last years of the 1860s saw the outbreak of a major conflict between Jaffé and Waitz, one which was not at all divorced from the feud between Jaffé and Pertz, and that Waitz's chilling reference to Jaffé, in the footnote that opened his 1870 study of the Codex Udalrici, is to be read as part of that broader conflict.

The *casus belli* seems to have been Jaffé's 1866 publication of St. Boniface's letters in the third volume of his BRG. As Harry Bresslau has noted, that particularly angered Pertz, for Boniface's letters had long been a special project to which Pertz had looked forward, and so Jaffé's preemption was taken to be an affront, and probably was meant to be one.<sup>31</sup> It is, therefore, not surprising to find that, a mere three years later, a Göttingen dissertation, produced by one Ernst Dünzelmann with the intensive involvement of Waitz, attacked Jaffé's reconstruction of the chronology of the letters.<sup>32</sup> Jaffé did not take that quietly; rather, he immediately composed a long study, *Zur Chronologie der Bonifazischen Briefe und Synoden*, a piece which Alfred Dove later characterized as "a masterpiece of polemics",<sup>33</sup> and sent it off to the FDG, where it would appear, posthumously, at pp. 398–426 of the 1870 volume. Waitz, as editor of the FDG (see n. 25), must have seen Jaffé's piece well

<sup>29</sup> PHILIPP JAFFÉ, Über die Rosenfelder Annalen, in: Archiv 11 (1858) pp. 850–867 – a response to a single footnote by Waitz: MGH SS 6 (1844) p. 545, n. 40.

<sup>30</sup> Already in 1867 von Ranke was pushing for Waitz's appointment to succeed Pertz (see LEOPOLD VON RANKE, *Neue Briefe*, ed. HANS HERZFELD, 1949, p. 495), and by July 1870 von Ranke was writing Waitz that it was generally recognized that he was to be Pertz's successor (LEOPOLD VON RANKE, *Zur eigenen Lebensgeschichte*, ed. ALFRED DOVE, 1890, p. 492 = LEOPOLD VON RANKE, *Das Briefwerk*, ed. WALTHER P. FUCHS, 1949, p. 501). As for Jaffé, note Pertz's complaint in a letter of July 22, 1869, to Karl F. Stumpf (MGH Archiv A 347 10), that "Der Jude schmeichelte sich einmal, daß ihm die Leitung der Monumenta angeboten werden würde" – one of the very few texts concerning the Jaffé-Pertz feud in which the fact that Jaffé was Jewish figures explicitly.

<sup>31</sup> See BRESSLAU, *Geschichte der MGH* (as in note 2) pp. 462–464.

<sup>32</sup> ERNST DÜNZELMANN, *Untersuchung über die ersten unter Karlmann und Pippin gehaltenen Concilien*, 1869; on p. iv, Dünzelmann thanks Waitz profusely for all "die eingehenden Besprechungen, die er meiner Arbeit zu Theil werden liess". Compare the way Jaffé's doctoral student had devoted his dissertation to attacking Pertz's work; see below, note 49.

<sup>33</sup> DOVE, Jaffé (as in note 1) pp. 640–641 (he adds: "nicht ohne Anflug von einer freilich schon bitteren Ironie ...").

before it was published, and it is clear that although nominally Jaffé's piece was a response to Dünzelmann, it was in fact directed against Waitz. If then, as we have seen, later in the same volume of the FDG there appeared an article by Waitz which not only criticized Jaffé from beginning to end, but also so chillingly ignores his death, we are probably not exaggerating if we infer that there was not only routine competition but also severe hostility between the two.

Thus, to conclude the discussion of this episode, we see that just around the time Jaffé was writing his will he was not only being forced to recognize that he had erred severely concerning the text of Nicholas II's decree, and that his error was about to be displayed to his colleagues, but also to realize that it was his closest competitor who had the upper hand in that exchange and that he was, not without provocation on Jaffé's own part, very hostile toward him. In considering Jaffé's mood in March 1870, all of this seems to be very relevant. **But we might be able to understand this episode much better if we could find correspondence between Waitz and Jaffé in the late 1860s or, especially, early 1870.** So far I have not been able to locate any such letters.

### III. Jaffé's Report on the Carte d'Arborea

Another part of Jaffé's scholarly work in March 1870 is illuminated by his correspondence with Mommsen and a French obituary for Jaffé. From a letter of February 26, 1870, from Jaffé to Mommsen, preserved in Mommsen's *Nachlass* in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, we can see that, in late February, the two were still working on the page-proofs of their report that demonstrated that certain Sardinian documents, known as the Carte d'Arborea, were not of medieval origin but, rather, modern forgeries.<sup>34</sup> This report, a collective work coordinated and submitted by Mommsen, had been presented to the Berlin Academy of Sciences on January 31, 1870, and we may infer that in March it was still being prepared for publication in the Academy's *Sitzungsberichte*.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> For the published report, see THEODOR MOMMSEN, Bericht über die Handschriften von Arborea, in: Monatsberichte der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1870, pp. 64–104; Jaffé's part comes at pp. 74–80. Further literature concerning this episode is cited below, notes 38–41.

<sup>35</sup> Note that in his letter of February 26 Jaffé proposed two changes to p. 72 of the report, quoting the original and adding additional text in both cases, but in the final printed version only his first suggestion was adopted as is. The other one was not, probably because it would

But we also know that it appeared by the end of the month, for a French obituary reports that on March 30 Jaffé had mailed offprints of the report (or, perhaps, only of his part of it) to his friends in Paris.<sup>36</sup> Thus, this part of Jaffé's work during his last month seems to have been basically "business as usual", and if, as it seems, he was indeed planning to kill himself, we will infer that he first wanted to clean off his desk, at least insofar as he was involved in a joint project with his friend Mommsen.

However, Jaffé's work on the *Carte d'Arborea* has been associated with his death in an entirely different way: In 1878 Gaetano Ghivizzani, a Sardinian journalist, reported that when a Sardinian epigraphist, Ignazio Pillito,<sup>37</sup> displayed before Jaffé evidence that demonstrated he was wrong about what was possible or impossible in the paleography of Sardinian texts, Jaffé, who had been unaware of that evidence, was so embarrassed that he killed himself.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, such a demonstration would have been very embarrassing.

Ghivizzani's report must have reflected a lot of popular feeling among Sardinians who were resentful about "meddling" German scholars who had undertaken to evaluate their documents and deny their authenticity; writing a few decades later, Wendelin Förster reported that it had been widely believed, in Cagliari and elsewhere, that Pillito had "confuted" Jaffé.<sup>39</sup> However, Ghivizzani offers no specifics concerning when or where Pillito could have presented his evidence to Jaffé, and I have not been able to find anything more. Moreover, as noted above we know that on March 30 Jaffé was sending

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have entailed re-pagination; but neither is the text as published identical to the original as Jaffé quoted it. Rather, it was fixed in a way that achieves the same end without adding so much new text. This indicates that work on editing the report must have continued into March 1870.

<sup>36</sup> See LÉOPOLD DELISLE's obituary for Jaffé in: *BECh* 31 (1870) pp. 255–256. (It is unsigned, but since the author refers to his own reviews of the first four volumes of Jaffé's BRG, it is clear that he was Delisle, whose signed reviews of those volumes may easily be found in the 1865–1868 volumes of the *BECh*.)

<sup>37</sup> On whom, see RAIMONDO BONU, *Scrittori sardi nati nel secolo XIX, con notizie storiche e letterarie dell'epoca* 2, 1961, pp. 731–732.

<sup>38</sup> See Ghivizzani's open letter to Mommsen in: ANGELO DE CASTRO, *Il Prof. Mommsen e le Carte d'Arborea*, 1878, p. 10. Ghivizzani states that after Pillito refuted Jaffé's claims by showing him authentic medieval texts with the paleographic characteristics Jaffé had thought impossible, "il poverino non se n'era accorto, onde finì col disperatamente uccidersi" (cited by ATTILIO MASTINO, *Il viaggio di Theodor Mommsen e dei suoi collaboratori in Sardegna per il Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, in: *Theodor Mommsen e l'Italia*, 2004, pp. 225–344, here p. 250, n. 104).

<sup>39</sup> WENDELIN FÖRSTER, *Sulla questione dell'autenticità dei codici di Arborea*, in: *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, Ser. 2, 55 (1905) p. 229.

out, apparently from Wittenberge, copies of the report (or, at least, of his contribution to it); this apparently indicates that, three or four days before he killed himself, Jaffé still stood behind what he had written. And it is also the case that later, even when visiting Sardinia in 1877, Mommsen reiterated his opinion that the documents in question were forgeries<sup>40</sup> – and presumably he would have had doubts if he knew that Jaffé had. So perhaps it is wise to discount Ghivizzani's report as a self-serving Sardinian legend.<sup>41</sup> **But it would be nice to discover copies of the offprints Jaffé sent to Paris (or elsewhere), to see if they had any interesting dedications or marginalia, and also to find some way to confirm or disprove Ghivizzani's report more conclusively.** So far I have had no luck with the former desideratum, despite extensive research in Parisian libraries, and no idea about how to pursue the latter.

#### IV. "Die Katastrophe des 22. März 1870"

This final issue relates to an interesting error, in two publications, concerning the date of Jaffé's death. As noted at the outset of this paper, the Wittenberge police's report of Jaffé's death on April 3, 1870, includes the statement that Jaffé checked into the guesthouse on March 22. What was he doing there? Try as I might (including "cherchez la femme", with no results), I have not found anything at all that might shed light on why Jaffé was in Wittenberge, of all places, and wanted to be buried there. This leads me to suspect, since Wittenberge was a place easily reachable from Berlin (only 127 kilometers away on

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<sup>40</sup> See ARNALDO MARCONE, *Die deutsch-italienischen Beziehungen im Spiegel der Biographie Mommsens*, in: ALEXANDER DEMANDT, ANDREAS GOLTZ, HEINRICH SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN (Ed.), *Theodor Mommsen. Wissenschaft und Politik im 19. Jahrhundert*, 2005, pp. 142–162, here p. 154.

<sup>41</sup> Indeed, in a letter of September 3, 2014, for which I am grateful, Prof. Mastino (who cited Ghivizzani's statement; above, n. 38) expressed the opinion that the linkage of Jaffé's suicide to criticism from Pillito had no basis apart from the imagination – eight years after Jaffé's death – of a polemic journalist who believed in the authenticity of the Arborea texts. For Ghivizzani's resentment vis-à-vis German scholars who were denying Sardinians evidence of their past, see MARCONE, *Deutsch-italienischen Beziehungen* (as in note 40) p. 154. To which I might add, with regard to Ghivizzani's claim that it was I. Pillito who showed Jaffé that he was wrong, that already Mommsen suspected that Pillito was among the forgers of the documents, and that today that is commonly assumed; so ANTONELLO MATTONE, Martini, Pietro, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 71 (2008, online) and, especially, ATTILIO MASTINO and PAOLA RUGGERI, *I falsi epigrafici romani delle Carte D'Arborea*, in: *Santu Antine* 1 (1996) pp. 101–35 (at p. 109 the latter cite Mommsen's suspicions).

the Berlin-Hamburg railroad line), that Jaffé went there simply because he wanted to leave Berlin.

Working on that hypothesis, and on the additional hypothesis that Jaffé had left Berlin the same day, I find it curious and tantalizing that at least two sources wrongly give March 22 as Jaffé's date of death. Namely, the *Börsenblatt's* report of the Berlin court's 1875 decision concerning plagiarism (above, n. 18) says it was "aus den Vorlesungen des am 22. März 1870 verstorbenen Professors Jaffé", and the sentence from Mommsen's paragraph about Jaffé, truncated in n. 4, above, concludes as follows: "als er äusserlich geborgen war, erfolgte die Katastrophe des 22. März 1870"; in context, it is clear that this refers to Jaffé's death.<sup>42</sup>

Mommsen's article appeared within a month or so of the *Börsenblatt's* report of the plagiarism trial, and since he explicitly refers to the report, and details in his article make it quite obvious that that report was on his desk as he wrote, the fact that Mommsen gave the same erroneous date may easily be understood. Nevertheless, the error is surprising, if only because Mommsen was not only Jaffé's friend, and one of those frighteningly *gründlich* German philologists who simply do not make mistakes like this; apart from those general considerations, we can also easily document that, at least in 1870, Mommsen knew very well that Jaffé died on April 3, not March 22.<sup>43</sup>

In pondering what gave rise to the mistake in the court's record, and to Mommsen's willingness to adopt it, it became interesting to note that (as Prof. Christhard Hoffmann kindly pointed out to me) March 22 was King Wilhelm I's birthday. It was celebrated annually during his long reign, and so March 22 was probably a date easily recognized in his day, just as July 4 in the USA or July 14 in France. Moreover, it was celebrated every year at the University of

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<sup>42</sup> And that is made all the more clear by a passage two lines later, in which Mommsen writes, with regard to the posthumous plagiarism: "Hier soll von einem Schicksal die Rede sein, das ihm (= Jaffé) noch nach dem Grabe widerfahren ist; geringfügig, wenn es mit jener Katastrophe zusammen genannt wird, aber doch auch erinnernd an seinen bösen Stern". Here "mit jener Katastrophe" apparently points back to "Grabe".

<sup>43</sup> On April 5, 1870, the *Königlich privilegierte Berlinische Zeitung* included, in its obituary section, a notice, co-authored by Mommsen, reporting Jaffé's death on April 3; and already on April 4, 1870, Ernst Curtius wrote his brother that Mommsen had, the preceding day, notified him of Jaffé's *Selbstentleibung*. My thanks to Ms. Senta Reisenbüchler, who checked the Berlin newspapers for me, and to the special collections department of the library of the University of Bonn, which supplied me with a copy of Curtius's letter, preserved in his *Nachlass*.

Berlin, with an *akademischer Festakt* that featured a *Festrede* in the Aula Magna. On March 22, 1870, the *Festrede* was given, as in many other years, by Prof. Ernst Curtius, who was an ancient historian,<sup>44</sup> so we may assume that many of the university's historians and philologists were present at the event, which is reported to have been attended by the "Rektor und Professoren der Universität", along with many other dignitaries.<sup>45</sup>

Thus, it may be that for someone like Mommsen, the notion that Jaffé died on March 22 may have made sense, in erroneous retrospect, if Jaffé's death was somehow linked in his mind to the celebration of the king's birthday. Now, although I have not been able to document the hour of the proceedings specifically on March 22, 1870,<sup>46</sup> **and such documentation would be welcome**, it seems that usually such academic *Festakte* were held in the late morning or midday.<sup>47</sup> Accordingly, since the last train to Wittenberge left Berlin at 6 p.m. and arrived at 10 p.m.,<sup>48</sup> Jaffé will have had plenty of time to attend the *Festakt*, together with his colleagues, and then to decide to leave Berlin following some embarrassing or enraging incident and still check into a guesthouse in Wittenberge on the 22<sup>nd</sup>, as is stated in the police report. Entering into the

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<sup>44</sup> As may be seen in the University of Berlin's section of the Munich Historische Kommission's online bibliography of "Rektoratsreden im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert", Ernst Curtius gave the March 22 speeches in honor of the king's (later: Kaiser's) birthday almost every year between 1869 and 1886.

<sup>45</sup> A somewhat detailed account of the 1870 event appeared in the Königlich privilegierte Berlinische Zeitung, March 23, 1870, p. 3.

<sup>46</sup> My attempts to find something relevant in the archives of the Humboldt University, or in newspaper accounts of the event, or in Curtius's *Nachlass* (see note 43), have remained fruitless.

<sup>47</sup> The closest I have come, so far, to documenting this for our 1870 case is Curtius's reference, in a letter to his brother, to *Mittagessen* with the crown prince in conjunction (but without details, such as "anschließend") with his Berlin *Festrede* on March 22, 1873; see ERNST CURTIUS, *Ein Lebensbild in Briefen 2*, ed. FRIEDRICH CURTIUS, 1913, p. 129. For some explicit evidence about other years, see (a) a program, in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, entitled *Akademische Schiller-Feier, Freitag den 11. November 1859 Mittags 12 Uhr im großen Hörsaale der Kgl. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1859*; (b) the *Neueste Mittheilungen (Berlin)* for April 24, 1885, which reports, at p. 5, that the university's *Festakt* in honor of the emperor's birthday was "mittags"; and (c) ERNST TROELTSCH, *Der Historismus und seine Probleme* (1922), *Erstes Buch: Das logische Problem der Geschichtsphilosophie*, ed. FRIEDRICH WILHELM GRAF, 2008, pp. 88–89: the Berlin *akademischer Festakt* for Wilhelm II's birthday on January 27, 1916, was at noon.

<sup>48</sup> As I was kindly informed by Dipl.-Ing. Günter Krause, the president of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Eisenbahngeschichte, who, in response to my inquiry, checked several 1870 issues of the *Eisenbahn-, Post- und Dampfschiff-Coursbuch*, and also an 1870 issue of the *Eisenbahn-Anzeiger, enthaltend die Eisenbahn-Verbindungen in den Staaten des Norddeutschen Bundes, in Süddeutschland und Österreich*, and found the same data in them all.

realm of moderate speculation, I can make two suggestions about what might have happened; they are not mutually exclusive.

(a) It is simple to guess at least one item that will have occupied Berlin historians on March 22, 1870, and could easily have led to some nasty incident for Jaffé when they all got together to hear Curtius's speech. Namely, as it happened, that Tuesday was virtually the morrow of the appearance of what can only be viewed as a resounding salvo in Jaffé's feud with Pertz: the March 19 edition of the LCD included a terribly nasty review of a work by Pertz – the third volume of his *Das Leben des ... Gneisenau*. The review (cols. 332–335) opens with the amazingly belligerent declaration that “this work too” fails to belie the well-known deficiencies of Pertz's historiography (“Die bekannten Untugenden Pertzischer Geschichtsschreibung verleugnet auch dieser Band nicht”!), and it then goes on to illustrate that with numerous examples, turning the knife around and around. The review was anonymous. But if I could easily prove, at a distance of almost a century and a half, that it was written by Max Lehmann (1845–1929, eventually professor of history at Göttingen), who was Jaffé's student and closest collaborator, and whose 1867 doctoral dissertation (suggested and advised by Jaffé) on a Cologne chronicle amounted to a hatchet-job on the MGH edition of that text by Pertz's son Karl,<sup>49</sup> presumably the Pertzes and others could figure it out as well.<sup>50</sup> This issue of the LCD, published in Leipzig on Saturday, March 19, will have arrived in Berlin mailboxes on Monday, March 21. Anyone familiar with the avid interest that nasty reviews typically evoke among scholars can easily imagine that the review was the talk of the town among members of the historical and philological guilds, and the scenes that could have erupted when they all met to hear Curtius's speech the next day.

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<sup>49</sup> For Lehmann's 1867 Berlin dissertation, *De annalibus qui vocantur Colonienses maximi quaestiones criticae*, as a Jaffé-inspired hatchet-job on Karl Pertz's 1861 edition of the same chronicle (in MGH SS 17), see SCHWARTZ, *From Feuding Medievalists* (as in note 3) pp. 262–263.

<sup>50</sup> For Lehmann's close relationship with Jaffé, who was his *Doktorvater* and with whom he continued to work (producing, for example, the index to BRG 5, which appeared in 1869), see SCHWARTZ, *From Feuding Medievalists* (as in note 3) p. 248 and pp. 261–263. See also *ibid.*, pp. 263–264, n. 115, for my identification of Lehmann as the author of the anonymous trashing of Pertz's work on Gneisenau in the LCD of March 21, 1870. That identification is based on the review's commonalities with Lehmann's known interests and themes. **But if Lehmann's own copy of the third volume of Pertz's biography of Gneisenau could be found, the marginalia could possibly make the identification even more conclusive.** I have looked for it in many libraries, so far unsuccessfully.

(b) Curtius's speech focused on the virtue of hospitality (*Gastfreundschaft*); after discussing its importance in antiquity, Curtius goes on to recommend it as a virtue for contemporary Prussia as well.<sup>51</sup> The Jews come in for special attention in this speech, and all of it is positive. First, already toward the beginning (p. 4) Curtius emphasizes that the God of the Old Testament visited Abraham and Lot. Then, after ten pages on hospitality in ancient Greece and Rome (his own field of specialization), when Curtius moves quickly through Christianity he remarks that Rome persecuted it by mobilizing all the hatred of foreigners and revulsion vis-à-vis Jews (*Abscheu gegen die Juden*) that it could (p. 14) – thus putting the Jews and the Christians into the same boat over against those Roman villains. Accordingly, it is not surprising that, when turning to the importance of hospitality in contemporary Prussia (and to praising the king for fostering it), Curtius concluded that “So ist Preußen in Stand gesetzt worden, sich die Kräfte der begabtesten Nationen, die geistige Regsamkeit der Franzosen, sowie die reichen Gaben der jüdischen Bevölkerung anzueignen, ohne Gefahr zu laufen, seinen geschichtlichen Charakter einzubüßen oder sein deutsches Gepräge zu verwischen” (pp. 16–17). Such positive attention to the Jews, especially the last-cited passage – which was to be cited and enthusiastically underlined by Germany's central Jewish newspaper<sup>52</sup> – could easily have touched off reactions or comments that Jaffé found offensive.<sup>53</sup>

These, then, are my speculations about what might have happened at the *Festakt*, and catalyzed Jaffé's decision, perhaps in rage or in embarrassment, to leave town, taking his will with him, and, after eating himself up for another twelve days, to take the final step, that had long been percolating. **But apart from pinning down the hour of the *Festakt* in 1870, it obviously would be desirable to find some memoir or letter, or other document, that sheds**

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<sup>51</sup> Festrede am Geburtstage Seiner Majestät des Königs im Namen der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität am 22. März 1870, 1870. Reprinted in CURTIUS's *Alterthum und Gegenwart: Gesammelte Reden und Vorträge*, 1, 1875, pp. 203–218.

<sup>52</sup> *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, April 5, 1870, p. 280. The text of the passage as quoted there is slightly different.

<sup>53</sup> Although 1870 was still before the major flowering of German anti-Semitism later in the decade, there was plenty in the air (as may be seen, for example, in the *AZJ* article cited in our preceding note, and from the quote from Pertz in our n. 30), especially in the wake of the 1869 expanded republication of RICHARD WAGNER, *Das Judenthum in der Musik*. See, in general, JACOB KATZ, *Richard Wagner: The Darker Side of Genius*, 1986, and idem, *The Preparatory Stage of the Modern Antisemitic Movement (1873–1879)*, in: SHMUEL ALMOG (Ed.), *Antisemitism through the Ages*, 1988, pp. 279–289.

**light on what, if anything, in fact occurred there (or elsewhere in Berlin) that day.**

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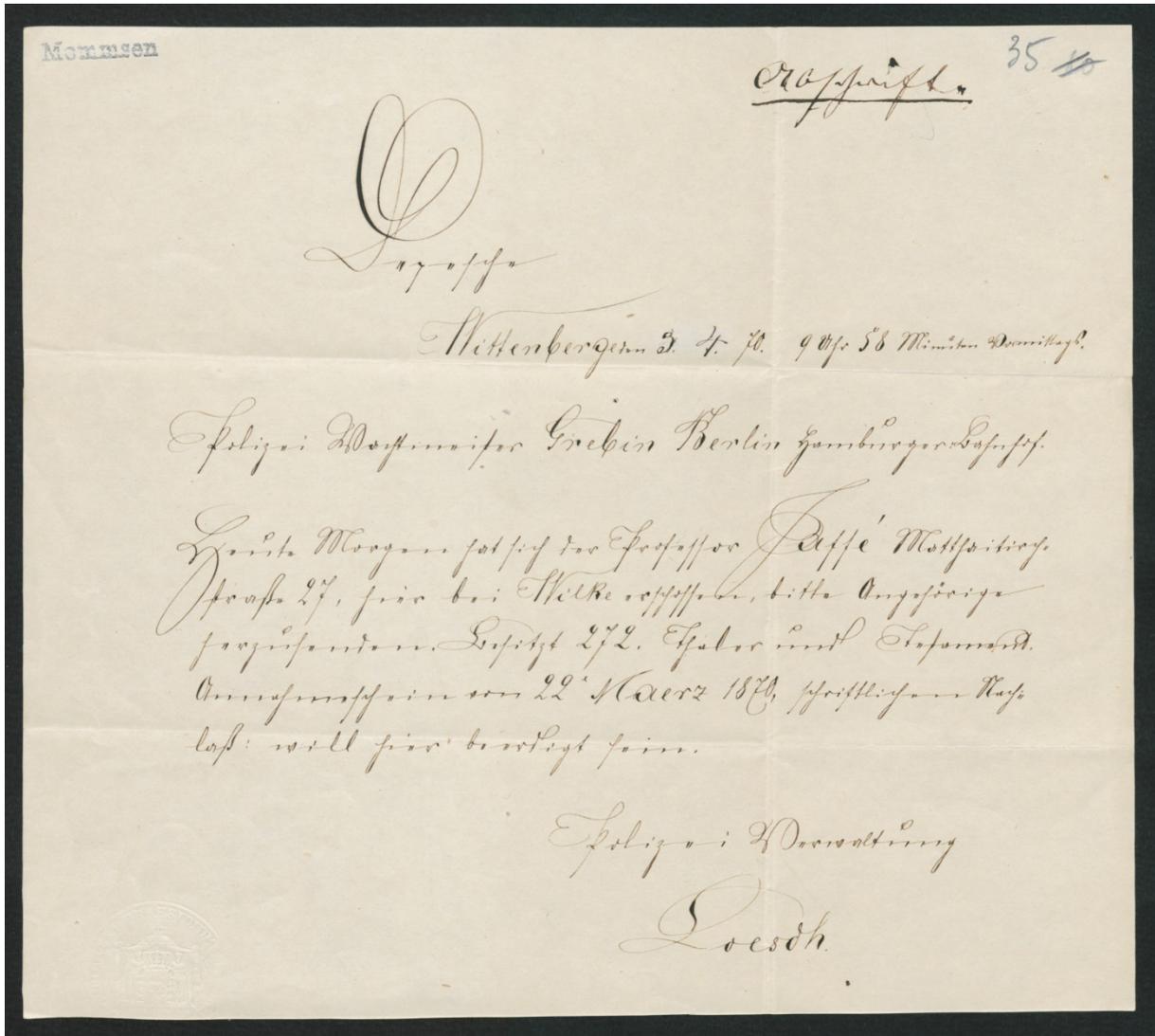
To summarize, here are six desiderata:

1. Jaffé's *Testament*, or any more information about its contents.
2. Correspondence between Jaffé and Waitz, especially in the late 1860s and early in 1870, or other documents pertaining to their relationship.
3. Offprints, with dedication and/or marginalia by Jaffé, of THEODOR MOMMSEN, Bericht über die Handschriften von Arborea, in: Monatsberichte der Königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1870, pp. 64–104, or of Jaffé's contribution at pp. 74–80 of this report.
4. Any information about contact between Jaffé and Ignazio Pillito in 1870.
5. Max Lehmann's personal copy of GEORG H. PERTZ, Das Leben des Feldmarschalls Grafen Neithardt von Gneisenau 3, 1869.
6. Any further reports of the *Festakt* at the University Berlin on March 22, 1870, or at least about the time of day at which it was held – or information about any other relevant event in Berlin that day.

Any suggestions, about these, or about other items touched upon in this report on work-in-progress, will be gratefully appreciated.

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Appendix I: Copy of a telegram from a police officer in Wittenberge  
to the police of Berlin (see note 1)



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Appendix II: Georg Waitz on Recently Deceased Scholars,  
in Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte 10 (1870)

Appendix IIa: Opening footnote of GEORG WAITZ, Das Dekret des Papstes Nicolaus II. über die Papstwahl im Codex Udalrici, FDG 10 (1870) p. 614:

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<sup>1</sup> Dieser kleine Aufsatz ist schon im vorigen Winter geschrieben. Da ich Jaffé mittheilte, daß ich gegen den von ihm gegebenen Text mich aussprechen werde, schrieb er mir, 14. März 1870: „In Betreff des Wahldecrets Nicolaus II. erlaube ich mir zu bemerken, daß ich bei der Edition nichts weiter intendirt habe, als den Text darzubieten, wie er von Udalricus überliefert ist. Ich habe in der Note nur darauf hingedeutet, daß diese Textgestalt bei den bisherigen Erörterungen des Decrets nicht berücksichtigt worden sei. Daß der Udalricische Text die wahre und ursprüngliche Form des Decrets nicht enthält, davon war und bin ich völlig überzeugt. Ob es gelingen wird, mit Hilfe der bisher zu Tage getretenen Redactionen den primären Text sicher zu restituiren, scheint mir sehr fraglich“. Ich glaube hierzu nachträglich bemerken zu sollen, daß Jaffé der hier ausgesprochenen Ansicht rein den von Udalricus überlieferten Text zu geben, wie ich glaube, nicht nachgelommen ist, auch in der Ausgabe selbst etwas anders angekündigt hat, lasse übrigens die Ausführung, wie ich sie damals niedergeschrieben, unverändert.

Appendix IIb: Footnote added by G. Waitz to a reference to Hermann Pabst (1842–1870) in the cumulative table of contents of FDG 1–10 published in FDG 10 (1870) p. 667:

<sup>1</sup> An dem Tage da ich diesen Bogen corrigiere erhalte ich die erschütternde Nachricht, daß Pabst am 16. August in der Schlacht bei Metz gefallen. In ihm verliert die Wissenschaft einen der talentvollsten, hoffnungreichsten unter den jüngeren Historikern!  
G. W.