

Generations of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*: The Correspondence Between David Kaufmann and Leopold Zunz

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Abstract

Due to the lack of acceptance of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* in academia, modern Jewish scholarship in the nineteenth century organized itself along networks of institutions such as rabbinical seminaries, contacts with related disciplines like Oriental Studies, and personal relationships. This last pathway of communication was essential for the cohesion of modern Jewish scholarship. Therefore, my essay portrays the correspondence between David Kaufmann and Leopold Zunz as an example of this channel of communication. By analyzing the exchange of letters and personal encounters between the two scholars, particular attention will be paid to the following questions: How were the letters transmitted until today? What were the main topics of the correspondence between these representatives of two generations of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*? Which were the positions of Kaufmann and Zunz towards the present and future of modern Jewish scholarship? How did Kaufmann become the first biographer of Zunz?

1. Introduction

In 1875, the aged Leopold Zunz (1794–1886) wrote in a letter to David Kaufmann (1852–1899), then a young rabbinical student from the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau (Wrocław): “You can extract a piece of Jewish history from my sixty year-long correspondence.”¹ Without a doubt, the correspondence of the founder and master of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* with friends, colleagues,

¹ Zunz to Kaufmann, Berlin, 21.07.1875: “Aus meiner seit sechzig Jahren geführten Correspondenz könnte ein Stückchen jüdische Geschichte herausgearbeitet werden.”, in: Markus Brann: Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel zwischen Zunz und Kaufmann I, in: Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur 5 (1902), pp. 159–209, here p. 171.

and students is a treasure of Jewish history and culture of the nineteenth century. Zunz's general correspondence and his correspondence with Kaufmann in particular is crucial for our understanding of the central issues around the transformation of Jewish knowledge into the agenda of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* and the essential role that networks of correspondence, exchange, and travel played in the process. The ethos and epistemology of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* was to uncover, transmit, and consolidate traditional Jewish knowledge. Modern academic methods helped to create new areas of knowledge and research.² By pursuing the ideal of *Wissenschaft* (academic study), as developed in the German context, part of what previously had been essential to traditional Jewish learning was preserved, while at the same time other parts were undermined or even neglected. Excluded from academia, *Wissenschaft* took refuge in wide-ranging scholarly networks of correspondence, exchange, and travel.³ These entanglements and connections within modern Jewish scholarship integrated numerous scholars from diverse knowledge fields and many different places for a long period of time.⁴

In this regard, the correspondence between Zunz and the almost sixty years younger Kaufmann, who later became professor at the first Hungarian rabbinical seminary, exemplifies a noteworthy dialogue between the first and third generations of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*.⁵ The letters of Kaufmann and Zunz provide insight into the configurations of scholarly Jewish lives in the nineteenth century, the attitudes and practices of modern Jewish scholarship,

² Ismar Schorsch: *Wissenschaft and Values*, in: Schorsch, *From Text to Context. The Turn to History in Modern Judaism*, Hanover (N.H.) 1994, pp. 151–157; Schorsch: *The Ethos of Modern Jewish Scholarship*, in: Schorsch, *From Text to Context*, pp. 158–176; David N. Myers: *The Ideology of Wissenschaft des Judentums*, in: Daniel H. Frank/Oliver Leaman (ed.), *History of Jewish Philosophy*, London 1997, pp. 706–720; Michael A. Meyer: *Two Persistent Tensions within Wissenschaft des Judentums*, in: *Modern Judaism* 24 (2004), pp. 105–119. On the state of research, see: Kerstin von der Krone/Mirjam Thulin: *Wissenschaft in Context. A Research Essay on Wissenschaft des Judentums*, in: *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 58 (2013), pp. 249–280.

³ This is also the main argument in my book: *Mirjam Thulin: Kaufmanns Nachrichtendienst. Ein jüdisches Gelehrtennetzwerk im 19. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 2012.

⁴ On intellectual networks, see: Christophe Charle/Jürgen Schriewer et al. (eds.): *Transnational Intellectual Networks. Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities*, Frankfurt/Main 2004; Steven J. Harris: *Networks of Travel, Correspondence, and Exchange*, in: Lorraine Daston/Katherine Park (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Science Early Modern Science*, Cambridge 2006, pp. 341–362.

⁵ The essay is based on parts of Thulin, *Kaufmanns Nachrichtendienst*, pp. 283–350. Since all quotations from the Kaufmann-Zunz correspondence are originally in German, I give a translation or summary in the main text while the full original quotes can be found in the footnotes.

the individual experiences of the correspondents, and the development, values and self-understanding of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* in its first century of existence.⁶

In order to portray the transmission of the Kaufmann-Zunz correspondence, I first present an overview of the published and unpublished parts of the letters. Subsequently, I describe how the young Kaufmann fought for the correspondence with the aged Zunz, and how the regular exchange began after two years. In the following parts of the essay, I turn to specific topics covered in the correspondence. The general state of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* and its exclusion from academia was a prevailing topic over the entire fourteen years of the correspondence. I analyze how the correspondents reflected on *Wissenschaft* in their letters. Dissenting opinions about the subjects addressed within the scholarly community, such as the role and function of Bible criticism, illustrate how Kaufmann and Zunz imagined the Jewish subjects. Furthermore, the letters also reveal some personal information about the correspondents. Therefore, I turn as well to Kaufmann's and Zunz's private and academic travels as described in the letters. The final topic I present is David Kaufmann's interest in Zunz's life and the origins of the latter's works as reflected in the correspondence, which made Kaufmann the first biographer of the father of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*.

2. Transmission and Main Topics of the Kaufmann-Zunz Correspondence

The Kaufmann-Zunz correspondence covers a period from March 1872 to February 1886. It ends with a letter from Kaufmann six weeks before Zunz died in his apartment in Berlin, Auguststrasse 60. Unlike other correspondence of the time, the letters of Kaufmann and Zunz have been almost completely preserved. One part is kept with the Zunz papers at the archives of the National Library of Israel (NLI) in Jerusalem; the other part was edited by the Breslau historian Markus Brann (1849–1920) at the beginning of the twentieth century, in the *Yearbook for Jewish History and Literature* (“*Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte*

⁶ Ismar Schorsch: Jewish Studies from 1818 to 1919, in: Schorsch, *From Text to Context*, pp. 345–359.

und Literatur“).⁷ Brann’s focus was to contribute to the knowledge about the last years of Zunz’s life. At the time of his edition, only three biographical works on Zunz existed. The two earlier ones were based on Zunz’s estate and focused on his early life and political activities, his attitudes toward Jewish reform, and his time as a preacher in Prague.⁸ However, little was known about the aged Leopold Zunz, because after the death of his wife Adelheid (1802–1874) he had mostly withdrawn from public life. Although Zunz seemed to maintain his daily routines and continued to read books and newspapers, he was depressed, downtrodden, and unkind to visitors. At the same time, he felt isolated and lonely, often expressing his feelings in phrases like: “Nobody visits me, neither Jews nor Christians.”⁹ Zunz frequently declared that in his later years Moritz Steinschneider (1816–1907) and Kaufmann’s letters were his only means of keeping in contact with the outside world. Thus, Zunz was eager to hear “Torah news” (“Torah-Neuigkeiten“) from Kaufmann.¹⁰

Markus Brann’s other intention with the letter edition was to preserve the memory of his then recently deceased friend and former co-editor of the “*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*” (“Monthly of the History and Wissenschaft des Judentums”, MGWJ), David Kaufmann. In his introduction, he recalled how he and Kaufmann had “adored the heroes of Wissenschaft des Judentums.” In that sense, Kaufmann had kept Zunz’s letters to him as a “precious treasure.”¹¹ Nevertheless, Kaufmann’s admiration for Zunz was well known in the Jewish scholarly community, particularly after Kaufmann defended Zunz against anti-Semitic accusations from the German philologist and orientalist Paul de Lagarde (1827–1891) in the mid-1880s.¹²

⁷ Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, pp. 159–209; Brann: *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel zwischen Zunz und Kaufmann II*, in: *Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur* 6 (1903), pp. 120–157.

⁸ Ludwig Geiger: *Aus L. Zunz’ Nachlaß*, in: *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 5 (1892), pp. 223–268; S[igmund] Maybaum: *Aus dem Leben von Leopold Zunz*, in: *Zwölfter Bericht über die Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums in Berlin* 12 (1894), pp. 1–63; finally also: David Kaufmann: *Art. Zunz, Leopold*, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (ADB), vol. 45, Munich/Leipzig 1900, pp. 490–501.

⁹ Zunz to Kaufmann, Berlin, 21.07.1875, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 171: „Auch besucht mich niemand, weder Jude noch Christ.“

¹⁰ Zunz to Kaufmann, Berlin, 12.08.1878, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 207.

¹¹ This and the quote before see Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 161.

¹² On the debate, see Elisabeth Hollender: “Verachtung kann Unwissenheit nicht entschuldigen.” *Die Verteidigung der Wissenschaft des Judentums gegen die Angriffe Paul de Lagarde’s 1884–1887*, in: *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge* 30 (2003), pp. 169–205; Thulin, *Kaufmanns Nachrichtendienst*, pp. 254–282.

Markus Brann published the Kaufmann-Zunz correspondence in two parts. The first part appeared in 1902 and contained 54 letters from Zunz and a few from Kaufmann, covering the years between 1872 and 1878. The second part included 48 letters between 1878 and 1886 and was published in 1903. Since the letters of the aged Zunz became terser, Brann decided to add more letters from Kaufmann to the second part. Altogether, Brann's edition gives an account of over 100 letters, the majority of which were written by Leopold Zunz.

Although Brann claimed to present a "literal reprint" of the selected letters, he erased passages that referred to living persons as well as comments and opinions expressed by Kaufmann and Zunz that could have painted a negative picture of Jews and *Wissenschaft des Judentums*.¹³ Therefore, Brann's edition transmits only in a censored and incomplete form. When Brann prepared the second part of the edition, he received another 61 letters from David Kaufmann to Leopold Zunz. By then, however, it was too late to include these letters in the second part. Although Brann stated in his foreword that he would publish the letters in a later edition, he never had the chance to realize his plan.

David Kaufmann's letters to Zunz are preserved as part of the so-called "Zunz Archive," in the manuscript department of the NLI Jerusalem.¹⁴ In 1864, on the occasion of Zunz's 70th birthday, the "Zunz-Stiftung" foundation was established in order to preserve the legacy of its namesake. Friends and admirers of the father of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, among them Moritz Steinschneider, the famous physician and chief medical consultant Salomon Neumann (1819–1908), and the writer Berthold Auerbach (1812–1882), intended to support Zunz in his final years through the funds of the foundation. After Zunz's death in 1886, the foundation devoted its efforts to the preservation of Zunz's written estate as well as to financially supporting scholars and publications of *Wissenschaft*. Among the massive collection of letters in the Zunz Archive, altogether 99 letters from David Kaufmann have been preserved. Kaufmann's letters, which Brann did not have the chance to edit, are of particular importance for this essay.

¹³ Brann wrote that he erased expressions, "die unter den heutigen Verhältnissen der Verbreitung durch die Presse besser vorenthalten werden," see Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 162.

¹⁴ On the history of the Zunz Archive, see Gotthold Weil: *Das Zunz-Archiv*, in: *Leo Baeck Institute Bulletin* 7 (1959), pp. 148–161. Part of Zunz's archive has been digitized and put online at <http://www.jewish-archives.org> (last accessed 15.02.2018).

3. Approaching Zunz: Kaufmann's Fight for the Correspondence

Then as now, young scholars approached veteran and leading scholars in a most humble way; often, the objective reason was a question or request for advice. Whenever a young pupil made the first step to establish contact, the question was whether or not and if so, how, the leading scholar would answer. Back in the nineteenth century, many young scholars contacted Zunz, but he did not reply to every letter.¹⁵ David Kaufmann's first letter to Zunz, dated March 21, 1872, followed all the academic rules and included an inquiry that emerged from a course with the historian Heinrich Graetz (1817–1891) that Kaufmann attended at the Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary. However, Zunz never answered Kaufmann's letter, and he did not remember it later.¹⁶

Kaufmann waited two years before he began the second attempt to contact Zunz. Once again, an academic inquiry was to serve as a bridge to start the conversation. Kaufmann had reviewed Zunz's "Deutsche Briefe" ("German Letters," Leipzig 1872) for a Silesian newspaper and praised Zunz's assumptions regarding the decline of the German language in modern times.¹⁷ Obviously, Zunz was touched by the compliments of his young devotee, and this time, Zunz did respond. However, staying in contact with Zunz became an intense affair for David Kaufmann. Zunz constantly doubted his own worth as a correspondent and spoke often of his supposedly boring and cheerless existence. A passage from a letter written by Zunz in 1878 illustrates his mercurial and sometimes offensive moods:

"It is not meant to be funny when I say that I do not want to bother friends too often with my meaningless and joyless letters. Furthermore, my life feels empty; I neither

¹⁵ Zunz also ignored Abraham Geiger's first attempt to establish contact in April 1831. It was only in October 1833 that Zunz replied to a letter from Geiger for the first time. Finally, an enduring friendship, as illustrated in the correspondence, developed. This exchange was only interrupted between 1853 and 1860 because of personal issues.

¹⁶ However, the letter exists as part of Brann's edition, see Kaufmann to Zunz, Breslau, 21.03.1872, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 162; Zunz to Kaufmann, Berlin, 23.12.1874, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 165.

¹⁷ Kaufmann to Zunz, Breslau, 09.03.1874, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem (hereafter NLI), Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.2; see also: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 163. The announcement written by Kaufmann was published in the newspaper *Silesian Press* ("Schlesische Presse").

meet nor talk to people a lot, I don't go out, I don't read books and I don't do anything. Would such an individual be a worthy correspondent?"¹⁸

Unlike others, David Kaufmann was not scared away by Zunz's harshness and bad temper. Instead, Kaufmann took on the role of a caring and sensitive counterpart, attempting to understand and comfort the aged Zunz. He assured Zunz in every letter of his "childish," "deepest" and "undying" devotedness and adoration.¹⁹ Moreover, Kaufmann confessed that he never just glanced at Zunz's books, but always took them in hand to "dwell on them devoutly."²⁰ Over time, Zunz was won over by Kaufmann's charm and entered the epistolary exchange with the rabbinical student on a regular basis.²¹

Over the years, Leopold Zunz and David Kaufmann touched on many topics of daily political and academic life. The topics that both men discussed over the fourteen years demonstrate the dynamics and structures between the generations of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* in general, and the relationship between Kaufmann and Zunz in particular. On the whole, six main themes dominated the correspondence. Firstly, the letters document the life of David Kaufmann from his time as a rabbinical student at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau to his appointment as professor and librarian at the rabbinical seminary in Budapest. We learn about his daily routine at the Breslau seminary, Kaufmann's private and academic travels, and his failed application for the position of rabbi in the Jewish community in Berlin. Furthermore, the correspondence illuminates the circumstances of Kaufmann's appointment as professor at the rabbinical seminary in Budapest, in which Zunz actively took part by writing him a letter of recommendation.²² After achieving the position

¹⁸ Zunz to Kaufmann, Berlin, 16.01.1878, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 188: "Es ist nicht Spaß, wenn ich sage, daß ich Freunden mit meinen leeren und freudelosen Briefen nicht zu oft lästig werden mag. Dazu kommt noch die Oede meines Lebens; ich sehe und höre wenig Personen, komme nirgends hin, lese kein Buch und thue überhaupt nichts. Ist ein solches Individuum ein gesuchter Korrespondent?"

¹⁹ For the quotes, see Kaufmann to Zunz, Breslau, 07.07.1875, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a-356.14; Kaufmann to Zunz, Breslau, 24.07.1875, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a-356.15, and Kaufmann to Zunz, Kojetin, 07.09.1877, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a-356.48.

²⁰ Kaufmann to Zunz, Budapest, 21.05.1878, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 195.

²¹ Ismar Elbogen: Leopold Zunz zum Gedächtnis, in: *Fünfzigster Bericht der Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin (1936)*, pp. 14-32, here p. 15.

²² The letter of recommendation is reprinted in: Ferdinand Rosenthal: David Kaufmann. Biographie, in: Rosenthal/Markus Brann (ed.), *Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kaufmann*, Breslau 1900, pp. I-LVI, here p. XXXIX, note 1. Since mid-June 1877, Kaufmann knew about

in Budapest, Kaufmann reported to Zunz about his life in the Hungarian capital and about the close contacts between the rabbinical seminaries in Breslau, Budapest, and Berlin. On this topic, Leopold Zunz acted mainly as mentor and adviser. Reports and reflections by Zunz on his life make for a second biographical theme in the correspondence. Zunz provided information on his life and works at the request of Kaufman, who was motivated by his research into Zunz's life and development.²³ Zunz, on his part, provided him with information, in the letters as well as during Kaufmann's visits in Berlin. In the following passages, this topic will be addressed in more detail.

Another prevailing topic in the Kaufmann-Zunz correspondence covers illness, old age, and death. Since Zunz was almost eighty years old when the correspondence started and a widower since 1874, scholars characterized Zunz's final years as a "decline" and as "days of twilight."²⁴ Thus, in an early stage of the correspondence, Kaufmann was confronted with the sorrows of the mourning old man. He tried to console Zunz in every letter. Moreover, Kaufmann himself was suffering from diabetes; many of his letters contain descriptions of his sickness, and the course of the correspondence was affected by extended periods of indisposition and stays at health resorts.

Although Kaufmann and Zunz never reflected on the language of their exchange, issues of style and multilingualism represent another major topic in the correspondence. On the one hand, Zunz was constantly upset by the style and orthography used in German newspapers.²⁵ On the other hand, Kaufmann, coming from a German-speaking context, had to learn Hungarian in order to teach and fulfill his functions in the seminary. Thus, he reflected on his study of Hungarian, his perception of Budapest, the country, and the culture. In this context, the establishment of a Hungarian academic journal of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* became an important issue. Ultimately, the rabbinical seminary in Budapest established the "Magyar Zsidó Szemle"

the letter of recommendation, see Kaufmann to Zunz, Kojetín, 17.06.1877, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a-356.43; see also: Zunz to Kaufmann, Berlin, 19.06.1877, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 185.

²³ For example, see Kaufmann to Zunz, Breslau, 07.07.1875, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a-356.14.

²⁴ Nahum N. Glatzer: *Leopold and Adelheid Zunz. An Account in Letters 1815-1885*. Edited and with an Introduction, London 1958, pp. 337-354; Ismar Schorsch: *Leopold Zunz. Creativity in Adversity*, Philadelphia 2016, pp. 215-239.

²⁵ This fact was also referred to in later generations, for example see: Brann to Ludwig Geiger, [Breslau?], 28./29.(?).06.[19]6, NLI, Arc. Ms. Var. 308/440.

(“Hungarian Jewish Review”) that was published, with interruptions, between 1884 and 1948. In the end, however, the journal was not edited by Kaufmann but by his native Hungarian colleagues Wilhelm Bacher (1850–1913) and Josef Bánóczy (1849–1926).

Discussions from the correspondence regarding the history and culture of *Wissenschaft* formed another central topic in the Kaufmann-Zunz exchange, and are addressed in detail in the following section. They present and exemplify the dialogue between two generations of modern Jewish scholarship in the course of the nineteenth century through the eyes of the correspondents.

4. *Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Light of the Correspondence

During their correspondence, Kaufmann and Zunz discussed central issues of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, such as its exclusion from academia and the increasing anti-Semitism, as well as the lack of acceptance and support for Jewish Studies in the Jewish communities themselves. The discussion of hostility towards Jews and anti-Semitism emerged mainly in 1879, when a national debate over anti-Semitism (“Antisemitismusstreit”) waged in imperial Germany.²⁶ When the Berlin court chaplain and founder of the Christian Social Labor Party (“Christlich-Soziale Arbeiterpartei”) Adolf Stöcker (1835–1909) attacked the Jews in one of his speeches during the debate over anti-Semitism, Kaufmann decided to get involved in the debate. He anonymously published a booklet attacking Stöcker and also sent a copy to Zunz.²⁷ Zunz thanked Kaufmann for the “Anti-Stöcker.”²⁸ At the beginning of the anti-Semitism debate, Zunz supported Kaufmann’s comments and involvement with heartfelt and even zestful encouragement. However, he gradually became resigned and monosyllabic on this topic, too. Instead, Zunz advised his young correspondent to challenge the Prussian administration and state officials, who

²⁶ On the debate, see Karsten Krieger (Bearbeiter): Der “Berliner Antisemitismusstreit” 1879–1881. Kommentierte Quellenedition, 2 vols., Munich 2003; Uffa Jensen: Gebildete Doppelgänger. Bürgerliche Juden und Protestanten im 19. Jahrhundert, Göttingen 2005.

²⁷ David Kaufmann: Ein Wort im Vertrauen an Herrn Hofprediger Stöcker von einem, dessen Name nichts zur Sache tut (1880), in: Markus Brann (ed.), Gesammelte Schriften von David Kaufmann, vol. 3, Frankfurt/Main 1915, pp. 520–536.

²⁸ Kaufmann to Zunz, Budapest, 23.12.1879 and 07.01.1880, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.64 and 99; Zunz to Kaufmann, Berlin, 16.02.1880, in: Brann, Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel II, p. 144.

were notoriously ambivalent towards the Jews, Christian theologians and religious thinkers, and associated reactionary movements and attitudes with the increasing hostility toward Jews.²⁹ He was convinced that as long as the “Christian priesthood” existed, Jews would suffer from persecutions and resentment.³⁰ If Zunz recognized modern anti-Semitism as coming from primarily religious origins, this was especially true in the case of Christian Prussia and the court chaplain Adolf Stoecker. On his side, David Kaufmann also realized the critical situation in Berlin. Thus, at the end of 1880, Kaufmann cynically offered Zunz sanctuary in Budapest in case the Jews were expelled from Berlin and Brandenburg.³¹ In spite of the antagonistic climate between Germans and Jews in Berlin, however, Zunz acknowledged that the situation for Russian Jews was even more difficult. Kaufmann, for his part, felt secure in Budapest where he was not confronted with anti-Semitic agitation as he would be in Germany, nor persecutions and pogroms such as those in Russia. In contrast, he often noted that Hungary was safer and more tolerant.³² Even after the Tiszaeszlár blood libel case in 1883, Hungarian anti-Semitic agitations did not dominate in society, in Kaufmann’s opinion. Since that time, however, anti-Semitic attitudes and ideas had gained ground in Hungary’s conservative and national circles.³³

Between 1875 and 1881, Kaufmann and Zunz discussed the hostility toward Jews and anti-Semitism broadly, but also specifically with regard to academia. Both complained about the lack of acceptance of modern Jewish Studies in the universities and Jewish communities at large. Zunz was certain that the rejection of Jews and Judaism in society was linked to the exclusion of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* from academia. He thought that full political and social acceptance of Jews and Judaism would be followed by the acceptance

²⁹ Zunz to Kaufmann, Berlin, 05.10.1875, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 174. See also Elbogen, *Leopold Zunz zum Gedächtnis*, p. 26.

³⁰ Zunz to Kaufmann, Berlin, 10.07.1878, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 201.

³¹ Kaufmann to Zunz, Budapest, 08.11.1880, NLI Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.72: “Wenn Sie merken sollten, daß es in Berlin nicht geheuer wird, d. h. wenn z. B. die Juden aus der Mark vertrieben werden sollten – sauberes Jahrhundert, in dem man solche Witze reißen darf –, dann flüchten Sie sich in das Asyl, das für Sie bereit hält Ihr [...] David Kaufmann.”

³² Kaufmann to Zunz, Budapest, 18.01.1882, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.82: “Wir leben hier, dem Himmel sei Dank, noch immer unangefochten von preußischer Theorie und von russischer – Praxis.”

³³ Andrew Handler: *Blood Libel at Tiszaeszlár*, New York 1980.

of modern Jewish scholarship.³⁴ At the same time, Zunz criticized the Jewish communities and organizations and ironically demanded “an academy of brave Jewish scholars with the financial support of the Rothschild family.”³⁵ Such statements demonstrate Zunz’s long-held disappointment in Jewish communities and patrons.³⁶ In the same manner, Kaufmann turned against Jewish welfare facilities “for which our Jews still have money,” and frequently criticized the establishment of Jewish nursing homes.³⁷ Zunz agreed with Kaufmann that “wealthy Jews” usually supported hospitals and orphanages.³⁸ Both correspondents were certain that *Wissenschaft des Judentums* helped to reduce prejudice and improve tolerance and should therefore be funded by Jewish organizations. Kaufmann complained that Jewish scholarship still had no professional elite and was performed by men who worked as rabbis, teachers, and librarians, instead. Since the rabbinical seminaries were mere training institutions for rabbis, teachers, or cantors, he characterized them as inadequate and insufficient frameworks for professional scholarship.³⁹ He thought that most students in the rabbinical seminaries – and also at his home institution, the rabbinical seminary in Budapest – came from poor families, because “millionaires do not send their sons to a rabbinical school, of course.”⁴⁰

Furthermore, Kaufmann and Zunz often discussed the history and development of modern Jewish scholarship and were deeply concerned about the

³⁴ Zunz to Kaufmann, Berlin, 21.08.1876, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 179: “Das Herabsetzen jüdischer Autoren, selbst der getauften, wird in Deutschland so lange bestehen, als nicht an allen Universitäten jüdische Geschichte und Litteratur von Juden, die ordentliche Professoren sind, vorgetragen wird.” See also: Leopold Zunz: *Die jüdische Literatur* (1845), in: Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften*. Herausgegeben vom Curatorium der “Zunz-stiftung.” vol. 1, Berlin 1875–1876 [Reprint Hildesheim 1976], pp. 41–59, here p. 59.

³⁵ Zunz to Kaufmann, Berlin, 05.07.1875, in Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 170.

³⁶ Elbogen, *Leopold Zunz zum Gedächtnis*, p. 18.

³⁷ Kaufmann to Zunz, Breslau, 07.07.1875, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.14: “Man möchte [...] die Lahmen und die Blinden hassen, für die unsere Juden allein noch Geld haben. Eher werden Kranken- und Siechhäuser wie Pilze aufschießen, ehe das Geld zu einer jüdischen gelehrten Gesellschaft von irgend welcher Seite legirt wird.”

³⁸ Zunz to Kaufmann, Berlin, 21.07.1875, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 170: “Daß die reichen Juden nur für Hospitäler und Waisenhäuser Sinn und Theilnahme haben, habe ich bereits vor dreißig bis vierzig Jahren gedruckt.”

³⁹ Kaufmann to Zunz, Budapest, 10.06.1878, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 198: “[...] der arme Krüppel: Jüdische Wissenschaft, der mit seinen Krücken die Schranken der Unduldsamkeit einreißen geholfen, hat noch kein Haus, in das er unterzubringen wäre, denn die Seminarien sind wohl Pflanzstätten jüdischen Wissens, aber mehr um der Praxis als um der Sache selber willen.”

⁴⁰ Kaufmann to Zunz, Budapest, 23.09.1881, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.80.

future of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. On the one hand, they felt that Jewish scholarship was only important when universities or libraries wanted their books and manuscripts catalogued. On the other hand, Kaufmann and Zunz were skeptical about the prospects of German Jewry and *Wissenschaft des Judentums* in the German-speaking lands. Kaufmann anticipated a prospering English-speaking *Wissenschaft des Judentums* and therefore welcomed the establishment of a Jewish literature society in England.⁴¹ Zunz disagreed with Kaufmann's positive assessment. From his point of view, Jewish scholars in England only translated books and studies, but did not carry out their own research.⁴² In the course of the correspondence, Kaufmann began to share Zunz's skepticism. But, even though he noted that the Jewish literature society in England published only "insignificant, semi-academic" writings, Kaufmann kept his optimism toward an English Jewish scholarship, mostly because it had financial support.⁴³

5. Kaufmann and Zunz on Higher Criticism

On the occasion of his 80th birthday, Leopold Zunz's collected works ("Gesammelte Schriften") were published in Berlin in a three-volume edition in 1875 and 1876.⁴⁴ Proudly, Zunz pointed his correspondent to these writings and asked Kaufmann to evaluate the books, emphasizing that Kaufman should do so "irrespective of the person."⁴⁵ Among the large number of articles that were reprinted in the first volume, it was an article entitled "On Bible Criticism" ("Bibelkritisches") which raised Kaufmann's particular interest.⁴⁶ In this essay, Zunz set out to date selected books from the Hebrew Bible with

⁴¹ Kaufmann to Zunz, Budapest, 20.01.1878, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.53: "Bald werden die Zigeuner ihre Akademie haben, nur die Juden leben vom Bettel bei den Anderen; was nicht die Regierungen herausgeben, kommt nicht zu Stande, weshalb das Katalogisiren in Blüthe steht. Das deutsche Judenthum wird bald ganz aufhören, für jüdisches Wissen Verständniß und Interesse zu bethätigen, aber Andere werden an seiner Statt eintreten, wie denn die Engländer mit Erfolg angefangen haben, einen jüdischen Literaturverein zu gründen."

⁴² Zunz to Kaufmann, Berlin, 18.02.1878, in Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 189: "Von einem englischen Litteraturverein erwarte ich für die jüdische Wissenschaft wenig; Bis jetzt sind sie dort über Uebersetztes nicht hinausgekommen, obgleich die meisten Arbeiter keine Engländer sind."

⁴³ Kaufmann to Zunz, Budapest, 22.02.1878, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.54.

⁴⁴ Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften*.

⁴⁵ Zunz to Kaufmann, Berlin, 01.03.1875, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 166.

⁴⁶ Leopold Zunz: *Bibelkritisches*, in: Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 1, pp. 217–270.

the help of the methods of higher criticism.⁴⁷ Kaufmann had already known about that article since 1873, when the *Journal of the German Oriental Society* (“*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*,” ZDMG) had first printed the piece.⁴⁸ Back then, Zunz’s study had already addressed the young rabbinical student. Kaufmann remembered his “bafflement, partly also pain” when he first read the essay in 1873. Thus, in a note to Zunz, Kaufmann allowed himself a “personal word” to explain his initial reaction.⁴⁹ For him, Judaism did not depend on the age of documents, but rather meant a way of life and traditional habits. Therefore, a perception of the Jewish religion that depended mainly on philological evidence was insufficient and precarious for him. Kaufmann referred to a “number of indispensable rabbinical rules” that were important in his eyes and could not reduce the value of the Jewish religion.

A month later, Zunz replied to Kaufmann’s critical note. He opened his letter with a lamentation about the “eight demons of mankind,” which were for him “selfishness, lying, hypocrisy, imperiousness, lack of judgment, superstition, cowardice, and bad habits.”⁵⁰ With respect to Kaufmann’s understanding of Judaism, Zunz explained that he was never won over by these eight demons. Instead, he believed in a consistent academic approach that provoked reason and truth, and that could, in consequence, cause a type of an inner inconvenience.⁵¹

In order to broaden his uneasiness and criticism, Kaufmann answered Zunz by pointing him to further rejections expressed by the Jewish community. He referred to a review of Zunz’s collected works in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* (“General Newspaper of Judaism”, AZJ), published at

⁴⁷ On Zunz’s Bible criticism, see also Ismar Schorsch: Leopold Zunz on the Hebrew Bible, in: *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 102 (2012) 3, pp. 431–454.

⁴⁸ In the *Gesammelte Schriften* of Zunz, the original essay was enriched by parts F and G.

⁴⁹ For this and the next quote, see Kaufmann to Zunz, Breslau, 05.03.1875, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.8.

⁵⁰ Zunz to Kaufmann, Berlin, 09.04.1875, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 166. Zunz’s answer can be found in Kaufmann’s letter to Zunz, Breslau, 05.03.1875, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.8. Obviously, Zunz also replied with his “eight demons” to Kaufmann’s report about the difficulties and tensions in the Breslau rabbinical seminary after the death of the first director, Zacharias Frankel, see Kaufmann to Zunz, Breslau, 12.04.1875, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.9.

⁵¹ On Zunz’s concept of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, see: Michael A. Meyer: *The Origins of the Modern Jew. Jewish Identity and European Culture in Germany, 1749–1824*, Detroit 1967, 144–182; Schorsch, *Leopold Zunz*.

the end of March 1875.⁵² The anonymous author of the review – probably the editor Ludwig Philippson (1811–1889) himself – also commented in particular on Zunz’s essay “Bibelkritisches.” The reviewer questioned the academic value of Zunz’s article and concluded that “Bibelkritisches” rather “confuses but does not enlighten.” Apparently, the critique adopted the position of Göttingen orientalist Heinrich Ewald (1803–1875), who had attacked Zunz’s essay already in 1873, but in a clearly anti-Judaic tone.⁵³ Since the review in the *AJZ* accused Zunz of fostering a “fragmentation of Judaism and its religious issues,” Kaufmann called upon Zunz to respond to the accusation.⁵⁴ In his reply to Kaufmann, Zunz took a firm stance. He insisted that he was already “blunt” toward such accusations, and emphasized that he had always spoken up “for Jews and Judaism.”⁵⁵

In his next note, Kaufmann described once again the feelings he had when he first read “Bibelkritisches.” He wrote that “many things surprised” him, “but some made me [i. e. Kaufmann] crazy.”⁵⁶ Kaufmann, presenting himself as a “Jewish theologian,” explained that Judaism would not be in good standing if “we were to build upon letters and measure the value of our teachings according to the age of the documents and institutions.” For him, a historical-critical perspective on the Hebrew Bible was not acceptable. Zunz’s study alienated the young student of the Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary, which excluded Bible criticism from its curriculum until 1910. Instead, Kaufmann tried to prove the insignificance and limited insights of higher criticism. He reproved Zunz’s “statistical method” as mainly based on counting and measuring letters and words. Moreover, for Kaufmann, Zunz’s linguistic and stylistic analysis denied the significance of the Jewish religion.⁵⁷ Zunz, for his part, insisted

⁵² [Anonymous]: Literarischer Wochenbericht. Bonn, 16. März, in: *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* 39 (1875), pp. 217–219; for the following quote, see p. 218.

⁵³ H[einrich] E[wald]: *Bibelkritisches von Dr. Zunz. (Aus der Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 1873. S. 669–689)*, in: *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 13 (1875), pp. 395–402.

⁵⁴ Kaufmann to Zunz, Breslau, 12.04.1875, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.9.

⁵⁵ Zunz to Kaufmann, Berlin, 05.05.1875, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 167–168.

⁵⁶ The following quotes see Kaufmann an Zunz, Breslau, 08.05.1875, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.10. Moreover, see Brann’s partial transcription in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel II*, p. 120–121, note.

⁵⁷ On the quotes, also the following, see Kaufmann to Zunz, Breslau, 08.05.1875, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.10: “Das Wägen und Zählen gewisser Ausdrücke, ich möchte das Ihre statistische Methode nennen, scheint mir für die Kritik keine genügende Wahrscheinlichkeit zu

that truth meant “conviction” to him, and that he dedicated his entire life to the search for this truth. He accepted that people disagreed with him and that his opinions challenged “traditional views in a destructive way.” However, for Zunz, this was a “secondary question.” Unlike Kaufmann, he challenged the intentions and aims of the Jewish religion and theology. Instead, he saw himself not as a fighter for “a religion but only for the human rights of its believers.”⁵⁸

David Kaufmann was still not ready to abandon the issue. In a letter from May 1875, he added yet another critical opinion to the debate, this time from the Orthodox camp. After he acknowledged Zunz’s Bible studies as an act of liberation in a fight led by “our pious brethren since Spinoza,” he advised Zunz of the harsh criticism “from different camps.”⁵⁹ Kaufmann reported to Zunz that his Bible studies kept “pious Jews” away from “studying your [i. e. Zunz’s] other works,” because Orthodox Jews feared that their Judaism might be destroyed. Zunz was upset, and replied in his next letter that readers of his essay proved themselves to be “even more miserable” the more they complained about it. Nevertheless, Zunz was shocked that his article, which he understood to be the “truth,” could be a reason not to study anymore.⁶⁰

6. Academic and Private Travels in Light of the Correspondence

In addition to the debate on the situation of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* and the exchange about specific topics such as Bible criticism, the correspondence also offers insight into the cultural history of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. Over the course of the fourteen-year correspondence, Kaufmann and Zunz consistently discussed the conditions of research and the journeys they made, and they reflected on encounters experienced during their travels. Due to Zunz’s old age, it was mainly Kaufmann who wrote about his academic and private traveling. The Berlin-based Zunz became a frequent travel destination

geben. Bei der Armuth des überkommenden Sprachgutes, bei der Willkür des Styles, wie soll da ein vorkommender oder fehlender Ausdruck etwas beweisen?”

⁵⁸ Zunz’s quotes see Zunz to Kaufmann, Dresden, 27.05.1875, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, pp. 168–169. See also Zunz’s note at the bottom of the letter from Kaufmann to him, Breslau, 08.05.1875, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.10.

⁵⁹ Kaufmann to Zunz, Breslau, 28.05.1875, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.11.

⁶⁰ Zunz to Kaufmann, Berlin, 05.07.1875, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 170.

for Kaufmann in the 1880s. In contrast, Zunz often remembered past journeys in his letters and shared his travel experiences that way.⁶¹

Kaufmann's first journey reflected in the correspondence took the then twenty-four-year-old to Berlin, when he applied for the position of preacher ("Prediger") in the local Jewish community. For this application, Kaufmann came to Berlin twice, for Shavuot in May and for the Jewish high holidays in September 1876. As was usual at the time, Kaufman gave trial sermons, and afterwards the community leaders interviewed him. Although Kaufmann did not have his rabbinical diploma yet, the Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary had strongly recommended him as one of the most promising future rabbis. He graduated a year later, in January 1877, from the Breslau. During his stays in Berlin, Kaufmann visited Zunz several times in his apartment in Auguststrasse. Then, Zunz was mourning for his beloved wife Adelheid, who had died in 1874.⁶² The aged and lonely master was known for his unapproachability and reclusive existence, which he usually justified with his old age. Therefore, it is not surprising that, after his death, experiences with visits at Zunz's home became legends and were published in Jewish newspapers and journals.⁶³ Even though Kaufmann must have encountered a depressed and perhaps unfriendly Zunz, he admired him even more after the meetings. In a thank-you letter, Kaufmann recalled Zunz's words about aging and the absence of creativity. Nevertheless, he interpreted the meetings as a fulfilled "destiny" and assured Zunz that speaking with him was an "uplifting" experience and made everybody "a better person."⁶⁴ After his second visit to Berlin, when he gave sermons for the Jewish high holidays, Kaufmann once again expressed his appreciation of the "uplifting hours in your [i. e. Zunz's] company."⁶⁵

⁶¹ At an early stage of the contact, Zunz did travel once to Dresden and stayed with his "friend Mister Philipp Zunz," see Zunz to Kaufmann, Dresden, 27.05.1875, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, pp. 168–169. Philipp may have been a cousin of Leopold Zunz. His life data and occupation could be not verified.

⁶² Kaufmann to Loeb(?), Budapest, 30.03.1879, Archives de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle, Paris (hereafter AAIU), Hongrie I B: "[...] Ich stehe mit Z[unz] in ziemlich reger Verbindung, seine Müdigkeit ist gross, aber sein Geist ist der alte, jugendliche. Der Gram über den Tod seiner Frau lässt ihn jedoch nicht arbeiten."

⁶³ For example, see Adolf Frankl-Grün: Ein Besuch bei Leopold Zunz, in: *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* 60 (1896) 41, p. 487.

⁶⁴ Kaufmann to Zunz, (Breslau?), 07.06.1876, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.29.

⁶⁵ Kaufmann to Zunz, Kojetin, 05.10.1876, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.34.

After Kaufmann was appointed professor at the rabbinical seminary in Budapest in the summer of 1877, he did not return to Berlin before August 1881. Instead, his next travel destination was Italy. In July 1877, the rabbinical seminary tasked him with transferring the precious library of the eminent Italian Jewish scholar Lelio della Torre (1805–1871) from Padua to Budapest.⁶⁶ Since Kaufmann realized that Zunz and the influential Italian Jewish scholar Samuel David Luzzatto (1800–1865), a colleague of della Torre, had known each other, he told Zunz that he had met Luzzatto's family in Padua.⁶⁷ Then, Luzzatto's son Isaia (1836–1898) was collecting and organizing his father's papers, a matter in which Kaufmann took great interest because he sought to preserve the legacies of significant Jewish scholars of the time. Thus, the journey became the beginning of a long-lasting collaboration and friendship between Kaufmann and Isaia Luzzatto. Working as a lawyer in his hometown, Luzzatto had little time and understanding of how to edit the writings of his father.⁶⁸ Five years later, in March 1882, Kaufmann proudly informed Zunz that he had found a publisher for an edition of the Hebrew letters of Samuel David Luzzatto.⁶⁹ Three months later, Kaufmann was already working on a foreword and an introduction to the edition.⁷⁰ At the end of 1882, the first of ultimately nine volumes of Luzzatto's letters were published in Przemysł, Poland, with an in-depth introduction about Luzzatto's significance and a short survey on his correspondence, both written by David Kaufmann.⁷¹

⁶⁶ In fact, della Torre's collection became an essential part of the seminary library in Budapest, see Kaufmann to Martin Schweiger, Padua, 13.07.1877, in: Samuel Krauss: David Kaufmann. Eine Biographie, Berlin 1901, pp.55–56.

⁶⁷ Zunz and Luzzatto met once in Padua in 1863. On their relationship: Schorsch, Leopold Zunz, pp.188–191, 199, 241.

⁶⁸ Kaufmann to Zunz, Budapest, 31.07.1877, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.46: "In Luzzatto's Familie habe ich viel verkehrt. Der mittlere Sohn, Benjamins, ist Arzt und soll große Hoffnungen erwecken. Der älteste Isaia arbeitet unermüdlich an der Hinterlassenschaft seines Vaters. Er ist sehr zu bedauern, daß er nur die Liebe, aber nicht die nöthige Sachkenntniß besitzt, um die Herausgabe der etwa hinterlassenen Schriften zu leiten. Wie S. Antonio unter den Christen, so ist Luzzatto's Name unter den Juden in Padua der Heilige schlechthin. Ich habe auch sein schlichtes Grab besucht, das nur die Inschrift: S. D. Luzzatto trägt. Ein Denkmal, das man ursprünglich errichten wollte, ist nicht zu Stande gekommen."

⁶⁹ Kaufmann to Zunz, Budapest, 03.03.1882, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.83.

⁷⁰ Kaufmann to Zunz, Budapest, 05.06.1882, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.84.

⁷¹ David Kaufmann: Kurze Inhaltsübersicht zu S. D. Luzzatto's Briefen, in: Eisig [Isaak] Graeber (ed.), Iggerot Shadal. S. D. Luzzatto's hebräische Briefe gesammelt von seinem Sohne Dr. Isaia Luzzatto, vol. 1, Przemysl 1882, pp.I–XXII [Hebrew and German].

In the summer of 1878, Kaufmann's destination was Paris. Again, he gave Zunz a detailed report about his travels and encounters in several letters. Originally, Kaufmann had planned to travel to Palestine, but as the vacation period of the seminary in Budapest was in the "hottest months" of the region, he decided to visit the world exhibition in the French capital instead.⁷² Although Kaufmann stayed in the central sixth arrondissement, close to the historic sites, he wrote Zunz, he did not "work through the litany of sights." Instead, it was more important for him to meet the "representatives of our science." After the meetings, however, he felt deeply shocked at the poor conditions in which the Parisian Jewish scholars worked and lived, and he described them as "veterans" and "invalids" of the Jewish literature. During his visit, Kaufmann was unable to see the precious library of the Günzburg family due to "continuing negotiations of the legacy." He also missed Senior Shneur Sachs (1815–1892), the former editor of the early Hebrew *Wissenschaft des Judentums* journal *Kerem hemed* ("Vineyard of Delight") and then librarian of the Günzburg collection. He did, however, meet with Adolph Neubauer (1832–1907), librarian of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, who at that time worked in the Parisian libraries. Moreover, he visited the orientalist Joseph Derenbourg (1811–1895), secretary of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, Isidore Loeb (1839–1892), and the French chief rabbi Zadoc Kahn (1839–1905). Kaufmann viewed the world exhibition twice but, except for the Trocadéro palace, where the festive receptions of exhibition took place, the event left him unimpressed.⁷³ As he described it in his letters, the journey to Paris was mainly an exhausting affair.

In the following summer of 1879, Kaufmann traveled first to his hometown Kojetín in Moravia, and afterwards had a leg disease treated in the spa town of Vöslau in Lower Austria.⁷⁴ He planned to visit Zunz again finally in the summer of 1880 but, burdened with work, he spent that summer at his parents' home in Kojetín.⁷⁵ In return, Leopold Zunz recalled his academic travels in a letter to Kaufmann. More than twenty years after his dissertation, in the mid-1840s,

⁷² Kaufmann to Zunz, Budapest, 21.05.1878, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 197.

⁷³ For all previous quotes, see Kaufmann to Zunz, Paris, 17.09.1878, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel II*, pp. 120–123.

⁷⁴ Kaufmann to Zunz, Kojetín, 16.07.1879, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.57; Kaufmann to Zunz, Vöslau bei Wien, 27.07.1879 and 08.08.1879, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.58 and 59.

⁷⁵ Kaufmann to Zunz, Kojetín, 09.08.1880, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.68.

Zunz and his wife Adelheid had traveled to the great libraries in Paris, London, and Oxford. At that time, notable Hebraica and Judaica collections had been transferred from Germany to England, such as the library of Zunz's friend Heiman Michael (1792–1846) in Hamburg.⁷⁶ As a result, Zunz had no access to essential Hebrew books while he worked on his two-volume “Synagogal Poetry of the Middle Ages” (“Synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters,” 2 vols., Berlin 1855–1859). He was forced to ask friends and scholars to provide him with copies of books and transcriptions from books and manuscripts. Finally, in 1846, Zunz was able to follow the book collections to England. In a letter dated June 14, 1880, he told Kaufmann about his journey to London. He wrote that, during the stay, his wife Adelheid usually visited the greenhouses while Zunz himself worked in the manuscript collection of the British Museum. One day in the greenhouses, Adelheid met Queen Victoria and was introduced to Her Majesty, as Zunz proudly reported.⁷⁷ Ten years later, he told Kaufmann, he traveled again to Paris and Oxford, and in 1857 he went to Italy, as well.⁷⁸

Following his wedding with Irma Gomperz (1854–1905), David Kaufmann traveled together with his wife in April 1881. The first trip the young couple made to Italy, however, was – and Kaufmann felt he needed to make excuses in a letter to Zunz – “completely non-academic.”⁷⁹ But, such “non-academic” journeys to spas, especially to health resorts in Northern Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium, from 1881 on became the possibility for David and Irma Kaufmann to stop over in Berlin and visit Zunz. For example, when the Kaufmanns returned from a holiday trip to the island of Norderney in the North Sea in the summer of 1881, they visited Leopold Zunz for his 87th birthday. During this first visit by the married couple, the Kaufmanns met

⁷⁶ On the transfer of the Michael collection, see Gregor Pelger: *Wissenschaft des Judentums und englische Bibliotheken. Zur Geschichte historischer Philologie im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 2010, pp. 121–144.

⁷⁷ Zunz to Kaufmann, Berlin, 14.06.1880, in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel II*, p. 145.

⁷⁸ On Zunz's journeys, see: David Kaufmann, Art. Zunz, reprinted as: David Kaufmann: *Leopold Zunz* (1899), in: Brann (ed.), *Gesammelte Schriften von David Kaufmann*, vol. 1, pp. 333–351, here pp. 347–348; Alexander Marx: *Zunz's Letters to Steinschneider*, in: *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 5 (1933–1934), pp. 95–153, here pp. 99–100; Elbogen, *Leopold Zunz zum Gedächtnis*, p. 25; [Abraham] Berliner: *Zum Briefwechsel zwischen Michael und Zunz*, in: *Jahrbuch der Jüdisch-Literarischen Gesellschaft* 4 (1906), pp. 269–274. The philosopher Moritz Lazarus (1824–1903) advised Kaufmann on Zunz's trip to Italy, see Lazarus to Kaufmann, Meran, 27.10.1884 (transcript), Leo Baeck Institute, New York (hereafter LBI), AR 2051 (MF 100), correspondence.

⁷⁹ Kaufmann to Zunz, Budapest, 05.04.1881, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.77.

Zunz's niece Theodora Meyer. After Adelheid Zunz had died, Theodora maintained the widower's house. She was the daughter of Zunz's sister Julie Meyer in Bielefeld.⁸⁰ Theodora Meyer made friends with Irma Kaufmann and, since then, Zunz and Kaufmann gave their regards to one another in their letters on behalf of the women.

Shortly before Zunz's eighty-eighth birthday in July 1882, the Kaufmanns came again to Berlin. During this visit, Zunz returned to Kaufmann the letters he had written to him in the past years. When Markus Brann edited the second part of the Kaufmann-Zunz correspondence, he found a note by Kaufmann from July 22, 1882, which explained that Zunz wished for Kaufmann to preserve the correspondence "as a whole" in Budapest. Zunz only kept the letters of Kaufmann that he had not answered.⁸¹

In the summer of 1884, Kaufmann planned to visit Zunz again, primarily because of Zunz's 90th birthday.⁸² In July, however, cholera broke out in Northern Germany. Since attempts to contain the epidemic failed, the Prussian government placed Berlin under quarantine, and, for their part, the Hungarian officials refused to issue passports for the Kaufmanns.⁸³ In the summer of 1885, David and Irma Kaufmann came to Berlin again. On their trip from the Belgian seaside resort Ostende back to Budapest, the Kaufmanns met Zunz and his niece several times at his home on Auguststrasse.⁸⁴ Those encounters would be the last reunion of the correspondents. On March 17, 1886, Zunz died in Berlin.

⁸⁰ Very few details on Theodora Meyer's life could be found in a letter, written by Adelheid Zunz to Philipp and Julie Ehrenberg, (Berlin?), 24.10.1851, in: Nachum Glatzer, Leopold and Adelheid Zunz. *An Account in Letters*, pp. 238–239. Leopold Zunz reported about Theodora's support in his letter to Victor Ehrenberg, Berlin, 17.10.1874, in: Glatzer, Leopold and Adelheid Zunz, p. 341.

⁸¹ The note can be found in: Brann, *Mitteilungen aus dem Briefwechsel I*, p. 161. The wording is as follows: "Von Zunz Sonnabend, den 22. Juli 1882 zurückerhalten, damit sie, wie er sagte, sicher verwahrt seien und mit seinen Antworten zusammen ein Ganzes bildeten. Die noch nicht beantworteten behielt er, wie er ausdrücklich sagte, zurück. Norderney, 27. Juli 1882."

⁸² Since there is a gap in the records of the Kaufmann-Zunz correspondence for 1883, it remains unclear whether Kaufmann and Zunz met in that year.

⁸³ Kaufmann to Zunz, Aussee, 31.07.1884, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356. 91; Kaufmann to Zunz, Budapest, 08.09.1884, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.93.

⁸⁴ Kaufmann to Zunz, Budapest 08.09.1885, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.96: "Ich habe mehr als billig bisher von mir gesprochen statt daß ich Ihnen vor Allem zu danken hatte, daß Sie in den Tagen unseres Berliner Aufenthaltes uns so gastfreundlich den Besuch bei Ihnen gestattet haben. Besonders an dem letzten Abendbesuch und Ihre Äußerungen beim Schein der Lampe werden wir oft und mit wahren Vergnügen zurückdenken."

7. David Kaufmann as the First Biographer of Leopold Zunz

David Kaufmann's visits to the esteemed master of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* led to a particular academic contribution: He became the first biographer of Leopold Zunz. In many letters to and during his encounters with Zunz, Kaufmann had asked Zunz about his life.⁸⁵ Kaufmann was particularly interested in Zunz's personality, the beginnings of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Berlin, and Zunz's relationships with other leading Jewish scholars. For example, in his last letter, written in February 1886, he asked about Zunz's relationship with merchant and Maskil Mattityahu Strashun (1817–1885) from Vilna.⁸⁶ During his visits in Berlin, Kaufmann made copious notes about Zunz's stories. Kaufmann recorded the meetings stenographically and in great detail. A transcript of Kaufmann's memos shows that he had documented every subject, every aphorism, and every facial expression and gesture of Zunz.⁸⁷

Based on such first-hand information, David Kaufmann compiled the first biography on Zunz for the "General German Biography" ("Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie").⁸⁸ In his eleven-page essay, Kaufmann drew a lively picture of the "creator and master of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*."⁸⁹ He frequently included his personal memories and phrases like, "Zunz remembered then [...]."⁹⁰ Kaufmann first sketched Zunz's childhood, his youth in the Samson'sche Freischule in Wolfenbüttel, and his relocation to Berlin. Moreover, he illustrated the academic influences on the young Zunz and his work for the "Society for the Culture and Wissenschaft of the Jews" ("Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden") in Berlin. This was followed by a description of Zunz's position as an editor for the Spener Newspaper ("Spenersche Zeitung"), a tradition-steeped Berlin newspaper, his application for rabbinic appointments,

⁸⁵ For example, see Kaufmann to Zunz, Breslau, 07.07.1875, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.14.

⁸⁶ Kaufmann to Zunz, Budapest, 10.02.1886, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/G 16a–356.98.

⁸⁷ Kaufmann to Schechter, Budapest, 06.03.1890, Archive of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York (hereafter JTS), Arc. 101, 4/47.

⁸⁸ Kaufmann was asked to write on Zunz in 1898, see Kaufmann to Salomon Neumann (Kuratorium der Zunz-Stiftung), Budapest, 15.09.1898, NLI, Arc. 4° 792/Z 7–143. The General German Biography still exists, nowadays in an updated version online. Kaufmann's original entry on Zunz has not been updated and can be found under <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz60694.html#adbcontent> (last accessed January 15, 2018).

⁸⁹ Kaufmann, Leopold Zunz (1899), p. 333.

⁹⁰ Kaufmann, Leopold Zunz (1899), pp. 333, 335.

his temporary position as preacher in Prague, and finally his presidency at the Jewish teacher's seminary in Berlin.

For the period after Zunz's retirement in 1850, Kaufmann concentrated on Zunz's activities and published works. In the last passage of the biography, the entry focused on Zunz's final years after Adelheid had passed away and Kaufmann himself established contact with Zunz. Kaufmann emphasized that the corrections to the "Gesammelte Schriften" occupied Zunz until 1876 because, as Kaufmann stated, they connected him "with his academic past." Afterwards, however, the biographer observed that Zunz's "pen fell from his hand."⁹¹ Though Zunz was no longer open to a "stable awakening and confidence," Kaufmann emphasized that even in the later years visitors could always recognize a slight "flare-up" of Zunz's "brilliance" and irony.⁹²

8. Conclusion

The epistolary exchange between the master and the young student of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* represents a significant dialogue between the first and third generations of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. Between the first generation, to which belonged the founding figures such as Isaak M. Jost (1793–1860), Moritz Steinschneider, and Zunz, and Kaufmann's generation with scholars born in the mid-nineteenth century such as Markus Brann, Wilhelm Bacher, and Solomon Schechter (1847–1915), was the second generation with great intellectuals such as Zacharias Frankel (1801–1875), Heinrich Graetz, and Abraham Berliner (1833–1915). The letters between Kaufmann and Zunz offer profound insights and a panorama of the configurations of Jewish scholarly life in the nineteenth century, its practices, individual life paths, and experiences.⁹³ Moreover, they exemplify the values and self-images held by *Wissenschaft des Judentums* in its first hundred years. The correspondence reveals two central aspects of the history of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*: the rather broad concept of academic study of Judaism on the one hand, and the importance of networks of letters, travel, and exchange on the other.

⁹¹ Kaufmann, Leopold Zunz (1899), p. 350.

⁹² Kaufmann, Leopold Zunz (1899), p. 351.

⁹³ On the configurations of scholarly lives, see: Gadi Algazi: Eine gelehrte Lebensweise. Figurationen des Gelehrtenlebens zwischen Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit, in: Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte 30 (2007), pp. 107–118.

David Kaufmann, a gifted young scholar of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, adored the founder of the discipline. He thus worked hard for the contact and exchange with Leopold Zunz. Nevertheless, Kaufmann learned about Zunz's writings at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau and through the teachings of its director Zacharias Frankel, the founder of Conservative Judaism. Frankel appreciated Zunz as the "creator of the Jewish *Wissenschaft*," but was also convinced that Zunz understood himself too much as a philologist and bibliographer rather than as a Jewish scholar. David Kaufmann was impressed and influenced by Frankel's assessment. Thus, when Kaufmann and Zunz argued over Bible criticism, Kaufmann was confronted for the first time with differing concepts and methods of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. Zunz promoted a highly rational and quasi-ant clerical understanding of modern Jewish scholarship, which was mainly based on a philological approach to Jewish knowledge. In contrast, Frankel understood *Wissenschaft des Judentums* as an "academic discipline of faith" ("Glaubenswissenschaft").⁹⁴ Therefore, it becomes clear that *Wissenschaft des Judentums* must be understood not as a monolithic subject, but rather as an academic movement that lived by and through its many members.

Often, the differences provoked disagreement and ideological fights between religious camps. Unlike other intellectuals, however, David Kaufmann succeeded in dealing with the wide range of scholars of different denominations and views of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. While his teacher Heinrich Graetz, for example, constantly attacked the neo-Orthodox leader and rabbi Esriel Hildesheimer (1820–1899) in his writings and letters, Kaufmann maintained friendly relations with Hildesheimer.⁹⁵

In addition to the various concepts of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* that become visible in the correspondence, the letters of Kaufmann and Zunz are an outstanding example that illustrates the importance of networks in modern Jewish scholarship. Jewish scholarly networks were nothing new in the

⁹⁴ Andreas Brämer: Rabbiner Zacharias Frankel. *Wissenschaft des Judentums und konservative Reform im 19. Jahrhundert*, Hildesheim 2000, pp. 255–275; Brämer: The Dilemmas of Moderate Reform. Some Reflections on the Development of Conservative Judaism in Germany 1840–1880, in: *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 10 (2003), pp. 73–87.

⁹⁵ See Kaufmann's report on a joint vacation with the Hildesheimer family in: Kaufmann to his parents, Heringsdorf, 05.08.1896, Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem (hereafter CAHJP), P 181/8.

nineteenth century, nor did they appear out of thin air. Instead, they built on the foundations of the existing networks of the Jewish diaspora that had emerged along trade routes, Jewish autonomous and super-communal organizations, and intellectual exchange.⁹⁶ In light of the Haskalah and in the hope of emancipation, the existing networks transformed and accelerated, similar to the ways in which knowledge and academic organizations in the surrounding cultures transformed and enhanced.

Subsequently, Jewish academic networks in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries ran along three main channels of communication: One channel was built along organizations and institutions such as the rabbinical seminaries, but also associations, learned societies, and academic journals. These institutions were the most visible means of communication inside, as well as outside, the Jewish networks. Contacts or even controversies with disciplines related to *Wissenschaft des Judentums* became the second vital path of communication among Jewish scholars. For example, modern Jewish scholarship shared many central research questions and fields with Oriental studies and Protestant theology. The relationship between *Wissenschaft des Judentums* and Oriental studies was particularly close, since numerous Jewish scholars earned their doctoral degree in Oriental studies.⁹⁷ At the same time, related disciplines also challenged central topics, attitudes, and methodologies of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, as the confrontations with Protestant theology show.⁹⁸ Personal relationships and friendships constituted the third means of Jewish academic communication. Connections between the individual scholars were crucial for cohesion and solidarity within the networks. Today, these personal relationships can be studied through the correspondence between the scholars, which has been preserved in the written estates and archival collections. Moreover, from the perspective of historical epistemology, the letters illuminate the self-organization, structure, and significance of Jewish scholarly networks. Inasmuch as they were consistent and regular, the correspondence

⁹⁶ Sophia Menache (ed.): *Communication in the Jewish Diaspora*, Leiden 1996; Mirjam Thulin: *Jewish Networks*, in: *European History Online*, ed. by the Institute of European History (IEG) Mainz 2010-12-03, URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/thulinm-2010-en>, URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-20100921358 [2012-04-25] (last accessed 15.01.2018).

⁹⁷ Ismar Schorsch: *Converging Cognates. The Intersection of Jewish and Islamic Studies in Nineteenth Century Germany*, in: *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 55 (2010), pp. 3–36.

⁹⁸ Christian Wiese: *Challenging Colonial Discourse. Jewish Studies and Protestant Theology in Wilhelmine Germany*, Leiden 2005.

between the scholars not only reveal the relationship between two particular writers, but also show the connections to and with other scholars. Thus, correspondence such as the Kaufmann-Zunz letters contains valuable information about the social and everyday lives of the scholars.