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**XVI 2017**

A large, elegant cursive signature in white ink, likely belonging to Leonid Dubnow, is centered on the dark blue background. The signature is highly stylized and fluid.

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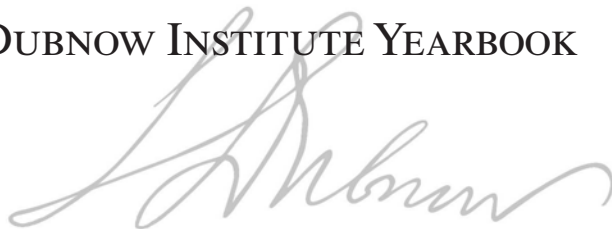
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## Editorial

Wenn das Jahrbuch des Dubnow-Instituts/Dubnow Institute Yearbook in seinem sechzehnten Jahrgang mit einem veränderten Titel erscheint, so darf ein triftiger Grund hierfür vorausgesetzt werden. Zum 1. Januar 2018 wurde aus dem in Leipzig ansässigen Simon-Dubnow-Institut das Leibniz-Institut für jüdische Geschichte und Kultur – Simon Dubnow. Hierin drückt sich zuvorderst die Zugehörigkeit zu einer der größten Wissensorganisationen Deutschlands aus, gleichermaßen jedoch auch die Anerkennung und Wertschätzung der geleisteten Arbeit unter der vormaligen Institutsleitung – Stefi Jersch-Wenzel (1995–1998), Dan Diner (1999–2014) und Raphael Gross (2015–2017). An seinen Kerninhalten wird das Dubnow-Institut weiterhin festhalten, die jüdischen Lebenswelten in Mittel- und Osteuropa erforschen und eine gesamteuropäische Perspektive unter Einbeziehung der Räume jüdischer Emigration einnehmen. Es wird die enge Kooperation mit der Hebräischen Universität Jerusalem noch einmal intensivieren und damit den Austausch von durch Sprachbarrieren vielfach in getrennten nationalen Kontexten gedachten und verhandelten Themen fördern. Neben Politik, Rechts- und Diplomatiegeschichte, Geistes- und Ideengeschichte als den klassischen Arbeitsfeldern werden künftig Fragen der *material culture*, der Transfer- und Restitutionsgeschichte an Bedeutung gewinnen.

Scheinen hierbei Kontinuität und Wandel als akademisch-inhaltliche Leitmotive des nun unter dem Dach der Leibniz-Gemeinschaft agierenden Instituts auf, so gilt dies auch für die organisatorische Seite. Neben dem Festhalten an Erprobtem stehen zahlreiche administrative und strukturelle Neuerungen, die bis in die kleinsten Verästelungen der Wissenschaftseinrichtung reichen und auch die Publikationen betreffen.

Die Beiträge dieses sechzehnten Jahrbuches gruppieren sich um zwei thematische Schwerpunkte, die beide aus Institutsveranstaltungen hervorgegangen sind – einen gemeinsam mit dem Leo Baeck Institute New York im Herbst 2016 ausgerichteten Workshop sowie das Forschungskolloquium des Wintersemesters 2016/17. Der erste Schwerpunkt, für den *Frank Mecklenburg* (New York), *Elisabeth Gallas* und *Philip Graf* (beide Leipzig) verantwortlich zeichnen, ist dem für die europäischen Juden entscheidenden Jahr 1938 gewidmet. Ausgehend von Fragen der Staatsangehörigkeit und der Minderheitenrechte, von Flucht und Migration wird die über die europäischen Judenheiten hereinbrechende dramatische Krise neu beleuchtet

und das Augenmerk im Besonderen auf die Staaten Mittel- und Osteuropas gelenkt. Im Vorgriff auf die kommenden Ausgaben, in denen das Jahrbuch vollständig als *refereed journal* erscheinen wird, haben sämtliche Beiträge dieses Schwerpunkts ein anonymisiertes Begutachtungsverfahren (Doppelblindgutachten) erfolgreich durchlaufen.

Der zweite, von *Dagi Knellessen* und *Felix Pankonin* (beide Leipzig) herausgegebene Schwerpunkt nimmt demgegenüber eine methodische Fragestellung zum Ausgangspunkt. Angesichts des fortwährenden Aufschwungs der Biografieforschung werden die Gründe für die Konjunktur des Genres innerhalb der Jüdischen Studien untersucht. Am Beispiel von aktuellen Forschungsprojekten zu jüdischen Intellektuellen, die in verschiedenen Bereichen und Ländern wirkten, diskutieren die Beiträgerinnen und Beiträger Kernprobleme und Herausforderungen der Gattung.

Im *Allgemeinen Teil* liegt der geografische Fokus im östlichen Europa. *Alex Valdman* (Haifa) blickt auf ausgewählte Gruppierungen im späten Zarenreich jenseits der Jüdischen Historisch-Ethnografischen Gesellschaft und beschreibt, wie diese die Geschichtsschreibung zur nachhaltigen Existenzsicherung von jüdischer Öffentlichkeit und Elite in Russland genutzt haben. *Dan Mirons* (New York) Beitrag, der im selben soziokulturellen Umfeld angesiedelt ist, behandelt Stilistik und Spezifik im Werk von Scholem Alejchem. Dabei legt er dar, wie der Schriftsteller angesichts der Krise des osteuropäischen Shtetls, das Ende des 19. und Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts von Pogromen und wirtschaftlicher Verelendung heimgesucht wurde, eine originäre Form der jiddischsprachigen Literatur schuf. Die Artikel von *Tamás Turán* (Budapest) und *Daniel Mahla* (München) erweitern die Perspektive auf die östlichen Judenheiten durch die Verschränkung von Politik- und Religionsgeschichte. Turán spürt der orthodoxen und der neologen Bewegung innerhalb des ungarischen Judentums in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts nach, wobei er den Einfluss des christlichen Umfelds auf ihre Herausbildung hervorhebt. Mahla widmet sich den Kontroversen zwischen Mosche Amiel und Judah Maimon, zwei wichtigen Vertretern des religiösen Zionismus, die für die in Vilnius entstandene Misrachi-Bewegung prägend waren. Ergänzt wird die Rubrik durch einen Artikel von *Miriam Szamet* (Jerusalem) über die *Lebenserinnerungen* der Glikl bas Leib (Glückel von Hameln). Indem Szamet das Werk auf die darin enthaltenen Vorstellungen von Reichtum und Ehre analysiert und diese in Beziehung zur sozialen Praxis setzt, trägt sie zu einem tieferen Verständnis der deutsch-jüdischen Lebenswelt in der Neuzeit bei.

In der Rubrik *Gelehrtenporträt* befasst sich *Anna Holzer-Kawalko* (Jerusalem) mit dem klassischen Philologen und Literaturwissenschaftler Ernst Grumach. Anders als viele seiner Zeitgenossen emigrierte er während des Nationalsozialismus nicht, sondern blieb in Deutschland ansässig und avancierte später zu einem bedeutenden Intellektuellen der DDR. Grumach wird

als Beispiel für die Komplexität deutsch-jüdischer Erfahrung im 20. Jahrhundert vorgestellt. Einen anderen Zugang hierzu bietet *Annette Wolf* (Leipzig). In der Rubrik *Dubnowiana* untersucht sie die Rezeption von Simon Dubnows *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes* in der jüdischen Presse der Weimarer Republik. So war es die Verschmelzung von unterschiedlichen Lebensentwürfen, die Dubnows Geschichtsdenken für die Zeitgenossen der 1920er Jahre interessant und streitbar machte. Daran anschließend skizziert *Jan Gerber* (Leipzig) für die Rubrik *Aus der Forschung* Franz Neumanns Tätigkeit für den Internationalen Militärgerichtshof in Nürnberg 1946. Im Zentrum steht die Frage, warum sich der Jurist – trotz seiner anfangs kritischen Haltung zur Abgabe staatlicher Souveränität an überstaatliche Organisationen – doch für die Zusammenarbeit entschied. Es entsteht das Porträt eines Denkers, der zwischen Marxismus und Liberalismus, Optimismus und Pessimismus, faschismustheoretischer Verallgemeinerung und erfahrungsbasierter Differenzierung zerrissen ist. Auch der abschließende *Literaturbericht* verbindet Rechtsgeschichte und jüdische Geschichte. *Katharina Stengel* (Frankfurt am Main) stellt verschiedene Zugänge und Perspektiven auf die Zeugenschaft der NS-Verfolgten und Holocaustüberlebenden vor Gericht dar und plädiert dafür, diese Zeugenschaft entgegen der vorherrschenden Praxis als historisches Phänomen mit vielfältigen Bedeutungsebenen wahrzunehmen und anzuerkennen.

Das Editorial endet auch in dieser Ausgabe mit einem herzlichen Dank der Herausgeberin. Er richtet sich zuvorderst an die Mitherausgeberinnen und Mitherausgeber der beiden Schwerpunkte sowie an alle Beiträgerinnen und Beiträger dieses Bandes, die hervorragend gearbeitet haben und doch geduldiger als sonst auf die Veröffentlichung warten mussten; er richtet sich an die wissenschaftliche Redaktion, namentlich ihre Leiterin Petra Klara Gamke-Breitschopf sowie an Ludwig Decke und Margarita Lerman, die trotz einer Fülle von Aufgaben keine Abstriche an den wissenschaftlichen Qualitätsstandards zugelassen haben, sodann vor allem an André Zimmermann für das – inzwischen darf gesagt werden – bewährte Gesamtlektorat des Bandes sowie an Tim Corbett und Jana Duman für das sorgfältige englischsprachige Lektorat und die Übersetzungen ins Englische.

Yfaat Weiss

Leipzig/Jerusalem, Frühjahr 2019



## Allgemeiner Teil



Alex Valdman

## Usable Past for an Uncertain Future: On the Historiographical Impulse of the Jewish Intelligentsia in Post-1905 Imperial Russia

For Simon Dubnow, the decade following the Russian Revolution of 1905–1907 was a period of intensive scholarly activity. Along with writing and publishing scholarly works and journalistic articles, he took a leading part in the establishment of the Jewish Historical and Ethnographic Society (JHES) in late 1908, going on to edit its quarterly journal *Evrejskaja Starina* (Jewish Heritage), which first appeared in 1909. However, Dubnow's prominent standing in the field led him not only to cooperate with fellow scholars and activists, but also to several disagreements and antagonisms. In this article, two of Dubnow's clashes with fellow Jewish historians will serve as springboards for a critical discussion of Jewish historiography in the Russian Empire of the late 1900s and the early 1910s.

In 1909, after the establishment of the JHES and the *Evrejskaja Starina*, Dubnow refused to keep taking part in the editing and publication of the Jewish historical journal *Perezhitoe*, a joint venture of Jewish scholars and public activists from St. Petersburg and Moscow, the first volume of which was published in December 1908.<sup>1</sup> He not only claimed that *Perezhitoe* was an unscholarly, “popular” publication,<sup>2</sup> but undermined its very existence by describing it as a “petty shop” that created unnecessary competition to “a respectable national institution,” namely the JHES.<sup>3</sup> Several years later, Dubnow once again used rather sharp language in his criticism of a Jewish Russian historiographical project. In this case, he opposed the scholarly approach of the editors of *The History of the Jewish People*, a collaborative project intended to result in multivolume research

1 Simon Dubnow was mentioned in the journal's first volume as a member of its editorial group. For his account of the events, see idem, *Kniga zhizni. Vospominanya i razmyshleniya. Materialy dlya istorii moego vremeni* [Book of Life. Reminiscences and Reflections. Material for the History of My Times], St. Petersburg 2004, 326 (Russ.).

2 Idem, *Critics and Bibliography*, in: *Evrejskaja Starina* 1 (1909), 289–302 (Russ.).

3 Saul Ginsburg, the editor of *Perezhitoe*, cited these expressions in a letter to Pesakh Marek, a member of the journal's editorial group. State Archives of the Russian Federation (henceforth GARF), F[ond] 9533, O[pis'] 1, D[elo] 170, Ginsburg to Marek, 25 March 1909 [Microfilm at the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (henceforth CAHJP), HMF 554]. In his letter to Marek, Dubnow used a slightly different wording. See GARF, F. 9533, O. 1, D. 182 [CAHJP, HMF 555], Dubnow to Marek, 15 March 1909. The dates here and below are given according to the Julian calendar.



on the history of the Jews with a special focus on Eastern Europe.<sup>4</sup> Rejecting an invitation to take part in this project, the future author of the *History of the Jews* claimed that there was no sufficient scholarly basis for the writing of an all-encompassing history of the Jewish people. Moreover, in his response to the invitation, Dubnow dubbed the editorial group, which included both Jewish and non-Jewish scholars, as “an international gang” (“internatsional’naya kompaniya”) – a degrading expression which was severely criticized in a collective letter from the Jewish participants of the editorial group.<sup>5</sup>

Dubnow is a relatively well-researched figure, and the author of an extremely detailed autobiography.<sup>6</sup> Hence it is not too difficult to offer an explanation for his views and motivations in these cases. His unease with the “competition” posed by *Perezhitoe* and with the “international” nature of *The History of the Jewish People* can easily be interpreted as an expression of his national view of Jewish historiography: It should have had a clearly defined national mission, namely the creation and bearing of a modern, secular core of Jewish identity. Rather than turning into a diverse field of research, it had to be a centralized and organized Jewish enterprise.<sup>7</sup> Personality issues – Dubnow was not exactly an open-minded and intellectually tolerant person – undoubtedly played a role in these cases, too.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, in its current state, research on Jewish Russian historiography provides rather persuasive answers concerning Dubnow’s motives and ideologies. However, this is not the case with his opponents, including the unofficial ed-

4 On this project, see Avraham Greenbaum, *Stages in the Historiography of Russian Jewry*, Jerusalem 2006, 64 f. (Heb.).

5 Dubnow, *Book of Life*, 341 and 360; CAHJP, P1/9, 4, Alexander Braudo et al. to Dubnow, 12 March 1914; GARF, F. 9533, O. 1, D. 275 [CAHJP, HMF 562], Dubnow to Braudo, 25 March 1914.

6 Ibid. For a modern biography of Dubnow, see Viktor E. Kelner, *Missionary of History. The Life and Works of Semion Markovich Dubnov*, St. Petersburg 2008 (Russ.).

7 See Greenbaum, *Stages in the Historiography of Russian Jewry*, 40–45; Simon Rabinovitch, *Jewish Rights, National Rites. Nationalism and Autonomy in Late Imperial and Revolutionary Russia*, Stanford, Calif., 2014, 157–162. See also Anke Hilbrenner, *Simon Dubnov’s Master Narrative and the Construction of a Jewish Collective Memory in the Russian Empire*, in: *Ab Imperio* 4 (2003), 142–164; Simon Rabinovitch, *The Dawn of a New Diaspora. Simon Dubnov’s Autonomism, from St. Petersburg to Berlin*, in: *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* (2005), no. 1, 267–288; Jeffrey Veidlinger, *Popular History and Populist History. Simon Dubnov and the Jewish Historical and Ethnographic Society*, in: Avraham Greenbaum/Israel Bartal/Dan Haruv (eds.), *Writer and Warrior. Simon Dubnov: Historian and Public Figure*, Jerusalem 2010, 71–86 (Heb.).

8 See e. g. Brian Horowitz, *Simon Dubnov’s “Dialogue” with Heinrich Graetz and Abraham Harkavy and the Struggle for the Domination of Russian-Jewish Historiography, 1883–1893*, in: Greenbaum/Bartal/Haruv (eds.), *Writer and Warrior*, 49–70, here 68 f.

itor of *Perezhitoe*, Saul Ginsburg (1866–1940),<sup>9</sup> and some of the members of the collective editorial group of *The History of the Jewish People* – Alexander Braudo, Pesakh (Pyetr) Marek, Yisroel (Sergey) Tsinberg, and others. Did they share Dubnow’s view of Jewish historical research as the core of Jewish national self-definition? And if they held other views on the objectives of Jewish historiography, what exactly were their views? One might assert that they belonged to the cohort of Jewish historians of Russian legislation who aimed to document the development of the legal status of the Jews in the Tsarist Empire and to establish the case for Jewish emancipation.<sup>10</sup> However, neither *Perezhitoe* nor *The History of the Jewish People* paid special attention to legal issues and to the government’s Jewish policies. Saul Ginsburg was a lawyer by education and even engaged in limited legal practice in the 1910s,<sup>11</sup> and yet, as the editor of *Perezhitoe*, he stated on different occasions that the journal would be devoted first and foremost to the social and cultural history of the Jews in Russia.<sup>12</sup>

The question of Dubnow’s opponents’ approach to the research of Jewish history therefore remains open. This question will guide the discussion in the following pages. Instead of focusing solely on the most known and documented Jewish historical association of the period, the JHES, I will present a synoptic view including less known groups such as the editorial circle of *Perezhitoe* and the writers and editors of *The History of the Jewish People*. Assuming that the practice of history – and specifically the practice of Jewish history in late imperial Russia – is rooted not only in broad ideological constructions but also in specific local notions and practices, I would like to look “from below” at the making of Jewish Russian history. I will discuss the following dimensions of the Jewish Russian historians’ activities: First, their idea of Jewish history and its social, cultural, and national objectives; second, their connections to non-Jewish Russian social activists and historians; and third, their connections to the contemporary Jewish public sphere in Russia.

I propose that Ginsburg, Marek, and other significant players in the field of Jewish Russian historiography in the 1900s and 1910s did not adopt a national, meta-historical vision of Jewish history; neither did they regard it merely as a

9 On Ginsburg’s place in the editorial circle of *Perezhitoe*, see Alex Valdman, Saul Ginsburg and the Non-Radical Pattern in Jewish-Russian Historiography, in: *Zion* 80 (2015), no. 4, 521–549, here 524 f. (Heb.).

10 Benjamin Nathans, On Russian Jewish Historiography, in: Thomas Sanders (ed.), *Historiography of Imperial Russia. The Profession and Writing of History in a Multinational State*, Armonk, N. Y., 1999, 397–432, here 404–407.

11 Due to the Russian government’s legal restrictions imposed on Jews, Ginsburg became “legally registered” more than fifteen years after his graduation from the university, see The National Library of Israel, Archives, Jerusalem (henceforth NLI), Arc 4° 1281/A, Saul Ginsburg Collection, 1/3, Ginsburg to Avraham Paperna, 22 December 1908. Correspondence from subsequent years includes letters related to Ginsburg’s legal practice.

12 See Saul Ginsburg, *From the Compliers*, in: *Perezhitoe* 1 (1909), i–iv (Russ.).

tool for promoting the emancipation of the Jews in Russia. Rather, they saw historiography as an essential and integral part of Jewish public action, designed to promote the welfare of the Jewish public in Russia and to ensure the existence of a committed and sustainable Jewish Russian elite.

### *Perezhitoe* between Nationalism and Integrationism

This section will discuss the historical approach and ideology of the editors of *Perezhitoe*, especially of Saul Ginsburg, who served as editor in chief. The four volumes of *Perezhitoe* were published in St. Petersburg in 1908, 1910, 1911, and 1913, with preparations for the fifth volume hampered by World War I.<sup>13</sup> The journal's editorial group included prominent Jewish researchers and public activists: S. An-ski (Shloyme Zaynvl Rapoport; 1862–1920), Naum Botvinnik (1872–1939), Alexander Braudo (1864–1920), Yulii Gessen (1871–1939), Shmuel Kamenetsky (1876–1942), Pesakh Marek (1862–1920), and Yisroel Tsinberg (1873–1939).<sup>14</sup> Not all of them took part actively in the editing of *Perezhitoe*. Ginsburg was, undoubtedly, the most active member of the editorial group, in fact shaping the journal's contents.<sup>15</sup> As mentioned, Dubnow took part only in the preparation of the first volume of the journal, until the establishment of the JHES and the *Evrejskaja Starina*.

Ginsburg and his colleagues wished to produce a publication that would hold relevance for the contemporary problems of the Jews in Russia. These objectives influenced the choice of the journal's name. The correspondence between Ginsburg and Marek (who unlike the other members of the editorial group lived in Moscow and not in St. Petersburg) reveals that Ginsburg rejected the "somewhat archaic" name *Evrejskaja Starina* ("Jewish Heritage") that was probably proposed to the editorial group by Dubnow.<sup>16</sup> Marek did not like the name either, claiming that this name would not be a good fit for a journal focusing mostly

13 The main obstacle to the publication of the fifth volume was a lack of funds, see GARF, F. 9533, O. 1, D. 170 [CAHJP, HMF 554], Ginsburg to Marek, 8 December 1916 and 17 January 1917.

14 For a detailed discussion on the members of the editorial group and their biographies, see Alex Valdman, The Historical Almanac "Perezhitoe." Background, Contexts and Influences (unpublished Master's thesis, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Be'er Sheva 2010), 3 f. and 38–40 (Heb.).

15 See e. g. Daniel Pasmanik's account on *Perezhitoe*: idem, *Perezhitoe*, in: *Rassvet* [Dawn], 5 April 1913, 34 (Russ.).

16 This name was chosen for the journal of the JHES that was established and edited by Dubnow. GARF, F. 9533, O. 1, D. 170 [CAHJP, HMF 554], Ginsburg to Marek, 9 March 1907.

on modern Jewish Russian history. Marek suggested several alternative names, including the name *Perezhitoe* (The Lived Through)<sup>17</sup> that was finally selected for the journal. Marek noted that the most appropriate name would have been *Byloe* (which can be roughly translated as “The Past”), “were it not already in use.”<sup>18</sup> Marek’s reference to *Byloe*, a “revolutionary historical journal” published by supporters of the Revolutionary movement in Russia since 1906, is indicative of his vision concerning the direction of *Perezhitoe*. In the late 1900s, *Byloe* was considered a highly innovative historical journal both because of its focus on the history of the Russian Revolutionary movement and because of the ideological and political relevance of its contents to contemporary Russian social and political realities. The publication of this journal, which gained considerable popularity among the readership in Russia, was halted by the Tsarist authorities in 1907.<sup>19</sup>

*Perezhitoe* was not intended to be a “revolutionary historical journal” – even though Ginsburg and other members of the editorial group clearly sympathized with certain anti-government groups and ideologies in Russia.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, *Byloe* served as a model for the editors of *Perezhitoe*. Rather than its political line, it was the historiographical direction of this Russian journal that attracted the attention of Ginsburg, Marek, and their partners: its focus on relatively recent events and the effort to write history directly relevant to contemporary social and political realities.

This relevance was not understood by the editorial group of *Perezhitoe* in terms of political orientation. The contents of the journal’s four volumes do not seem to follow a clear political line: Its contributors included both Jewish So-

- 17 Two other translations have been suggested: “Experience” by Gabriella Safran and “The Past” by Zachary Baker. See Gabriella Safran, Timeline. Semyon Akimovich An-sky/Shloyme-Zanvl Rappoport, in: idem./Steven J. Zipperstein (eds.), *The Worlds of S. An-Sky. A Russian Jewish Intellectual at the Turn of the Century*, Stanford, Calif., 2006, xxiv; Zachary M. Baker, *Judaica in the Slavic Realm, Slavica in the Judaic Realm. Repositories, Collections, Projects, Publications*, New York 2003, 35. The latter translation is similar to Ginsburg’s translation of *Perezhitoe* into Hebrew. The Hebrew historical journal *He-Avar* (The Past) which he edited between 1917 and 1918 was, in his words, “Perezhitoe in Hebrew.” For Ginsburg’s translation of the name “Perezhitoe” as “He-Avar,” see e. g. NLI, Ginsburg Collection, 2/1, Ginsburg to Hirsch Lourie, 12 September 1910. For mentions of *He-Avar* as “*Perezhitoe* in Hebrew,” see GARF, F. 9533, O. 1, D. 170 [CAHJP, HMF 554], Ginsburg to Marek, 26 November 1916, 8 December 1916.
- 18 GARF, F. 9533, O. 1, D. 117 [CAHJP, HMF 540], Marek to Ginsburg, 12 March 1907.
- 19 On *Byloe*, see Felix Lur’e, *Treasurers of the Past. The Journal “Byloe.” History, Editors, Publishers*, Leningrad 1990 (Russ.).
- 20 See the discussion on their political sympathies below.

cialists such as Alexander (Sergei) Zeldov-Nemansky<sup>21</sup> and Boris Frumkin<sup>22</sup> and Genrikh Sliozberg, a Jewish liberal conservative.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, Ginsburg's correspondence reveals that he made systematic efforts to publish materials on the Zionist movement in Russia. He wrote to Moshe Leib Lilienblum, Alter Druyanow, and Yehoshua Hana Ravnitsky and other Zionist leaders and activists, asking to contribute to *Perezhitoe* articles, memoirs, and primary sources.<sup>24</sup> At the same time, he tried to publish a part of the memoirs of the prominent Orthodox activist Yaakov Lipschitz.<sup>25</sup> Not all of Ginsburg's efforts succeeded, but they clearly indicate that he regarded *Perezhitoe* as a truly non-partisan publication.

Ginsburg's visible efforts to remain politically neutral were by no means exceptional; after all, neutrality and objectivity were then, and are still now, a powerful source of discursive authority in historical research. However, a fundamental commitment to neutrality does not preclude adherence to a certain interpretive framework or a general ideological commitment. Such scholars of Jewish Russian history as Ilia Orshansky (1846–1875) or Dubnow adhered, along with a clear commitment to the principles of scientific, “objective” research, to a broad ideological, meta-historical framework (emancipatory in the case of Orshansky, national-autonomist in the case of Dubnow). But did such a framework exist in the case of Ginsburg and *Perezhitoe*? What was the *raison d'être* of the “small shop” that competed with the “respectable national organization” led by Dubnow?

In the preface to the first volume of *Perezhitoe*, Ginsburg stated that it aimed to “raise among the reading public the level of knowledge about the past of our people.” “These goals and tasks,” Ginsburg added, were especially appropriate at a time “when the need for self-study and cultural self-esteem is growing among the Jewish public.”<sup>26</sup> This intention to turn first and foremost to Jewish readers was also clearly reflected in Ginsburg's correspondence with potential contributors to *Perezhitoe*. In other words, the journal deliberately aimed at a Jewish audience in Russia and wished to focus on cultural and social rather than on legal and governmental issues. Here, the apologetic tendency – that is the desire

21 A. N. [Zeldov-Nemansky], The Creation of “Arbeiterstimme” (from Personal Reminiscences), in: *Perezhitoe* 1 (1908), 264–275 (Russ.).

22 Boris Frumkin, Zubatovshchina and the Jewish Workers' Movement, in: *Perezhitoe* 3 (1911), 199–230 (Russ.).

23 Genrikh Sliozberg, Baron G. O. Ginsburg and the Legal State of the Jews, in: *Perezhitoe* 2 (1910), 94–115 (Russ.).

24 NLI, Ginsburg Collection, 1/3, Ginsburg to Lilienblum, 28 May 1909 and Ginsburg to Druyanow, 24 January 1909 (and later letters); NLI, Ginsburg Collection, 2/1, Ginsburg to Ravnitski, 3 July 1910.

25 NLI, Collection, 1/3, Ginsburg to Lipschitz, 2 December 1909.

26 Ginsburg, *From the Compilers*, ii.

to shape the image of Jews and Judaism in the eyes of non-Jews, often attributed to Jewish historiography in Russia – was rather insignificant.<sup>27</sup>

However, Ginsburg's wish to appeal to a Jewish audience and his choice not to adhere to the apologetic patterns of Jewish emancipationist historiography do not essentially indicate a similarity between his approach to the practice of Jewish history and Dubnow's all-encompassing, meta-historical approach. In answer to a question by the Vilna maskil Ḥayim Leib Markon concerning the difference between Dubnow's *Evrejskaja Starina* and *Perezhitoe*, Ginsburg explained that "the aims of the *Starina* and *Perezhitoe* are completely different. [...] We [*Perezhitoe*] are interested solely in the cultural life of the Jews and, moreover, limit our work to the second half of the nineteenth century and later."<sup>28</sup>

Technically, Ginsburg's remark concerning the "difference of aims" between the *Evrejskaja Starina* and *Perezhitoe* is no more convincing than Dubnow's claim concerning the non-scientific character of *Perezhitoe*. In many cases, the two journals published articles by the same authors – Gessen, Marek, Tsinberg, and others – and even published different parts of the same works, such as Boris Frumkin's research on the Jewish workers' movement.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, Ginsburg's argument concerning the narrower chronological and thematic focus of *Perezhitoe* reflected a real difference between his historical approach and Dubnow's. First, it challenged Dubnow's assumption that a "scientific" approach to Jewish history must maintain an all-encompassing, meta-historical view of the Jewish past; in at least one case, Dubnow deliberately connected the "popular" nature of *Perezhitoe* to its "failure" to "encompass all the parts of Jewish history and ethnography in Poland and Russia."<sup>30</sup> Second, Ginsburg did not share Dubnow's national interpretation of the Jewish past.<sup>31</sup> In one of his letters to the writer and literary critic Avraham Paperna (1840–1919), Ginsburg noted:

"There are many possible answers to the question of whether we [the Jews] have a future, whether we can or cannot keep our national particularity, when assimilation flows into every single aspect of our lives. But one thing is clear: we have a past, and we must fixate it."<sup>32</sup>

27 On the interrelation between Jewish historiography and the contemporary discussions of Jewish emancipation, see Benjamin Nathans, *On Russian Jewish Historiography*, 402.

28 NLI, Ginsburg Collection, 1/3, Ginsburg to Markon, 2 June 1909.

29 The first part of Frumkin's work was published in the third volume of *Perezhitoe*, see idem, *Zubatovshchina and the Jewish Workers' Movement*. On the editing of this research before its publication in *Evrejskaja Starina*, see CAHJP, P1, Simon Dubnow Archive, 9/1, Frumkin to Dubnow, 15 May 1911. On the parallels between *Perezhitoe* and *Evrejskaja Starina*, see also Jeffrey Veidlinger, *Jewish Public Culture in the Late Russian Empire*, Bloomington, Ind., 2009, 246 f.

30 Dubnow, *Critics and Bibliography*, 302.

31 On Dubnow's ideas in the context of contemporary Jewish historiography, see Nathans, *On Russian Jewish Historiography*, 411–417.

32 NLI, Ginsburg Collection, 1/3, Ginsburg to Paperna, 6 November 1909.

These assertions are quite far from Dubnow's national pathos. They even evince a certain pessimism about the future of the Jewish people, similar to that of the early nineteenth-century *Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Germany.<sup>33</sup> Such interpretation would, however, contradict the clear indications that Ginsburg and his associates attributed a certain public Jewish weight to their work: They did not study Jewish history as a relic of a disappearing past, regarding it rather, not unlike their role-models in *Byloe*, as an essential source of influence on the Jewish public. Such a stance must have relied on a certain extent of optimism concerning the existence of a Jewish society, at least in the foreseeable future.

To summarize, Ginsburg and his fellows in the editorial group of *Perezhitoe* did not write self-sufficient "history for the sake of history." Their work undoubtedly had certain social and cultural aims. However, these aims were neither derived from an emancipatory nor from a national political agenda. In the following sections, I will show how *Perezhitoe*, along with certain other contemporary Jewish historiographical projects in Russia, was, first and foremost, a product of notions of social commitment and public activity, maintained by certain circles of the Jewish Russian elite.

### Historiography and the Ideologies of the Jewish Russian Intelligentsia

Which aspects of Jewish life in the Russian Empire did interest Ginsburg and other members of the editorial group of *Perezhitoe*? It is important to stress that during his work on *Perezhitoe*, Ginsburg, who in 1901 published *Jewish Folk Songs in Russia*, a pioneering project in the study of Jewish folklore in the Russian Empire,<sup>34</sup> did not express an interest in the research of Jewish

33 See e. g. David N. Myers, *Resisting History. Historicism and Its Discontents in German-Jewish Thought*, Princeton, N.J., 2003, 23–25. For a discussion of the adherents of this scholarly tradition in imperial Russia, and their political indifference, see Vassili Schedrin, *Wissenschaft des Judentums and the Emergence of Russian Jewish Historiography*, in: Christian Wiese/Mirjam Thulin (eds.), *Wissenschaft des Judentums in Europe. Comparative and Transnational Perspectives* (in preparation).

34 Ginsburg published this anthology together with another member of the editorial group of *Perezhitoe* – Pesakh Marek. Mark W. Kiel, *A Twice Lost Legacy. Ideology, Culture and the Pursuit of Jewish Folklore in Russia until Stalinization, 1930–1931* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1991), 455–465; James Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation. Jews and Culture in the Late Russian Empire*, New Haven, Conn., 2010, 64 f.

folklore and ethnography.<sup>35</sup> Neither did he share S. An-ski's romanticist idea of folklore as a formative essence of Jewish national culture that must be collected and preserved to maintain and strengthen Jewish collective identity.<sup>36</sup> Accordingly, the four volumes of *Perezhitoe* included only a handful of ethnographic and folkloristic materials. The publication of An-ski's programmatic article *Jewish Folk Art*, a milestone in the research of Jewish folklore in the Russian Empire,<sup>37</sup> was no more than a notable exception.

At the same time, the contents of *Perezhitoe* reveal systematic attention to questions of Jewish public activism and to the emergence of modern Jewish elites. This thematic focus is also clearly reflected in the correspondence of Ginsburg, who served as the editor of *Perezhitoe* and was the main driving force behind its publication. During the years it was published, he wrote to many dozens of Jewish activists from different corners of Jewish society and from across the Tsarist Empire. Unlike An-ski, he did not focus on the collection of cultural artefacts, but wished to document personal stories and experiences.

A long-time Jewish activist and a founder and former editor of *Der fraynd*, the first Yiddish daily in Russia,<sup>38</sup> Ginsburg used his connections to encourage writers, journalists, and lawyers to contribute to *Perezhitoe*. His efforts resulted in the writing and publication of such important works as the memoirs of the writer and educator Avraham Paperna or the lawyer and public activist Vladimir Harkavy.<sup>39</sup> Among the Jewish activists who were addressed by Ginsburg but did not write for *Perezhitoe* for different reasons were the writers Yaakov Dinezhon and Israel Meir Wohlman,<sup>40</sup> the poet Simon Frug,<sup>41</sup> the lawyer and activist Menashe

35 In 1907, Ginsburg noted in a letter to Marek that they unfortunately could not afford "the pleasure of a purely historical journal" and that "it must include also works of ethnography and folklore." GARF, F. 9533, O. 1, D. 170 [CAHJP, HMF 554], Ginsburg to Marek, 9 March 1907.

36 See e. g. David S. Roskies, S. Ansky and the Paradigm of Return, in: Jack Wertheimer (ed.), *The Uses of Tradition. Jewish Continuity in the Modern Era*, New York/Cambridge, Mass., 1992, 243–60, here 253–259; Gabriella Safran, *Wandering Soul. The Dybbuk's Creator, S. An-sky*, Cambridge, Mass., 2010, 142–148; Sylvie Anne Goldberg, *Paradigmatic Times. An-sky's Two Worlds*, in: Safran/Zipperstein (eds.), *The Worlds of S. An-Sky*, 44–52, here 50 f.

37 Safran, *Timeline*, xxiv.

38 On this newspaper, see Alexander Frenkel, *The Rise and the Dawn of "Der fraynd." The First Daily Yiddish Newspaper in Russia (1903–1914)*, in: *Arkhip evreiskoi istorii* [Archive of the Jewish History] 6 (2011), 104–122 (Russ.); Sarah Abrevaya Stein, *Making Jews Modern. The Yiddish and Ladino Press in the Russian and Ottoman Empires*, Bloomington, Ind., 2004, 24–54.

39 Avraham Paperna, *From the Nicholaevan Era*, in: *Perezhitoe* 2 (1910), 1–53 (Russ.); idem, *Memoirs*, in: *Perezhitoe* 3 (1911), 264–364 (Russ.); Vladimir Harkavy, *Pieces of Memories*, in: *Perezhitoe* 4 (1913), 270–287 (Russ.).

40 NLI, Ginsburg Collection, 1/3, Ginsburg to Wohlman, 5 November 1908, and Ginsburg to Dinezhon, 24 January 1909.

41 NLI, Ginsburg Collection, 1/3, Ginsburg to Frug, 9 February 1909.



Morgulis,<sup>42</sup> and one of the leading contemporary Jewish attorneys and public activists in St. Petersburg, Oskar Gruzenberg.<sup>43</sup> Ginsburg also approached relatives of deceased Jewish writers and activists of the nineteenth century in an attempt to find new pieces of information, correspondence, and other materials from their personal archives. He wrote, among others, to members of such families of maskilim and intelligentsia as Katsenelenbogen, Mandelshtam, and Kulisher, and to the descendants of the maskilic writer Eliezer Zweifel<sup>44</sup> and of Rabbi Shmuel Mohilever,<sup>45</sup> one of the early leaders of the palestinophile movement in Russia. These names indicate the issues that most interested Ginsburg when he was editing *Perezhitoe*: the history of the Haskalah in Russia, the emergence of Jewish Russian public activism, and the appearance of the Jewish Russian intelligentsia. This thematic focus also emerged in the guidelines he sent to potential memoirists. For instance, the main topics he suggested for the memoirs of Wohlman and Paperna included the so-called “government-sponsored Haskalah” of the 1840s, the Jewish rabbinical seminaries in Vilna and Zhytomyr, and the struggles of the early maskilim in the Pale of Settlement.<sup>46</sup>

However, the “thematic elitism” of Ginsburg and *Perezhitoe* does not appear to be simply a product of the alienation of Jewish historians in Moscow and St. Petersburg from the Jewish life in the Pale of Settlement. Ginsburg’s letters to potential writers and correspondents appear rather as an interaction between fellow Jewish writers and activists than a dichotomous contact between a researcher and his object of study. In the late 1900s and early 1910s, Ginsburg conducted a trilingual correspondence that reflected not only his extensive connections but also a deep, nuanced understanding of Jewish society in the Pale. He addressed rabbis and communal functionaries in Mogilev, Bobruisk, and other localities in the Pale in an old Hebrew style.<sup>47</sup> In one case he even presented himself as “Saul, son of Frida Ginsburg from Minsk,” an autobiographical reference that reiterated his ability to feel and act as an “insider” despite his location outside the Pale.<sup>48</sup>

42 NLI, Ginsburg Collection, 2/1, Ginsburg to Morgulis, 2 February 1910.

43 NLI, Ginsburg Collection, 1/3, Ginsburg to Gruzenberg, 2 February 1909.

44 NLI, Ginsburg Collection, 1/3, Ginsburg to Kasyan Zweifel, 5 April 1909.

45 NLI, Ginsburg Collection, 1/3, Ginsburg to Osip Mohilever, 1 March 1909.

46 NLI, Ginsburg Collection, 1/3, Ginsburg to Wohlman, 5 November 1908, and Ginsburg to Paperna, 6 November 1908.

47 In his efforts to find materials for his research on the Napoleonic invasion, Ginsburg even addressed Yosef Yitshak Shneerson, the son of the leader of the Lubavitch branch of Hasidism and his future successor. This contact was arranged, as Ginsburg mentions in his letter, by Shmuel Trainin, a wealthy member of the St. Petersburg Jewish community and an adherent of Lubavitch. NLI, Ginsburg Collection, 2/1, Ginsburg to Shneerson, 1 January 1912. For other letters in Hebrew addressed to local activists, see e. g. Ginsburg’s letters to religious functionaries from the town of Dubrovna: NLI, Ginsburg Collection, 1/3, Ginsburg to Hirsh Tumarkin, 11 August 1909, and Ginsburg to Sheinkin, 2 August 1909.

48 NLI, Ginsburg Collection, 2/1, Ginsburg to Hirsh Lourie, 12 September 1910.

Letters in Yiddish were addressed to the veteran Yiddish writer Yaakov Dinezhon and to proponents of the emerging Yiddishist culture such as Shmuel Rosenfeld (1869–1943), his former associate in editing *Der fraynd*,<sup>49</sup> or the staff of the Kletskin publishing house in Vilna.<sup>50</sup> In this way, Ginsburg's correspondence shows that his scholarly choices were not based on an elitist detachment from the Pale of Settlement. On the contrary, it was a certain mode of attachment that led him to focus his interests on the history of Jewish activism and Jewish elites.

Furthermore, the focus of Ginsburg and of *Perezhitoe* on these topics was not just a side effect of certain social ties, but rather a conscious ideological and historiographical choice. Ginsburg was undoubtedly interested in issues other than the history of modern elites, but preferred to leave these topics beyond the scope of *Perezhitoe*. While preparing the second and third volumes of the journal, he worked intensively on a study of the Jewish experience of the 1812 Napoleonic invasion to Russia, a subject that was clearly related to the history of Jewish encounter with the Russian regime, and not only to internal Jewish social and cultural history. This study was published in 1912 in a separate book intended to appeal to a non-Jewish audience in Russia, highlighting the Jewish participation in the Patriotic War of 1812 during its centennial celebrations.<sup>51</sup> This book was therefore to play a totally different role than *Perezhitoe*. In one of his letters to Alexander Braudo, Ginsburg noted that only a small part of the materials he gathered on 1812 – “the ones relevant to the Jewish public” – would find its way into the journal.<sup>52</sup> It is clear, therefore, that the focus of *Perezhitoe* on Jewish activism and Jewish elites was far from being coincidental: it rooted in a certain historiographical approach, shared by Ginsburg and by at least some members of the journal's editorial group.

The desire to create a visible and relevant history of the Jewish Russian elite was a realization of a *Narodnik*-like impulse of the Jewish intelligentsia to inspire and nurture new generations of socially committed Jewish elites.<sup>53</sup> It was a rather modest historiographical vision that, as Ginsburg put it, did not have

49 NLI, Ginsburg Collection, 2/1, Ginsburg to Rosenfeld, 3 February 1910 (and later letters).

50 NLI, Ginsburg Collection, 2/1, Ginsburg to the Kletskin publishing house, 20 August 1912 (and later letters).

51 Saul Ginsburg, *The Patriotic War of 1812 and the Russian Jews*, St. Petersburg 1912 (Russ.). On the apologetic aspects of the book, see e. g.: NLI, Ginsburg Collection, 2/1, Ginsburg to Marek, 26 December 1911. See also Benjamin Lukin, *The War of 1812 in the Memory of Russian Jewry*, in: idem./Ilia Lur'e/Mikhail Greenberg (eds.), *Year 1812 – Russia and the Jews*, Moscow/Jerusalem 2012, 7–58 (Russ.).

52 NLI, Ginsburg Collection, 2/1, Ginsburg to Braudo, 24 November 1911.

53 Parallel objectives were shared by S. An-ski, but his scholarly approach was rather different, see Mikhail Krutikov, *The Russian Jew as a Modern Hero. Identity Construction in An-sky's Writings*, in: Safran/Zipperstein (eds.), *The Worlds of S. An-Sky*, 119–136, here 126 f.; Safran, *Wandering Soul*, 142–148 and 166–169. An-ski was listed as a member of the editorial group of *Perezhitoe*, but did not take an active part in its editing.