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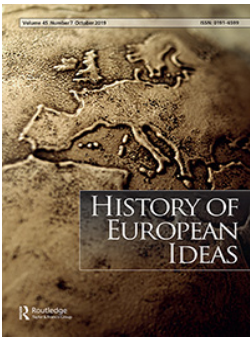
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A missing link in the history of historiography: scholarly personae in the world of Alfred Dove

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ABSTRACT

Drawing on the case of Alfred Dove (1844–1916), this article contributes to an emerging line of research on scholarly personae in the history of historiography. It does so by addressing the important but so far neglected question: What exactly does the prism of scholarly personae add to existing historiographical perspectives? The German historian Alfred Dove is an appropriate case study for this exercise, because historical scholarship in Wilhelmine Germany has been relatively well studied, from various angles. Most notably, it has been studied (1) through biographical lenses, (2) from institutional points of view, (3) as the cradle of ‘scientific history’, with special attention to historical methods of the sort codified by Ernst Bernheim, and (4) in relation to religious and political fault lines that divided the German Empire shortly after the Franco-Prussian War and the *Kulturkampf*. The thesis advanced in this article is that scholarly personae are a missing link between these four dimensions and therefore a theme of key importance for anyone trying to understand German historical studies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

KEYWORDS

Scholarly personae; history of historiography; German historiography; virtues; vices; Alfred Dove

1. Introduction

In October 1912, during their annual dinner in Hotel Grosse in Karlsruhe, members of the Baden Historical Commission heard their departing chairman, the Freiburg historian Alfred Dove, propose a toast. Dove’s toast speech, rhetorically strong as ever, was a retrospective on the decade he had presided over the Baden Historical Commission, but also an autobiography of sorts. Yet how deeply ironic was Dove’s story of his life. ‘I am not really a scholar by nature’, Dove told his colleagues. Downplaying all his scholarly achievements, Dove related how his father had once asked Leopold von Ranke how his son was doing as a historian. ‘Your son’, Ranke had reportedly answered, after some silence, ‘is a sympathetic man.’ Likewise, Dove told how a colleague in Bonn had brought him the news of his election into a local academic club: ‘not because of your scholarly significance, but because we think you are a sociable colleague’. When Dove eventually raised his glass, he drank on his successor, whom he described as a man of real scholarly stature – one more deserving the honour of chairmanship than Dove himself.¹

For historians interested in scholarly personae, that is, in culturally sanctioned models of how to be a scholar, Dove’s toast speech is an intriguing document. Clearly, the 69-year-old historian did not use the occasion to bolster his scholarly credentials. But what, then, was Dove doing? One

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¹Alfred Dove, ‘Trinkspruch bei der Niederlegung des Vorsizes in der Badischen historischen Kommission, gehalten zu Karlsruhe am 18. Oktober 1912’, in Dove, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, ed. Friedrich Meinecke (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1925), 324, 326.

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might interpret Dove's toast speech as self-effacing rhetoric that helped create a space for his successor, Eberhard Gothein. In this reading, Dove's portrayal of himself as a failed academic provided a contrast against which Gothein's achievements could stand out.² One might add that the genre of toast speeches allowed or perhaps even asked for ironic poses as well as that Dove's *Trinksprüche* or *Tischreden* were known for what a younger colleague called their 'spirit' and 'humor'.³ This, however, was not the only occasion on which Dove spoke lowly about his scholarly accomplishments. Ironic self-mockery permeates Dove's correspondence. Although he was a professor at the Albert Ludwig University of Freiburg, editor of some of Ranke's posthumous works, a former board member of Germany's most prestigious source editing project (the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*), and a widely read author, Dove called himself an 'unproductive dilettante', 'more capable of interacting with professors than of educating students', not academic enough to write in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, and therefore a failure both as a professor and as a scholar.⁴ One wonders: What made Dove speak so disparaging of his scholarly work and what light, if any, does this shed on scholarly personae in Wilhelmine Germany?

For some years now, historians of the sciences and the humanities have been trying to apply the concept of scholarly personae to studies of educational practices, scholarly identity formation, disciplinary boundary-work, and academic self-fashioning.⁵ Originally proposed by Lorraine Daston and H. Otto Sibum,⁶ the concept of personae has been used for various purposes, which has occasioned some disagreement on what personae exactly entail.⁷ Most participants in the debate seem to agree, nonetheless, that personae are culturally sanctioned models, often embodied by influential figures, that define certain types of behaviour as essential for being a scholar or, more specifically, a historian, a philosopher, or a national economist. Typically described in terms of virtues, skills, habits, or competencies, personae serve as templates to which especially aspiring scholars have to conform – even though personae are never etched in stone, usually exist in the plural, and can merge or otherwise change slowly over time.⁸

This article discusses the case of Alfred Dove, not with an eye to making yet another contribution to the definitional debate, but to address a question that students of scholarly personae have so far failed to ask: What does the prism of scholarly personae add to existing historiographical perspectives? Dove is an appropriate case study for this exercise because historical scholarship in Wilhelmine Germany has been relatively well studied, from various angles. If we ignore, for the moment, emerging research on historians' masculine identities and practices of source collecting,⁹ we can say that

²On Gothein, see Michael Maurer, *Eberhard Gothein (1853–1923): Leben und Werk zwischen Kulturgeschichte und Nationalökonomie* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2007).

³Willy Andreas, 'Lehrjahre eines jungen Historikers in Karlsruhe (1908–1912)', *Badische Heimat* 33, no. 1 (1953): 18.

⁴Dove to Gustav Freytag, 20 March 1879 in Dove, *Ausgewählte Briefe*, ed. Oswald Dammann (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1925), 72; Dove to University of Freiburg, April 1914 (*ibid.*, 288); Dove to Max Lehmann, 22 November 1890 (*ibid.*, 147); Dove to Otto Gierke, 7 January 1888 (*ibid.*, 126).

⁵In addition to a theme issue of *Science in Context* 16, no. 1–2 (2003), edited by Lorraine Daston and H. Otto Sibum, see, e.g., Irline Veit-Brause, 'The Making of Modern Scientific Personae: The Scientist as a Moral Person? Emil Du Bois-Reymond and His Friends', *History of the Human Sciences* 15, no. 4 (2002): 19–49; Francesca Bordogna, 'Scientific Personae in American Psychology: Three Case Studies', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 36 (2005): 95–134; Jessica Wang, 'Physics, Emotion, and the Scientific Self: Merle Tuve's Cold War', *Historical Studies in the Natural Sciences* 42 (2012): 341–88.

⁶Lorraine Daston and H. Otto Sibum, 'Introduction: Scientific Personae and Their Histories', *Science in Context* 16 (2003): 1–8.

⁷Gadi Algazi offers a helpful overview of approaches in his 'Exemplum and Wundertier: Three Concepts of the Scholarly Personae', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 131, no. 4 (2016): 8–32. See also Mineke Bosch, 'Scholarly Personae and Twentieth-Century Historians: Explorations of a Concept', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 131, no. 4 (2016): 33–54 and Herman Paul, 'Sources of the Self: Scholarly Personae as Repertoires of Scholarly Selfhood', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 131, no. 4 (2016): 135–54.

⁸Herman Paul, 'Introduction: Scholarly Personae: What They Are and Why They Matter', in *How to Be a Historian: Scholarly Personae in Historical Studies, 1800–2000*, ed. Herman Paul (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), 1–14.

⁹Falko Schnicke, *Die männliche Disziplin: Zur Vergeschlechtlichung der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft 1780–1900* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2015); Daniela Saxer, *Die Schärfung des Quellenblicks: Forschungspraktiken in der Geschichtswissenschaft 1840–1914* (Munich: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2014); Mario Wimmer, *Archivkörper: Eine Geschichte historischer Einbildungskraft* (Konstanz: Konstanz University Press, 2012).

German historiography in the decades around 1900 has been studied mainly (1) through biographical lenses,¹⁰ (2) from institutional points of view,¹¹ (3) as the cradle of ‘scientific history’, with special attention to historical methods of the sort codified by Ernst Bernheim,¹² and (4) in relation to religious and political fault lines that divided the German Empire shortly after the Franco-Prussian War and the *Kulturkampf*.¹³ The question this article seeks to answer is to what extent a persona perspective, as one might call it for convenience’s sake, might be able to contribute to an integration of these four perspectives. Is it merely a fifth approach, distinct from the four existing ones, or is it able to build bridges between them, for instance by specifying some of the modes of interaction between individuals, institutions, methods, and political-religious fault lines? The thesis advanced in this article is that scholarly personae are indeed a missing link between them and therefore a theme of key importance for anyone trying to understand late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century historical studies.

As will become clear, the case of Dove is particularly appropriate for examining how personae related to individual life stories, institutional realities, methodological canons, and religious-political fault lines. His remarkably varied career offered Dove first-hand experience of institutions as diverse as universities, newspapers, learned societies, and historical commissions. The difficulties that he encountered in navigating the conflicting demands that these institutions made upon historians show us how personae served as intermediates ‘between the individual biography and the social institution’ (an often quoted but not yet empirically validated claim made by Daston and Sibum).¹⁴ Also, Dove’s skeptical attitude towards courses and textbooks on historical methods allows us to explore the relation between personae and methods, while his relation to Catholic colleagues at the University of Freiburg offers us a glimpse of how religious and political tensions stimulated processes of ‘othering’ historians who did not fit the hegemonic model of a male, Protestant, pro-Prussian professor from a higher middle class background.

However, before investigating how scholarly personae served as connecting threads between individuals, institutions, methods, and political-religious fault lines, let us return to Karlsruhe and examine what Dove’s toast speech reveals about the models that he himself admired and rejected.¹⁵

¹⁰English-language biographies of German historians in Dove’s lifetime include Roger Chickering, *Karl Lamprecht: A German Academic Life (1856–1915)* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1993) and Robert Southard, *Droysen and the Prussian School of History* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1995).

¹¹Apart from that nearly every department of history in Germany has documented its own history, there are histories of, *inter alia*, the *Historische Zeitschrift*, the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, the German Historical Institute in Rome, and German historical conferences. See Theodor Schieder, ‘Die deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft im Spiegel der Historischen Zeitschrift’, *Historische Zeitschrift* 189 (1959): 1–107; Ursula Wiggershaus-Müller, *Nationalsozialismus und Geschichtswissenschaft: Die Geschichte der Historischen Zeitschrift und des Historischen Jahrbuchs 1933–1945* (Hamburg: Kovač, 1998); Horst Fuhrmann, ‘Sind eben alles Menschen gewesen’: *Gelehrtenleben im 19. Jahrhundert: dargestellt am Beispiel der Monumenta Germaniae Historica und ihrer Mitarbeiter* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1996); Reinhard Elze and Arnold Esch, eds., *Das Deutsche Historische Institut in Rom 1888–1988* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1990); Matthias Berg et al., *Die versammelte Zukunft: Historikerverband und Historikertage in Deutschland 1893–2000* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2018).

¹²Relevant English-language titles include Rolf Torstendahl, *The Rise and Propagation of Historical Professionalism* (New York: Routledge, 2015); Arthur Alfaix Assis, *What Is History For? Johann Gustav Droysen and the Functions of Historiography* (New York: Berghahn, 2014); Frederick C. Beiser, *The German Historicist Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹³E.g., Helmut Walser Smith, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict: Culture, Ideology, Politics, 1870–1914* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995); Ulrich Langer, *Heinrich von Treitschke: Politische Biographie eines deutschen Nationalen* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1998); Bernd Mütter, *Die Geschichtswissenschaft in Münster zwischen Aufklärung und Historismus unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der historischen Disziplin an der Münsterschen Hochschule* (Münster: Aschendorf, 1980).

¹⁴Daston and Sibum, ‘Introduction’, 2.

¹⁵The secondary literature on Dove is limited. Apart from Verena Stadler-Labhart and Peter Stadler, *Die Welt des Alfred Dove 1844–1916: Profil eines Historikers der Jahrhundertwende* (Bern: Stämpfli, 2008) – an informative book without any scholarly pretensions – it mainly consists of Hans Cymorek, ‘... doch reicht mein Einfluß nicht weit’: Alfred Dove als Berater Friedrich Althoffs’, in ‘... immer im Forschen bleiben’: *Rüdiger vom Bruch zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. Marc Schalenberg and Peter Th. Walthert (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2004), 311–35. Gerhard Kaiser briefly discusses Dove’s religious views in ‘Die Wahrheit wird euch frei machen: Die Freiburger Universitätsdevise: Ein Glaubenswort als Provokation der Wissenschaft’, in *Welche Wahrheit braucht der Mensch? Wahrheit des Wissens, des Handelns, des Glaubens*, ed. Ludwig Wenzler (Freiburg: Katholische Akademie, 2003), 55–60.

2. Waitz and Freytag: two personae

The Baden Historical Commission members who put down their forks and knives to listen to Dove's toast speech knew their departing chairman well enough to recognize that his self-portrayal as an unscholarly professor was an act of dissociation, not from the professoriate as such, but from a specific conception of the professor as *Wissenschaftler*. Scholarship as *Wissenschaft* ('science') did not rank high among Dove's ideals.¹⁶ To the contrary, nothing provoked more of his biting scorn than the ambition to turn history into a *Wissenschaft*, characterized by specialized work, fixed methodologies, and disciplinary hierarchies. Given that this ambition was widespread in Dove's lifetime, perhaps most visibly in Ranke's pupil Georg Waitz, who socialized an entire generation of aspiring historians into an ethos of painstaking historical criticism before employing them in medieval source editing projects like the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*,¹⁷ Dove found ample opportunity to ridicule the *Verwissenschaftlichung* of German historical studies. Like Johann Gustav Droysen and Heinrich von Treitschke, he could exclaim: 'May God spare us from history teachers who have only been educated in the narrow philosophical school of Waitz-style seminaries!' That is: may heaven protect us from men who have been drilled in philological techniques for analyzing medieval chronicles to pieces, without having any clue as to why historical study matters in an age like ours, while – worst of all – writing barbaric scholarly prose.¹⁸

Even *Gelehrsamkeit*, a wider term than *Wissenschaft*, with less outspoken 'scientific' connotations, was not something Dove primarily aspired to. For him, history was a branch of art, belonging to what he lovingly called 'German literature'.¹⁹ His aim was not to establish facts or to explain events, but to create vivid, colourful 'images' or 'paintings'.²⁰ Instead of a photographer, whom Dove believed could only register outward appearances, he wanted to be a portrait painter, able to capture a person's soul in light and shadow.²¹ So a first answer to the question as to why Dove spoke lowly about his scholarly achievements is that being a respected scholar, a 'professional [*Fachmann*] in the strictest sense of the word', was not exactly his ambition.²²

While Dove rejected the Waitzean model of the historian as a scholar, his positive model of the historian as an artist was embodied by the historian, novelist, and playwright Gustav Freytag. Once the favourite author of the German educated middle class, Freytag was primarily known for his novels (e.g. *Soll und Haben*, 1855) and for his *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit* (4 vols., 1859–1867), a best-selling history of Germany that paired literary virtuosity with an antiquarian fascination for historical sources.²³ By the early twentieth century, all this had become a thing of the past. Freytag had acquired the less favourable reputation of being a Romantic Germanophile, whose historical writings were as uncritical as they were unpolitical.²⁴

¹⁶On the overlapping meanings of 'science' and *Wissenschaft* in this period, see Denise Phillips, 'Francis Bacon and the Germans: Stories from when "Science" meant "*Wissenschaft*"', *History of Science* 53 (2015): 378–394.

¹⁷Ulrich Muhlack, 'Die Stellung von Georg Waitz in der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts', in *Jaroslav Goll a jeho žáci*, eds. Bohumil Jiroušek, Josef Blüml, and Dagmar Blümllová (České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita, 2005), 165–81; Robert L. Benson and Loren J. Weber, 'Georg Waitz (1813–1886)', in *Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline*, vol. 1, eds. Helen Damico and Joseph B. Zavadil (New York: Garland, 1995), 63–75; Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, *Die deutsche verfassungsgeschichtliche Forschung im 19. Jahrhundert: Zeitgebundene Fragestellungen und Leitbilder* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1961), 99–134.

¹⁸Dove to Heinrich von Treitschke, 13 May 1873 (*Ausgewählte Briefe*, 33–4).

¹⁹Dove to Ottokar Lorenz, 14 December 1887 (*ibid.*, 124–5).

²⁰Dove to Freytag, 17 June 1873 (*ibid.*, 37) and 24 January 1877 (*ibid.*, 53).

²¹Dove to Freytag, 14 December 1886 (*ibid.*, 113).

²²Dove to Friedrich Althoff, 29 July 1898 (*ibid.*, 202).

²³Benedict Schofield, 'Gustav Freytag's *Soll und Haben*: Politics, Aesthetics, and the Bestseller', in *The German Bestseller in the Late Nineteenth Century*, eds. Charlotte Woodford and Benedict Schofield (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2012), 21–38; Martin Nissen, *Populäre Geschichtsschreibung: Historiker, Verleger und die deutsche Öffentlichkeit (1848–1900)* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009), 287–305. See also Susan Burger, 'Die zeitgenössische Rezeption Gustav Freytags am Beispiel des liberalen Politikers und Schriftstellers Karl Braun', in *Gustav Freytag (1816–1895): Literat, Publizist, Historiker*, eds. Hans-Werner Hahn and Dirk Oschmann (Cologne: Böhlau, 2016), 31–48.

²⁴Eduard Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1911), 570. Less dismissive was G.P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1913), 577–80.

Nonetheless, for Dove, Freytag remained a model to be imitated, precisely to the extent that he offered an alternative to the Waitzean *Fachmann*. A 'born poet' in an 'age of prose', Freytag represented the aspiration of combining *Forschung* (research) with *Erzählung* (narration) and *Schilderung* (portrayal) – an ideal that Dove saw realized most compellingly in how Freytag could depict individual characters as silver crystals mirroring key features of their time and space.²⁵

If Dove positioned himself explicitly vis-à-vis Waitz and Freytag, he did so, partly out of personal sympathy for Freytag,²⁶ but partly also because these figures represented models of how to be a historian – firmly committed to rigorous research, in the case of Waitz, and to visual history writing, in the case of Freytag. Obviously, these models were heavily stylized, in the sense that they emphasized Waitz's and Freytag's distinctiveness at the cost of biographical nuance and accuracy. This is hardly surprising. As Christian von Zimmermann has argued, representing individual lives so as to make them conform to templates of a good citizen, scholar, soldier, or civil servant was a defining feature of nineteenth-century German biographical writing.²⁷ Highlighting virtues while downplaying vices, eccentricities, and unconventionalities was common practice, tied to the expectation that biographies would present exemplary lives, able to edify their readers by encouraging them to identify with their heroes. Yet in the cases of Waitz and Freytag, the degree of stylization was remarkably high. Calling Waitz a 'professional' whose only interest was in philological source criticism ignored that the man had rendered diplomatic services to the duchy of Holstein, been a delegate to the Frankfurt Parliament (1848–1849), and authored various pamphlets on pressing political issues such as the partition of Schleswig-Holstein.²⁸

Dove was not the only German historian who habitually invoked one-dimensional images of well-known senior colleagues. Stereotypical images of Waitz and Freytag, among others, were rhetorical devices that enabled historians to position themselves in relation to easy recognizable coordinates on imaginary maps of their field. Just as Waitz served as shorthand for an ideal of *Wissenschaftlichkeit* that translated into virtues of criticism, precision, and penetration, so Treitschke, a friend of Dove, was routinely associated with an overly politicized mode of nationalist history writing. Friedrich Christoph Schlosser involuntarily lent his name to history in an old-fashioned moralist key, while Ranke, initially known for his 'aesthetic' gaze, became a symbol of 'objectivity' at a time when historians like Max Lenz felt they needed a counter-weight to Treitschkean patriotism.²⁹ Occasionally, friends or pupils raised their voice in public, protesting that such clichéd images failed to do justice to the biographical record. In 1862, for instance, Carl von Noorden complained about Schlosser's *idealisierten individuellen Eigenthümlichkeit* – an 'idealized individual distinctiveness' that exaggerated Schlosser's moral anger over injustices done by kings and rulers in the past.³⁰ Yet this protest was as ineffective as the attempt to point out that Ranke was not the 'scientific' historian that especially

²⁵ Alfred Dove, 'Freytag, Gustav F.', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 48 (1904), 766, 758. Similarly, though much earlier: A. Dove, 'Gustav Freytag', *Nord und Süd* 10 (1879): 275–6.

²⁶ A 'fatherly friend' to Dove, Freytag got him his job as editor of *Die Grenzboten*. Oswald Dammann, 'Gustav Freytag und Alfred Dove: Mit bisher unveröffentlichten Briefen', *Deutsche Revue* 47, no. 4 (1922): 227–52.

²⁷ Christian von Zimmermann, *Biographische Anthropologie: Menschenbilder in lebensgeschichtlicher Darstellung (1830–1940)* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 65–6, 113, 116, 131–2.

²⁸ Niklas-Lenhard Schramm, *Konstrukteure der Nation: Geschichtswissenschaftler als politische Akteure in Vormärz und Revolution 1848/49* (Münster: Waxmann, 2014), 94–103; Karl Jordan, 'Georg Waitz als Professor in Kiel', in *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag von Schülern und Freunden zugeeignet*, vol. 2, eds. Peter Classen and Peter Scheibert (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1964), 90–104; Hermann Hagenah, 'Georg Waitz als Politiker', *Veröffentlichungen der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Universitätsgesellschaft* 31 (1930): 134–217.

²⁹ Herman Paul, 'The Virtues of a Good Historian in Early Imperial Germany: Georg Waitz's Contested Example', *Modern Intellectual History* 15 (2018): 681–709; Paul, 'Ranke vs Schlosser: Pairs of Personae in Nineteenth-Century German Historiography', in Paul, *How to Be a Historian*, 36–52; Thomas Gerhards, *Heinrich von Treitschke: Wirkung und Wahrnehmung eines Historikers im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2013), 74–139.

³⁰ [Carl von Noorden], 'Zur Beurtheilung Friedrich Christoph Schlosser's', *Historische Zeitschrift* 8 (1862): 126. See also Ottokar Lorenz, 'Friedrich Christoph Schlosser und über einige Aufgaben und Principien der Geschichtschreibung', *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften: philosophisch-historische Classe* 88 (1878): 191 n. 1.

American admirers around 1900 took him to be.³¹ Schlosserian moralism, Rankean objectivity, and Treitschkean patriotism continued to serve as coordinates on imaginary maps of the field, in relation to which historians could position themselves or their colleagues.³²

So how did personae relate to individual biographies? Two conclusions can be drawn. First, personae were schematic models of how to be a historian, defined in contrast to each other and corresponding to distinct understandings of the historian's task. As such, they offered templates for how to live a historian's life. These models, in the second place, could be imitated, as Dove did in aligning himself with Freytag's example. Given their schematic nature, however, personae also allowed for different kinds of positioning. Most notably, they could serve as points of orientation for historians steering a middle course between Waitz and Freytag or trying to combine Rankean objectivity with Treitschkean patriotism.³³ As such, then, personae were not binding: they embodied possibilities rather than necessities, while allowing for various degrees of distance of proximity. Yet as we shall see in a moment, this freedom could be constrained significantly by institutions committed to specific scholarly personae.

3. Methodological discourse and religious-political fault lines

How, then, did personae relate to the three other themes identified as central to the history of German historiography: historical methods, religious-political fault lines, and scholarly institutions? Dove's dissociation from 'the narrow philosophical school of Waitz-style seminaries' offers us a glimpse on how personae interacted with methodological discourse. The problem, as Dove perceived it, was not Waitz's personal working habits, but a trend in German historical studies that the Göttingen historian symbolically represented. This trend amounted to a declining appreciation for the artistic element in historical thinking and writing, as evidenced by a rise to dominance of modes of instruction (historical seminars, methodological textbooks) and genres of writing (specialized dissertations, research articles, and source publications) that left precious little room for intuition, empathy, and creativity. It is not hard to see why Waitz or the 'Waitzean school' was treated as an iconic representation of this trend. Known for his claim that literary style is an overvalued good, Waitz had taught historians to value *Forschung* over *Darstellung*.³⁴ Also, over the course of his career, Waitz had increasingly emphasized the need to guard the border between scholarship and politics.³⁵ This, in turn, had led some of Waitz's students, *plus royaliste que le roi*, to reject all artistic and political aspirations as incompatible with serious scholarship.³⁶ Importantly, however, Dove's criticism was not limited to Waitz and his 'scientifically' oriented pupils. For him, the name of Waitz represented a broader tendency among German historians to suppress artistic inclination and literary ambition.

Dove's dismissive remarks on methodological reflection of the kind offered in Ernst Bernheim's *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode* (1889) must be read against this background.³⁷

³¹Georg G. Iggers, 'The Image of Ranke in American and German Historical Thought', *History and Theory* 2 (1962): 17–40.

³²Herman Paul, 'The Virtues and Vices of Albert Naudé: Toward a History of Scholarly Personae', *History of Humanities* 1 (2016): 327–38.

³³Diedrich Schäfer, for instance, dedicated his *Deutsche Geschichte*, 2 vols. (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1910) to the memories of Waitz and Treitschke. On his admiration for both, see Dietrich Schäfer, 'Antrittsrede beim Eintritt in die königlich Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften 30. Juni 1904', in Schäfer, *Aufsätze, Reden und Vorträge*, vol. 2 (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1913), 233–4 and Schäfer, *Mein Leben* (Berlin: K. F. Koehler, 1926), 64, 67–8, 70, 75–7.

³⁴Georg Waitz, 'Falsche Richtungen: Schreiben an den Herausgeber', *Historische Zeitschrift* 1 (1859): 25.

³⁵Thomas Brechenmacher, 'Wieviel Gegenwart verträgt historisches Urteilen? Die Kontroverse zwischen Heinrich von Sybel und Julius Ficker über die Bewertung der Kaiserpolitik des Mittelalters (1859–1862)', in *Historische Debatten und Kontroversen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Jürgen Elvert and Susanne Krauß (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 2003), esp. 53.

³⁶As Ernst Bernheim observed in a letter to Karl Lamprecht, 2 January 1885, in Luise Schorn-Schütte and Mircea Ogrin, eds., 'Über das eigentliche Arbeitsgebiet der Geschichte': *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Karl Lamprecht und Ernst Bernheim sowie zwischen Karl Lamprecht und Henri Pirenne 1878–1915* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2017), 67.

³⁷The wide spread of this textbook is documented in Mircea Ogrin, *Ernst Bernheim (1850–1942): Historiker und Wissenschaftspolitiker im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2012), 319–42.

Although Dove admitted that even ‘the highest historical art’ – the sort of work produced by Ranke – required a solid methodological base,³⁸ Ranke’s methodological virtuosity had a touch of genius that distinguished it sharply from Bernheim’s scholastic treatment of the subject (‘there was never a less scholastic spirit’ among German historians than Ranke, declared Dove, in a clear attempt to rescue the *Altmeister* from colleagues who sought to claim Ranke as a model of methodological sophistication).³⁹ Reading an exhaustive tome on the minutiae of historical criticism – one moreover that expressly warned against the dangers of imagination degenerating into phantasy⁴⁰ – had just as negatively an impact on the historian’s artistic eye as an overdose of exposure to the *Methodenmengerei* of historians who searched for laws in history or to ‘schematic’ classifications of the sort beloved by Lamprecht and his allies.⁴¹ They all moulded the historian’s self in ways detrimental to artistic perception and literary writing, if only by teaching historians to distrust their intuition as ‘adverse to knowledge’ (Bernheim).⁴² Dove therefore rejected Bernheim’s *Lehrbuch* as a ‘*Gradus ad Nonparnasum*’ – steps that led to nowhere.⁴³

What does this criticism reveal about the relation between methods and personae? Dove’s criticism of Waitz and Bernheim suggests three things. First, Dove’s stereotypical image of the Waitzean *Fachmann* visualized a perceived *excess* in German historical studies. The contrast between Waitz and Freytag aimed to show how impoverished German historians had become by paying too much attention to matters of only philological interest. Methods, in the second place, contributed to this impoverishment, according to Dove, not because it was wrong for aspiring historians to think critically about their source material, but because courses and textbooks devoted specifically to historical methods lent to these ‘rules for research’ a scientific aura that effectively *suppressed* intuition, imagination, and creativity.⁴⁴ From this it follows, thirdly, that the negative effects of methodological discourse, as Dove saw them, were not located primarily in the historians’ products, but in their *selves*. What distinguished the well-rounded figure of Freytag from the one-sided Waitzean specialist was the richer array of virtues and abilities on which the former could draw in understanding the past. Methodological discourse affected the historian’s persona by cultivating some personality traits at the cost of others.

Interestingly, this argument was not peculiar to Dove’s view of things. Friends and foes agreed that methodological discourse shaped the historian’s self. Bernheim himself expressly told his readers that being a good historian largely depended on cultivating the right talents, dispositions, and inclinations. Given that ‘our natural inclination’ is ‘adverse to knowledge’, this implied, for him, that historians had to ‘consciously and deliberately restrain and correct this inclination’, especially by suppressing personal bias and developing an honest ‘will to forgo [their] individuality as far as required’.⁴⁵ Methods, then, were almost synonymous to virtues of self-restraint. Precisely this caused irritation among critics, too. When Droysen complained that methodological instruction made historians ‘barren despite all education’ and ‘thoughtless despite all methods’, he did so out of worry that ‘inner strength, spiritual elevation, [and] creative thinking’ had

³⁸ Alfred Dove, ‘Ranke, Leopold v.’, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 27 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1888), 269.

³⁹ Alfred Dove, ‘Ranke und Sybel in ihrem Verhältniß zu König Max: Festrede, gehalten am 15. November 1895 in der k. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften (I)’, *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* (18 November 1895): 2. Dove’s admiration of Ranke is also apparent from ‘Ranke’s Weltgeschichte’, *Im neuen Reich* 10, no. 2 (1880): 929–36; ‘Ranke’s römischen Geschichte’, *Im neuen Reich* 11, no. 2 (1881): 999–1004; ‘Ranke’s Verhältnis zur Biographie’, *Biographische Blätter* 1 (1895): 1–22 and his edition of Ranke’s *Zur eigenen Lebensgeschichte* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1890). On German images of Ranke more generally, see Günter Johannes Henz, *Leopold von Ranke in Geschichtsdanken und Forschung*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2014).

⁴⁰ Ernst Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode: Mit Nachweis der wichtigsten Quellen und Hilfsmittel zum Studium der Geschichte* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1889), 428–34.

⁴¹ Alfred Dove, ‘Die Säcularperioden in der deutschen Geschichte’, *Im neuen Reich* 1, no. 1 (1871): 42; Dove to Otto Ribbeck, 19 November 1890 (*Ausgewählte Briefe*, 142–5).

⁴² Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode*, 494.

⁴³ Dove to Moriz Ritter, 1 April 1895 (*Ausgewählte Briefe*, 180). On the perceived dominance of philological criticism, see also Dove’s letters to Georg Friedrich Knapp, 5 January 1890 (*ibid.*, 129) and Gierke, 9 January 1890 (*ibid.*, 133).

⁴⁴ Dove, ‘Ranke und Sybel’, 2.

⁴⁵ Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode*, 494, 502.

become things of the past.⁴⁶ This in turn echoed Jacob Burckhardt's ridicule of the *Urkundion*, polemically defined as a 'type of philologists and historical researchers who consider themselves superior to everyone if they have found out that Emperor Conrad II went to the toilet at Goslar on 7 May 1030'.⁴⁷

Methods and personae were therefore much closer related than existing scholarship on historical methods suggests. Methods were not just markers of 'professionalism', aimed at fixing boundaries between scholars and amateurs.⁴⁸ Their aura of *Wissenschaftlichkeit* also carried with it a skeptic attitude towards intuition and imagination in matters of research as well as a dismissive stance towards literary style. What elicited the criticism of historians like Dove were especially these negative effects. Their fear was that methodological discourse would create 'factory workers for the *Monumenta*' instead of well-rounded historians.⁴⁹

Something similar applies to the third theme that figures prominently in the history of German historiography: political and religious fault lines that divided the German historical profession in the decades after German unification and Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*. The extent to which these fault lines impacted the historian's self is perhaps most visible in how Protestant scholars treated their Catholic colleagues. Dove encountered the 'confessional question' most prominently in Freiburg, where the Baden government had appointed him in 1897 as successor to Albert Naudé. In his own recollection, this appointment reflected 'the political need of the Baden administration for a determined national historian whose personal conduct, at the same time, would not turn off strict Catholic auditors'.⁵⁰ That was not an easy combination of requirements, as national historians – that is, historians who saw their work as contributing to the German national cause⁵¹ – were often Protestants with outspoken anti-Catholic leanings. Max Lenz, for instance, maintained that Catholics could not be good historians, given that only the Lutheran Reformation, interpreted in nineteenth-century terms as a struggle for freedom of conscience, guaranteed the liberty that was necessary for pursuing historical studies with a fair degree of impartiality. Obedience to the Pope, apart from being politically suspect, restricted this liberty to such an extent that it rendered impartial judgment impossible.⁵² So, in the eyes of Protestant historians, being Catholic was not just a matter of attending mass or crossing oneself before eating; it was about vices that made Catholic scholars incapable of being real historians.

Dove himself was too irenic to get involved in such anti-Catholicism. Although he never defended Catholic colleagues in print, he stated in private correspondence that figures like Max Lehmann were criticizing the 'ultramontane' element in German historical studies too harshly.⁵³ Also, in his Freiburg time, he developed friendly relations with Heinrich Finke, a Catholic colleague whose commitment to Waitz-style *Wissenschaft* was such that he felt little affinity with Janssen or his disciple, Ludwig von Pastor.⁵⁴ Precisely for this reason, the Baden government had preferred him over Pastor, whose candidature had been rejected because of the detrimental influence that his 'dogmatism' might

⁴⁶Johann Gustav Droysen to Hermann Baumgarten, 11 March 1881, in *Briefwechsel*, vol. 2, ed. Rudolf Hübner (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1929), 942.

⁴⁷Jacob Burckhardt to Gottfried Kinkel, 17 April 1847, in *Briefe*, vol. 3, ed. Max Burckhardt (Basel: Benno Schwabe & Co., 1955), 68.

⁴⁸Torstendahl, *Rise and Propagation*, 23–6, 48–54, 99–128.

⁴⁹Droysen to Baumgarten, 11 March 1881.

⁵⁰Dove to Paul Heyse, 2 April 1897 (*Ausgewählte Briefe*, 185).

⁵¹E.g., Erich Marcks, 'Das neue Deutschland und seine nationalen Historiker', in Marcks, *Männer und Zeiten: Aufsätze und Reden zur neueren Geschichte* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1911), esp. 310–1.

⁵²Max Lenz, 'Ultramontane Geschichtsscholastik', *Politische Wochenschrift* 1 (1882): 262–9; 'Janssen's Geschichte des deutschen Volkes: Eine analytische Kritik', *Historische Zeitschrift* 50 (1883): 233–4, 237–8. On nineteenth-century views of Luther as an advocate of freedom of conscience, see Heinrich Assel, 'The Use of Luther's Thought in the Nineteenth Century and the Luther Renaissance', in *The Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther's Theology*, eds. Robert Kolb, Irene Dingel, and L'ubomír Batka (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 551–72.

⁵³Dove to Althoff, 29 October 1890 (*Ausgewählte Briefe*, 136).

⁵⁴Mütter, *Geschichtswissenschaft in Münster*, 251–83; Bettina Horten, 'Vorreformation – Spätmittelalter: Eine Studie zum Lebenswerk Heinrich Finkes' (PhD thesis, University of Innsbruck, 1966). On the differences dividing German Catholic historians at the time, see also Holger Th. Gräf, 'Reich, Nation und Kirche in der gross- und kleindeutschen Historiographie', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 116 (1996): 367–94.

have on students trying to develop a ‘independent scholarly personality’ – another illustration of confession being closely linked to historian’s character traits.⁵⁵ This, in turn, was part of a broader tendency to question the scholarly credentials of historians who were not male, Protestant, committed to the German nationalist cause, or from higher middle class background. Women demanding entrance to the classroom were not only perceived as threatening masculine habits of conduct,⁵⁶ but also, for this reason, portrayed as lacking the qualities required for serious historical study (such as ‘a methodologically trained eye’, political insight, and ‘a mature experience of life and understanding of human nature’, as the ancient historian Georg Busolt put it in 1897).⁵⁷ Dietrich Schäfer’s working class background was repeatedly invoked by colleagues criticizing Schäfer’s polemical habits.⁵⁸ Likewise, the editor of the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, Ludwig Quidde, experienced in 1894 that membership of the German historical profession was out of the question for authors who had the audacity to criticize Emperor Wilhelm II.⁵⁹

As these examples show, scholarly personae interfered with religious-political identities to the extent that impartiality, patriotism, and other virtues were charged with religious or political meaning. Just as confessional affiliation was interpreted as having notable impact on the historian’s self, so political orientations were perceived as touching immediately on the virtue of patriotism. Religious and political identities were therefore professionally relevant, not only to the extent that they coloured historical interpretations, but also because they served as markers of virtue or vice.

4. Institutions

Finally, as for the relation between scholarly personae and institutions (universities, learned societies, journals), the career switches that Dove made during his working life offer us a glimpse of how institutions sustained, promoted, or sometimes even superimposed personae upon historians. For although Dove loved to pose as an ‘old German’, born too late to feel at home in a modern, ‘prosaic age’,⁶⁰ the spaces that allowed for such self-fashioning were largely limited to his correspondence and to his private study.⁶¹ Outside the walls of his house, in the realm of public duty, living up to the demands of a Freytag-inspired persona was considerably more difficult. For unlike Freytag, Dove was not a man of independent means. He needed a salaried position, had to give in to the demands of employers, and on more than one occasion therefore had to compromise on his ideal persona.⁶²

⁵⁵Stefan Grill, *Konfession und Geschichtswissenschaft: Konflikte um die Besetzung und Einrichtung historischer Professuren an der Universität Freiburg im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Karl Alber, 2008), 118. On the confessional quarrels surrounding Finke’s appointment, see also Clemens Bauer, ‘Die Freiburger Lehrstühle der Geschichtswissenschaft vom letzten Jahrzehnt des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum ersten Viertel des 20. Jahrhunderts’, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Freiburger Philosophischen Fakultät*, eds. Clemens Bauer, Ernst Walter Zeeden, and Hans-Günter Zmarzik (Freiburg: Eberhard Albert, 1957), 185–7.

⁵⁶Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 113–4.

⁵⁷Georg Busolt, untitled contribution to Arthur Kirchhoff, ed., *Die akademische Frau: Gutachten hervorragender Universitätsprofessoren, Frauenlehrer und Schriftsteller über die Befähigung der Frau zum wissenschaftlichen Studium und Berufe* (Berlin: Hugo Steinitz, 1897), 185; Mortimer H. Chambers, *Georg Busolt: His Career in His Letters* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 157–62.

⁵⁸Walther Vogel, ‘Dietrich Schäfer (1845–1929): Worte des Gedächtnisses, gesprochen in der gemeinschaftlichen Sitzung des Hansischen Geschichtsvereins und des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung in Stendal am 21. Mai 1929’, *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 54 (1929): 10. On the potential for friction between scholarly personae and working-class backgrounds, see also, more generally, Anne Secord, ‘“Be What You Would Seem To Be”: Samuel Smiles, Thomas Edward, and the Making of a Working-Class Scientific Hero’, *Science in Context* 16 (2003): 147–73.

⁵⁹Karl Holl, Hans Kloft, and Gerd Fesser, *Caligula: Wilhelm II. und der Cäsarenwahnsinn: Antikenrezeption und wilhelminische Politik am Beispiel des ‘Caligula’ von Ludwig Quidde* (Bremen: Temmen, 2001).

⁶⁰E.g., Dove to Gierke, 8 December 1890 (*Ausgewählte Briefe*, 153); Dove to Treitschke, 14 January 1891 (*ibid.*, 155); Dove to Ebers, 15 May 1895 (*ibid.*, 181).

⁶¹Friedrich Meinecke recalled how Dove’s study was decorated with a host of small, delicate pieces of arts and how much delight their owner took in explaining these to visitors. It was presumably no coincidence that a copy of an old Greek bust (a present on his seventieth birthday) sat on a shelf above Ranke’s *Sämtliche Werke*. In different ways, both represented what Dove saw as ‘classic’. See Friedrich Meinecke, ‘Alfred Dove’, *Historische Zeitschrift* 116 (1916): 83 and Dove to Gothein, 20 April 1914 (*Ausgewählte Briefe*, 293).

⁶²Friedrich Meinecke, ‘Einleitung: Alfred Dove und der klassische Liberalismus im neuen Reiche’, in Dove, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, x.

Just how difficult this was is apparent from what Meinecke called the ‘zig zag road’ of Dove’s career.⁶³ Initially, after a short stint as a teacher in Berlin, Dove worked, at Freytag’s instigation, as an editor of *Die Grenzboten*, a cultural-political weekly. But as he complained to Treitschke, the work of a journalist was too superfluous to his taste: he felt he ‘belonged’ to the world of historical studies, especially after finishing his *Habilitationsschrift* in 1873.⁶⁴ Dove was lucky enough to obtain a professorial chair in history, first in Breslau, later in Bonn. These universities, however, offered little space for developing his aesthetic aspirations. ‘Yes, dear friend, it’s true’, he therefore wrote to Freytag in 1890: ‘I will go to Munich.’⁶⁵ After about seventeen years in academia, Dove exchanged his professorial position for that of a cultural supplement editor at the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Explaining this surprising move, Dove enthusiastically invoked his long-standing ideal of providing the brightest minds of the nation with a platform for exchange.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, the story of Dove’s job hopping continued. Within one and a half year, Dove wrote to Friedrich Althoff, inquiring whether ‘a return in Prussian civil service’, as a professor or otherwise, would be conceivable.⁶⁷ It took a while, but after many letters and thinly veiled job applications, Dove managed to return to the professoriate, at the University of Freiburg.⁶⁸

Although more than one factor contributed to these career switches – political issues played a role,⁶⁹ as did a personal preference for *Großstädte* like Munich⁷⁰ – the most important one was dissatisfaction at the job: ‘the feeling of a failed career’, as Dove put it in a letter to Otto Gierke.⁷¹ Initially, each move filled him with hope. Each time, he expected to be more in his element and better able to realize his dream of being a writer, journalist, and historian in one. Thus, in January 1871, shortly after taking up his editorial position at *Die Grenzboten*, he told Ranke that hesitations about his new position were unnecessary. ‘You momentarily frightened my father by declaring that I had fallen between two stools [literally: between two chairs], ... but it turned out that between the chairs stood a sofa.’⁷² Yet it took only seven months for his tone to change dramatically. A journalist, he complained to Freytag, is like ‘a maid of all work’ (*ein Mädchen für alles*) – doing various sorts of things, but nothing truly substantial. ‘What a pity if nothing more would become of me!’⁷³

Why were there few jobs in which Dove could live out his ideal of combining literary writing, journalism, scholarship, and political commentary? By the late nineteenth century, newspapers and universities had well-developed ideas of what meant to be a journalist and a professor, respectively, and none of these ideas fully matched Dove’s romanticized image of a Freytag-style writer. In university contexts, spending one’s time writing historical novels, as Dove still did in the 1890s,⁷⁴ no longer counted as professionally responsible: the demands of scholarship had become too high to

⁶³ Meinecke, ‘Alfred Dove’, 90, 92.

⁶⁴ Dove to Treitschke, 13 May 1873 (*Ausgewählte Briefe*, 33).

⁶⁵ Dove to Freytag, 11 November 1890 (*ibid.*, 139).

⁶⁶ Dove to Gierke, 8 December 1890 (*ibid.*, 149–50); Dove to Treitschke, 14 January 1891 (*ibid.*, 155).

⁶⁷ Dove to Althoff, 17 July 1892 (*ibid.*, 158).

⁶⁸ Even by nineteenth-century standards, these were remarkable career moves. There is only one other case of a German professor, the Tübingen philologist Johannes Flach, who became a newspaper editor, after a literary scandal that forced him to resign. Moves in the opposite direction, though less exceptional, were also quite rare. In nineteenth-century Germany, only a handful of journalists managed to exchange their desk for a professor’s lectern. See Jörg Requate, *Journalismus als Beruf: Entstehung und Entwicklung des Journalistenberufs im 19. Jahrhundert: Deutschland im internationalen Vergleich* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 164, 169, 178, 181.

⁶⁹ In 1892, Dove came into conflict with the *Allgemeine Zeitung* about its pro-Bismarck attitude. See Stadler, *Welt des Alfred Dove*, 95–108.

⁷⁰ Dove to Althoff, 17 July 1892 (*Ausgewählte Briefe*, 158); Dove to Gierke, 8 December 1890 (*ibid.*, 150).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Dove to Ranke, 7 January 1871 (*ibid.*, 10).

⁷³ Dove to Freytag, 1 August 1871 (*ibid.*, 18).

⁷⁴ Alfred Dove, *Caracosa: Historischer Roman aus dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1893). The novel was not received as positively as Dove might have hoped: Erich Schmidt, a leading historian of literature, reviewed it critically in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* (1894), 408–9, while Freytag, of all people, noticed that Dove found it difficult to choose between ‘the poet’s valley’ and ‘the mountain top’ from which historians broadly survey the landscape beneath them. Freytag to Dove, 22 January 1894 (*Ausgewählte Briefe*, 165). See also Theodor Fontane to Georg Friedlaender, 29 November and 27 December 1893, in Stadler, *Welt des Alfred Dove*, 125–6.

allow for such forays into the literary realm.⁷⁵ Meanwhile, newspapers had changed, too. Although especially the larger papers kept reporting about the academic world,⁷⁶ few editors any longer welcomed lengthy reviews of scholarly publications. This genre increasingly moved to cultural monthlies and, especially, professional journals.⁷⁷ Standardization of education and career paths, moreover, strongly contributed to a growing apart of historians' and journalists' professional identities.⁷⁸ So when Dove tried to be a historian, novelist, and journalist rolled into one, he discovered to his regret that few institutions still supported such an aspiration.

This lack of institutional support became especially apparent when, in 1895, Dove tried to leave the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. In search of a job, Dove wrote three letters to Heinrich von Sybel, the mightiest man in Prussian historical scholarship, whom Dove disliked precisely because of his power and influence.⁷⁹ Carefully kept out of his published correspondence, these letters show us a somewhat desperate Dove applying to the position of state archivist in Hanover, which had become vacant by the death of Karl Janicke. Although the job eventually went to Richard Doebner, a man far more experienced in archival matters than Dove,⁸⁰ the letters merit our attention because they show us a Dove presenting himself, not as an admirer of Freytag, but as a student of Philipp Jaffé, a respected teacher of the so-called 'auxiliary sciences' in Berlin.⁸¹ Moreover, what Dove highlighted in these letters was not his essays or editorial work, but his competence in chronology, diplomatics, and paleography, his familiarity with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century source material, and the organizational skills he had acquired at the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.⁸² Although it is, of course, not uncommon for job applicants to tailor their presentation to the expectations of potential employers, the irony is that the persona invoked here was that of Dove's much despised *Urkundion* – a historian narrowly focused on critical treatment of historical sources. This shows, on the one hand, the level of professional desperation that Dove had reached by 1895,⁸³ but also, on the other, that personae cherished by individual historians such as Dove and personae cultivated by institutions such as the Prussian archives did not always match well. Employment in archival service required conformity to a persona quite unlike the one that Dove himself been propagating for decades.

Clearly, then, scholarly personae cannot be regarded as models that individuals could appropriate or modify at wish. By demanding certain skills, virtues, or experiences from their employees or contributors, while framing other interests and talents as irrelevant, institutions played powerful roles in shaping scholarly personae.⁸⁴ Arguably, not all institutions did so in the same way. Although Sybel's decision to keep the *Historische Zeitschrift* closed to 'radical' (Socialist) and Catholic historians was a

⁷⁵Scholarship had paid more attention to the porous boundaries between historiography and historical novel writing in Vormärz Germany than to the tightening of these boundaries in the early Wilhelmine period. See esp. Daniel Fulda, *Wissenschaft aus Kunst: Die Entstehung der modernen deutschen Geschichtsschreibung 1760–1860* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996).

⁷⁶Jürgen Wilke, 'Inhalt und Form der Zeitung in Wandel', in *400 Jahre Zeitung: Die Entwicklung der Tagespresse im internationalen Kontext*, eds. Martin Welke and Jürgen Wilke (Bremen: Lumière, 2008), 363–5.

⁷⁷Claus Møller Jørgensen, 'Scholarly Communication with a Political Impetus: National Historical Journals', in *Setting the Standards: Institutions, Networks and Communities of National Historiography*, eds. Ilaria Porciani and Jo Tollebeek (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 70–88; Margaret F. Stieg, *The Origin and Development of Scholarly Historical Periodicals* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1986).

⁷⁸Horst Walter Blanke, 'Historiker als Beruf: Die Herausbildung des Karrieremusters 'Geschichtswissenschaftler' an den deutschen Universitäten von der Aufklärung bis zum klassischen Historismus', in *Bildung, Staat, Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert: Mobilisierung und Disziplinierung*, ed. Karl-Ernst Jeismann (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1989), 343–60; Requate, *Journalismus als Beruf*, 131–8, 222–36. See also Gabriele Lingelbach, *Klio macht Karriere: Die Institutionalisierung der Geschichtswissenschaft in Frankreich und den USA in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), esp. 438–72.

⁷⁹See Dove's dismissive remarks on the 'circle dominated by Sybel' (*dem Kreise Sybelschen Dominats*) and 'the gentlemen Sybel & Co.' (*der Herren v. Sybel und Genossen*) in his letters of 19 October 1890 to Althoff and 4 March 1894 to Ritter (*Ausgewählte Briefe*, 137, 169).

⁸⁰Max Bär, *Geschichte des Königlichen Staatsarchivs zu Hannover* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1900), 72.

⁸¹On whom see Daniel R. Schwartz, *Between Jewish Posen and Scholarly Berlin: The Life and Letters of Philipp Jaffé* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2017).

⁸²Dove to Sybel, 14 April 1895, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, Nachlass Heinrich von Sybel, inv. no. B1, 10A.

⁸³*Not bricht Eisen* ('needs must'), he apologized to Sybel (*ibid*).

⁸⁴As rightly emphasized by Pieter Huistra and Kaat Wils, 'Fit to Travel: The Exchange Programme of the Belgian American Educational Foundation: An Institutional Perspective on Scientific Persona Formation (1920–1940)', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 131, no. 4 (2016): 112–34.

clear case of boundary-work,⁸⁵ it did not specify the marks of a good historian to the same degree as the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* did in its instructions to employers hired to collect archival sources pertaining to the country's medieval past.⁸⁶ Also, most German universities allowed their historians considerably more freedom – the famous triad of *Forschungsfreiheit*, *Lehrfreiheit*, and *Lernfreiheit*⁸⁷ – than the Prussian archival administration.⁸⁸ Yet although the degree to which institutions shaped or promoted personae was subject to considerable variation, it is clear that the power that scholarly personae exerted upon historians depended, among other things, on the extent to which they were supported by journals, learned societies, universities, and other gatekeeper institutions. Intentionally or not, institutions fostered personae by privileging certain types of historians over others. Therefore, varying on Jerrold Seigel's thesis that nineteenth-century middle class institutions served as 'networks of means', we might say that institutions were power amplifiers in that they increased the influence of some personae at the cost of others.⁸⁹ If Dove wondered why, by the end of the century, Waitz's personae had come to outweigh Freytag's, the answer is that institutional anchorage in the higher education system and in publication projects like the *Monumenta* granted Waitz's persona a power that no other persona could match.

5. Conclusion

What the case of Dove shows, then, is that scholarly personae, defined in terms of virtues and vices, closely interfered with all the themes identified as central to existing scholarship on nineteenth-century German historiography: individual life stories, historical methods, religious-political fault lines, and scholarly institutions. If personae were templates that showed in some detail what it could mean to be a historian, then these personae can be seen as a connecting link between individuals, on the one hand, and methodological discourse, religious-political agendas, and scholarly institutions, on the other. For how were historians' lives affected by these discourses, ideologies, and institutions? As Dove's life and work suggest, this happened most evidently (though not exclusively) through personae that were implicitly or explicitly imposed upon historians. Whereas methodology manuals like Bernheim's sought to mould the historian's self, employment at a university or archival institution also required, to some degree at least, conformity to a well-defined model of how to be a historian. Scholarly personae were therefore in the heart of German historical studies: they defined what it meant to be a historian.

From this it follows that the perspective adopted in this article has an *integrative potential*, not in the sense that it can absorb all other historiographical approaches, but in that it can connect individuals, methods, religious-political agendas, and scholarly institutions by showing how they interacted, in overlapping ways, in defining the marks of a good historian. In other words, the aim of drawing attention to historians navigating scholarly personae is not to develop a historiographical approach that makes all existing ones redundant, but rather to propose a perspective from which the themes that have dominated scholarship so far can be seen as falling into place.⁹⁰ Apart from

⁸⁵[Heinrich von] Sybel, 'Vorwort', *Historische Zeitschrift* 1 (1859): iii. See also Schieder, 'Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft', 5.

⁸⁶See, e.g., Th. Sickel, 'Programm und Instructionen der Diplomata-Abtheilung', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 1 (1876): 427–82.

⁸⁷Ernst Rudolf Huber, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte seit 1789*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1963), 119.

⁸⁸In Meinecke's recollection, historians employed by the Geheimes Staatsarchiv in Berlin worked like slaves (*Fronsklave*) in an institutional environment that offered little room for independent development. Friedrich Meinecke, *Erlebtes 1862–1901* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1941), 150. Wolfgang Neugebauer adds that this working climate may help explain the relatively high number of employers who died at young age: 'Die "Schmoller-Connection": Acta Borussica, wissenschaftlicher Großbetrieb im Kaiserreich und das Beziehungsgeflecht Gustav Schmollers', in *Archivarbeit für Preußen: Symposium der Preußischen Historischen Kommission und des Geheimen Staatsarchivs Preußischer Kulturbesitz aus Anlass der 400. Wiederkehr der Begründung seiner archivalischen Tradition*, ed. Jürgen Kloosterhuis (Berlin: Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 2000), 300.

⁸⁹Jerrold Seigel, *Modernity and Bourgeois Life: Society, Politics, and Culture in England, France, and Germany since 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 7–18.

⁹⁰The newer scholarship on historians' masculine identities and practices of source collecting mentioned in note 9 supports this conclusion. Both Schnicke (*Männliche Disziplin*, 64–5, 128, 176, 552) and Saxer (*Schärfung des Quellenblicks*, 140–1, 172) explicitly

that, a historiographical focus on virtues and vices has a *discipline-transcending potential* in that it allows for comparisons with fields or professions beyond the historical discipline. While the case of Dove allows for comparisons between historians, novelists, and journalists, a focus on virtues and vices also allows for comparisons between academic traditions within or outside of the *Geisteswissenschaften* (chemists and physicists, too, reflected at length on the marks of a good scholar).⁹¹ Scholarly personae are therefore a promising theme especially for scholars interested in building bridges between research themes studied so far in relative isolation from each other.

6. Coda

And how the story of Dove's toast speech ended? If we return, by way of coda, to Hotel Grosse in Karlsruhe, the foregoing allows us to interpret Dove's self-portrayal as a 'writer' instead of a scholar as yet another attempt to resolve the tensions of his professional life. Dove invoked a persona, embodied by Freytag, that was deliberately out of sync with the times – incompatible with more current personae and intended as a healthy corrective to what Dove perceived as ill-fated obsessions with *Wissenschaftlichkeit*. By openly identifying with a type of writer *cum* historian that no longer existed, Dove posed as a figure from times past or as a voice from a bygone era, as several obituary writers would put it in 1916.⁹²

Dove's toast speech became a symbol of precisely this *Unzeitgemäßheit*. In his official response the other day, Dove's successor, Eberhard Gothein, said that Dove's brilliant self-irony refuted Friedrich Nietzsche's observation that German scholars cannot dance, not even with their pens.⁹³ Lamprecht admitted that he had listened 'with a joy that not seldom turned into grinning and laughing'.⁹⁴ The speech even acquired the status of a personal credo after Dove's publisher, Georg Hirzel, had managed to obtain the text, with help of Dove's wife, and printed it in limited edition for friends and colleagues.⁹⁵ Illustrative of their appreciation is Georg Friedrich Knapp's high-spirited response: 'It's a gemstone, a sevenfold distillation of Dove-ness [*Dovethums*] in crystal form. I store it in my family archive in a folder on which I write: "Caution! Rarity!"'⁹⁶

Part of what made Dove such 'a rare bird among our scholars' was his stylistic brilliance.⁹⁷ Few historians, wrote Hermann Kantorowicz in 1916, could match Dove's literary virtuosity.⁹⁸ Yet as this article had tried to show, the *Leitmotiv* of Dove's toast speech – 'I am not really a scholar by nature' – was more than a rhetorical posture. What made Dove stand out among his colleagues was especially his identification with a persona that clearly belonged to the past. By posing as a Freytag *redivivus*, Dove made visible, to those willing to see it, the costs of 'professionalization'.⁹⁹ Dove's voice was appreciated, perhaps especially in the soft candlelight of an informal dinner party, not because it

invoke the concept of scholarly personae in specifying the impact of masculine identities and day-to-day working habits on historians in nineteenth-century Germany.

⁹¹As I tried to show in Herman Paul, 'German Thoroughness in Baltimore: Epistemic Virtues and National Stereotypes', *History of Humanities* 3 (2018): 327–50 and Paul, 'Weber, Wöhler, and Waitz: Virtue Language in Late Nineteenth-Century Physics, Chemistry, and History', in *Epistemic Virtues in the Sciences and the Humanities*, eds. Jeroen van Dongen and Herman Paul (Cham: Springer, 2017), 91–107.

⁹²Meinecke, 'Alfred Dove', 70, 97–9; Joachimsen, 'Alfred Dove', 157; E. Marcks, untitled obituary, *Jahrbuch der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1916* (Munich: Verlag der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1916), 166–9, at 168–9. See also E. Gothein, untitled funeral speech in *Reden am Grabe Alfred Doves (22. Januar 1916)* (Freiburg: Spyer & Kaerner, 1916), 9; G [erhard] S[eeliger], 'Alfred Dove', *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 18 (1916/18): 240.

⁹³'Ansprache, gehalten von Eberhard Gothein bei Uebernahme des Vorsizes in der Badischen historischen Kommission zu Karlsruhe am 19. Oktober 1912', in Dove, *Ausgewählte Briefe*, 284. The reference is to Friedrich Nietzsche, 'Götzen-Dämmerung oder Wie man mit dem Hammer philosophirt' (1889), in Nietzsche, *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 6, eds. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 109–10.

⁹⁴Karl Lamprecht to Dove, 3 January 1913, Universitätsarchiv Freiburg, Nachlass Alfred Dove, inv. no. 19.

⁹⁵Georg Hirzel to Dove, 17 November 1913, *ibid.*, inv. no. 18.

⁹⁶Knapp to Dove, 21 November 1913, *ibid.*, inv. no. 19.

⁹⁷Meinecke, 'Alfred Dove', 99.

⁹⁸Hermann Kantorowicz, 'Alfred Doves schriftstellerische Größe', *Historische Zeitschrift* 116 (1916): 282.

⁹⁹Cymorek, '... doch reicht', 320.

pointed into the future, but because it gave melancholic expression to aspirations that had been largely lost.

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