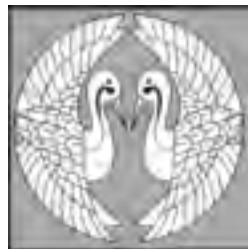


# **Manuscripta Orientalia Electronic book series**

**IV**



**Gabriele Ziethen**

## **SCIENTIA VINCES**

**Biographic studies on German-Russian academic exchange and history of Kunstkamera**

**Essays on occasion of Peter the Great Kunstkamera tercentenary**

**Saint-Petersburg  
2014**

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**Christian Martin Joachim Frähn**  
**(1782—1851)**



**Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff**  
**(1837—1918)**

## FLORES

It was during the glittering hours of a beautiful and never forgotten evening in May 2003 on occasion of the tercentenary of Saint-Petersburg when the author of these essays was invited as a guest of Kunstkamera in order to join the manifold celebrations during the festival program. We sat outside the turret, high above and close to the top of Kunstkamera's roof-gallery, and we enjoyed the grandiose perspective to the ships parade and the fantastic nightly illumination of the City. Everything was perfect at this unique place and the collegial hospitality was great. From such privileged point of an "overview about everything" it was only a small step to get inspired for new ideas and perspectives about the realization of future projects. First it was my good friend Efim A. Rezvan, with a colored air-balloon in his hand, who philosophized about a revision of history of Kunstkamera by new biographic studies, shortly to say: "we should do something to look behind the many repeated summaries".

We looked through our materials and singled out some still open subjects which for the first time were recognized by the author in connection with her study on history of cartography. Many years before publications of Christian Martin Fraehn already have been of some importance during author's research in mid of the 90ties in connection with early Oriental records about Middle Europe and River Rhine region. The material boxes were opened again in 2003 and a lively correspondence was spread in order to achieve new and yet unpublished archival materials. The result was edited soon after and became well accepted by its readers. Some years later, the subjects became refreshed in connection with some running archival projects in Kunstkamera, the discreet question — now spoken with a charming smile — became focused about "do you know something about German archival materials on former Kunstkamera's director Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff?" Finally another biographic study became the result when exciting but unpublished records about the interpretation network of 19th/early 20th century Kunstkamera's identity were added into the study [1].

Although Chr. M. Fraehn and Fr. W. Radloff obviously had really different characters and tempers, fields of interest and research — Fraehn was focused to field of numismatics, and Radloff came from Turcologic linguistics, teaching and ethnographic field of research — they both spent their lives in similar ways. They left their German homeland by personal and professional reasons and spent some time in Kazan where they met the Oriental twin-culture of polycultural Russia [2]. Fraehn and Radloff both belonged to this world and they continued the long line of Kunstkamera's directors [3] mostly from from Baltic-German descent — as well as L. Blumentrost (1692—1755), J.D. Schumacher (1690—1761), J.C. Taubert (1717—1771), P.S. Pallas (1741—1811), J.H. Busse (1763—1835), A.F. Postels (1801—1871), K.A. Baer (1792—1876), J.A.B. Dorn (1805—1881), F.A. Schieffner (1817—1879), L.I. Schrenk (1826—1894), who all dedicated their personal energy and enormous knowledge to the new place in their life. One can mention here also such Radloff's successor as V.V. Barthold (1869—1930), V.V. Struve (1889—1965) and D.A. Olderogge (1903—1987) [4], who also belonged to the "German line".

Even in our time when ideology-based ignorance of old scientific traditions propagates such fields of interest to be "old fashioned" — especially in field of fruitful German-Russian scientific traditions —, and when such subjects are less mentioned in university curricula or ignored by cultural debates — it is our opinion that knowledge of such personal histories will encourage both Russian and German researchers and young students, too, to be curious about each other — as the initiators of these essays happily have been many years ago.

As her personal congratulation for Kunstkamera's tercentenary the author expresses her great thanks to the editor of *Manuscripta Orientalia* adding a reflection from point of ancient history and turning around the friend's question "...and what do you know about basic roots of kunstkameras as an imagination of human attempt to protect and develop cultural identity...?"

### Notes

1. I would like to express my sincere thanks to Polina Matveeva who was my Russian partner in this research and congratulate her with recent publication of her book «Все человечество едино»: В.В. Радлов и МАЭ (please, see at: [http://kunstkamera.ru/lib/rubrikator/08/08\\_02/978-5-88431-253-1](http://kunstkamera.ru/lib/rubrikator/08/08_02/978-5-88431-253-1)).
2. Cf. also the instructive interview by Mikhail Piotrovsky and Efim Rezvan about "Accademic Classics", in: *Hermitage VIII* (Saint Petersburg, 2007), p. 48.
3. In 1818 Chr. M. Fraehn became the director of the Asiatic Museum, previously the part of Kunstkamera.
4. See, for example, short biographies published in *The Kunstkamera 295 anniversary. History, collections, research*. Ed. and comp. by Yu. K. Chistov, Efim A. Rezvan, Ju.A. Kupina, E.A. Mikhailova (Saint Petersburg, 2009), pp. 37—59.

# HOUSE OF HOARDS — COLLECTING TREASURES IN ANTIQUITY. EARLY PRECIOUS COLLECTIONS AND THEIR CULTURAL HERITAGE AS PREDECESSORS OF EUROPEAN KUNSTKAMERAS\*

In einer durch Medien und Werbung ständig auf die angeblichen Vorteile des Allerneuesten hingewiesenen Öffentlichkeit wird der Konsument, der am „Gestrigen“ hängt, zum Sonderling und Muffel abgewertet, der eigentlich dort hin gehörte, wo Altmodisches abgestellt wird: in die Rumpelkammer. Dort, an „seinem Platz“, kann das „Neueste von gestern“ sogar wieder einen gewissen Kuriositätenwert bekommen.

*Robert Jungk, Zukunftsforcher, 1981\*\**

Since prehistoric times and until ours, human beings incline to collect objects from their near or far environment. Such objects were made from stone, wood, ebony, bone, animal skin or precious metal. The reasons to collect them are such manifold like the objects themselves: because of their value in trade, because of their religious or magic power, because of an individual sense for aesthetic style or special beauty. In addition, such objects can be a symbol of their owner's power and wealth, dreams and fears.

From prehistoric periods, mostly non-writing cultures (e.g. Stone Age, middle European Bronze Age and Iron age), we know hoards of weapons [1], gifts close by or into rivers (e.g. River Rhine) or into the earth (e.g. Celtic traditions).

During the periods of Early Mediterranean and Near Eastern cultures one can trace back the beginning of a special culture of cultivating treasures to mythical spheres (e.g. the tale of Midas; see below and ann. 9), but mostly as a symbol of states whose political roots based on the culture of settlement, written law and social hierarchies defined by sacral axioms.

As the Egyptian ruler's title, pharaoh ("great house" [2]), imagines, such a ruler was keeper of all real and religious symbols of power. Pharaoh in his function as representative of celestial and eternal power was keeper of the granaries (he was granting the food to his people), he was owner of the treasuries, and the believers worshiped pharaoh's imagination (deity) within the temples. The last-mentioned, too, were huge estates with an effective management in order to enlarge their property. In Egypt, such temple economy survived until Late Antiquity when Emperor Justinian in the beginning of 6th century CE gave order to close all non-Christian sanctu-

aries (also 529 CE the Academy in Athens was closed by Imperial legal act).

In ancient Greek and Roman Culture, where temple areas were the centres of religious cult, political meeting and communication [3], a widespread economic system participated in these early East Mediterranean traditions by various attempts to produce and copy, to collect, to buy, or to rob precious objects from their original place of dedication (e.g. from the sanctuary in Delphi [4] or Olympia [5]). Many ancient collections originally have their origin in war booty (see below). It is a well-known fact that esp. Alexander the Great's war activity in Persia was connected with the wish to take back to Greece former Persian war booty from the Persian king's collections [6].

Today, common visitors of art exhibitions recognize only the "citations" of such cultural "secrets", which are now "imprisoned" into museums' exhibition cases. However, in many cases we are unable to feel the invisible ribbon between the isolated objects in the exhibition's "glass-coffins" [7] and the wish to pay for a copy in order to bring a glance of wealth to their private home, notwithstanding the fact to cross the border between copied art and "kitsch" or tinsel [8]. Beside pharmaceutical or cosmetic products or perfumes named after famous persons or places (e.g. Cleopatra, Roma), the extreme examples of taking copies of ancient art or remains can be defined as eating-up-object, which partly is close to a new type of abstract "nekrophagia" [9].

Less the Greeks, but more the Romans at all, had a similar psychological "problem" with their attempt to create collections of art and objects. Therefore, it is interesting to have a look to terminology and juridical definitions.

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\* The idea to write this essay from point of ancient history and archaeology began during a common walk through Delphi temple area in sunny June 1993 and was remembered in the year 2003 on occasion of tercentenary celebrations in Saint Petersburg. The exchange of thoughts with my colleague and friend Prof. Dr. Efim Rezvan concerning the special human motivation to collect objects finally led back to the roots and etymology of key-terms and archaeological definitions which will also open a glance to the future of art collections and exhibitions.

\*\* Citation of Robert Jungk, see ann. 54.

## I. The Names of Valuables

In the ancient Greek language exist two terms for precious things and for the places where their owners kept them [10].

### A. Greek Noun:

Roots not defined or perhaps by a root from verb τίθημι (tithēmi)?: “setzen, legen, stellen; zur Aufbewahrung niederlegen; gestalten, schaffen; wohl ordnen” and similar meanings:

1. θησαυρός, m. (thēsauros)

1.1. *place to keep the object* (cf. GEL 800):

a. Vorratskammer, Schatzkammer, Schatzhaus; store, treasure, magazine;

b. Behältnis, Schatzkästchen, Geldkasten, Sparbüchse, Opferstock; receptable for valuables, safe, casket;

c. Speicher, Magazin.

1.2. *the object itself:*

a. gesammelter Vorrat, niedergelegter Schatz (teurer, wertvoller Besitz, kostbare Beute, wertvoller Fund, Gewinn;

b. ἱκτήριος (hiktērios): Schatz oder Darbringung der Schutzflehdenden; in coherence with god Zeus (GEL 800).

1.3. θησαυρίσμα, f. (thēsaurisma), poetic: Aufgespeichertes, Vorrat, Reichtum, Kostbarkeiten; store, treasure.

### B. Greek Verb:

Θησαυρίζω (thēsaurizo): ansammeln, aufhäufen, aufspeichern; aufbewahren, aufheben; to store, treasure-up, hoard, to lay up treasure.

### C. Greek Adjective:

Θησαυροποιός: Schätze sammelnd (lit.: Schätze machend); to make stores, laying up in store.

The θησαυροφύλαξ /thēsaurophylax/, m.: Wächter der Schatzkammer, guardian of the treasury (see below), treasurer.

The Latin word *thesaurus* (m.) has a special additional meaning: Greek or Barbarian temple [11].

### D. Greek Noun by Graeco-Persian Cultural Mediation:

1. γάζα (gaza), f.: Schatzkammer, königlicher Schatz; treasure, large sum of money (GEL 335) [12].

2. γαζοφυλάκιον (gazophylakion), n.; Schatzkammer; Gotteskasten (esp. in Christian meaning); treasury.

3. Greek geographic names with Oriental roots: Γάζα, f. (Hebrew: the strong; also with Persian root in Hebrew?, arab. *gazze*), name of a City in Philistea, south-western of Jerusalem, harbour from 3rd millennium BCE until Arab conquest 635 CE. The most important time of Gaza was during Persian rule in the 5th—4th centuries BCE. [13] Possibly on such places the Persians stored the collected taxes or tributes from their provinces or from the subdued people.

4. Greek geographic name with Sanskrit (Bhārukaccha) or Persian root (?) or by phonetic transcription/phonetic association (?): Βαρυγάζα (Barygaza): the

most important Indian harbour (export of precious stones and other goods to the Mediterranean) mentioned in the Periplous Maris Erythraei (1st century AD) [14].

It seems worth to mention that a big treasury house belonged to the residences of Persian kings [15]. The title of the chief of Jewish treasury in the temple of Jerusalem was γαζοφύλαξ (gazophylax). During mid of the 1st century CE such persons could be elected for diplomatic missions to Rome [16]. Obviously a little bit earlier (around 48/49 CE) there was another official and traveller, who was warden of a royal treasury, as mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (8,27 sq.): the eunuch of the ruling Meroitic king's mother (Kandakē) [17]. Such persons and their official duties were parts of the sacral legitimating of power in Antiquity. [18]

### E. Wonderful Things:

The two terms — θαυμασία-*thaumasia* in Greek and in *mirabilia*-wonders in Latin — define a human perspective of admiration (*lat. noun admiratio f.* from the same root like *mirabilia*, *nom. pl. n.*).

Greek *thaumasia* and a huge group of relative terms from the same Indo-European root (*dhāu*) describe the

individual feeling when recognizing something wonderful. The term finally contains both: the object of admiration and a person's feeling. The Greek word for god/goddess (θεός/θεά, theos/thea) [19] is also connected with the same Indo-European root. Finally, the *thaumasia* are very close to a sacral sphere, too.

The Latin word *mirabilia* differs in some points from the aforementioned examples. It belongs to a huge group of verbs, nouns and adjectives from an Indo-European root *smei-lächeln* (eng. “to smile”) [20]. The term can be interpreted as “to watch something extraordinary [21] or wonderful (with a good feeling that makes someone smile) [22]”, e.g. objects from nature, arts and crafts, philosophical ideas and discussions, or precious things of all kind.

With a special meaning and beside of any sacral sphere, Romans preferred to define Greek vases, paintings, statues and other objects of artificial crafts as *mirabilia*.

A *museion* (dedicated to the muses) was the institution, where the *thaumasia/mirabilia* of the world could be *admired, studied and discussed*; such was the general type of antique university: e.g. the Academia in Athens [23], the Museion in Alexandria/Egypt, the library in Pergamon. We have to mention the famous libraries (e.g. the Apollon temple in Rome as meeting point of diplomats during audience, the Greek and Latin libraries of the Emperor Trajan, Hadrian's library in Athens) [24] including the copies of their books, esp. in Alexandria/Egypt and also the many temple libraries and state archives (e.g. *tabularium* at the Capitol/Rome), which all represent the collective memory of ancient Mediterranean states. Although their original materials mostly are lost, such collections and the knowledge about them are part of the treasures of human culture in general [25]. We have to take into consideration that all later literary

sources — including the Oriental descriptions and adaptations of antique records — continue less or more this tradition of written cultural memories. Al-Qazwini (*ca.* 1203 — 1283) as well as other Muslim authors described and summarized the *thaumasia/mirabilia* — wonders of earlier époques and tried to find new knowledge by using the possibilities of their own time. However, sometimes they omit the main themes of antique authors. Therefore, the stories about Alexander the Great (including important Oriental literary traditions) were connected with excerpts or samples mostly from Herodotus [26]. Herodotus tried to describe the reasons of the Greek-Persian war in the 5th century BCE and not the world's *mirabilia* or *ethnographia*. Authors like al-Qazwini [27] interpreted their subjects from another level and defined them as a part of the wonders of creation — this was not the main aim of antique writers (e.g. because of individual reasons or when in the 6th century BCE Greek philosophy beginning with ingenious Parmenides who defined the difference between religious/mythic and physical interpretations). On one hand, later Oriental authors protected important antique records from being forgotten; on the other, they bound them under another religious i.e. monotheistic system (Islam, or Christianity, cf. Kosmas Indikopleustes), mostly without any later renaissance tradition. To my mind, this is the main difference between Antiquity and later reception within the context of collecting and heritage.

## II. Greek and Roman Treasures and Collections

During Greek and Roman antiquity, the main type of a precious collection was that of a temple or a small treasure house, both situated in a holy area and protected by sacral law. Hurting or destroying such places was an act of Barbarian violence [28].

The most important treasure houses were dedicated in the sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia. Others, like those in Lindos/Isle of Rhodes were of the same importance. Early Greek written records — literary and epigraphic — are delivering the objects of such holy collections and inventories [29].

Important temples contained also the money hoards of a State and the financial security of a community of citizens: the famous Parthenon in Athens was built to keep the money of the Attic Sea Alliance and the huge temple of Jerusalem was the temple bank of the Jewish state. Roman temple of Saturnus was a similar banking treasure hoard under the control of Roman government and Senate. After Cleopatra's death in 31 BCE, the (holly) hoard of the Egyptian pharaohs — one of the most outstanding collections in Mediterranean Antiquity — was brought to Rome, where gold and silver vessels firstly were melted and then minted for Emperor Augustus's new currency: nearly no single vessel from the Pharaonic treasure collection survived (only those from the grave areas) [30]. The money treasure from Jerusalem arrived as war booty in Rome after Emperor Vespasian had besieged Judaea in 70 CE. With this money, Roman government made payment to finance the Colosseum in Rome and to pay the debts of the Roman state. In addition, the precious stones (esp. the very expensive emeralds from Egyptian mines and the pearls from the Red Sea) [31] were taken from Egyptian objects or directly from the mining areas in order to become the ingredients of typical Roman jewellery.

Smaller hoards belonged to many Hellenistic rulers and their local successors in the Eastern Mediterranean. Roman sources mention such hoards and their former owners after the precious objects became the war booty of Roman commanders [32]. Criminal individuals organized raids, too, in order to obtain precious objects for private collections, such as the Roman Catilina and official Verres and others in the 1st century BCE had done [33]. Latin records contain summarized inventories of many private or public collections (cf. Cicero's lists published on occasion of the trials; descriptions in Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*).

Like modern states, too, Roman government owned, stored and displayed a special collection of diplomatic gifts. All official presents, which provincial or foreign envoys brought to Rome (to the Senate or to the Emperor) were stored in the Temples of Peace (*templum pacis*). In Rome, too, existed a collection of huge paint-

ings, which were of diplomatic importance [34] and such traditions caused literary topics in ancient literature [35].

It is interesting to notice that in the Western provinces of the Roman Empire an equal tradition is less known with the exception of paintings from archaeological layers under the dome in Trier (Germany) that show a box with jewellery. For sure, important provincial tem-

ples (*e.g.* the sanctuary in Lugdunum / Lyon, France) possessed their precious inventory. Outside the borders of Imperium Romanum such objects are known as Roman diplomatic gifts to local tribal chiefs [36]. However, during the migration period between 3rd and 6th centuries CE, Germanic warriors took private collections away from farms [37], estates and temples [38].

### III. Late Antiquity and Medieval Traditions

During the period of Late Antiquity between 3rd and 6th century CE there are several records about private hoards. In the Near East, we know about private treasures to finance merchandise projects, esp. to organize the expensive long-distance trade (Arabian Peninsula) [39].

In the Western part of the Roman Empire, there existed the other types of hoards. Mostly coin depositories (containing bronze, gold and silver currency) are typical for the territories west of River Rhine [40]. For this period archaeological investigations located collections of private luxurious goods or inventories of smaller provincial sanctuaries (*cf.* Weißenburg/Bayern) [41]. The recently discovered hoard from Rülzheim (Germany) with precious objects and the hoard from Neupotz (from River Rhine, near city of Speyer, Germany), partly representing the inventory of a public or private sanctuary, surely was a part of an Alamannic booty cart, which the Germanic warriors lost into the water when they crossed River Rhine [42]. Other typical hoards from Late Antiquity contain expensive Roman weapons (*e.g.* the parade weapons [43] from Straubing/Bayern, Germany) or precious household equipments (*e.g.* from Kai-seraugst/Switzerland [44]).

One of the most well-known literary reflections of the migration period is Siegfried's mysterious hoard in Worms (Germany) and its medieval description in the German "Nibelungen Lied". According to the legend the hoard was dedicated to River Rhine [45] and until now people are trying to find the hoard that obviously was a literary reflection on the many transports during early Middle ages [46]. Similarly Gregor of Tours (*Historia Francorum*) and other early medieval authors mention very precious aristocratic collections as remains from a former queen's treasure); such precious treasures were excavated from graves of Merovingian queens or aristocratic women [47].

Many precious objects from Western Roman provinces are gone their way to Germanic artisans, who melted them in order to obtain raw material for their tribal jewellery or for decoration of their weapons.

In early medieval times, many antique jewels became parts of royal crowns and symbols as well as parts of reliquaries. In such a way, a new type of treasury appeared: that of Germanic rulers (*cf.* the royal hoard of Medieval Emperors at Trifels castle in Germany [48] that still is an important place of official German Heritage protection) or the collection in Vienna/Austria [49]. The crusaders war activities enlarged collections in Christian cathedrals.

Especially during the period of crusades in the 12th century CE Christian relic hunters rummaged through Byzantine churches, imperial and private collections in order to rob both: the relics and their precious receptacles [50].

There was obviously a change of thinking during the beginning of Renaissance period, when the first edition of Greek and Roman records led their readers back to the world of Antiquity. Such new knowledge stimulated wealthy individuals, bishops and popes to create and interpret their own world of Antiquity; they started to collect special precious objects or they paid artisans to produce them [51]. From such tradition, it was only a small step to the private aristocratic "kunstkameras" of the 17th century CE [52] followed by a special culture of collections and museum activities since the time of French Revolution [53].

Modern states are now mostly the possessors and successors of the former aristocratic collections. These collections are displayed by permanent or special exhibitions to educate modern visitors and to make them admiring with a "smile".

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The history of early collections leads to a natural human wish of possessing extraordinary objects. Like the early Mediterranean history shows, such collections mostly belonged to sacral rulers or sanctuaries. After more than 2500 years passed since ancient Greek understanding of the coherence of the religious and political relevance of art-objects, nearly all known objects of precious antique art are available now as copies, which can be bought not only by the rich. Such objects, including cheap-made plastic copies of religious objects, are no longer parts of sacral rituals or public identification, because they are taken to decorate every kind of house or

room. Modern culture of "buying and possessing" [54] caused a new quality of collecting art as the modern art-auctions imagine (*e.g.* Christies, Sotheby's, Cahn). In addition, the public discussion about preserving the original collections has also a new quality [55]. However, the more and more minimized financial budgets for museums since 2008 [56], libraries, too, and archives get an increasing problem to fulfil the projects aimed for public education and cultural identity or to protect one of the most basic traditions of European culture.

Recently an increasing number of private collectors and art-galleries open their special collections only for

the happy few of their friends and clients. In the same time, public collections are closing periodically their doors because of financial problems: a mirror of the civil society's declining and dissolving [57]. The majority visits the huge international shopping malls, which show them the inventory of the recent world under one roof and at one place. Why to concentrate mind on energy-taking art, if the miracles of the world are offered to nearly any level of private budget? Style and very attractive presentation in modern shopping malls e.g. MyZeil in Frankfurt am Main, KaDeWe ("Kaufhaus des Westens") and "Lafayette" in Berlin, Gostiny Dvor in St. Petersburg and many others represent the rapidly changing world of luxurious goods, and they seem to become the public-commercial counterpart of former academic "Kunst- or Wunderkammer". A new definition

mostly influenced by marketing strategies of "order and sell" now dominates the world of θησαυρός (*thēsauros*) and *mirabilia*. Finally the most important concurrence to any kind of cultural activities are open-shop Sundays and seasonally shopping nights.

The long lasting line of handling and cultivating collections once began with collecting sacral objects, taking war booty and displaying private art by upper-class or aristocratic owners whose dominance later was replaced by public protected collections and exhibitions. The modern road leads to the mentality of commercial use and modern sponsorship that replaces step-by-step the passing world of a true Maecenas and his inclination to collections as a symbol of true lifestyle and knowledge [58]. We should not accept such way into loss of cultural and public identity!

## Notes

1. R. Bradley, *The passage of arms: an archaeological analysis of prehistoric hoards and votive deposits* (Cambridge UP, 1998).
2. W. Helck, "Pharao", *Lexikon der Alten Welt* 2 (Zürich, München 1990 = Augsburg 1994), p. 2283.
3. Cf. Kult und Kommunikation: "Medien in Heiligtümern der Antike", ed. by Chr. Frevel, H. v. Hesberg. *Schriften des Lehr- und Forschungszentrums für die antiken Kulturen des Mittelmeerraumes — Centre for Mediterranean Cultures*. ZAKMIRA IV (Wiesbaden, 2007).
4. A. Jacquemin, *Offrandes monumentales à Delphes* (Paris, 1999). Main results of archaeological research are published within the series *Fouilles des Delphes* ed. by École Française d'Athènes (Paris).
5. W. Gauer, *Die Bronzegefäße von Olympia: mit Ausnahme der geometrischen Dreifüße und der Kessel des orientalisierenden Stils I: Kessel und Becken mit Untersätzen, Teller, Kratere, Hydrien, Eimer, Situlen und Cisten, Schöpfhumpen und verschiedenes Gerät*. Olympische Forschungen XX (Berlin, 1991); H. Kyrieleis, *Olympia: Archäologie eines Heiligtums* (Darmstadt, 2011). See also ann. 29 and P. Valavanis, *Games and sanctuaries in Ancient Greece: Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, Nemea, Athens* (Los Angeles, 2004).
6. H. Schulze, "Penelope in Persepolis. Beutekunst oder Bittgeschenk?", in: *Das Persische Weltreich*, hrsg. vom Historischen Museum der Pfalz Speyer (Speyer, Stuttgart 2006), p. 160 sq. For economic details connected with this subject see P. Barceló, *Alexander der Große* (Darmstadt, 2007), pp. 86—89.
7. Cf. traditions in folk tales like the German tale of "Schneewittchen" and her laying down in a glass-coffin. Such traditions are close to special kinds of burial in 20<sup>th</sup> Europe; see: L. Reiblich, "Ein Tod, länger als das Leben", in: A. Wieczorek, M. Tellenbach, W. Rosendahl (eds.), *Mumien — Der Traum vom ewigen Leben* (Mainz, 2007), pp. 173—179.
8. E. Künzl & G. Koeppl, *Souvenirs and Devotionalien. Zeugnisse des geschäftlichen, religiösen und kulturellen Tourismus im antiken Kaiserreich* (Mainz, 2002), pp. 5—12, esp. 8 sq. In Germany, e.g., there is still existing some kind of "Egypt mania" since the objects from Tutankhamen's grave were displayed in Cologne in the early 80ties of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century (cf. Egyptian symbols in 19th century's art, architecture, and fashions). This phenomenon continues until today.
9. Mythic king Midas was unable to eat his golden property; K. Schauenburg, "Midas", in: *Lexikon der Alten Welt* 2 (Zürich, München 1990 = Augsburg 1994), p. 1958. Another example could be the popularization of the Fabergé-egg: since some decades in Germany this object was changed to an eatable chocolate sweet (the so-called "Überraschungsei"), wrapped into aluminum foil, containing very cheap and primitive plastic toys for kids. In recent German and Austrian culture there seems also to be a new cranky desire to obtain precious or important art objects in an eatable version: e.g. the Bronze Age astronomic disc from Nebra (Thüringen) or the symbols of the mummified glacier-man from the Ötztaler alps (South Tirol/Bozen, Italy) copied as cake or chocolate. Perhaps the last mentioned example belongs to some kind of abstract "nekrophagia". On eatable objects see Künzl, Koeppl, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 sqq.
10. Main references taken from GEL, LGHD, LGGD and OLD under the key-words.
11. LGHD 754. — OLD 1937: "a place in which money, valuables or similar are stored, a treasure-chamber, vault etc.; a place for storing supplies, repository; a repository, store-house (of qualities and other immaterial things)." The plural forms mean also buried or concealed objects.
12. M. Mayerhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* III (Heidelberg, 2001), p. 149: *gañja* (Schatzkammer); *gañjavara* (Schatzmeister) from \*ganza resp. \*ganza-barā. Even Roman authors mentioned the Persian root: A. Walde, *lateinisch-es etymologisches Wörterbuch* I (Heidelberg, 1938, new 3rd. ed.), p. 585 on Mela 1,64 and Curtius 3,13,5.
13. H. Donner, "Gaza", in: *Lexikon der Alten Welt* 1 (München, Zürich 1990 = Augsburg 1994), p. 1028.
14. L. Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei. Text with introduction, translation, and commentary* (Princeton/N.J., 1989), p. 16, esp. 199 sq.

15. J. Wiesehöfer, *Das antike Persien* (Zürich, 1993), pp. 20, 45, 174; P.O. Scholz, *Frühchristliche Spuren im Lande des ANHP ΑΙΘΙΟΨ [anér aithiops]*. *Historisch-archäologische Betrachtungen zur Apostelgeschichte* 8:26—40 (Bonn, 1988), p. 304.
16. G. Ziethen, *Gesandte vor Kaiser und Senat. Studien zum römischen Gesandtschaftswesen zwischen 30v. Chr. und 117 n. Chr.* Pharus 2 (St. Katharinen, 1994), pp. 102 sq., 247 sq. No. 145.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 299—305; G. Ziethen, “Legationes Externae in der frührömischen Kaiserzeit. INDI-AIΘΙΟΠΕΣ-ΣΗΡΕΣ”. *Nubica* III/1, 1994, pp. 141—190, esp. 185 sq.
18. P.O. Scholz, *Der entmannte Eros. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Eunuchen und Kastraten* (Düsseldorf, Zürich 1997), pp. 63—115, esp. 111 sqq., 144 sq.
19. GEL 785 sq., 791; Walde, *loc. cit.*, p. 345.
20. S.E. Mann, *An Indo-European Comparative Dictionary* (Hamburg, 1984/87), p. 1222 on \*smeid, smoid etc.
21. Walde, *loc. cit.*, p. 94 sq. mentions in addition *lat. mirio, -onis f.*: as “mißgestalteter Mensch, cripple and *pl. miracula*: “ein Wunder von Häßlichkeit”, something special ugly similar like *lat. monstrum, -i. n.*: something that is shown or exhibited. Cf. the exhibition of malformed human individuals: J.J. van Het Reve, A.B. Radziun, *Collection of Dutch Anatomists in S. Petersburg Museum* (Saint-Petersburg, 2003), pp. 10 sqq.
22. OLD 1151 (*mirabilis, miraculum* etc.). M. de Vaan, *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages* (Leiden, Boston, 2008), p. 382 s.v. *mīrus* with critical remarks on \*smei because of semantic reasons but finally he argues: “Thus, we may be dealing with an original collective noun \*sméi-ro- ‘laughter, smiling’.”
23. It was Aristotle, who sent his academic deputies with Alexander the Great's army to the East in order to explore and describe the world. See: K. Karttunen, *India and the Hellenistic World. Studia Orientalia LCCIII* (Helsinki, 1997) [review by G. Ziethen, in: *Klio* 82/1, 2000, 247 sq.].
24. H. Blanck, *Das Buch in der Antike* (München, 1992), pp. 133—178; U. Jochum, *Geschichte der abendländischen Bibliotheken* (Darmstadt, 2010), pp. 33—56.
25. Cf. in addition J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München, 2013, 7th ed.).
26. F. Jacoby, “Herodotus”, in: *Realencyclopaedie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Suppl. 2 (Stuttgart, 1913), pp. 205—520; W. Nippel, “Ethnographie und Anthropologie bei Herodot”, in: *Griechen, Barbaren und "Wilde"*. Alte Geschichte und Sozialanthropologie (Frankfurt a. M., 1990), pp. 11—29; G. Ziethen, *Gesandte op. cit.*, pp. 160, 192, 247 Nr. 143; E. Bakker, I.J.F. de Jong, H. van Wees (ed.), *Brill's companion to Herodotus* (Leiden, Boston, Köln, 2002); K. Meister, “Herodotus”, in: *Der Neue Pauly V*, (Stuttgart, Weimar, 1998), pp. 469—475; G. Ziethen & Red., “Herodotus”, in: *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* III, ed. S. Uhlig (Wiesbaden, 2007), p. 19 sq.
27. Authors like al-Qazwini followed items of Herodotus' methods but translocated the subjects to the Far East. For details see B. Moor/E. A. Rezvan, “Al-Qazwīnī's ‘Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt: Manuscript D 370”. *Manuscripta Orientalia* VIII/4 (2002), pp. 46—65, esp. 51 sq. The subject was also discussed as the key-topic “Les Arabes et la Grèce” in: *Qantara* LXXI. Magazine des cultures arabes et méditerranéene, Avril 2009, ed. by Institut du Monde Arabes (Paris), pp. 25—56. Author remembers also gratefully the detailed talk about the theme with late Prof. Dr. Ahmed Etman (Cairo University, Faculty of Art, Dept. of Classics) in Paris, July 2012.
28. A. Demandt, *Vandalismus. Gewalt gegen die Kultur* (Berlin, 1997) pass.
29. J.-F. Bommelaer, D. Laroche, *Guide des Delphes. Le site*. École de Française d'Athènes. Sites et monuments VII (Paris, 1991); *Guide de la Delphes. Le Musée*. École de Française d'Athènes. Sites et monuments VI (Paris, 1991); M. Maass, *Das antike Delphi. Orakel, Schätze und Monamente* (Darmstadt, 1993); S. Paliompeis, *Studien zur Innenausstattung griechischer Tempel. Skulptur und Malerei* (Diss. Mainz, 1997). Cf. ann 5.
30. This act of aggression against one of the most religion-based states of that time was in 19<sup>th</sup> century science more or less replaced by admiring Augustus' way of creating a Roman style of rule, religion and repressive morals.
31. G. Ziethen: “Günstige Winde, sichere Häfen — Zur Darstellung des Handels in Heliodors *Aithiopika*”. In: Äthiopien und seine Nachbarn/Ethiopia and its Neighbours. 3. Wissenschaftliche Tagung des Orbis Aethiopicus, Gniew 25—29.09.1997, vom Muzeum Archeologicne w Gdańsku und Orbis Aethiopicus Frankfurt a.M. (Gdańsk/Frankfurt a.M., 1998), pp. 93—120, esp. 104 sqq.
32. M. Pape, *Griechische Kunstwerke aus Kriegsbeute und ihre öffentliche Aufstellung in Rom: von der Eroberung von Syrakus bis in augusteische Zeit* (Diss. Hamburg, 1975); V.M. Strocka, *Kunstraub — ein Siegerrecht?: historische Fälle und juristische Einwände* (Berlin, 1999).
33. Sallust [Gaius Sallustius Crispus], *Die Verschwörung des Catilina*, dt. von K. Büchner (Stuttgart, 1967, Reclam); Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Die Reden gegen Verres — In Verrem*, lat.-dt., hrsg., übersetzt u. erläutert v. M. Fuhrmann, 2 Bde. (Zürich, 1995); Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Rede für Sextus Roscius aus Ameria*, lat.-dt. von G. Krüger (Stuttgart 1980, Reclam).
34. Ziethen, *Gesandte, loc. cit.*, pp. 150 sq., 153; Ziethen, *Legationes Externae, op. cit.*, pp. 141—190, esp. 166.
35. G. Ziethen, “Heliodor's *Aethiopica* und die Gesandtschaften zu den Aithiopen (m. englischem Summary)”. *Klio* LXXXI/2, 1999, pp. 490—525.
36. For details see: *Der Barbarenschatz. Geraubt und im Rhein versunken*, hrsg. vom Historischen Museum der Pfalz Speyer (Speyer, Stuttgart 2006) pass.
37. H. Gabelmann, *Antike Audienz- und Tribunalszenen* (Darmstadt, 1984), pp. 142 sq. no. 46 (with. Taf. 14,1) on the silver-skyphos from Hoby, Danmark: Th. Grane, *The Roman Empire and Southern Scandinavia — a Northern Connection. A re-evaluation of military-political relations between the Roman Empire and the Barbaricum in the first three centuries AD with a spe-*

*cial emphasis on southern Scandinavia* (PhD dissertation University of Copenhagen, 2007), pp. 168 sqq. with 169 fig. 58 and 59, cited after the electronic version [http://varpelev.saxo.ku.dk/publikationer/Ph\\_D\\_-dissertation\\_2007.pdf/](http://varpelev.saxo.ku.dk/publikationer/Ph_D_-dissertation_2007.pdf/) <03.03.2013>; The exhibition in National Museum København: <http://natmus.dk/en/historisk-viden/danmark/moeder-med-danmarks-oldtid/the-early-iron-age/the-chieftains-grave-from-hoby/> <03.03.2013>; Paintings from Trier: <http://cms.museum-am-dom-trier.de/bistum-trier/Integrale?SID=CRAWLER&MODULE=Frontend&ACTION=ViewPage&Page.PK=2328> <13.03.2014>.

38. R. Stupperich, *Tempelschänder und fromme Stifter — Römische Beute in germanischen Heiligtümern*, in: *Barbarenschatz* (op. cit. ann. 36), pp. 213—218.

39. G. Ziethen, E. Klingenberg, “Merchants, Pilgrims and Soldiers on the Red Sea Route”. *LIMES XVIII*. 18th International Limes Congress, 1—11 September 2000, Amman, Jordanien. *Limes XVIII — Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Amman, Jordan (September, 2000)*. A conference held under the auspices of the Department of Antiquities of the Hasemite Kingdom of Jordan, The Council for British Research in the Levant and the Department of Archaeology at the University of Liverpool (2 vls.), ed. by Ph. Freeman, J. Bennett, Z.T Fiema, B. Hoffmann. BAR International Ser. 1084 (I) (Oxford, 2002), pp. 379—385.

40. P. Haupt, *Römische Münzhorte des 3. Jhs. in Gallien und den germanischen Provinzen*. Provinzialrömische Studien 1 (Grunbach, 2001).

41. H.-J. Keller, G. Zahlhaas, *Der Römische Tempelschatz von Weißenburg i. Bay.* (Mainz, 1993).

42. E. Künzl, *Die Alamannenbeute aus dem Rhein bei Neupotz*. Monographien d. Röm.-Germ. Zentralmuseums. XXXIV/1-4 (Mainz 1993). On the objects from Rülzheim with online photos see <http://www.spiegel.de/wissenschaft/mensch/archaeologie-rheinland-pfalz-raubgraeber-entdeckt-barbarenschatz-a-954236.html> <13.03.2014>.

43. J. Garbsch, H.-J. Keller (Red.), *Römische Paraderüstungen: Katalog der Ausstellungen Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg*, 15. Dezember 1978 — 4. Februar 1979. Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte XXX (München, 1978).

44. E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Der spätantike Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst*, Text- und Tafelband. Basler Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte IX (Derendingen, 1984); M.A. Guggisberg (ed.), *Der spätantike Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst — die neuen Funde: Silber im Spannungsfeld von Geschichte, Politik und Gesellschaft der Spätantike*. Forschungen in Augst XXXIV (Augst, 2003).

45. *Das Nibelungenlied*, übers. von F. Genzmer. Reclam Universal-Bibliothek Nr. 642 (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 171 sqq.

46. See ann. 42; M. Grünewald, “Rheingold”, in: *Barbarenschatz*, op. cit., pp. 232 sq.

47. M. Hartmann, “Zwischen Polygamie und Heiligkeit. Merowingische Königinnen”, in: E. Wamers/P. Pépin (eds.), *Königinnen der Merowinger. Adelsgräber aus den Kirchen von Köln, Saint-Denis, Chelles und Frankfurt am Main* (Regensburg 2013, 2nd ed.), pp. 19—36, esp. 21 sq.

48. <http://www.burgen-rlp.de/gdke/start-bsa/liegenschaften/burgen/reichsburg-trifels/> <03.03.2013>.

49. S. Haag, “Vom Hausschatz zum Museum. Die Geschichte der Wiener Kunstkammer”, in: S. Haag, A. Wieczorek (eds.), *Sammeln! Die Kunstkammer des Kaisers von Wien*. Publikation der Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen XL (Wien, Mannheim 2012), pp. 13—23.

50. A. Shalem, “Reliquien der Kreuzfahrerzeit: Verehrung, Raub, Handel”, in: *Die Kreuzzüge. Kein Krieg ist heilig*, hrsg. von H.-J. Kotzur, Ausstellungskatalog Bischöfliches Dom- u. Diözesanmuseum Mainz 2004 (Mainz, 2004), pp. 213—227 and catalogue.

51. J. Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien. Ein Versuch* (1860, Nachdr. Stuttgart 1981), pp. 215—220 (archaeological research and libraries); P. Burke, *Die Renaissance in Italien. Sozialgeschichte einer Kultur zwischen Tradition und Erfahrung* (dt. München 1988), pp. 97 sqq., 108; An interesting impression and imagination of an aristocratic collection and early “kunstkamera” was displayed in 2003 in the movie „Luther“.

52. J.J. Sheehan, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunstmuseen: von der fuerstlichen Kunstkammer zur modernen Sammlung* (München, 2000); Ph. Blom: *“Sammelwunder, Sammelwahn”. Szenen aus der Geschichte einer Leidenschaft*. Vom Autor aus dem Englischen übersetzt. Die Andere Bibliothek, Band CCXXIX/Eichborn Verlag, (Frankfurt am Main, 2004); *Barocke Sammellust: die Bibliothek und Kunstkammer des Herzogs Ferdinand Albrecht zu Braunschweig Lueneburg (1636 — 1687)*. Ausstellung im Zeughaus der Herzog-August-Bibliothek vom 28. Mai bis 30. Oktober 1988, hrsg von J. Bepler. Acta Humaniora (Weinheim 1988); *Die Gottorfer Kunstkammer*, bearb. von M. Bencard u.a., Gottorf im Glanz des Barock. Kunst und Kultur am Schleswiger Hof 1544 — 1713, Bd. 2 (Schleswig 1997); *Weltenharmonie: die Kunstkammer und die Ordnung des Wissens*: Ausstellung im Herzog-Anton-Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig, 20. Juli — 22 Oktober. Red. S. Koenig-Lein (Braunschweig 2000); *Palast des Wissens. Die Kunst und Wunderkammer Zar Peters des Großen*, hrsg. von B. Buberl u. M. Dückerhoff, 2 Bde. (München, Dortmund 2003).

53. One of the creators of modern museum collections was Dominique Vivant Denon (1747—1825); *Beutekunst unter Napoleon. Die französische Schenkung an Mainz 1803*. Ausstellungskatalog Landesmuseum Mainz 2003, hrsg. von S. Paas u. S. Mertens (Mainz, 2003); Cf. the romance written by Ph. Sollers, *Der Kavalier im Louvre. Vivant Denon* (Heidelberg, 2000).

54. H. Frei, *Tempel der Kauflust: eine Geschichte der Warenhauskultur* (Leipzig 1997). R. Jungk, Der „Ruin-Komplex“, in: *Tote Technik. Ein Wegweiser zu den antiken Stätten von morgen*, hrsg. von M. Hamm, R. Steinberg (Berlin, 1981), pp. 7—14, esp. 9 (citation). The Staatliches Museum für Archäologie Chemnitz (SMAC) was opened 2014 in former Kaufhaus Schocken; on the conversion department store to museum see: <http://www.smac.sachsen.de/index.html> <31.07.2014>; Th. Schöne, “300000 Jahre Geschichte im ehemaligen Kaufhaus.” *Archäologie in Deutschland IV* (2014), pp. 68—69.

55. It is a well known fact that more and more the traditional Sunday walk to visit a church is replaced by a Sunday visit in a museum. Modern and self-confident society prefers to be informed and educated by free-will and without moral attitude during lesson. So contemporary museum exhibitions (esp. with their children and young visitors programs) represent a special function as public educators — without repressive moral or spiritual binding.

56. Cf. Hamburger Kunsthalle: N. Maak, "Ist das Museum noch zu retten? Die in große Finanznot geratene Hamburger Kunsthalle muss ihre 1997 eröffnete „Galerie der Gegenwart“ für ein halbes Jahr schließen. Was bedeutet das für die Zukunft der Museen in Krisenzeiten?" In: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 114, 19.05.2010, p. 33; Similar problems are reported concerning the Archive in Weimar: S. Ebert-Schifferer, "Die Fratze hinter der Maske. Der politisch erzwungene Abschied von Hellmut Seemann als Präsident der Stiftung Weimarer Klassik ist ein Fanal für die deutsche Museums- und Archivlandschaft". In: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 245, 21.10.2010, p. 25. Cf. Article "Museumslos in die Zukunft. Sparen durch Schließung? Bochum blamiert sich". In: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* no. 12, 14.01.2012, p. 35.

57. Hubertus Gaßner, in: "Gedächtnislose Gesellschaft. Der Direktor der Hamburger Kunsthalle zu deren Schließung". *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 114, 19.05.2010, p. 33 [interview by Swantje Koch], on the question "Ist das Modell Museum nicht mehr zeitgemäß?": "Achtzig Prozent unserer Besucher kommen wegen der Wechselausstellungen, nur zwanzig Prozent wegen der ständigen Sammlung. Wir sind eigentlich nicht als Ausstellungshaus gedacht; wir müssen also unsere Sammlungen wieder attraktiv machen. Die Privatmuseen sind unsere Konkurrenz. Früher wollten Sammler ihre Kunst im Museum sehen, jetzt bauen sie sich die Häuser selbst. Die Kunsthalle wurde 1868 als bürgerliche Institution gegründet. Wenn sich jetzt die bürgerliche Gesellschaft auflöst, kann es durchaus sein, dass sich auch die Museen auflösen. Eine gedächtnislose Gesellschaft lässt auch ihre Museen verschwinden. Vielleicht bekommen wir auch dann wieder den alten Typus der Wunderkammer, die man besuchen darf." Cf. also publication: *Brücken in die Zukunft — Museen, Musik und darstellende Kunst im 21. Jahrhundert*: Bad Homburg v.d. Höhe, 19 — 20. April 2002, ed. by Herbert-Quandt-Stiftung. Sinclair-Haus-Gespräch XVIII (Bad Homburg v.d. Höhe, 2002).

58. Cf. C. Pregla, *Maecenas Erben — vom Mäzenatentum zum Sponsoring? Gründungsdeen und heutige Organisationsformen deutschsprachiger Kultureinrichtungen in Italien* (Berlin, 2009).

## S i g l a

GEL: A Greek-English Lexicon compiled by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott (Oxford, 1996).

LGGD: Langenscheidts Großwörterbuch Griechisch-Deutsch unter Berücksichtigung der Etymologie von H. Menge (Berlin, München, Wien, Zürich 1979, 29th edition).

LGLD: Langenscheidts Großwörterbuch Lateinisch-Deutsch unter Berücksichtigung der Etymologie von H. Menge (Berlin, München, Wien, Zürich 1984, 22nd edition).

OLD: Oxford Latin Dictionary, ed by P. G. W. Glare and R. C. Palmer (Oxford, 1968).

# FAMOUS ORIENTALISTS: LIFE AND ASSESSMENTS

G. Ziethen

## CHRISTIAN MARTIN JOACHIM V. FRAEHN: HIS LIFE AS DOCUMENTED BY THE RECORDS IN GERMAN ARCHIVES\*

*Discendae studio pugnavi.*  
Fraehn, 1805.

The history of academic migration opens up a vast field of research to elucidate the history of academic institutions. However, not only the academic migration, caused by wars or social conflicts, can be a subject of research. In some special meaning biographies are telling the story of an energetic individual, endowed with a vivid and resourceful mind, the individual who is ready to begin a new life in a foreign country. Such is the story of Christian Martin Joachim von Fraehn, who was born of the family of a tailor on June 4th, 1782 in Rostock, the famous harbour city on the German coast of the Baltic Sea. But it was not in Germany where Chr. Fraehn had won his fame. He turned to have been the founder of one of the most famous European academic institutions in St. Petersburg (Russia). Here he died on August 28th, 1851 after a scholarly life, which brought him the highest international reputation and introduced him into the rows of Russian aristocracy.

About the zenith of Fraehn's academic life many details exist (see below) [1], and this essay concentrates on unveiling some personal details as documented by the records in German archives. The Archives of the City and the University of Rostock are of special importance. A preliminary information based on these records is published in this es-

say. The author's interest in Fraehn appeared as a result of her previous research dealing with the mapping and describing of German medieval cities: Fraehn was among those who edited some early Arabic records concerning the city of Mainz (Germany), and his essay, published in St. Petersburg in 1834 [2], has not lost its value even today [3].

Materials on Fraehn's biography are kept partly in Germany (mostly in the archives of Rostock) and partly in Russia, at the St. Petersburg Branch of Russian Academy of Sciences, so only few possess the whole of information about his biography. It demonstrates a general feature of many other biographies of his time and of later period: like many others in his generation he left his native country to continue his scholarly career in another place which he hardly knew well previously [4]. The features of such an international scholarly career in the first half of nineteenth century are overshadowed by the later history of the twentieth century. Therefore, the investigation of the nineteenth-century period can offer a contribution to the reconstruction of the history of international German-Russian and European scholarship, the roots of which one may trace to the eighteenth century [5].

### The records

The selected records discussed in this essay are from the University Archive of Rostock and the City of Rostock archive. The material contains information about the par-

ents of Fraehn, his education and first years of his scholarly career [6]. The archives also include material on Fraehn, dating to some decades after his death (beginning of the

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20th century). Finally, the City of Rostock archive also possesses a very rare photograph taken approximately in 1850, shortly before Fraehn's death in 1851 (see fig. 1).

An exceptionally valuable record is Fraehn's *curriculum vitae* written in his own hand (see fig. 2) and dated January 12th, 1805 (today in the University Archive of Rostock). This document reveals the feelings and expectations of the young scholar during his preparation of the doctorate application (DPh.). This is undoubtedly a rare piece of information about young Fraehn. He received his DPh. degree at the University of Rostock (May 6th, 1805). His dissertation was entitled *Dissertatio exegetico-critica in varia Elxoschaeiloca pro optinendis summis philosophiae honoribus (scriptis Christianus Martinus Fraehn, Rostockiensis)* [7]. Dorn mentioned Fraehn's *Habilitation* in

1806 [8]. Information about Fraehn's second degree (DTheol., 1819) is kept in the same archive of Rostock University [9]. His last doctorate took place after Fraehn had decided to settle down in St. Petersburg instead of returning to Rostock to succeed O. G. Tychsen (b. 11.12.1734, Tondern (Danmark); d. 30.12.1815, Rostock) [10]. In addition to usual German information concerning Fraehn's life, we can conclude that he was Prof. DPh. and DTheol. h. c. (*honoris causa*).

To reconstruct in the present essay some biographical details, we cite the archives records and Fraehn's *curriculum vitae*, supplying it with our comments. The translation of the document provided here aims also to highlight Fraehn's somewhat individual method of writing in the Latin language.

### **Young Fraehn and his parents**

The published biographic outlines devoted to Fraehn mention that he was the son of the tailor Daniel Christian Fraehn, who was a Lutheran, and of Margareta Maria Lin(c)ken [11]. Daniel Christian Fraehn was registered on August 15th, 1761 as a citizen of Rostock, shown as earning his living with his profession of a tailor. Document 1.1.22 (No. 128) from the Archiv der Hansestadt Rostock [12] contains the register (Traubuch) testifying to two marriages of Fraehn's father, both taking place in St. Jacob church. The first was on August 21st, 1761, with Anna Catharina Dorothea Posselen (Possehlen), the widow of the tailor Warnkross (?). On January 1st, 1767, a son was born, Erdmann Fraehn. However, the mother and her child soon died. In his *curriculum vitae* Fraehn mentions his another brother, not indicating his name, but surely from his father's second marriage. In the same year 1767, only half a year after his first wife's death, Daniel Christian Fraehn married (July 22nd, 1767) the "Jungfrau" Margaretha Maria Lincken. It was probably the circumstances of daily life hardship that forced the master to reduce a commonly practiced year of official mourning. One of the two sons, in this second marriage, was Christian Martin Joachim Fraehn [13], who was baptized in St. Jacob church on June 6th, 1782.

As Fraehn says in his *curriculum vitae*, his parents were eager to give him a solid education; obviously, they spent a lot of money to achieve this aim. Christian was a late-born and perhaps his parents' beloved child. Christian's reading books, singing psalms (the family was Lutheran), and writing verses, under the careful guidance of his elder brother, brought their fruits, but there was no systematic education in all this. However, the father's apparent success in his son's home education was Christian's ability of clear thinking. Even in his tender age Fraehn was never shrinking from hard working and enlarging his knowledge. Looking through his *curriculum vitae*, the reader can get an impression that since his youth (and until his old age, one can

add [14]) Fraehn had a restless mind and was a man of character [15]. Fraehn never missed his chance to express his gratitude to his family, his teachers, and those, who supported him in his hard years of money shortage and during his travels.

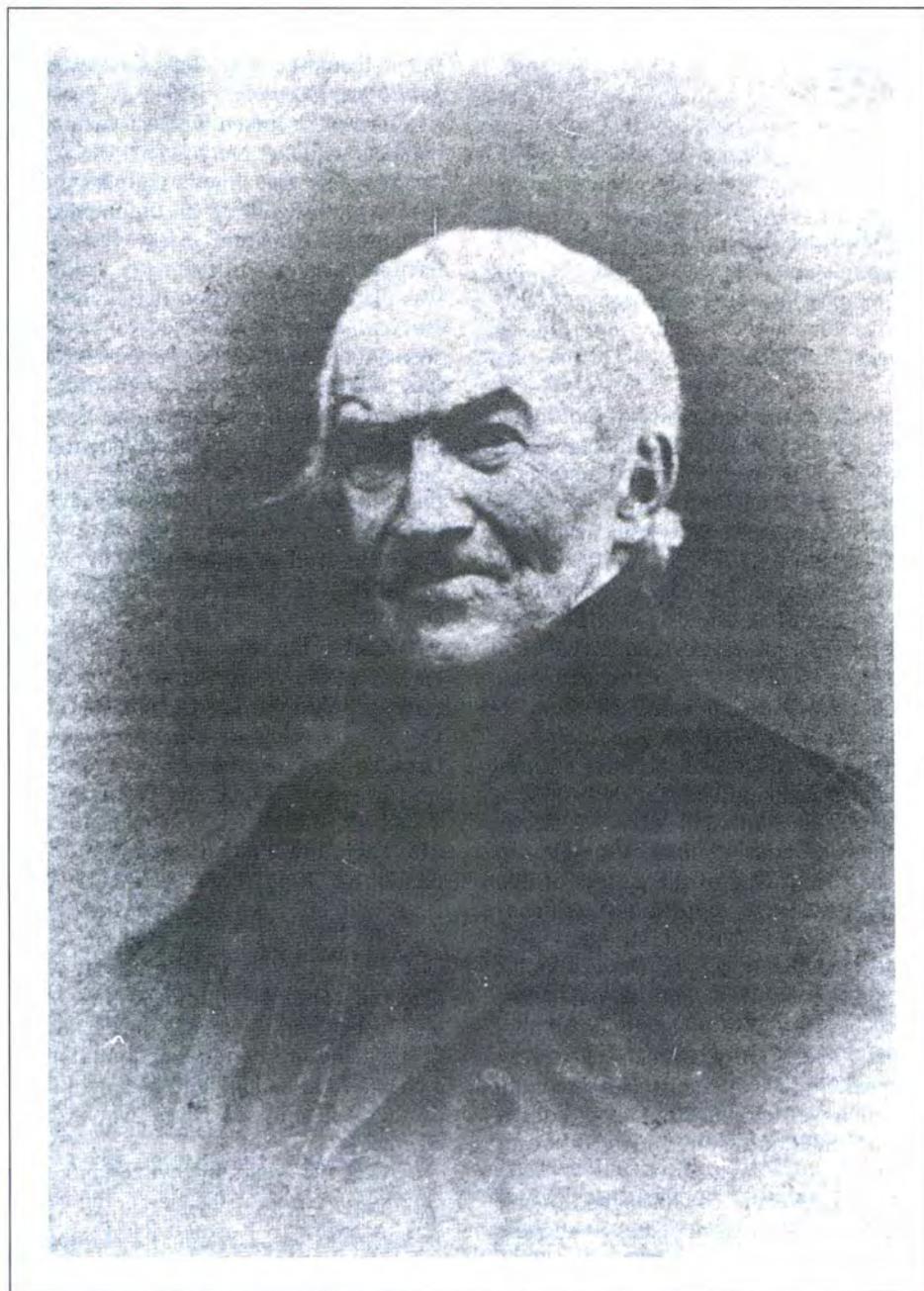
When in school in Rostock (four years and six months in 1795), young Fraehn showed himself as an ardent seeker of knowledge. With Georg Ludwig Otto Plagemann (b. 19.7.1748, Spornitz; d. 7.3.1825, Rostock) he had here an excellent teacher. Plagemann, the son of a preacher, was rector of the Stadtschule in Rostock (1789). He was also the author of a text-book of the Latin language [16]. After school examinations, Fraehn was very proud of entering the famous Academy (i. e. University) of Rostock in 1800. Among his teachers, here was Oluf Gerhard Tychsen, who played a significant role in young Fraehn's education and life. Tychsen was the son of a Norwegian, a tailor, like Fraehn's father. It seems that Tychsen was ashamed because of not being of noble origin (he indicated his father as an officer). On becoming an honourable old-aged scholar, Tychsen tended to celebrate his own personal glory in an unbearable manner [17]. Tychsen was Fraehn's teacher of Hebrew philology, oriental philology, and numismatics. During his life, Tychsen was in correspondence with many academic institutions, such as the societies in Uppsala, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Padua, Berlin, München, etc. In addition, there must have been some very early contacts with the University of Kazan, as one can judge by the fact that in the last year of his life Tychsen received the honorary membership of the "historico-philological class of the Kazan University", with an annual salary of 200 rubles. Unfortunately, the news about this honourable position reached Rostock shortly after Tychsen's death. Perhaps it was Fraehn [18] who was the initiator of granting this honour to Tychsen, who, in 1807, helped him to occupy a chair at Kazan University.

### **Fraehn as a student in Rostock, Göttingen and Tübingen**

Describing his studies in Rostock, Göttingen and Tübingen [19], young Fraehn chooses a lapidary Latin style, sometimes rather formal. In the last part of his *curriculum vitae*, when he describes the first steps of his professional life as a private teacher in Switzerland, Fraehn re-

turns to the lively and more private style characteristic of the beginning of the text.

The young student was lucky with his academic teachers. He writes that he liked visiting their lectures and he felt honoured by their private talks to him. He was also



*Fig. 1*

a participant of permanent academic meetings usual at that time. Repeatedly he recalls his wish to work hard, to learn much, perhaps because of his dream to support one day his parents. He started his studies at Rostock in 1800. Among his teachers were Bahring, Johann Christian Wilhelm Dahl (b. 1.9.1771, Rostock; d. 15.4.1810, Rostock; Fraehn cites him as Dahlié) [20], Johann Peter Hecker (b. 18.10.1747, Stargard / Pommern; d. 17.9.1835, Rostock) [21], Langius (Lang?), Witte [22], the theologian Christian Martin David Anton Martini (b. 22.1.1761, Schwerin; d. 1.9.1815, München) [23], also the above mentioned Tychsen [24], and Werner Karl Ludwig Ziegler (b. 15.3.1763, Scharnebeck near Lüneburg; d. 24.4.1809, Rostock) [25], who was his special mentor. Ziegler studied theology in Göttingen, and he attended the lectures of Heyne on philology [26]. (Later, Fraehn was also a student of Heyne in Göttingen.) However, during his career Ziegler did not leave Rostock University because of his weak health [27]. It is obvious that Fraehn's first academic steps were in the field of theology, surely because of his passion for the Hebrew and Oriental languages. His love for classical studies was not as strong as one may suggest from the Latin style of his *curriculum vitae*.

After Fraehn had moved to the University of Göttingen in 1803, he attended the lectures of Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (b. 16.10.1752, Dörrenzimmen / Fürstentum Hohenlohe-Öhringen; d. 25.6.1827, Göttingen) [28], a specialist in Oriental languages. Eichhorn, who later won fame owing to his ties to the German poet Johann-Wolfgang von Goethe, was a student of August Ludwig von Schlözer (1735—1809). Schlözer's manifold interests and his contacts with St. Petersburg and the Russian Academy of Sciences is a well-known fact in the history of German-Russian academic relations. Schlözer's Russian activities seem to have encouraged German scholars' interest in Russia in general and, perhaps, Fraehn's too. Göttingen became a European academic communication centre mostly due to *Göttingischer Gelehrter Anzeiger*, a journal, where Schlözer published many articles about books printed in St. Petersburg and Moscow [29]. One of the editors of this journal was Christian Gottlob Heynius (Heyne) (b. 25.9.1729, Chemnitz; d. 14.7.1812, Göttingen) [30], whose lectures Fraehn attended too. Heyne was a scholar and a writer of extreme energy (in his youth he was poor, having lost his property because of war, but later his circumstances improved; for nearly 50 years he was a very skilful manager of his institute in Göttingen). Heyne's classical studies were not with a well-organized method, but his eloquent and pleasant conversation inspired love to him in his students.

After half a year at the University of Göttingen, Fraehn moved to Tübingen. His *curriculum vitae* makes us suggest that he did not feel too happy; his tale about his time in Göttingen is a sort of biographical cryptogram hindering from understanding the real reason of his decision to leave the city [31].

Of Fraehn's teachers in Tübingen, Christoph Friedrich v. Pfleiderer (b. 20.10.1736, Kirchheim unter Teck; d. 27.9.1821, Tübingen) [32] is he who deserves mentioning. He was first and foremost a mathematician, and his special field of research was Euclidian geometry. His works on Euclide won him fame and allowed him to enter German nobility. Sometime v. Pfleiderer taught in Warsaw (1766) and later received a chair at the University in Tübingen

(1781). Because of his weak health he often read his lectures at home.

Of special importance to Fraehn's academic career was Christian Friedrich v. Schnurrer (b. 28.10.1742, Cannstatt near Stuttgart; d. 10.11.1822, Stuttgart) [33]. The son of a merchant, he was the chancellor of the University of Tübingen since 1806. He was famous for the elegance of his German and Latin. His field of research was the Arabic language. His most important contribution to Arabic studies of the period was a catalogue of all publications dealing with the Arabic language, literature, religion, etc., beginning with the sixteenth century. This book was printed under the title *Bibliotheca Arabica* in 1811. Von Schnurrer's further investigations were linked with the history of the Slavs and their contacts with Germany [34].

It seems that Fraehn enjoyed in Tübingen a happy and fruitful time, working on the manuscript of one of his first academic publications. However, Fraehn was forced to interrupt his studies in order to earn his living. At that time he was planning to move to Paris, although, as he writes in his *curriculum vitae*, it turned to be a "hopeless attempt". It seems that he felt disappointed because of some false promises of a friend (?). Then Fraehn decided to move to Switzerland where for the first time he became a teacher of the Latin language at the well-known Institute of famous Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (b. 12.1.1746, Zürich; d. 17.11.1827, Brugg) [35]. Pestalozzi's Institute for education had a high reputation within Prussia, England and Spain, as well as at the Russian court of Tsar Alexander I (r. 1801—1825). In his *curriculum vitae*, Fraehn writes about Pestalozzi with admiration and gratitude.

Fraehn left the Institute of Pestalozzi to become a teacher of the young son of the noted aristocrat De Mestral ("Herr v. Vufflens la Ville und St. Saphorin"). Being the envoy of the King of Denmark, De Mestral served first at Dresden, and then he was on a diplomatic service in Warsaw, Moscow, Hague and Wien [36]. Fraehn's teaching was a success, but he felt that it distracted him from academic life. Therefore, Fraehn had got in touch with Johann Sebastian Ith (b. 1747; d. 8.10.1813) [37], the chief librarian in Bern and effective manager in the field of Swiss school education. Ith also conducted studies at the universities of Göttingen, Leipzig, and Berlin. He was a specialist in theology and classical philology. Ith's high reputation enabled him to become a manager in Pestalozzi's Institute. Despite of his many professional and administrative duties, Ith held a chair of philosophy and became known as the reorganizer of the Academy of Bern, whose curator he was finally elected.

After two years in Switzerland, where he compiled his *curriculum vitae* at the beginning of 1805, Fraehn's dream was to return to Rostock. However, he spent there only a short time, as the official documents and his printed biographies state [38]. In 1807, his first academic teacher, Tychsen, proposed him to become a teacher of Oriental languages (Arabic, Persian, and Turkish) at the University of Kazan [39]. The Rostock city archive has in its holdings a document, dated September 5th, 1807, with the sign of the Rostock "protonotarius" Stever [40]. This document is an official permission to Fraehn to leave the city of Rostock. At the same time, the document gives a recent information about Fraehn's health — his state of health. Fraehn is mentioned here with a wrong first name and wrong age: "Herr Candidatus Theologiae Christoph [sic] Joachim Fraehn,

34. Jahre alt". The text of this document runs as follows (handwritten text is indicated in cursive):

"Demnach Uns Buergermeisteren und Rath der Stadt Rostock Vorzeiger dieses der *daselbst gebürtige Herr Candidatus Theologiae Christoph Joachim Fraehn, 34. Jahre alt* gebuehrend zu vernehmen gegeben, wie daß er seiner Angelegenheiten und Geschaeften halber, von hinnen nach *Heinsheim, im Großherzogthum Badeschen* abzureisen entschlossen, und Uns, zur besseren Facilitirung solcher *seiner* vorhabenden Reise, um Ertheilung eines beglaubten Reise- und Gesundheits-Passes angelanget: Als ergehet an Alle und Jede, Hohe und Niedrige, und wem sonst Gegenwaertiges zu produciren noethig seyn moegte, Standes Gebuehr nach, Unser respective gehorsamst=dienst=auch freundliches Ersuchen, bey allhier und im ganzen Lande Mecklenburg, Gottsey Dank! fortwährend reiner und gesunder Luft, obgedachten *Reisenden auf seiner Reise*, aller Orten, frey, sicher und unaufgehalten passieren, *und* allen gnaedigen, guenstigen, und guten Willens wiederfahren zu lassen; welches Wir, nach Erheischung eines Jeden Standes Gebuehr, mit angenehmen Gegendiensten zu erwiedern nicht ermangeln wollen. Gegeben Rostock, unter Unserem Stadt=Signet, auch

Unsers Protonotarii Subscription: den 5ten Septbr. Anno 1807."

In the document, the place of destination of his voyage is shown as "Heinsheim, im Großherzogthum Badeschen". Today, there exists Heinsheim near Bad Rappenau in the region of Baden (now federal state of Baden-Württemberg). "Badeschen" of the document may be a phonetic rendering by the protonotarius [41] of the German dialect *locativus* "im Badischen", as spoken until now (sometimes sounding "im Badeschen" with *e* instead of *i*) for "in Baden". After 1806, the Grandduchy (Großherzogtum) Baden received a new modern government [42]. On the contrary, the political and economic situation in Mecklenburg, and probably in Rostock, was distinguished by political conservatism and economic depression [43]. After the feudal "Landjunker" rejected the reforms, which the noble Freiherr vom und zum Stein had proposed, Fraehn perhaps felt a danger of being unemployed [44] or he perhaps was irritated at his "old-fashioned" hometown as contrasted with democratic Switzerland.

## Fraehn in Russia

After Fraehn moved to Russia and began reading his lectures at the University of Kazan, he married his maid-servant, in 1811. Two sons were born later with her, Robert and Rudolf. Then the family moved to St. Petersburg, where Fraehn headed the Asiatic Museum, the predecessor of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies [45]. To demonstrate the high reputation Fraehn had won by his vast scholarship and administrative work, one can cite a summary in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*:

"Im J. 1810 bemühte man sich vergeblich, F. zur Uebernahme einer theologischen Professur an der Rostocker Universität zu bewegen. Als aber Tychsen gestorben war, schlug er den Ruf, den die mecklenburgische Regierung wiederum an ihn ergehen ließ, nicht aus, sondern sagte den Antritt der Rostocker Professur der orientalischen Sprachen für den Sommer 1817 zu. Er reiste auch wirklich von Kasan ab, wohin ihm ein Reisegeld von 180 Friedrichsdor geschickt worden war, ließ sich jedoch in St. Petersburg dazu bestimmen, vor seiner Weiterreise noch ein Verzeichnis der orientalischen Münzen, welche die dortige Akademie der Wissenschaften besaß, aufzunehmen. Nachdem ihm diese Arbeit mehrmals von der mecklenburgischen Regierung bewilligt worden war, wußte ihn schließlich der Kaiser von Rußland seinem Reiche zu erhalten: derselbe ernannte F. zum ordentlichen Mitglied und Oberbibliothekar der Akademie der Wissenschaften in St. Petersburg sowie zum Director des dazugehörigen Asiatischen Museums und zum Ehrenbibliothekar der kaiserlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek mit dem Charakter eines Collegienrates, und der so ausgezeichnete erklärte in einem Schreiben vom 30. Mai 1818, unter solchen Umständen dem Rufe nach Rostock nicht Folge leisten zu können (Eschenbachs Rostocksche akademische Nachrichten, Bd. VIII). Daß sich die mecklenburgische Landesuniversität durch diese Absage nicht sowohl verletzt, als vielmehr durch die ihrem Schüler zu theil gewordene Anerkennung geehrte fühlte, bewies sie bald, in

dem sie ihm im folgenden Jahre bei der Feier ihres 400 jährigen Bestehens die Würde eines Ehrendoctors der Theologie [46] verlieh. Auch der Kaiser von Rußland zeichnete den rastlos thätigen Gelehrten weiter durch Verleihung hoher Orden und im Jahre 1829 durch Ernennung zum Wirklichen Staatsrathe mit dem Prädicate 'Excellenz' aus [47]. Im Sommer 1835 stattete F. seiner Heimat einen Besuch ab und weilte längere Zeit im Doberaner Seebade (Freimüthiges Abendblatt 1835, Nr. 872). Er starb in St. Petersburg am 28. August 1851, wie Oettinger's 'Moniteur des Dates' richtig angibt; der von einigen als Sterbetag genannte 16. August ist das entsprechende Datum des in Rußland gebräuchlichen Julianischen Kalender" [48].

Working in his new position, but not lecturing at St. Petersburg University [49], Fraehn showed himself as an excellent connoisseur of Oriental theatics. He published a catalogue of Oriental coins and was the author of other numerous studies [50], which did not lose its importance until now [51]. His valuable contribution was also the publishing of Oriental manuscripts held in the St. Petersburg collections [52].

Fraehn's sons made use of the possibilities a capital like St. Petersburg offered to young men [53]. Rudolf [54] became a Russian diplomat and, in 1860—1872, he was a Russian consul in Ancona. Robert, following his father's steps, became a keeper of the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg. One of Fraehn's sons married a daughter [55] of the Orientalist Johann Albert Bernhard v. Dorn (b. 11.5.1805, Scheuerfeld b. Coburg; d. 31.5.1881, St. Petersburg). Fraehn helped him to obtain a chair at Kharkov University (1826). Later Dorn became Fraehn's successor in the Asiatic Museum [56]. Fraehn's grandson, Robert (1859—1916), served as a lawyer in Wilna (today Vilnius), Minsk and Moscow [57].

Thanks to the correspondence between the Orientalist Dr. Franz Babinger (b. 15.1.1891, Weiden; d. 23.6.1967, Durres / Albania) [58] and the archive keeper at Rostock,

Dr. Ernst Dragendorff [59], which took place during the First World War (partially via military mail), we have got information about Fraehn's photograph portrait (see fig. 1) [60]. In November 1917, F. Babinger wrote:

"Von Frähn besitze ich eine prächtige Photographie, eine überaus grosse Seltenheit, da F. bereits 1851 verstorben ist. Ich bin gerne bereit Sie Ihnen vergrößert für das Museum oder zur Veröffentlichg. herstellen zu lassen, wenn Interesse dafür besteht. Sehen Sie doch zu, daß eine Strasse nach Frähn benannt wird, der wirklich ein glänzender Gelehrter war...".

On December 6th, 1917, Dr. Babinger wrote to Rostock again:

"... es fehlt sonderbarerweise an einer Lebensbeschreibung Frähns [61], der zu den größten Orientalisten aller Zeiten zählt und erst die morgenländischen Studien in Rußland begründet hat. Sein Bild, eine prächtige Photographie aus dem Jahr 1850, will ich sofort vergrößern lassen und es Ihnen dann für das Museum stiften. Die Aufnahme ist sicher ein Unikum

und höchstens noch im Besitz seiner Nachkommen in Rußland zu finden; ...".

Finally, in his letter of January 14th, 1918, F. Babinger was able to send the photograph to Rostock with a following note:

"Nun sende ich Ihnen einen Abdruck der vergrößerten Photographie Frähns aus seinen allerletzten Lebensjahren (er starb 1851); er ist leider nicht sonderlich deutlich geraten, im Gegensatz zur Platte, die ungemein scharf ist und alle Feinheiten dieses geistvollen Kopfes erkennen läßt".

This short archival survey of the life of Christian Martin Joachim v. Fraehn (in Russian rendering — Khristian Danilovich Fren) may encourage further biographic investigation to portray (through Fraehn's biography) a fascinating nineteenth-century époque of European humanities in the light of "desiderio flagrabit", as young Fraehn wrote in 1805, to possess knowledge.

### Fraehn's curriculum vitae

Ch. M. J. Fraehn's *curriculum vitae* was written in the Latin language (see fig. 2). The original is held in the Universitätsarchiv der Universität Rostock under the title "Promotionsakte des Christian Martin Fraehn, phil. Fak. 6/1804". The document was part of Fraehn's application for the doctorate he was granted on May 6th, 1805 (see above). We have a xerocopy of the original that was kindly sent us by the University Archive (thanks to Ms. Bettina Kleinschmitt, keeper of the Archive).

The document demonstrates the German features of Latin writing. The single letters are small and regular; they are inclined to the right; *d* looks as in special cursive. Only few corrections are present: *t* sometimes has a double stroke; *f*, *g*, *t* are somewhat lengthened; letters *a* and *i* are commonly ligatured when written with *r* and *e*; unclear illegible writing of Latin endings in *uem* and *uum*. All Latin year dates have a line above. Equal distance is kept between the word before a comma and followed by a comma.

Sometimes the author tends to imitate a long-sentence system of Classical Latin. The construction of sentences is

very heavy, with several relative clauses; sometimes one can see different use of *consecutio temporum*. Perhaps the Latin grammar Fraehn uses was influenced by his native language, as it is in official German records of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

According to Dorn, Fraehn was inclined to use a mixed Latin-German style:

"Nec quod attinet ad linguam, una eademque est. Fraehnius quum maximum lingua Latina usus est, set interdum intermiscens Germanicam (p. 2 etc.) aut ubi Germanice scriberet, Latinam (p. 220), itidemque Arabicam, (p. 2 et 92) ..." [62].

Also a problem was Fraehn's system of abbreviations, as Dorn points out [63]. In his *curriculum vitae*, he made use of many abbreviations when mentioning academic titles of his teachers. What follows is the original text in Latin of Fraehn's *curriculum vitae* and its translation [\*].

## CURRICULUM VITAE

### TEXT

(1) "Ego Christianus Martinus Frehn pridie Non(as)). Jun(iarias)). CICICCLXXXII Ro- stockii lucem aspexi. Parentes veneror Danielem Christianum, vestium conficiendarum artem exercentem et Mariam Marga- retham Linckianam; quos aetate quidem proiectos in vivis/ esse dici non potest quanta efforor laetitia, quosque Deus (precor)/ diu adhuc incolumes et sospites mihi meisque conservet. Tot tantaq(ue)/ illi in me congererunt beneficia, ut haec votorum meonem/ summa semper sit atque fuerit, ut grati animi testandi et be-/ neficiorum remunerandorum mihi aliquando copia detur. Etenim/ tam eximio amore me inde a teneris amplexi sunt atque caritate,/ ut, in rebus perquam angustis licet constituti, nulli rei peper-/ cerint, dum e re mea esset et ad studia mea promovenda/ faceret. // Suam forte artem me tractare

\* The following indications are used in the reproduction of the *curriculum vitae* text: / = line; // = paragraph; /// = page; (number in Arabic figures) = page number; ( ) = additional note by Fraehn; ( ( )) = addition of a letter or a word; [ ] = addition by the author of the present article; { } = deleted letter or word; ... = illegible letters or words; ---- = blank space; C = inversive C as in the original. To decipher the abbreviations in the Latin text, I used the works of Beemelmans [64] and Lampe [65].

Ego Christianus Martinus Fraehn pridie Non. Jun. ~~1715~~<sup>1716</sup> Ro-  
stockii lucem aspexi. Parentes veneror Daniellum Christianum,  
vestium conficeriarum artem exercentem, et Mariam Marga-  
retham Linckianum, quos etate quidem procerulos in vivis  
epe dico non potest quarta efforor latitiae, quoque Deus (prox)  
diu adhuc involvem et sapientes mihi meique conservet. Sol tantum  
ibi in me congesperat beneficia, ut haec votorum meorum  
summa semper sit atque fuent, ut gratiarum testandi et be-  
neficiorum remuneracionis mili aliquando copia detur. Etenim  
tan exilio amore me inde a tenacis amplexi suat atque curitate,  
ut, in rebus pauciam angustias taret constituti, nulli rei pape-  
riat. Dum e re mea ceteris et ad studia mea promovenda  
fuerit.

Sicut forte asten me tractare iussisset aut alius opificis di-  
sciplina tradidisset aliis eadem qua parcer mea fortuna usus.  
At pater optimus, me teretiam atate a leidi pueribus et gaudiis abhor-  
rentem seria gravioraque se habet, carmine aut alas prebat, parvudo-  
rum subinde pericula facere (cujus rei posthac auctor est auctor), et uni-  
ce libris euangelidis eadepudisque delectari ubi vidisset, tuncnam ab-  
fuit, ut impetu quo mea sponte ferbar, constringeret et cohiret, ut  
etiam se facere non posse putaret, qui experiendi causa filio magis  
natura me committeret institueret. Huic iesu meus, cujus qui in pueris  
in me existat mentis numeri rare variet, pecuniarium annorum spatium omni  
studio atque cura inveniubuit, ut prima litteratura, primi creatiani predicationis  
fimis solidisque animam meum insueret, dum me coadiuisset, ut primam scholae  
latinae publicae, que Rostochii floret, clausum cum fructu frequentiam admettisset  
sem anno 1715/16. Quatuor annos et sex meses ibi versatus nunc operam dedi tam  
litteris humanioribus ceterisque scientiis quam corundam manu fungitur schola

Ac.

Fig. 2

iussisset aut alius opificis di-/ disciplinae tradidisset alius eadem qua parens meus fortuna usus. / At pater optimus, me tenera jam [sic] aetate a ludis puerilibus et gaudiis abhor-/ rentem seria graviora sectari, carminum, ut aetas serebat, pangendo-/ rum subinde pericula facere (cujus rei posthac auctus est amor), et uni-/ ce libris evolvendis excepit delectari ubi vidisset, tantum ab-/ fuit, ut impetum quo mea sponte serebar, constringeret et cohiceret, ut/ etiam se facere non posse putaret, quin experiundi caussa filio maiori / natu me committeret instituendum. Hic frater meus, cuius quae inde pueris / in me exstat merita numero sane carent, per complurium annorum spatiū omni / studiis [66] atque cura in id incubuit, ut prima litteratura, primis scientiarum praeceptis/ firmis solidisque animum meum imbueret, dum me eo perduxisset, ut primam scholae/ latīnae publicae, quae Rostockii floret, classem cum fructu frequentandum admitti pos-/ sem anno CICICCCXCV Quatuor annos et sex menses ibi versatus sedulo operam dedi tam/ litteris humanioribus ceterisque scientiis quarum docendarum munere fungitur scholae/ Re- // (2) Rector Plagmannus, V(ir)?, Cl(arissimus)?, quam linguae Hebreæ et Angliae, magistro cl. Bah-/ ringis, scholae Conrectore, discendae studio pugnavi. Ea quidem, qua mihi, pr[...]/ in scholis tradebantur, minus sufficiebant, et in quibus, rapidiores faciundi progressus/ animus erat, uti lingua Graeca & Hebreæ, solus, alterius opera desitutus, / tractavi eo studio eaque assiduitate, qua quis rei, que unice ei placet, incumbere/ solet. Scilicet jam [sic] tunc in primis litterarum Hebraearum amore, qui deinde/ jensim [?] succrevit, teneri coepi. // Hic autem, ardor meus quantis auctibus crevit, fuit [hic?] labor meus. quemadmodum/ adjutus, hac studii molestia quam minuta levataque, quum, ea qua debet/ litterarum scholeasticarum notitia instructus, oratione habita in discessu de schola, / a(n)e. d(iem). X Id(us). Mart(ias) [67]. anni CICICCC ill(ustri). Heckero, mathes. Professori). P(ublico). P(raesente?), magnifico/ tunc temporis inclytæ [68] Academiae Rostockiensis Rectore, ad civium Acade-/ micorum numerum adscriberer. Tum enimvero ad fontem, cuius dudum desi-/ derio flagrabit, accessus mihi patuit. Septo amoto, devoluto saxo, ple-/ nis haustibus haurire licuit. Ill(ustri). Tychsenio, Ser. Duci. Megap. a consiliis cancel-/ lariae & LL. A. Professori). P(ublico?). O(ordinario?), duce et auspice, magnam vasti Litterarum/ Orientalium campi partem peragravi. Ei acceptum refiero, quidquid mi-/ hi harum litterarum inset, is me linguis Hebreæ, Hebreæ-Teutonica, / Rabbinica, Chaldaea, Syriaca, Samaritana, Arabica & Persica/ imbuit, palaeographiae Phoeniciae, Syriacæ, Arabicæ praecepta tra-/ didit, eiusdem disciplina ad rem numariam Mohammedanorum perdiscen-/ dam usus sum, et ita quidem, ut haberem, cui pedem infigerem. // Praeter ea Ven(enerabilem). Zieglerum, rei sacrae consiliarum et Theol(ogiae). Doct(octoris). et Professoris). P(ublici). O(ordinarii)./ interpretantem omnes fere Novi T.<sup>i</sup> [sic] libros & Herodoti Aegyptiaca, i-/ tem enarrantem Historiam ecclesiasticam al. ea qua par est assiduitate/ audivi. Ven(nerabilis). Martini, rei sacrae consiliario et tunc temporis in inclytæ [69] Acad./ Rostock. Theol. D. & Prof. P. O. Jesaiae vaticinia interpretanti, rei non/ Theologiam moralem tradenti adfui, seminarii quoque Theologici, cui/ praeerat, sodalium numero per aliquod tempus adscriptus fui. Ven(nerabilis). / Dahlié, tunc temporis Graecarum Litt(erarum). Professoris). P(ublici). O(ordinarii), nuni Theol(ogiae). Professoris/ praelectionibus acad. in Antiquitates Romanas, Selecta V. P. capita, / & Chrestomathiam Philonianam ab ipso editam, in Aristophanis Nu-/ bes & in Theocriti & Virgilii Idyllia eadem affui assiduitate, qual Ven(nerabilis). Langio, Theol(ogiae). Doct(oris). & Professoris). P(ublici). O(ordinarii), scientiam religionis tradenti / operam dedi. Adde quod b(onus?). Witte philosophiae praecepta tradentem/ audivi. Haec // (3) Haec fere sunt, in quibus docentium ab ore pependi. Iis adjunxi horis/ subsecivis praeter alia historiae litterariae studium, cuius amore jam [sic] tempore, / quo in schola versabar, tactus, semper eodem modo me teneri lubenter [70] passus/ sum et patior. Simul pluribus pueris iuvenibusque linguarum et Hebreæ [sic] / et Latīnae et Graecæ praecepta tradidi, ut esset, quo pararem libros necessarios/ et quo parentibus vitae meae sustentandæ allevare possem curam. Verum/ hac in re minem quantum adjutus sum egregia illustr(um). Professorum Academ(iae). in me bene-/ volentia, qui me non convicta [convictu?] tantum Ducali frui voluerent, sed alio etiam sti-/ pendio academico cuius cura prudentissima ill(ustris). Heckeri consilio credita erat; / quam singularem in me voluntatem et benevolentiam grato animo recolo semperque/ recolam. // Tali ratione per tres annos in incl. Academia patria, cui Di favent, totus litteris quum/ suis et solis fere in libris habitasse, percommode accidit, ut stipendio, quod ad iuvenem minus/ lata frecentium fortunae sorte studia adjuvanda & promovenda olim legavit b(onus?). Sassius, cuius/ manibus pro hoc insigni beneficio magna iuvenem pars quantas capere mens maximas/ potest gratias tecum agit habetque, copia mihi quoque petenti datur. His sub-/ sidiis instructus a re mea non alienum esse duxi, exteram quoque adire academiam. / Goettingam perfectus sum. Operam dedi ill(ustri). Eichhornio, qui Pentateuchum interpreta-/ batur, Arabica etiam nonnulla tradebat, et ill(ustri). Heynio in Apollonii Rhodii Argō-/ nautica commentanti. Mitscherlich autem V(iro aut venerabili). Cl(arissimo). moderatore in rite inter-/ pretandis scriptoribus Graecis usus sum. Praeterea ad complures professores/ accedere potui inque eorum me dare consuetudinem. Ex quibus solum Tychsenium, V(irum). Cl(arissimum). nomino, ad cuius colloquia & sermones bonae frugis plenos bonisque abun-/ dantes praeceptis saepe congressus sum. In primis autem Goettingae id egi, ut κελ- μηλων copiam, qua illa bibliotheca praepter alias gaudet, perlustrans in usum/ converterem meum, quae e re mea esse deprehendebam et quae ad notitiam meam/ litterariam amplificandam et excolenda facere putabam. Accedit quod libellum pro/ stipendiis Sassi beneficiio scribendum, Rostockii inchoatum, ad finem traducerem/ qui deinde sub Titulo: Aegyptus auctore Ibn al-Vardi, Hala Saxoni CIC IC CCCIV/ prelo subjectus et in vulgus editus est. // Verum enimvero qui a fonte uberimo, cuius aquarum potu quominus ex animi senten-/ tia saturaretur nullum obstacullem, septum nullum impediret, postquam ejus assuetidine/ imbutus erat, digressus accedit ad alium, non dico fonticulum, sed fontem ipsis etiam/ aquis vivis abundantem, sed qui senticetis repretisque interseptus et obstructus/ difficulter adiri potest; hoc ei novum non potest non accidere, si paucu potu/ defungi, et male satur abire cogitur neque tu mirabere, quum subindignabundus/ locum deserendum esse autumat. In eadem ego caussa esse mihi visus sum. / Sex itaque mensibus elapsis, relicta alma Georgia {Geor} Augusta, ubi, quum convictu / gratuito, quem Ven(nerabilis). Ziegleri auctoritati acceptum refiero, fruebar parvo sumtu [71] / defungi mihi datum est, Tubingam, commigravi, tum ut rei ejusdem tractanda/ varias cognoscerem rationes, tum ut Schnurrero, vivo admodum venerando, magi-/ stro quidquid mihi litterarum inerat excolem, atque augerem. Haic optimo viro, qui / mira humanitate et caritate me prosequatus est multa debeo, qua vel in publicis quas // (4) quas habuit scholis, vel ex colloquiis familiaribus excapi, adeo ut sane esset, quod/ Tubingam

*adiesse unquam me poeniteat. Reliquo quod mihi vacabat tempore audivi / ol. Pfeiderem Matheseos praecepta tradentem, reventaribus linguis perdiscendis / operam dare continuavi et hanc illam opusculi, quod p[re] manibus habeo, / partem absolvvi. // En me vix sentiente denuo sex menses elapsi quartum litterariorum studionem / meonem annum compleverant. Iam relinquenda erat sedes commoda, repetenda patria. / A quo tamen consilio amici precibus, ut Helvetiam propinquam se sequerer, me averti passus / sum, quandoquidem opes me tenebat, fore ut ibi Parisiensem videndantem (quod solum votum adhuc restabat) facultas sese mihi offeratur. Max vana spe me esse ductum atque laetal tum intelligens quam domum reverti apud animum constituisse, ecce, tibi summus atque optimus/ Pestalozzi, incl. [?] instituti paedagogici, quod plures per annos Burgdorfii floruit, moderator; hicce / me sibi devincire ea qua est mira humanitate et comitate, me saepius se vocare et invitare, / me rogare denique, vellem sibi societate jungere, vellem recipere provinciam linguam latinam docenditum praeceptorum suonem quosdam tum magnam discipulorum partem. Pblato [sic] usus mag- / na eius familiae numero adscriptus sum aliquot hebdomedas ante institutum inde ad Munchen- / buchsee translatum. At haec eadem loci mutatio caussa [sic] fuit, ut multas disciplinarem et scienti[al] arum mutationes obiret paedagogium istud novo moderatore nactum. Et lingua latina, in- / vito ipso Pestalozzi, novo praefectio omittenda visa est. Id vero mihi, quem sola praeSENTIAL / ipsius Pestalozzi, qui sane vir sui ingenii nullique similis, quanta admiratione et observantia, / tanto amore dignus est, in loco mihi parum commodo et apto retinuerat, peropportune accidit, / quem propterea, quod hoc vitae genus mihi minus arr[--]bat, et ad studia mearum litterarum me / avertere videbatur, tum quod Ven(erabilis). Ith, ordinis ecclesiastici Bernensis caput, me jam antea / rogaverat, ut ὁδηγίας filii nobilis de Mestral St. Saphorin Aula bona reciperem. Hanc / conditionem non spernendam esse ratus huc me contuli, ubi nunc jam quinque menses / et quod excurrit cum familia vivo, quae, si qua alia, dignissima est ea admiratione & obser- / vantia, qua lubenter [72] quisque observat summas ejus virtutes et merita. Sed quamvis / h[ic] loci litterulae meae non omnino torpse [?] [73] et languescere coguntur, quippe quemlib[et] bibliothecarum & Lausodunensis et Morgiensis subsidii atendi [74] copia nactus sum, / amori tamen litterarum quas amplector quandoquidem, etiamsi tali instructus copia, / non ex unimi sententia h[ic] satisfacere posse mihi videor et his illis saepe / carendum esse libris necessariis, jam proxima aetate patriam repetere / urbem apud animum constitutum est. // Habetis vita mea XXII annorum & VIII fere mensium rationem levi- / ter adumbratam, cui plures peregrinationes posteriori biennio varie- / tatis aliquid indiderunt: quae etiamsi frequenter & viros datos adeun- / di et bibliotecas perlustrandi occasionem offerebant, tamen quem ad / propositum hocce parum pertinent, identio transmittendae sunt. / Scripsi Aulae bonae, quod Helveticii pagi Vaudensis oppidum / est, prid(ie). Id(us). Ian(uarias). CI CI CCCV”.*

#### TRANSLATION

(1) “I, Christian Martin Fraehn, saw the light of this world on 4 June 1782. I worship my parents — Daniel Christian, who works as a tailor, and Maria Margaretha Linckia [Lincken]. I am very glad that [I can see] my parents alive in their later period of their life, and I pray our God [in gratitude] that He has guarded me and my parents for a long time until this day, when they are in an unimpaired health and well-being. They have offered [me] so much, and [I saw] so much of [their] kindness that [their well-being] remains my highest desire now and for the future. And [I hope] that one day I will be able to attest my gratitude and to pay back their benevolence. Surely, since my childhood I enjoyed their extraordinary love and [brought me up] with [utmost] care; and it was possible to dwell in real difficult [poor?] circumstances. They spared nothing for my advantage and for the advantage of my studies. In accordance with his own fortune, my father proposed to me to be the follower of his art and to teach me all the skills of his handicraft. And even since my childhood, [my] most honest father made me shrinking from childish games and joys: more serious things were welcomed, characteristic of more adult age; a risky (?) endeavour like writing verses was encouraged (and later the love to this occupation was enlarged). Once he learnt that I was fond, in his absence, of looking through books and making excerpts [from them]. This was my own initiative which [my father] thought to be unable to control, so it was my elder brother's duty to take care for my experience [in this matter], and he was responsible for instructing me [in this]. It is no doubt that from [my] childhood I was indebted much to numerous merits of my elder brother. During many years he gave me his favour and care, and he was the first who imbued me with [the knowledge of] literature and gave me first useful and reasonable advices in sciences; I had been conducted by him until the time when I began to go to the primary Latin school flourishing in Rostock. In 1795, I was able to be enrolled in the class that many were eager to attend. I spent [here] four years and six months and devoted my diligent efforts to the humanities and other sciences. These subjects were taught by the warden Plagemann, (2) who was a man of honour. It was with great desire that I studied the Hebrew and English languages, taught by master cl [clarissimus?] Bahring, who was the vice-warden of the school. The [other] subjects taught in the school were paid less attention; I was interested in accelerating the process of learning and was most zealous when studying Greek and Hebrew. It is obviously at that time that love to the Hebrew script, which became my toil, grew up [in me], which I try not to lose. My zeal [only] increased with the [appearing] of additional work. The manner, in which I was [then] assisted, reduced and facilitated the distresses of the study's process. Finally, I graduated from the school after my public speech [examination?] and training in the humanities.

On 6 March 1800, I became one of the students of the Academy [i. e. University], when its rector was illustrious Hecker, who kept the chair of mathematics here. The well [of knowledge] I was longing for so ardently became accessible [to me]. With the guide and authority of ill[ustrious] Tychsen (ser. Duci. Megap.), head of the consilium (et ll. A. Prof. P.O.), I scoured through the wide fields of the Oriental literature. I interiorated all what he offered me of these sciences. He imbued me with the knowledge of Hebrew, German Hebrew, Rabbinic, Chaldaean, Syrian, Arabic and Persian. He taught me Phoenician, Syrian and Arabic palaeography. Further I learnt Muhammedan numismatics to be able to follow afterwards his steps. Also I listened with diligence what P [?] ven[erable] Ziegler (who was specialist in the Holy Councils and theol. doct. et Prof. P.O.) was explaining about the New Testament and the Egyptian [section] of Herodotus; during his course of Church

I attended the lectures of venerable Martini, who was at that time *consiliaris* of the *rei sacrae* and member of the Academy of Rostock. As a theolog. D. and Prof. P.O., he gave his commentary on the prophecies of Isaiah. I was not only his student of *theologia moralia*, but also an attender of his theological classes. At that time, I entered the circle of the academic members. I also was a constant participant of venerable Dahlié's courses. He was at that time Prof. P.O. of Greek literature. Now he is Prof. of theology and of Roman antiquities. He also edited Aristophanes' "Clouds" and "Idyllia" of Theocritus and Vergilius. With the same diligence and zeal I was busy with religious sciences, taught by venerable Lang (Dr. theol and Prof. P.O.). In addition, I listened to [the lectures of] b. [?] Witte, who taught the principles of philosophy. (3) These are nearly all academic teachers whose [lectures] I attended and to whose lips I hung. Apart from some other studies, I devoted the remaining hours to the studying of history and literature, because since my time in school I felt a deep interest in them. Like many boys and young men I learnt the structure of the Hebrew, Latin and Greek languages in order to [be able] to write useful books to support my parents and to earn my living. For these things I was supported with benevolence by the honourable academic teachers of the Academy; it was their wish that I would not only enjoy to be with them, as Ducal (?), but also they wished that I may receive an academic grant; this was decided by the very learned ill. [illustris] Hecker. Especially because of his unique wish and benevolence, I feel a deep gratitude and I shall have this gratitude forever. With such a program the Academy became my academic home for three years; God may give his goodwill to this institution; there I spent my time with sciences and there I nearly lived in the libraries. It was very beneficial that with the academic grant I was able to enlarge such studies, which I was not to much able to learn when a I was a young man. From those, by which a young man received much support, Sass was the one, who granted me the support I asked for. With his much support and instructions, I was able to do my work not as a remoted one, and also I was able to go to an external academy. I set out to Göttingen [University]. I was busy to learn what ill. [illustris] Eichhorn was teaching; he was interpreting the Pentateuch; and he was much teaching about the Arabic language. And I also was busy to hear when Heyne was teaching about his commentaries concerning the Argonautica, written by Apollonius of Rhodes. Also I frequented the lectures, when v.cl. [favorable] Mitscherlich — with a correctly rule — was teaching the Greek writers. In addition to this program, I tried my best to join the lectures of many other teachers. However, it was only v.cl. [vir clarissimus?] Tychsen, whose collegia and talks brought me the abundance and the gifts of academic fruits. And firstly in Göttingen I was busy, having an interest for making a senseful use of those plenty of treasures [75], by which the library offered a special joy; I believed to make my literary knowledge solid and cultivated. It happened that I was able to finish the translation of a small book that I had begun in Rostock after I received the grant by Sassi (Sass). The book finally was published with the title "Egypt, written by Ibn-Vardi" at Halle / Sachsen 1804.

It is very true that someone, who can dwell at a very rich spring, which enriches mind with a drink of their waters, and without obstruction, and not being burdened with a barrier, by thorny bushes and shrubs, can be led not only to a small spring, but to one with abundant waters; however someone, who is not able to go to something new, after a small drink is finished, and after a misfortune is forcing him to go away — so don't be surprised — he becomes worried and he will decide to leave that place. I seemed to be in such a situation. After six months had passed away, the Georgia Augusta was left, where I was a guest free of charge [gratuitous?], because I was accepted by the influence of ven(venerabilis). Ziegler. With a small budget, I migrated to Tübingen. Soon I received experience in various subjects, soon I had an interest to cultivate and enlarge sciences, when I met venerable magister Schnurrer. Because of this best man, whom I admire because of his humanity and affection, by which I was supported — and I owe much to him — (4) I never felt sad being in Tübingen, because of his public teaching and during his academic talks with his friends. During the remaining free time, I listened to ol. [?] Pfleiderer when he was teaching about Mathaeus; and I continued learning languages and I finished a part of that work, which I have before my hands [obviously the dissertation]. I nearly did not recognize that newly six months have passed away and that now nearly the fourth year of my studies would be completed. So I had to leave the pleasant residence in order to return back home. From there I received the request of a friend to start and to follow to Switzerland in the neighbourhood, but I was forced to desist from that project, since I had the hope to see Paris in future (but until now, this remained only a wish). This was a very insubstantial and abounding hope. At that moment, when I was on my way home in order to locate my mind (to proof my wishes?), — look — there it was the most exalted and best Pestalozzi, who whished me as a teacher. He was the director of the Education Institute that through many years flourished in Burgdorf. And it was he [sc. Pestalozzi], who succeeded in binding me to that institution. There humanity and courtesy were existing, he [sc. Pestalozzi] very often liked to call me for coming, and he was inviting me. Finally, he asked me to share his company; he also wished that the teachers and the most part of the pupils should make use of the Latin language. There I was like a member of the family for some weeks, until there was some change at the institute of Münchenbuchsee, where a new director arrived. However, in the opposite to Pestalozzi's wish, the new director seemed to abandon Latin language. It was only the presence of Pestalozzi, which kept me there, because he was a man with a remarkable mind and he was worth to be honoured with admiration and attention, and with love, too. So it happened that this kind of life was suitable [?] and I had the chance to work for my studies and literature until the time, when ven. [venerabilis] Ith, who was dean of the ecclesial convent in Bern, asked me to be the guide [private teacher] of the noble son of [the aristocrat] de Mestral St. Saphorin. I decided not to disdain this undertaking, and I stayed with this worthy and notable family; and with pleasure the highest virtues and any actions were watched. And I spent there not a boring life for my literature, because I really was able to use the support of the libraries and that of the Lausodunensis and Morgiensis; however, because of my love for the literature, and although there was an abundance, I got the feeling that my mind was not satisfied. I was forced to be without necessary books, I decided to go back to my paternal city in next summer.

You will have the lightly description of my life report, being now in the age of 22 years and nearly seven months. Many travels during the two years are mentioned in this report: how frequent and to which learned men and libraries I was offered the chance to go. And finally I add things of less attention and I wrote about the reasons to leave.

Written at Aula Bona, that is a city in the Swiss country district of Waadt, 12th of January 1805".

## Zusammenfassung in deutscher Sprache

Archivalische Funde, welche Details bereits dokumentierter Forscherbiographien ergänzen und somit zur Erweiterung der Forschungsgeschichte beitragen, halten häufig wertvolle Überraschungen bereit. Nach einer entsprechenden Recherche und einer Anfrage im Archiv der Stadt Rostock sowie im Archiv der Universität Rostock konnte nun eine Auswahl an Dokumenten bearbeitet werden, welche die Biographie des Orientalisten und Numismatikers Christian Martin Joachim von Fraehn (Rostock, 1782 — St. Petersburg, 1851) näher beleuchten, besonders im Hinblick auf die Ausbildungs-, Studien- und frühen Berufsjahre. Die rastlose Tätigkeit Fraehns, der als Direktor des Asiatischen Museums in St. Petersburg zu den Mitbegründern der orientalistischen Abteilung der St. Petersburger Akademie der Wissenschaften gehörte und die Beschäftigung mit der orientalischen Numismatik zu einer wissenschaftlichen Spezialdisziplin der Numismatik

überhaupt ausbaute, lässt sich bereits für seine jungen Jahre anhand seines 1805 verfaßten Lebenslaufes nachweisen, der Bestandteil des Promotionsgesuches an der Universität Rostock war. Bereits als Schüler und Student war Fraehn begeisterungsfähig für manigfache Philologien und wissenschaftliche Detailarbeit. Sein großer Fleiß, der mit einer entsprechenden schnellen Auffassungsgabe und Bewertungsfähigkeit einherging, war offenbar in einem soliden Charakter verankert. Förderung durch das Elternhaus und die Fähigkeit zur eigenen Lebensgestaltung ermöglichten ein überreiches Forscherleben und bewundernswertes Lebenswerk, das — in einem mecklenburgischen Handwerkerhaushalt beginnend und später mit dem russischen Adelstitel ausgezeichnet — in der 1. Hälfte des 19. Jhs. jenseits geistiger oder nationaler Begrenzung Maßstäbe setzte.

## Notes

1. B. Dorn, *Das Asiatische Museum der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Petersburg, 1846); *idem, Fraehni opuscotorum postumorum Pars I; imagine beati ornata: Nova supplementa ad Recensionem numorum Muhammedanorum acad. imp. sc. Petrop. additamentis editoris aucta; subjunctis ejusdem de Fraenii vita, operibus impressis et bibliotheca relationibus* (St. Petersburg, 1855); *Pars II. Adnotationes in varia opera numismatica* (St. Petersburg, 1877).

2. Ch. M. Fraehn, "Beleuchtung der merkwürdigen Notiz eines Arabers aus dem XI. Jahrhundert über die Stadt Maynz", *Mémoires de L'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg. Sixième série: Sciences politiques, histoire et philologie*, II (St. Pétersbourg, 1834), p. 91. Revising the titles of essays Fraehn wrote about Oriental records, the essay concerning the City of Mainz (Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany) seems to be the only publication concerning a West-European City (Dorn, *Fraehni opuscotorum postumorum*, 412sqq.), although there exist other Oriental sources, too, concerning that subject, see: G. Ziethen, "'Im fernsten Abendland' — Die Stadt Mainz auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten", *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, LXXXVII/LXXXVIII (1992—3) = *Festschrift Dr. Wilhelm Jung*, pp. 385—430 = *Archäologische Berichte aus Rheinhessen und dem Kreis Bad Kreuznach*, VII (1995).

3. *Ibid.*, p. 400 with ann. 125sqq.: However, someone who is interested in the history of the city of Mainz will ask some questions about Frähn's academic motivation and about his method to collect specific information concerning such a special local subject, in which he was not focusing his interest in general. It is worth to note that Fraehn ("Beleuchtung der merkwürdigen Notiz eines Arabers", p. 91, ann. \*) cites "College Krug" (for Krug and the numismatic collection in St. Petersburg see Dorn, *Fraehni opuscotorum postumorum*, p. 409), but another colleague is mentioned in the main text, unfortunately without telling his name. It seems to be useful for further research to check the biographic data and materials of the founder of linguistic science Franz Bopp (b. 14.9.1791, Mainz; d. 23.10.1867, Berlin, 1822, member of the Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin); A. Leskiens, "Bopp", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, iii (Leipzig, 1876), pp. 140—9; J. W. Wüst, "Bopp", *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, ed. by Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, ii (Berlin, 1955), pp. 453—4: Bopp's estate is kept in the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin; L. Denecke / T. Brandis (Bearb.), "Die Nachlässe in den Bibliotheken der Bundesrepublik Deutschland", *Verzeichnis der schriftlichen Nachlässe in deutschen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, II (Boppard / Rh., 1981, 2. Aufl.), p. 37. SBPK Berlin Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz: Gedenkrede zu Ehren von Franz Bopp, geboren zu Mainz am 14. September 1791, gestorben zu Berlin am 23. October 1867, gehalten zum 100. Jahrestage seiner Geburt am Sonntag den 13. September 1891 im Academiesaal von Herrn Oberbürgermeister Dr. (G.) Oechsner (kept in Stadtarchiv Mainz). B. Dorn's research concerning Indo-European linguistics and his studies concerning Iran are close to the studies of Bopp. Cf. *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon. Ein Nachschlagewerk des allgemeinen Wissens*, v (Leipzig / Wien<sup>5</sup>, 1895), 127sq. and *ibid.*, iii (Leipzig / Wien, 1903, 6 gänzlich neubearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage), p. 135.

4. O. F. Akimushkine, A. B. Khalidov, E. A. Rezvan, "La célébration du Qalam", *De Bagdad à Isphahan. Manuscrits islamiques de L'Institut d'Etudes orientales, Filiale de Saint-Pétersbourg, Académie des Sciences de Russie* (Lugano / Paris, 1994), pp. 68—71 (Fraehn) and pass.

5. See e. g. V. L. Čenakal, "Die wissenschaftlichen Verbindungen Lomonosovs mit deutschen Gelehrten", *Lomonosov. Schlözer, Pallas. Deutsch-russische Wissenschaftsbeziehungen im 18. Jahrhundert. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas*, ed. E. Winter (ed.), XII (Berlin, 1962), pp. 3—12.

6. This early period of Fraehn's life is only mentioned with a brief commentary in Dorn, *Fraehni opuscotorum postumorum*, 407sq.

7. Archiv of University of Rostock: Promotionsakte des Christian Martin Fraehn, phil. Fak. 6/1804 (I like to thank Ms. Bettina Kleinschmitt).

8. Dorn, *Fraehni opuscotorum postumorum*, p. 408: "...habilitierte sich durch seine Schrift: *Curarum exegetico-criticarum in Nahunum specimen. Rostocii 1806.* als Privatdozent".

9. Archiv of University of Rostock, letter from Ms. Bettina Kleinschmitt (2.10.2002): "... bezugnehmend auf Ihre Anfrage kann ich Ihnen mitteilen, dass Christian Martin Fraehn an der Universität Rostock am 6. März 1805 von der Philosophischen Fakultät promoviert wurde. Aus der Promotionsakte schicke ich Ihnen den 4seitigen Lebenslauf als Kopie und das Deckblatt der Dissertation. Weiterhin wurde

eine Personalakte archiviert, diese ist leider nicht sehr umfangreich. Von 1819 liegt eine Ehrenpromotionsurkunde der Theologischen Fakultät vor": Cf. Dorn, *Fraehnii opusculorum postumorum*, p. 411.

10. Cf. ann. 13.

11. J. W. Fück, "Frähn", *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, v (Berlin, 1961), 309sq, with bibliography.

12. The notice was written by the city archivist (*Stadtarchivar*) Dr. Ernst Dragendorff (b. 27.7.1869, Dorpat; d. 28.3.1938, Rostock); G. Grewolls, *Wer war wer in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern? Ein Personenlexikon* (Bremen, 1995), p. 104.

13. Fraehn's biography published by Dorn, *Fraehnii opusculorum postumorum*, pp. 407—14, esp. 413sq. was a version authorized by Fraehn himself in 1848; cf. *ibid.*, i, praefatio XV: "Biographia (p. 407) est propemodum ea, quae anno 1848 a me composita et a Fraehnio ipso perlustrata, correcta, et exceptis quae ad viri modestissimi meritam laudem spectabant, approbata in libro Rossico: *Справочный Энциклопедический Словарь*, xi (1848) vulgata legitur, id quod ideo monendum duxi, ne quis me aliena sibi arrogasse putet. Biographiam uberiorem, si Deus vult, tempore futuro dare animus est". H. Klenz, "Frähn", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xlvi (Leipzig, 1904), 674sq.; Fück, "Frähn", 309sq.; *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie*, ed. by W. Killy, iii (1996), p. 381.

14. He was working "day and night": Dorn, *Fraehnii opusculorum postumorum*, i, praefatio XV "In eadum iis qua Fraehnius per quinquaginta fere annos assiduis ne unquam senectute jam premente intermissis studiis diurnis et nocturnis, nec aliis officiis aut negotiis distractus collegit, non unius sed complurium virorum opera et laboribus opus esse putat". Fraehn is also mentioned as a "vir modestissimus", i. e. "a man of a very modesty" (*ibid.*).

15. *Ibid.*, 409sq. "...mit immer frischer Thätigkeit und unermüdlichem Fleisse..."

16. Grewolls, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

17. Dorn, *Fraehnii opusculorum postumorum*, 407sq., 413; Klenz, "Tychsen", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xxxix (Leipzig, 1895), pp. 38—51, esp. 47sqq.; Grewolls, *op. cit.*, p. 443. As Klenz mentioned, nearly 2000 letters with Christian colleagues, about 1000 letters with Jewish colleagues are stored in the archive of the University Library at Rostock. It seems to Klenz that Tychsen was not so busy in corresponding with German colleagues, except the letters with his friend (*Jugendfreund*) Probst G. Ch. Adler (Altona), his student Ch. M. Frähn and with v. Dietz, who was Geheimer Legationsrath (Constantinople). Perhaps the last mentioned correspondence can be of some interest for an additional research; cf. letter from Dr. Franz Babinger (14.1.1918; record from: Archiv der Hansestadt Rostock document 1.1.22. No. 128 [Fam. Fraehn / Frähn]; concerning this correspondence see below. O. G. Tychsen's silhouette published in I. Wiséhn, "Christian Martin Frähn och andra pionjärer inom den islamiska numismatiken", *Nordisk Numismatik Unions medlemsblad / Scandinavian Numismatic Union*, VI (1996), p. 95, fig. 1.

18. See ann. 13 with bibliography.

19. Perhaps he was in Heidelberg, too. Cf. the unique notice in *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon. Ein Nachschlagewerk des allgemeinen Wissens*, V Aufl. Bd. VI (Leipzig / Wien<sup>5</sup>, 1895), p. 679: "studierte in Rostock, Tübingen und Heidelberg". See also below Fraehn's voyage to the Großherzogtum Baden in the year 1807. Heidelberg, too, was a city in the Granduchy Baden.

20. Grewolls, *op. cit.*, p. 91. J. Chr. W. Dahl was "Professor der klassischen Philologie", 1804 "Professor der Theologie", 1807 he became "Konsistorialrat". He published a translation of *Amos*, a *Chrestomatis Philoniana* in two volumes, *Sallustius, Coniuratio Catilinae* and *Theokritus' Idylliae*.

21. Grewolls, *op. cit.*, p. 184. Before becoming an academic teacher at the University of Rostock in 1789 (rector 1799—1800), P. J. Hecker was teaching at the University of Bützow (1778) and he was responsible for the calendar in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, later he became the director of the observatory in Rostock. Thanks to P. J. Hecker, who was also busy with general management, the buildings of University of Rostock for the first time received lightning conductors.

22. Eventually Karl Heinrich Gottfried Witte (b. 8.10.1767, Pritzwalk in der Priegnitz; d. 1.8.1845, Berlin). Cf. M. Mendheim, "Witte", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xlvi (Leipzig, 1897), 593sq. ("reiste er oft und besah sich andere Schulen und Erziehungsanstalten...").

23. He was appointed to the University of Würzburg in 1798; see Klenz, "Ziegler", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xlv (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 190—1; Grewolls, *op. cit.*, p. 279; n. n. Mejer, "Martini", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xx (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 500—1; *ibid.*, p. 501: "Seinen Gesamtcharakter faßt sein College Schlichtegroll in die Worte zusammen: 'ein Mann, in dem kein Falsch war; das Muster eines redlich und unparteiisch forschenden, echt frommen Gottesgelehrten'".

24. See ann. 17.

25. Klenz, "Ziegler", 190sqq.

26. See ann. 30.

27. In 1810, after Ziegler died, the University of Rostock wished Fraehn as successor of the theological chair; Dorn, *Fraehnii opusculorum postumorum*, p. 409: "Fraehn, der aus der Liebe zu seiner Wissenschaft schon i. J. 1810 den durch den Tod Ziegler's frei gewordenen und ihm angetragenen Lehrstuhl der biblischen Exegese ausgeschlagen hatte, nahm i. J. 1816 die schmeichelhafte Aufforderung an, seinem Lehrer [i. e. Tychsen; G.Z.] im Amte zu folgen".

28. n. n. Siegfried, "Eichhorn", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, v (Leipzig, 1877), pp. 731—7; K. Galling, "Eichhorn" (3), *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, iv (Berlin, 1959), pp. 377—8.

29. It is interesting to note this for further research, because L. Richter, "Über Schlözers Beitrag zum deutschen Rußlandbild in den sechziger Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts", *Lomonosov, Schlözer, Pallas...*, XII (Berlin, 1962), pp. 171 mentioned: "Schlözers Publikationen zur russischen Geschichte sowie seine Herausgebertätigkeit in Petersburg und Göttingen sind hinlänglich bekannt; weniger bekannt sind Schlözers Rezensionstätigkeiten in Deutschland und die Rezeption der Schlözerschen Publikationen zur russischen Geschichte unter den deutschen Gelehrten jener Zeit". And *ibid.*, p. 173: "Es muß hervorgehoben werden, daß in den Göttingischen Anzeigen zugleich auch noch Rezensionen zu anderen Büchern über Rußland, die in Petersburg oder Moskau in deutscher oder lateinischer Sprache erschienen sind, abgedruckt worden sind, die entweder von Schlözer selbst verfaßt oder zumindest von ihm angeregt worden sind". Cf. *ibid.*, 179sq. concerning Schlözer's later disagreement with the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg.

30. n. n. Bursian, "Heyne", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xii (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 375—8; *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie*, x (Mannheim, 1989), p. 60. Heyne was also a member of the Göttinger Akademie der Wissenschaften.

31. Dorn, *Fraehni opusculorum postumorum*, p. 407: "Da indessen die Vorlesungen an derselben [i. e. University of Göttingen — G. Z.] die Wissbegierde des schon gereiften Jünglings wenig befriedigten, so beschloß er sich auf die Selbstbeschäftigung zu beschränken und schrieb sein erstes Werk: *Aegyptus auctore Ibn-el-Vardī*. Halae 1804". See ann. 38.

32. n. n. Cantor, "Pfeiderer", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xxv (Leipzig, 1887), p. 678.

33. Dorn, *Fraehni opusculorum postumorum*, 408sq. (because of Schnurrer's reputation), p. 413; n. n. Heyd, "Schnurrer", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xxxii (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 196—8.

34. The title of the book was *Slavischer Bücherdruck in Württemberg im 16. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1799).

35. H. Pestalozzi, "Pestalozzi", *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, iv (Neuenburg, 1927, German edition by H. Tribolet), pp. 404—6; Briefly Dorn, *Fraehni opusculorum postumorum*, p. 408.

36. M. Reymond, "de Mestral", *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, iv, p. 89.

37. H. Tribobet, "Ith", *ibid.*, p. 376.

38. Klenz, "Frähn", 674sqq. Fraehn received the title of a "Magister" in absentia (May 6th, 1805) with his first academic publication "Aegyptus auctore Ibn al-Vardi. ex apographo Escorialensi una cum lectionibus variis e codice Dresdensi". The title of this book is mentioned in the *curriculum vitae*; see below.

39. Fück, "Frähn", 309sq; cf. Dorn, *Fraehni opusculorum postumorum*, p. 408.

40. Archiv der Hansestadt Rostock, record 1.1.22 No. 128 [Fam. Fraehn / Frähn].

41. The "protonotarius" also wrote a wrong Christian name, too, as I have mentioned above.

42. Informative summary: <http://www.genealogienetz.de/reg/Bad-Wue/hist> [I cite the status of information from 6.1.2003]: "The new Grandduchy of Baden (after 1806) received a new government and administrative organization and in 1810, land reform after the French model. The constitution of 1818 and elective legislature were models for early German constitutionalism. The lower chamber was virtually a school for the Liberal-Nationalist movement. In April and September of 1848, it came to rebellion under the leadership of the Left (F. Hecker, G. Struve) and in May of 1849, with the installation of a republican regime, it came to revolution, which Prussian troops had to put down. After the period of reaction, the 'New Era', 1860—6, brought an attempt to form a liberal, parliamentary regime (Ministers Lamey, Roggenbach). In 1866 Baden turned back to constitutional ways (Ministers Mathey, Jolly), under Friedrich I (1856—1907) and Friedrich II (1907—18), who reigned with the benefit of Nationalist and Liberal support". On the close relations between the Grandduchy Baden and Russia since 18th century see: R.-D. Krause, "Badisch-russische Begegnungen", *Spuren. Deutsche und Russen in der Geschichte. Begleitbuch zur Ausstellung im Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Bonn 3. Dezember 2003 bis 12. April 2004* (Bonn, 2003), pp. 169—77, esp. 169sq.

43. Informative summary: <http://www.genealogienetz.de/regMEC/mec/htm#hist> [I cite the status of information from 6.1.2003]: "Between 1733 and 1755 the estate owners of Mecklenburg increased their land holdings. They were backed by the Kaiser of the Holy Roman Empire in this effort. By the Convention of Rostock in 1755 in Mecklenburg Schwerin, all power was placed in the hands of the Duke, nobles, and upper classes. The lower classes had no voice. Land was held under a Feudal system. From 1759 to 1764, all of Mecklenburg was occupied by Prussia. Unlike the surrounding areas, however, Mecklenburg managed to remain autonomous for another century."

In Mecklenburg during the 1700s and 1800s, a type of Feudalism existed known as 'Inherited Serfdom'. The landowners controlled the economy and ruled their estates with absolute authority. The peasants were dependant entirely on the nobles who could even buy and sell them with or without their property. The tax rate on the peasants had to be reviewed every two to three years, and was usually increased at that time. They could not acquire any more land than they already had. Their landlords produced crops for export from their vast estates by using the labour of these bonded peasants, servants and labourers. The landlords were known as *Landjunker*. This word comes from *Jung Herr* which means 'young noble'.

By the 1800's the Landlords had driven away more and more peasants with their highhanded ways. They then incorporated those peasants' plots into their estates, and crop production expanded further. This callous robbery of the peasant properties was known as 'peasant seizure'. Ten thousand peasants lost their holdings in this way. In Mecklenburg, where the Nobility owned almost all of the land and dwellings, the number of estimated peasant foreclosures went from 2,490 to nearly 12,000 by 1800 AD. The former peasants who had land left held only small holdings which ensured little more than a bare livelihood for themselves.

In 1807, Baron von Stein tried to carry through a reform of the Feudal system. He felt the peasants' and labourers' lot had to be improved. He did not want to abolish the large Landholders, but they were to be limited in their political and administrative powers and to improve the state of their workers. At that time, workers worked from sunrise to sunset for a pfennig an hour, a very small amount. The value of goods (potatoes, corn, wood, etc.) was deducted from that and most of their work was paid for by these goods. Women and children performed heavy work. Baron von Stein's reform said that peasants could now change their place of residence without permission, and children were allowed to learn a trade. But the Landlords ought these progressive measures, refused to implement them, and the edict of Baron von Stein was never executed.

From 1806 to 1813, the country suffered great hardship and destruction. This period came to be known to all Mecklenburgers as the 'Franzosentid' (period of French occupation). Robbery and pillage became commonplace. Both duchies, Mecklenburg Schwerin and Mecklenburg Strelitz, were forced to join the Confederation of the Rhine under Napoleon's protectorate. Of the more than 2,000 men who were conscripted from Mecklenburg to take part in Napoleon's campaign against Russia, less than one hundred came home again".

44. The Archiv der Hansestadt Rostock document 1.1.22. No. 128 [Fam. Fraehn / Frähn] keeps a letter from Dr. Franz Babinger (Gerbrunnerstrasse 5, Würzburg), addressed 17.11.1917 to Dr. E(rnst) Dragendorff, who was the *Stadtarchivar* in Rostock. Dr. Babinger mentioned that in the year 1808 Frähn was unsalaried lecturer (Privatdozent) in Rostock.

45. Akimushkina, Khalidov, Rezvan, "La célébration du Qalam", 69 sqq.

46. For details see ann. 9.

47. Dorn, *Fraehni opusculorum postumorum*, p. 413; "Френ. Христиан Данилович (Христиан Мартин фон Френ)". *Большая Советская Энциклопедия*, xlvi (Москва, 1956), 585sq.; "Френ, Христиан Данилович", *ibid.*, xxviii (Москва, 1978), с. 248.

48. Obituaries and appreciations: Dorn, *Fraehni opusculorum postumorum*, 413sq.; *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, VI (1852), p. 121; *Journal de Saint-Petersbourg*, No. 1483 (Dimanche 26 août / 7 septembre 1851). Klenz, "Frähn", p. 675.

49. Dorn, *Fraehnii opusculorum postumorum*, 409sq.; Fück, "Frähn", p. 309: "Obwohl er keine Lehrtätigkeit an der Universität ausübt, wußte er dennoch, Studenten, welche das Asiat. Museum besuchten, für die muhammedan. Münzen zu begeistern, und gewann dadurch einen nachhaltigen Einfluß auf den Gang der oriental. Studien in Rußland".

50. Dorn, *Fraehnii opusculorum postumorum*, p. 410: "durch seine Hände gingen gegen die drei Millionen muhammedanische Münzen". *Ibid.*, i, praefatio VII—XII.

51. E. g.: *Numophylacium orientale Pototianum* (Kasan, 1817); *Recensio numorum muhammedanorum academie imperialis scientiarum Petropolitanae* (St. Petersburg, 1826), see: Wiséhn, *op. cit.* It is worth to note that in the "Geldgeschichtliche Sammlungen" of Deutsche Bundesbank, Frankfurt am Main, no material concerning Frähn could be found. I like to thank Ms. Dr. Hagen-Janke for her letter from 24.9.2002.

52. For reconstructing the details of his research and his method of correspondence, it could be interesting to look for some kind of assets and posthumous works that quite might still exist. Cf. ann. 3 and 17. Dorn, *Fraehnii opusculorum postumorum*, pass.

53. Fück, "Frähn", 309sq. Letter written by the aforementioned Dr. Franz Babinger (Würzburg), 1917 to Dr. Dragendorff (Rostock): "Seine Söhne Rudolf v. F. und R. v. Frähn sind wohl Stockrussen geworden". Information from: Archiv der Hansestadt Rostock document 1.1.22. No. 128 [Fam. Fraehn / Frähn]. Cf. ann. 44.

54. Dorn, *Fraehnii opusculorum postumorum*, i, praefatio XIII.

55. See ann. 53.

56. *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie*, ii (1995), p. 597; Fück, "Dorn", *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, iv (Berlin, 1959), pp. 78—80. Unfortunately, Dorn himself keeps silence concerning the family.

57. Fück, "Frähn", 309sq.

58. *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933*, ed. by W. Röder / H. A. Strauss, ii, 1 (München, New York, London, Paris, 1983), p. 43; *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie*, i (1995), p. 223: "Nach dem Studium der orientalischen und Turksprachen sowie der orientalischen Geschichte und Literatur (Promotion 1914) leistete B. bei der deutschen Militärmmission in der Türkei Kriegsdienst. 1921 habilitierte er sich an der Univ. Berlin für Islamkunde und wurde 1924 dort a.o. Professor. Nach der Entlassung durch die Nationalsozialisten 1935 war er Gastprofessor an der Univ. Bukarest und folgte im Jahr darauf einem Ruf als Ordinarius an die rumänische Univ. Jassy, wo er auch Direktor des Turkologischen Instituts war. 1948 erhielt er den neugegründeten Lehrstuhl für Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen Orients und für Turkologie der Univ. München, wo er das gleichnamige Institut gründete und bis zur Emeritierung 1958 leitete, B. war Mitglied verschiedener Akademien der Wissenschaften...".

59. See ann. 12.

60. Archiv der Hansestadt Rostock document 1.1.22. No. 128 [Fam. Fraehn / Frähn]. Cf. Dorn, *Fraehnii opusculorum postumorum*, i, praefatio XVI sq.

61. In his correspondence, F. Babinger mentions a manuscript concerning Fraehn.

62. Dorn, *Fraehnii opusculorum postumorum*.

63. *Ibid.*

64. W. Beemelmans, *Wörterbuch für den rheinischen Sippenforscher* (Köln, 1939).

65. K. H. Lampe, *Latein II für den Sippenforscher* (Limburg / Lahn, 1969), 2nd ed. völlig umgearbeitete und ergänzte Auflage; i (Limburg / Lahn, 1965). *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed by P. G. W. Lampe, combined edition (Oxford, 1992).

66. studia — ?

67. I. e. pridie Nonas Martias (March 6th).

68. Instead of inclutae.

69. Instead of inclutae.

70. Literary for "libenter".

71. Instead of "sumptu".

72. Literary for "libenter".

73. Literary derivate from "torpescere" aut sim.

74. Instead of "attendi".

75. Κειμήλια: treasures (class. gr.), special meaning in Patristic Greek: "heirloom" (treasure of church, part. sacred or precious vessels); *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed by G. W. H. Lampe (Oxford 1969 =<sup>9</sup>1989), p. 740 notes: "...is not only precious in itself but also because of its contents". Cf. Dorn, *Fraehnii opusculorum postumorum*, i, praefatio VIII: "Iam vero Fraehnius ad ultimum fere vitae diem omnia ejusdem generis κειμήλια quibus Museum post annum MDCCCXLII adaugebatur, ipse examinavit, explicavit, de iisque relationes ut plurimum doctrinae incomparabilis überitate redundantes Concilio Academico tradidit..." The numismatic collection of the Asiatic Museum, where Fraehn later preferred to work daily, is mentioned as "generis κειμήλια". Perhaps this was special term used by Fraehn.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS:

**Fig. 1.** Christian Martin Joachim v. Fraehn, ca. 1850 (Archiv der Hansestadt Rostock, Inv. Nr. 8647).

**Fig. 2.** First page of the curriculum vitae, 1805 (Universitätsarchiv Rostock, Promotionsakte des Christian Martin Fraehn, phil. Fak. 6/1804).

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# **FAMOUS ORIENTALISTS: LIFE AND ASSESSMENTS**

**G. Ziethen**

## **A YOUNG SCHOLAR IN A HURRY — THE PROMOTION AND ACADEMIC LIFE OF FRIEDRICH WILHELM RADLOFF (1837—1918) IN 1858. A CONTRIBUTION TO SCHOLARLY RELATIONS IN THE 19TH CENTURY. PART I [1]**

Dedicated to my grandfather  
Joachim Ziethen (1898—1987)  
and my father Wolfram W. Ziethen  
who opened me a view to Berlin of the past.

Procedures and formalities of academic promotion usually are accompanied by stress, a minimum of candidate's self-confidence and a maximum of individual doubts. Only the hope to achieve academic honours of doctorate in order to become a serious scholar and academic "citizen" can motivate for courage and special activities. After the *acta promotionis* of Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff (Berlin 17.01.1837 — St. Petersburg 12.05.1918 [2] / 16.07.1919 [3]) were opened in the archive of Jena University by kind support of the staff, we can have a look at a cleverly managed procedure of promotion.

On occasion of the Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff memorial readings and lectures at MAE RAS (Kunstkamera) [4] in 2012, a new research on archival material was embedded into the memorial project connected with the doctoral thesis of Polina A. Matveeva [5]. It is worth to mention that there are also Turkish scholars researching about Radloff and his subjects, but unfortunately these studies are less known, except the study of A. Temir in 1955 [6].

A folder of documents preserved in the Archive of Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Jena (Germany) contains correspondences and documents which inform about the promotion procedure and the management competences of the young candidate, aged 21, who later became one of the famous ethnographic researchers, specialists in Asian languages and museum organizers from German descent in St. Petersburg [7].

The inventory numbers are as following:

(i) FSU, Bestand M, No. 358, Bl. 71r. Letter of the faculty's director (dean) Dr. E[rnst]. E[richard]. Schmid,

May 15th, 1858, addressed to the promotion committee concerning the opening of the promotion procedure of F. W. Radloff. The candidate's documents and testimonies are listed and proofed for being acceptable. German language.

(ii) FSU, Bestand M, No. 358, Bl. 71v. Committee's letter addressed to the dean. German language.

(iii) FSU, Bestand M, No. 358, Bl. 72. F. W. Radloff's letter (stud. philol.), April 9th, 1858, sent from his home / residence Alexandrinstraße 125, Berlin [8], addressed to Jena University. Content: Question about the regularities of promotion procedure. German language.

(iv) FSU, Bestand M, No. 358, Bl. 73rv. F. W. Radloff's letter (stud. phil.), April 19th, 1858, sent from his home / residence Alexandrinstraße [Berlin]. Details about structure of study and 3½ years special study with Dr. Pietraszewski, Berlin. German language.

(v) FSU, Bestand M. No. 358, Bl. 74rv, Bl. 75. F. W. Radloff's letter (stud. phil.), May 12th, 1858, sent from his home / residence Alexandrinstraße 125 [Berlin]. The official application for the promotion procedure. Details about the attachments, testimonies and recommendations (one of these mentions protection and recommendation by the Court, obviously by activities of Radloff's father and by using the promised correspondence with St. Petersburg). German language, handwriting hasty, underlining irregular, format with formal character (similar like juridical documents). Promotion fee differing from the Latin version.

(vi) FSU, Bestand M, No. 358, Bl. 76rv. F. W. Radloff's description of the dissertation and request for pro-

motion in absence [see below *Text No. 1*]. Latin language, handwriting with clear and elegant style. Attachment to document (v).

(vii) *FSU*, Bestand M, No. 358, Bl. 77rv, Bl. 78. F. W. Radloff's curriculum vitae. Latin language [see below *Text No. 2*], handwriting with clear and elegant style. Attachment to document (v).

(viii) *FSU*, Bestand M, No. 358, Bl. 79. Attachment / copy from the original; F. W. Radloff's registrat-

### 1. Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff

Archive: *FSU*, Bestand M, No. 358, Bl. 76rv. Latin language.

Date: in Latin "die IV Idus M[a]i[as] [9] anni MDCCCLVIII" = May 12th, 1858; without personal signature.

Place: Berlin

Sigla: | change of row; || break; (...) solved by editor; [...] lost letters / added by editor; [[additional note by the editor]]

### Text

Amplissimo Philosophorum Or- | dini universitatis litterariae Jenen- | sis | Fridericus Guilelmus Radloff | S. (studiosus) P. (philosophiae) ||

[[Large space]]

Posteaquam aliquot per annos in | universitate litteraria Berolinensis | si philosophiae maximeque lingu- | is orientalibus operam dedi, jam in | eo sum, ut ad studia posteriora ab- | solvenda Petropolin discedam. An- | te hunc discessum autem mihi sum- | mos in philosophia honores compa- | ratus sum. Quo consilio disserta- | tionem, quae inscribitur "Quid reli- | gio resque exteriores ad populorum | Tataricorum animos et mores va- | luerint", exhibui [10] eamque una cum | vitae descrip- | tione testimoniisque | professorum Schott, Benary, Pietraszewski (archetypa testimonio- | rum academi- | corum nunc Petropoli- | lin ad ministerium institutionis | publicae transmissa esse vehem[en]- | ter [11] doleo) ad Vos, Viri Illustrissimi- | mi, mittere ausus sum submiss[.] [12], ut qualerunque meum o- | pusculum perren- | seatis [sic] eoque, | quae est insignis Vestra humani- | tas, fortasse probato summos ho- | nores philosophicos in me confer[e]- | tis absentem. || Honorarium undecim Friderico- | rum aureorum et unius ducatus | apposui. Valete ac mihi favete! | Scribebam Berolini die IV Idus M[a]i[as] [13] | anni MDCCCLVIII.

The letter contains young Radloff's application for philosophical promotion at Jena University, although he has studied until this time in Berlin. Obviously he planned to get the highest honours, i. e. the promotion to Ph. D. / Dr phil., in absentia, because he was ready to leave Berlin with destination St. Petersburg, Russia, to continue his study and research. To be accepted in St. Petersburg a folder with the original documents, signed by his academic teachers in Berlin, was sent to the Russian Ministry of Public Institutes. So we can understand that the project

tion ("Anmeldebogen") for the second term 1857, seminars and lectures (collegia) held by Proffs. and Drs. Schott, Steinthal, Pietraszewski, Mullach, Michelet. Confirmed, signed and stamped at January 4th, 1858 in Berlin. German language. Attachment to document (v).

(ix) *FSU*, Bestand M, No. 358, Bl. 80. Promotion diploma (doctoris philosophiae honores) granted to F. W. Radloff, signed by Jena University May 20th, 1858. Latin language, printed version.

### Announcing His Dissertation

Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff describes his dissertation subject and asks the promotion-committee of Jena University, Philosophical Faculty, to accept his thesis. This document is handwritten in classical Latin language, style of manuscript clear and elegant with a regular course, type area symmetrical. Type: Latin cursive script with elements of German Fraktura cursive script (e. g. letter "d").

### Translation

To the highly respected representatives of Philosophers of the scientific University of Jena, [written by] Fridericus Guilelmus [= Frederic William / Friedrich Wilhelm] Radloff, Student of philosophy.

After I have taken highly pains over a couple of years with the study of philosophy and Oriental languages, I am just on that point that I shall change to Petropolis [[i. e. St. Petersburg]] in order to complete for the following studies. Before this departure it is for me to do that I shall have received highest honours in philosophy. Because of this determination I have at hand the dissertation titled "Which foreign religion and belongings have got influence to the mind and ethics of the folks of Tatars" and I have the courage to send thereby to You, you very distinguished men, a description of [my] life and testimonies from the professors Schott, Benary, Pietraszewski (I am heavily sorry that the original documents just now are sent to Petropolis to the Ministry of Public Institutes) so that I submissively ask You to have in any way a look through my booklet and that because of that you perhaps would grant to me after a suitable proof, the highest academic honours while [[during; although]] I am absent. I have added the fee of eleven Friderician gold-coins [Gulden] and one ducat. Farewell and favour me! || I wrote [this letter] in Berlin at the fourth day of the Ides of May of the year MDCCCLVIII [= May 12th, 1858].

of promotion was undertaken in a hurry and by a small space of time. The style of the letter is official when addressing the honourable members of the University's committee, but with some decent juridical allusions. Young Radloff also was courageous enough presupposing a suitable solution of his wish, because the procedure he asks for would have been without the spoken examination in front of the Committee: we can assume that there was neither a *rigorosum* nor a *disputatio* with the candidate's personal appearing in Jena (see below).

## 2. Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff Writing His Curriculum Vitae

Archive: FSU, Bestand M, No. 358, Bl. 77rv, Bl. 78.  
Latin language.

Date: no date, no personal signature; attachment to document (v) [from May 12th, 1858], Berlin.

Place: no place; attachment to attachment to document (v) [from May 12th, 1858], Berlin.

Sigla: | change of row; || break; (...) solved by editor;  
[...] lost letters / added by editor; [[additional note by the

editor]]; x unclear letters; <...> letters or words occasionally lost by the author.

Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff describes his life, the reason and details of his study. The document is handwritten in classical Latin language, style of manuscript clear and elegant with a regular course, type area symmetrical. Type: Latin cursive script with elements of German Fraktura cursive script (e. g. letter "d"), but with some irregularities in course.

### Text

Vita. ||

[[Large space]]

Fridericus Guilelmus Radloff, | evangelicae confessioni addictus, | natus sum Beroloni die XVI Ca- | lendas Februarias anni 1837 padre Friderico Guilelmo, ma- | tre Iosephina Ida, de gente | Lortzing, quos adhuc vivos | esse gaudeo. Primis littera- | rum rudimentis Berolini in | schola quadam privata im- | butus, primum scholam re- | alem Hallensem frequenta- | vi, tum Berolini gymnasium | Coloniense, quod mense Apr- | li anni 1855 ad studia acade- | mica iuris prudentia in- | gredienda reliqui. || Sed haemorrhagia et languore | qui eam est secutus, consilium | mutare coactus sum. Qua de | causa rus petiissem mi[-] | hi cum professore Pietraszews- | ki, viro clarissimo, eandem ob | causam ibi habitante, fami- | liaritas intercessit. Unde fac- | tum est, ut sensim in illius | viri societate litteras orien- | tales, quas ille profitetur, adamarem. Uno igitur an- | no post, quum valetudo me- | a optime esset referta, studium | linguarum Asiaticarum, ex | quibus jam linguam Turcicam, | Persicam, Sinensem ac Tibeta- | nam discere inceporam, in | litterarum universitate Berolinensi persecutus sum, ubi | lectiones audivi virorum *prae-* [14] (?) *clarissimorum* Schott, Benary [,] Michelet, Mullach, Pietrasze[ws-] [15] | ki <,> Taburri [[or Tabrucci?]], Steinthal et alio- | rum, quibus optime de me me[-] | ritis animum gratissimum | servabo. Cum hisce autem studiis | cognitionem accuratorem phi- | losophiae, Latinarum et Graeca- | rum litterarum [16] ac linguarum | Francogallicae, Italicae, Russicae, | Hungaricae conjunxi. Studia | orientalia me et Petropoli, quo | propediem discussurus sum | et in Asia ipsa absoluturum | esse confido.

### Translation

Life.

[[Large space]]

I, Fridericus Guilelmus [= Frederic William / Friedrich Wilhelm] Radloff, adjudged to the Protestant confession, was born in Berlin at day 16 Calendas Februarias [17] [[January 17th, 1837]], while my father is Fridericus Guilelmus, my mother is Josephina Ida from family Lortzing, and I am glad that they are alive until now. I became introduced to the first literary basic attempts in a quite private school in Berlin, and at the beginning I have frequented the non-classical secondary school [18] in Halle, than (I visited) the gymnasium in Berlin Köln [[Neukölln?, until 1912 Rixdorf]] which I have left in the month of April in the year 1855 in order to start academic studies in sciences of law (jurisprudence). But I was forced by a haemorrhage and resulting weakness [19] to change my decision. Because of that reason I strove to go to the country-side with professor Pietraszewski, a very famous man, (and) in the same way for that reason a friendship happened. Because of that, it happened that in his company I step-by step fell in love for the Oriental scriptures which are his profession. Only one year later, when my health came back for the best, I continued to the scientific University in Berlin for the study of Asian languages — after, you know, I already had started to learn of these [[languages]] the Turkish, Persian, Chinese and Tibetan language — where I have heard lectures of the very famous men Schott, Benary, Michelet, Mullach, Pietraszewski, Steinthal and others, whom I shall serve in the most grateful spirit because of their kindness towards me. Also in connection with these studies I have combined a serious knowledge about philosophy, literature of Latin and Greek and about the languages of Francogallica [20], Italia, Russia and Hungaria. I trust with good hope that there will be my Oriental studies in St. Petersburg, for which I shall leave next days and that I myself also shall be absent in Asia.

[[without author's signature]]

Young Radloff describes his education. Because of his father's possible connections to governmental circles he did not mention his father's high position in the Prussian police hierarchy. The text is the first mention of his mother, Josephina / Josephine Ida Lortzing, whose rare family name is known from Berlin and other cities in Germany [21]. Registration from Protestant Church Ar-

hive in Berlin (Taufbücher Berlin Sankt Nikolai-Kirchengemeinde) [22] mentions the date when young Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff, born at January 17th at evening ("3/45 Uhr" = 16:45) was baptized by protestant priest Eysenhardt at March 8th, 1837 at home ("im Hause"); this was an old and traditional Protestant ritual [23]. The four godfathers and one godmother came

from the family Lortzing and Gotzkowsky (Auguste Gotzkowsky, Robert Wilhelm Alexander Gotzkowsky, an administrator of estates). Except one candidate of theology (Wilhelm Emil Lortzing) all godfathers had positions in Prussian administration and service (a secretary named Lortzing [24] and Wilhelm Emil Lortzing who served in financial administration).

The father's name, originally German [25], is recently known from the region of Berlin, but mostly from Hamburg, the region of Uckermarck, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Wartburgkreis, Lübeck, Rostock, Demmin, Ostvorpommern, Bad Doberan [26]. In the year 1858 F. W. Radloff, the father, was Hauptmann a. D. and Polizeihauptmann a. D. after he has finished his career in military service and as a police-officer [27]. The father's career represents the change in the organisation of public security when between 1848 and 1850 the "Schutzmannschaft" and "Revierpolizei" received a new structure by order of Friedrich Wilhelm IV [28].

In 1823 the addressbooks of Berlin (AB) mention Lieutenant u. Conducteur Radloff in Weinmeisterstraße 8; in 1827, 1828, 1829 a Gendarm Radloff lived in Kurstraße 6, he is not mentioned in 1830. Possibly this was the year when he prepared for the next step of career (as similarly today when the candidates are taking residence in a police school). In 1831 the Polizei-Commissar of the 19th Revier — the leading officer — Radloff lived in Hospitalstraße 24 (also 1832, 1833); next step of career can be seen in 1836 when F. W. Radloff Polizei-Commissar of the 1st Revier took his private residence in Jüdenstraße 22 [29]; from there he moved to Jüdenstraße 45 in 1837 [30]. Until 1838 he moved to Friedrichsgracht 60 after he became Lieutenant a. D. and Polizei-Commissar of the 6th Revier [31]. In 1843, 1844 the new address was "An der Schleuse 11" [32] as Prem. Lieutenant and Polizei-Commissar of the 5th Revier [33]. In 1845 F. W. Radloff was Hauptmann and Polizei-Commissar of the 5th Revier [34]. In 1846 he

changed to military part of police-service as a "Hauptmann in der 3. Artillerie Brigade 20. Landwehr Regiment" and Polizei-Commissar of the 5th Revier [35]. He moved once more to Alte Jakobsstraße 13 as Hauptmann a. D. and Polizei-Lieutenant of the 12th Revier [36]. Finally in 1854 he has moved to Alexandrinstraße 35 as a Hauptmann a. D. and administrator (Verwalter) of the II. Polizei-Hauptmannschaft — obviously a calmer post for the long-serving officer [37]. We find him in pension as Hauptmann a. D. and Polizei-Hauptmann a. D. in the year 1856 [38] living in Alexandrinstraße 125. We can conclude that during his many moves in Berlin he had a special knowledge and possibly he knew "the shadows of many sites". A final move is mentioned in 1874 [39] to Jacobikirchstraße 9 (Kreuzberg) and this is the final mention of the officer F. W. Radloff in the addressbooks [40].

It seems that young Radloff's way through school was an individual one, because he first mentioned a private education followed by visiting a school focused to more practical knowledge in Halle; after that he changed back to Berlin for the Gymnasium. This text helps to correct the current opinion that Radloff studied at Halle University [41], which is not mentioned in these texts. Maybe because of his vivid character he was sent for a certain time to a place outside Berlin. Possibly because of his father's profession he first decided to study law but he had to change his plans because he felt seriously ill. He spent one year in the countryside in the polite company of the admired Professor Pietraszewski who introduced the young talented adept into the Oriental and Asian sciences and languages. However, from the beginning and beside of his studies in Classics, the main interest was focused to Asian studies. In this second document young Radloff also mentions his academic project in St. Petersburg and in Asia — with such hope and self-confident auspicia he confirmed his wish to obtain the promotion in absentia. And finally — as it were in his hurry — he did not sign this text.

### Conclusion

The precious documents from Jena University archive inform us about a young scholar who in a fresh and vivid attitude tried to push the established academic circles, deans and administration to grant him the doctorate without academic discussion in front of the collegium while announcing his departure from Berlin to St. Petersburg, Russia. Young Radloff trusted in his subject, his ingenious knowledge, the letters and attachments possibly provided also by his father's authority and finally in the reputation of his academic teachers in Berlin. Obviously F. W. Radloff never studied in Jena, we got the impression that such kind of "express"-promotion only was granted to a talented but impatient candidate whose spirit was focused to the international science instead of doing the usual way in residential Berlin. So for the special procedure of promotion Jena University was a clever choice either by established connections of the scholars in Berlin — but far enough to avoid a scandal at the faculty in Berlin — or by the fact that dean in Jena in that time was a specialized in natural sciences and not in humanities: Ernst Erhard Schmid was specialist in the field of miner-

alogy and the director of society of mineralogy [42]. Was young Radloff speculating upon a less interest in Asian studies in order to push the procedure?

It is worth to mention that Radloff's style of handwriting obviously inclined to several variations. The letters written in German language show a very hasty character of stile, similar to the French example [43], but the style in Latin handwriting is clear and precise, nearly totally different, either due to the philological talent of the writer or caused by a special arrangement because of the whole situation of the *causa promotionis*. The author of this article doubts that the candidate himself was the writer of the Latin, only the author, because these important documents are not signed with his name. So we propose for a further step in Radloff-research to compare these differing handwriting with autographs from his father (perhaps by police archives) and from I. Pietraszewski (perhaps in archives in Warsaw and St. Petersburg).

Finally we should have an eye to a small detail in young Radloff's private life: his marriage with

Pauline-Auguste Fromm: the marriage is mentioned also for the same year 1858 [44]. Because aged only 21 at marriage the young scholar was forced to manage his life and livestock by his own salary. In the opposite to our time, young people in 19th century Germany usually married after the young man was able to earn his livestock. With the birth of five children [45], Radloff's mar-

riage represents the German structure of family in that time and was also typical for the social class of "Höhere Beamte und Angestellte" to whom Radloff's family and descent belonged [46]. In addition it should be taken into consideration that in 1858 the father was retired and so it could be understandable that because of the new situation the son wished to leave the paternal home.

### **Young Radloff as a Student in the Lecture Hall — a Short Prosopography of F. W. Radloff's Academic Teachers**

Young Radloff described himself in his curriculum vitae 1858 as a well-learning student. The biographic data of his academic teachers unveil that he was taught the basic structures of his academic field by admired Ignaz (Ignacy, Ignatius) Pietraszewski. He just was in 1858 an elder scholar when he invited ill young Radloff — after he has interrupted his study in jurisprudence — to the country side. I. Pietraszewski was a scholar with widespread activities as an academic scholar and as diplomat. He had great experience with the Mediterranean region as well as with the Iranian and Asian cultures. Obviously he was also a good teacher who succeeded to fascinate his students. The period of one year during F. W. Radloff's recreation from disease was used to show the young man a new way into future. So we can understand that he deeply admired the patience and knowledge of the old professor, whose experience was forming the young man in mind and character. And in addition the calm atmosphere at the countryside was also a new impression for the young man, who's father's home in Alexandrinstraße 125, Berlin, was not calm enough for a young students learning because of the many families in that house and the developing environment (see below). Taking such detail into consideration we can assume that the perspective of linguistic field-studies in the countryside of Altai-region was accepted by F. W. Radloff in 1858 because of such fresh personal impressions.

The scholars mentioned in the curriculum vitae 1858 were:

*Franz Simon Ferdinand Benary* (22.03.1806, Kassel — 07.02.1880, Berlin), originally belonged to Jewish confession [47], since 1829 Protestant confession. Orientalist, theologian. Family: since 1808 family name Benary; father: Salomon Levi (1770—1828), banker; mother: Gutheil Meilert (1778—1833), daughter of Michael Simon Meilert (1755—1808), banker and Oberzahlamtsagent, financial consultant (Finanzrat) of the elector (Kurfürst); brothers: (i) Karl Albert Agathon (1807—1861), specialist in ancient philology, 1833 education at the gymnasium in Göttingen and the Cölnische Realgymnasium in Berlin [48], study of ancient philology, dissertation with a thesis on Aischylos, specialist in Latin language [49]; (ii) Ernst Benary, (10.11.1819, Kassel — 19.02.1893, Erfurt), Jewish confession, biologist and cultivator of plants, highly international estimation [50]. Education and profession: 1824 study in Halle and Bonn, 1827 theological study in Berlin, teaching Oriental studies in Halle, 1829 habilitation in Berlin, research in Sanskrit subjects, rejects an invitation to

St. Petersburg in the beginning of the 1930ies, later research and teaching in Hebrew studies and Semitic epigraphy, theological doctorate in Halle, political activities for the "Fortschrittspartei" caused conflict with the ministry, publications about inscriptions of Cyprus [51].

*Karl Ludwig (Charles Louis) Michelet* (04.12.1801, Berlin — 15.12.1893, Berlin), member of the reformed Church. Philosopher, philologist. Family: French Calvinists; father: Louis Michelet (1775—1841), merchantman, later manufacturer of textiles and silk in Berlin (Girard&Michelet); mother: Victoire Girard (1777—1831); marriage: (i) Berlin 1832 with Marie Scholz (1813—1864), 2 sons, 1 daughter; (ii) Vevey (Switzerland) 1867 with Jenny Vallon (1829—1886), 2 sons, 2 daughters. Education and profession: 1814 French gymnasium in Berlin, 1819 study of philosophy and law at University at Berlin, 1822 examination in law, 1824 dissertation and employment at the French Gymnasium in Berlin (until 1850), 1826 habilitation and extraordinary professorship and well-accepted academic teacher, 1874 finish of teaching because of age; special research about Hegel's philosophy, publications about Aristotle's ethic, about systems of philosophy, art, practical subjects in politics and church life. Because of his sympathy with the revolution 1848 lot of problems in his profession and finally no call for an ordinary professorship, 1871 dedication of the monument of Hegel. Private lectures offered to foreign guests and to academic friends [52].

*Friedrich Wilhelm August Mullach* (1807—1882, Berlin?). History teacher, philologist at Berlin University [53].

*Ignaz (Ignacy, Ignatius) Pietraszewski* (31.12.1796, Biscupiec, or 1797?, 1799? — 16.11.1869, Berlin), of Polish origin. Dr. and professor at Berlin University, orientalist, diplomat, numismatist, specialist of Oriental languages and Sinology, diplomat. In 1858 he lived at Lützowerwegstraße 44b in Berlin. Education and profession: education in Dominican Convent School in Grodno, study of Arabian and Persian at Wilna University, study of Turkish language in St. Petersburg. Diplomatic career in service of Russian embassy in Istanbul, later as a diplomat in Saloniki, Jaffa and Alexandria. Since 1840 lecturer of Oriental languages in St. Petersburg. Since 1843/44 teaching of Oriental languages in Berlin. His academic study on Zoroaster caused a lively discussion followed by personal problems at Berlin University; from 1860—1864 he worked once more as a translator in Teheran [54].

*Wilhelm Christian Schott* (03.09.1802, Mainz — 21.01.1889, Berlin). Specialist in Oriental sciences, the-

ology, Sinology, Finno-Ugrian and Altai studies, founder of Sinology at Berlin University, for details see below. Family: protestant confession; father: Johann Christian Schott (born 1761) in Mandel (a village near Bad Kreuznach / Germany), merchantman; mother: Elisabeth Wahl (born 1771, widowed Holzmann); marriage with Elise Wilhelmine Auguste Meyer, no children. Education and profession: private education in Mainz, later gymnasium, 1819 study of theology at Giessen University, 1821 study of Oriental sciences in Halle, private teaching for two Chinese guests and learning Chinese language, 1823 dissertation on the *sunna*, 1826 habilitation for Oriental sciences in Halle (thesis: *De indole linguæ sinicae*), 1830 move to Berlin, 1832 habilitation for East-Asian languages with public lecture titled "Über das Wesen der chinesischen Schrift und die notwendige Einrichtung der Wörterbücher" für ostasiatische Sprachen, 1838 extraordinary professor at Berlin University. Because of financial reasons one of the authors of the *Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, ed. by Esch and Gruber; working with the geographer Carl Ritter (1779—1859) and with the astronomer Christian Ludwig Ideler (1766—1846), since 1841 installed at one of the very rare paid positions at Berliner Akademie and as a member of Academy; only few students for Chinese language, additional research Finnish, Estonian and Hungarian languages, 1859—1871 *Altaiische Studien*, in addition publications concerning Buddhism and Japanese poetry [55]. For details see below.

*Chaim (Heymann, Herrmann, Heinrich) Steinthal* (16.05.1823, Gröbzig — 14.03.1899, Berlin). Dr. phil., philologist, linguist. Family: father: merchantman; mother: widowed early; marriage: with Jeanette Lazarus (a close relative [sister?] of his friend and lifelong co-researcher Moritz Lazarus), 2 children died early. Education and profession: after his father died, the boy was educated by his mother, brother and the teacher of Jewish community, he learnt French language and was educated in Talmud studies [56], gymnasium in Bernburg, Greek and Latin languages, later support by a relative, 1842 matura, 1843 study of classical philology and Slavic philology in Berlin. Student in the Institute of Wilhelm Christian Schott: Persian, Chinese, Turkish, Mongolian, Manchu, Tibetan, Japanese, Coptic languages, in addition study of metaphysics, philosophy, anthropology, psychology and modern European languages: Roman languages, Basque and Russian; also study of religious sciences and botanic. Specialised in studies on Wilhelm von Humboldt and Wilhelm Wundt [57] (16.08.1832, Neckarau near Mannheim — 31.08.1920, Großbothen bei Leipzig), 1847 promotion to Dr. phil. in Tübingen (dissertation: *De pronomine relativi commentatio philosophica-philologica cum excursu de nominativi particulari*), 1849 habilitation in Berlin, lectures concerning history and psychology of languages. Special study on African languages was honoured by the Volney-prize of the Institut de France, 1852—1856 research in Paris, 1853 research in London,

1867 publication *Die Mande-Neger-Sprachen, psychologisch, phonetisch betrachtet*, in London he got support by Josias von Bunsen. The possibility of diplomatic career and support by French colleagues was rejected, return to Berlin; 1855 publication *Grammatik, Logik und Psychologie, ihre Principien und ihr Verhältnis zueinander* (thesis: language is a psychic organ and in conclusion a subject of psychological study). Very close collaboration with his friend Moritz Lazarus (1824—1903) and foundation of science and journal concerning subjects of ethnic psychology (*Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, 20 vls., 1859—1890); 1864 publication *Philologie, Geschichte und Psychologie in ihren gegenseitigen Beziehungen*, special studies about the structure of myths (e. g. concerning the myths of Samson, Prometheus [58]). 1856 private academic teacher (Privatdozent) at Berlin University, only few students but very good care for his students, since summer 1872 teaching a Hochschule / Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, 1862 extraordinary professor but not a member of Academy of sciences (cf. below on the circumstances in that time). Research about the theory of Charles Darwin and improving the individual positions [59].

*Tabrucci* — no information was found during current research.

If we have a look through these biographies we can imagine that young Radloff received manifold impressions by these specialists. We can assume that the scholars from Jewish origin, Franz Simon Ferdinand Benary and / or his well-known brother Karl Albert Agathon Benary with their highly cultured personal background, and also Chaim (Heymann, Herrmann, Heinrich) Steinthal with his subtle and wide-spread philological experience opened the field of an up-to-date interdisciplinary method and research to the young adept. Especially the beginning of psychological interests in ethnography and linguistics was represented by Steinthal. Possibly it was Karl Ludwig (Charles Louis) Michelet, who taught philosophy and law and whose lectures in law were visited by young Radloff in the beginning of his study?

Because of Radloff's travels and basic research to create dictionaries of the Altai languages, it was the geographical knowledge and the linguistic studies published by Christian Wilhelm Schott, which could have caused the correspondence. When Radloff returned from the Altai region and Kazan to St. Petersburg in 1883, some of his teachers were passed away, except Schott and Steinthal. It was Eduard Sachau with whom he was in touch during the period from 1881 to 1911 after Schott died in 1889, too. The archive of Kunstkamera, preserves 36 pages of correspondence with E. Sachau [60]; this is together with the correspondence to and from August Meitzen, 17 pages [61], and Albert Grünwedel (Berlin), 31 pages [62], the most voluminous correspondence. So we can mention that F. W. Radloff tried to keep the line back to his academic teachers respectively to the place of study in Berlin where once his academic way began.

## F. W. Radloff's Personal World in Berlin

When F. W. Radloff decided to leave Berlin he left a vivid expanding city in order to change for a life in Altai-region, on travels and in Kazan, far away from any turbulent urban and European life.

If we have a look for the personal environment of young Radloff in Berlin we can take the information from the *AB* which open a glance to the living conditions and the people who dwelt in Alexandrinstraße in Berlin.

In the mid of 19th century Berlin was a growing city with many new quarters and streets. One of these streets was Alexandrinstraße. The street originally was only a rural path, but since 1843 the planning of the street began [63]. After F. W. Radloffs parents had moved several times during the last decades — obviously because of the father's position and professional duties — they met their final common home in Alexandrinstraße 35 in the year 1854 and finally in Alexandrinstraße 125 since 1856.

Looking through the detailed information preserved in the Berliner Adressbücher, we find that Alexandrinstraße in the year 1858 had 128 numbers. As it was the typical architectural custom in that time in Berlin, each building contained a group of apartments, mostly 9—12 or 3—6 flats, some with 15—25 flats. Usually behind the main building there was a court framed by other buildings, too. Until today, such is called to be the typical “Berliner Mietskaserne” — a term that was inspired from the military vocabulary brought into civil life.

The social structure of this street was very interesting; mostly we see the middle-class: private entrepreneurs, handcrafts, academic people of lower rank, lot of officials, policemen, post-office clerks and postmen, soldiers, officers, some lawyers, but few medical doctors and pharmacists. They all were the basic structure of the Prussian state in that time: loyal to monarchy, busy and active, solid citizens, brave servants of their state — and they all were proud and self-consciousness being a part of the urban centre of Prussia. Such mentality and typical charm can be found in Berlin until today — but in our time after the two world wars this living style and urban feeling never reached the quality of 19th century or beginning of 20th century as the author's grandfather often pointed out in his memories.

In 1858 these citizens and their homes were “framed” by institutions of their state: Alexandrinstraße No. 1 was the military riding-ground of an artillery regiment, Nos. 12 and 13 were institutions of the 8th Infantry Regiment, a private company that produced mineral water (“Anstalt für künstliche Mineralwasser von Struve und Soltmanns”) was in No. 118. And finally No. 128 was the huge area of military barracks of the

Garde-Kürassier-Regiment. Such environment was the world of Radloff senior, perhaps not that of the son.

Very typical in Berlin, the bars (the so-called “Berliner Eckkneipen”) and inns were situated in the beginning and in the end of the street and in the same way close to the military places — a lot of soldiers lost their money to the innkeepers. These characters later were drawn by the famous painter Heinrich Zille (1858—1929). Approximately 1000 households had their residence in Alexandrinstraße.

The street was still in construction and in change. From the former field there remained only one garden (No. 117) owned by an official with the title “Hofrath”. In addition to the mentality in that time, a group of houses belonged to handcrafts — some of them (joiners, see below) had initiated the planning of the street — and pensioners, who obviously had cleverly grasped the chance for financial investments. They made a good deal when they rent the flats to officials etc. And finally we see that citizens in their houses or flats lived “under the eye of their state”, too, because in many houses one or several flats belonged to officials, policemen, soldiers or post-officials. Also the Radloff-family was part of that system: living together but watching each other.

If we have a glance to Alexandrinstraße 125 we find that there were 16 families which belonged mostly to handcrafts; we can assume that this was not a calm residence, because in Berlin it was very typical to talk or to shout in the staircase, at the entry of the flat or through the court, as in 1911 Gerhard Hauptmann described a similar atmosphere in his theatre-play “Die Ratten”. The side of state in Alexandrinstraße 125 was represented by the Radloff-family (officer, in pension) and the families of two secretaries.

What could young Radloff have seen looking out of his window: the noisy military barracks with the command shouting majors or the many dusty and muddy building sites in his direct neighbourhood (Nos. 121—124 and 126)?

We can conclude that Alexandrinstraße 125 and the environment was not a calm place for a young student and his complicated language studies. In such a social environment a young man, who did not follow the steps of his father, mostly was isolated. Perhaps the sudden illness, F. W. Radloff mentioned in his curriculum vitae in 1858 could have been either caused by noise, unhealthy environment or by social stress. Anyhow, we can understand that he was fascinated by the calm and fresh countryside when he left the city with I. Pietraszewski and when he lived and travelled later for many years in the natural atmosphere of Altai region and Siberia.

## A Glance into Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff's Postbox — a Prosopography of his Addressees

During recent research some groups of letters written by F. W. Radloff or addressed to him could be found in Kunstkamera's archive, in the entry-books of the Ethnologische Museum in Berlin [64] and also in online

data resources. Radloff's known correspondence mainly was focused to specialists in ethnographic and linguistic sciences. But there are also letters sent to scholars who were also working as diplomats or officials of admini-

stration. Such correspondences could open a way to the close border of science and politics in that time, e. g. around or after 1900. Possibly the honour of being elected into the Order Pour le Mérite in 1908, one of the very high-ranking honours of German government,

#### 1. F. W. Radloff's Correspondence Preserved in the SPBA RAS, in Annual Line from 1868 to 1914

1868, 1871—1883. *SPBA RAS*, fund 177, inv. 2, file 18, 15 fol.

(Philipp Wilhelm) Adolf Bastian, Berlin (26.06.1826, Bremen — 02.02.1905, Port of Spain, Trinidad). Family: son of merchants' family. Education and profession: medical doctor, ethnographer, researcher in natural sciences, jurist. Study of medicine; ship's doctor. 8 expeditions: 1861—5 India, East Asia, 1873 West-Africa, 1875—6 Central and South America, 1878—80 India, Oceania, North-America, Western India, 1889—1 Indonesia, India, East-Africa, 1896—8 South Asia, East Asia, 1901—3 South-India (Ceylon), 1903—5 West India. 1868 foundation of the Berliner Museum für Völkerkunde, 1869 academic teacher in Berlin, 1870 foundation of the Berliner Anthropologische Gesellschaft (later: Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*)), 1873 director of the "Afrikanische Gesellschaft in Deutschland". Research mostly focused to the psychological coherence and origin of several cultural systems [65].

1869, 1871, 1882, 1885. *SPBA RAS*, fund 177, inv. 2, file 281, 6 fol. In addition: 1871 a letter sent to the father of V. V. Radloff [66]. W. Schott, Berlin. Known as Wilhelm Christian Schott (03.09.1802, Mainz — 21.01.1889, Berlin). Specialist in Oriental sciences, theology, Sinology, Finno-Ugrian and Altai studies, founder of Sinology at Berlin University; for details see main contribution above.

1881—1911. *SPBA RAS*, fund 177, inv. 2, file 110, 32 fol. Eduard Sachau, Berlin (20.07.1845, Neumünster — 17.09.1930, Berlin). Specialist in Semitic studies. Education and profession: Study of Oriental languages in Kiel and Leipzig, 1867 promotion in Halle, 1869 extra ordinary professor, 1871 ordinary professor in Vienna and since 1876 with the same position at Berlin University, 1887 foundation and director of Seminar of Oriental languages (focused to the education and study for officials and diplomats), 09.12.1886 / confirmed 24.01.1887 member of Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin; also member of Akademie der Wissenschaft, Wien, member of American Oriental Society. Consultant at Bagdad-bahn-Railway project, Geheimer Oberregierungsrat [67].

1882. *SPBA RAS*, fund 177, inv. 2, file 57, 2 fol. Winckelmann, publishing House. Berlin. Known as Winckelmann&Söhne Verlagsbuchhandlung und Lithographische Anstalt, owner: Max Winckelmann, Spittelmarkt 2 [68].

1883—1896. *SPBA RAS*, fund 177, inv. 2, file 174, 17 fol. August Meitzen, Berlin. Known as August Fr. E. Meitzen (16.02.1822, Breslau — 19.01.1910, Berlin), confession: Evangelical Church. Statistician, historian in agrarian sciences, specialist in administration.

could be interpreted in that way (for details see below). The German titles of some individuals are not translated into English, because the functions often are differing from the English administrative terms.

Family: from Eastern Prussia and the Baltic states; father: Ernst Meitzen (1785—1837), Gouvernement-sauditeur in Breslau; mother: Susanne Websky (1769—1823), daughter of Friedrich August Websky, merchantman in Breslau. Education and profession: 1843 study of Natural sciences, jurisprudence and sciences of the State in Breslau, Heidelberg and Tuebingen, 1846 service at administration of law (Justizdienst), 1848 promotion to Dr. phil., Volontär at the Prussian Ministry of Finances, 1849—50 Regierungsrefendar in Muenster and Breslau, 1853—6 Mayor in city of Hirschberg, later Regierungsassessor in service of State, 1861 specialist for tax of land property after the Prussian law from 21.05.1861 (Regulierungskommissar bei der Einführung des preußischen Grundsteuergesetzes), additional special study (as a student!) at Breslau University, 1863 important publication *Urkunden schlesischer Dörfer*, on theory of the structure, form and cartography of agrarian farmland as an record for research in agrarian history, since 1865 member of the Prussian Ministry of Agrarian Affairs (Preussisches Landwirtschaftsministerium), 1868 position as Councillor of Government (Regierungsrat), 1872 Secret Councillor of Government (Geheimer Regierungsrat), 1875 extra ordinary professor of Sciences of State at Berlin University, until 1882 Member of the Office of Statistics (Statistisches Amt des Deutschen Reiches), 1892 Honorary Professor, teaching until 1903—4 (academic teacher of Max Weber), 1895 publication *Siedlung und Agrarwesen der Westgermanen und Ostgermanen, der Kelten, Römer, Finnen und Slawen* [69].

1885, 1889. *SPBA RAS*, fund 177, inv. 2, file 87, 7 fol. W(ilhelm). Grube, Berlin (13.08.1855, St. Petersburg — 02.07.1908, Berlin-Halensee). Family: father: Hans Heinrich Gurge (1800—1872), merchantman; mother: Ida Caroline Volckmar (1813—1865), daughter of a merchantman from Kiel; marriage: Elisabeth Berg (d. 1940), daughter of v. Becker, banker in Reval. Education and profession: specialist in Sinology, study in St. Petersburg (Tibetan, Ural and Altai languages), study in Leipzig (G. von der Gabelentz), 1879 promotion, 1880 habilitation, 1882 conservator at Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg, 1883 Direktorialassistent, director at Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, special research in ethnography and Sinologic studies, 1884 Privatdozent, 1892 extraordinary professor (außerordentlicher Professor) [70].

1887—1888. *SPBA RAS*, fund 177, inv. 2, file 30, 1 fol. James Watt, director of the Society for Bible, "British and Foreign Bible Society", Berlin [71].

1888. *SPBA RAS*, fund 177, inv. 2, file 290, 4 fol. Erckert, Berlin. Known as Roderich (Georg Friedrich Robert) von Erckert (15.12.1821, Kulm — 12.12.1900,

Berlin). Ethnographer, officer. Family: son of an officer. Education and profession: Prussian officer, later serving in Russia, commander of a division, military activities at Caucasus, collecting scientific material during service; in 1884 he left military service, living in Berlin, in touch with Fürst Otto v. Bismarck. Publications: *Die Sprache des kaukasischen Stammes* (reprint Wiesbaden, 1970, 1990), *Der Kaukasus und seine Völker* (Leipzig, 1887), *Ethnographische Karte des Kaukasus* (1887), *Atlas ethnographique des provinces habitées en totalité ou en partie par des Polonais* (St. Petersburg, 1863) [72].

1895, 1909. SPBA RAS, fund 177, inv. 2, file 171, 2 fol. Adolf Bernhard Meyer, director of the Museum of zoology, anthropology and ethnography, Dresden, Berlin [73].

1895. SPBA RAS, fund 177, inv. 2, file 4, 2 fol. Otto Alberts, Berlin [74].

1895. SPBA RAS, fund 177, inv. 2, file 48, 2 fol. Albrecht Friedrich Weber, Berlin (17.02.1825, Breslau / Schlesien — 30.11.1901, Berlin). Education and profession: study in Breslau and Bonn (adept of Christian Lassen) and Berlin (adept of Franz Bopp), promotion in Breslau (1845—6?); research in Paris and London, 1848 habilitation in Berlin (ancient Indian languages and literature), since 1857 member of Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1897 Orden pour le Mérite. Publications: “Verzeichnis d. Sanskrit-handschriften der Kgl. Bibl. Berlin, Indische Studien” (*Zeitschrift für die Kunde des indischen Altertums*), and about the ancient Indian rites of sacrifice (*Weisse Yajurveda*, 1853); comparativistic research of Greek and Indian mythology [75].

1895—1899. SPBA RAS, fund 177, inv. 2, file 91, 38 fol. Georg Huth. Berlin (25.02.1867, Krotoschin / Prov. Posen — 01.06.1906, Berlin). Family: father: Aron Huth (d. 1893) rector of the Jewish education institute (Bürgerschule der Dina Zaduck-Nauen-Cohnschen Stiftung) and musical leader of the Jewish orphanage in Krotoschin, since 1879 in Berlin; brother: Friedrich Huth (pseudonym: Fred Hood): official, architect, poet, editor, 1939 emigration from Berlin to Great Britain; mother and wife: both from merchantmen-families. Education and profession: study of Sanskrit, Avesta, Pali, Hindustani as student of A. Deussen, H. Oldenberg, F. Rosen, A. Weber; autodidact in Tibetan language; student of G. v. d. Gabelnetz and W. Grube in Mongolian, Mandshurian and Chinese study. G. Huth was the first educated specialist working at a German university for Tibetology and Mongolian sciences; his interdisciplinary method was combined also with South Asian and South-Eastern Asian cultural items. As a student he received the Mendelssohn-Stipendium in 1888 because of his study in literary- and fairy-tale traditions (concerning the Indian poet Kālidāsa), 1889 promotion in Leipzig at institute of E. Windisch; 1891 habilitation in Berlin, special research on Indo-Tibetan transliteration and literature and their influence on the central Asian history and epigraphy; 1897 by support of the Academy in St. Petersburg member of an expedition to East-Siberia, linguistic studies at the Tungusian tribes at river Jenissei region. After return to Berlin employment as an auxiliary

worker (“Hilfsarbeiter”; see additional commentary below) at the Berliner Museum für Völkerkunde. 1902—3 with First German Turfan-Expedition to East-Turkestan (he stayed there until 1904 in order to learn the Turkish language and he collected a huge material on local folktales and fairy-tales and songs). Most important publications on history of Buddhism in Mongolia and about reading and identification of Tibeto-Mongolian inscriptions [76]. Additional commentary: Although G. Huth was a highly qualified scholar he received no academic chair. The employment of young researchers after their Ph. D. as “Hilfsarbeiter” or “Hilfskraft” commonly was known in Germany in Archaeological Institutes until 1990ies. However, in the case of Georg Huth it seems that such personal situation was caused by the inflaming anti-Semitism in that time. Jewish specialists in that time had to face such an unworthy situation that was caused mostly by the envy of colleagues and environment and because of the fact that Jewish school people more often reached the matura at the gymnasia than the young Christians and they also finished their study with better University examinations [77].

1896. SPBA RAS, fund 177, inv. 2, file 59, 2 fol. Rudolf Virchow, [Berlin] (13.10.1821, (Schi[e]velbein / Pommern) — 05.09.1902, Berlin). Education and profession: specialist in pathology, anatomy and hygiene; prehistoric and anthropological research, discussion of Ch. Darwin's theory. 1862 delegate of the Prussian Parliament (Mitglied des Preußischen Abgeordnetenhauses), foundation and since 1870 president of Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte (originally: Berliner Anthropologische Gesellschaft), 1870 definition of the term “Kulturkampf” [78], 1898—1906 foundation of a fourth public hospital in Berlin-Wedding, 1901 Orden Pour le Mérite [79].

1897. SPBA RAS, fund 177, inv. 2, file 158, 1 fol. Luschan, Berlin. Known as Felix Ritter von Luschan (11.08.1854, Hollabrunn / Wien — 07.02.1924, Berlin). Anthropologist, medical, philosopher. Family: father: Maximilian von Luschan, Dr. iur., Hof- und Gerichtsadvokat, Oberlandesgerichtsrat in Graz (Austria); mother: Christine Hocheder (1833—1879). Education and profession: after matura 1871 first publications (anthropology, archaeology) and study of medicine in Paris and Wien, 1878 promotion to Dr. med., 1878/79 military service in Bosnia, 1880—1882 secondary medical in the Allgemeine Krankenhaus (Wien), 1881 expedition with archaeologist O. Benndorf to Lykia (Turkey) and 1882 with same destination in order to buy the Heroon of Trysa (Gjölbaschi) for the archaeological collection in Wien, 1882 habilitation at University of Wien (anthropology, physical ethnography), 1883 expedition to Orient with destination Kommagene (Eastern Turkey), research and finding of the Aramaic / late Hittite residence near Sendschirli (Zinschirli), excavations in Syria and South-East Anatolia, also anthropologic and ethnographic research about ethnic groups in Asia Minor, 1885 Direktorialassistent at Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, 1888 promotion to Dr. phil. and habilitation for Anthropology, 1900 extraordinary professorship at Berlin University, 1893 publication with famous Carl Hu-

mann and Otto Puchman about the excavations in Send-schirli (Zinschirli), 1904—9 director at department of the Africa-Oceania collection at Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, 1905 travel to South-Africa, 1909 first ordinary professor for Anthropology at Berlin University, 1914 travel New Zealand, after beginning of First World War until 1915 in USA; more than 200 publications (but no publications in the *Paulys Realencyclopaedie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, cf.: *Register* (Munich, 1980)), enlarging the collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, research on the coherence of art and cultural evolution of mankind [80].

1897. *SPBA RAS*, fund 177, inv. 2, file 28, 1 fol. Boniarski, Berlin, Ethnographic Museum, Academy of Sciences. No information was found during current research.

1901—1914. *SPBA RAS*, fund 177, inv. 2, file 88, 31 fol. Albert Grünwedel, Berlin (31.07.1856, München — 28.10.1935, Lengries near Bad Tölz [81] / Oberbayern). Family: son of a lithographer and painting artist. Education and profession: specialist in indology, tibetology, ethnology, 1876 study of classical philology, archaeology, indology in Munich, 1879 promotion, employment in museum service, 1883 assistant Museum für Völkerkunde (Museum of Ethnology) in Berlin, 1898 dictionary of Lepcha-languages (ed. by G. B. Mainwaring), 1902—3 and 1905—7 member of Turfan expedition, 1904—1921 director of department of Indology; studies in Buddhist sciences and Tibetology; *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien* (1893, 1920), *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei* (1900) [82].

1903. *SPBA RAS*, fund 177, inv. 2, file 114, 1 fol. Sober(n)heim, Berlin. Known as Dr. phil. Moritz Sebastian Sobernheim (13.08.1872, Berlin — 05.01.1933, Berlin). Family: brother of the well-known banker Curt Joseph Sobernheim (1871, Berlin — 1940, Paris), who was vice director of the Nationalbank für Deutschland und Berlin; brother of the industrial entrepreneur Walter Sobernheim (1869, Berlin — 1945, New York). Education and profession: private scholar, specialist in Oriental sciences (Medieval history of Islamic states); 1900 member of the German expedition to Baalbek, 1905—1914 member of the French Archaeological Institute in Cairo, 1908 professor; during First World War member of the Committee for the East (Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin); 1926—1933 member of the presidium “Pro Palaestina”; he published *Palmyrenische Inschriften* (Berlin 1905); *Baalbeck im Mittelalter* (1922); he was also diplomat, zionist, president of the Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums; publications on Semitic epigraphy [83].

1905. *SPBA RAS*, fund 177, inv. 2, file 278, 3 fol. Hubert Schmidt, Berlin (06.08.1864, Laurahütte / Oberschlesien — 01.03.1933, Berlin). Dr. phil. [84]. Profession: Research in Berlin and Troja (Turkey), 1896—1905 Wissenschaftlicher Hilfsarbeiter at Ethno-

## 2. F. W. Radloff's Correspondence Preserved in the Archive of Ethnologisches Museum (EMB), Berlin, in Annual Order from 1884 to 1913

The entrybook of the Ethnologische Museum Berlin records a permanent correspondence between F. W. Rad-

graphic Museum, Berlin, 1905—1909 Direktorialassistent, 1909—1924 private scholar (Privatdozent) focused to world history of the Mediterranean countries, 1920—1933 Professor at Philosophical Faculty, Berlin University [85].

1910. *SPBA RAS*, fund 177, inv. 2, file 147, 1 fol. Lewin, Berlin. A lot of specialists are known under this name, mostly in medicine, such as Dr. med. Arthur Lewin, urologist (17.05.1866, Berlin — last mentioning in Berlin 1935) [86].

1912. *SPBA RAS*, fund 177, inv. 2, file 28, 1 fol. Arnold Wilhelm von (since 1914) Bode, Berlin (10.12.1845, Calvörde / Braunschweig — 01.03.1929, Berlin). Family: jurists, officials, theologians. Education and profession: 1864 study of law (Gottingen, Berlin), 1870 promotion to Dr. phil. (Leipzig), 1872 assistant at Berliner Museen (Dept. of sculptures), 1883 Director, in addition 1890 Director of Gemaeldegalerie (gallery of art / painting), 1905 Generaldirektor of the Berlin Museums (and keeping all other positions, too). Foundation of new exhibitions of Islamic and Asian art. Support for private collections [87].

1913. *SPBA RAS*, fund 177, inv. 2, file 171, 1 fol. Eduard Meyer (25.01.1855, Hamburg — 31.08.1930, Berlin). Historian, specialist in ancient and universal history. Family: humanistic and liberal home; father: Eduard Mayer (1804—1884), Dr. phil., teacher of the gymnasium Johanneum in Halle; mother: Henriette (1836—1905), daughter of Johann Friedrich Carl Dessau, from city of Celle; marriage: 1884 with Rosine Freymond, 3 sons, 4 daughters. Education and profession: Gymnasium Johanneum in Halle [88]: 2 classical languages, modern languages, Hebrew and Arabic language, 1872 study in Bonn, focused to Oriental languages, anthropology and science of religions, Greco-Hellenistic studies, 1875—1877 private teacher in the home of the British Consul Sir Philipp Francis in Constantinople and in England, 1879 habilitation in Leipzig (ancient history), political activities focused on the support for a free submarine war, foundation of the nationalistic “Vaterlandspartei”, publication on war and research focused to Roman history, many archaeological subjects, 1903—1913 research and publication *Die ältesten geschichtlichen Völker und Kulturen bis zum 16. Jh.*, interrupted by the First World War, many academic honours, 1912 publication *Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen. Mit Exkursen über die Anfänge des Islams und des Christentums*, 1919—20 rector of Berlin University, 1923 retired. One of the most important historians in the early 20th century, a monarchist who did not agree with the Weimarer Republic [89].

1914. *SPBA RAS*, fund 177, inv. 2, file 76, 1 fol. Herdan von Valbonne, Berlin. Family: from Hugenotte origin? [90].

1914. *SPBA RAS*, fund 177, inv. 2, file 92, 2 fol. Hüttemann, Berlin. Known as Dr. W. Hüttemann [91].

loff in St. Petersburg and the Museum, especially the exchange of letters with the director Prof. Albert Grün-

wedel. This group of letters is well preserved in St. Petersburg and in Berlin. The subjects of correspondence mentioned in the entrybook show exchange of publications, reports of excavation and expeditions especially on the Turfan projects, strategic papers on the situation of ethnographic museums and collections, request for copies or photographies, payment-regulations for orders and some letters were written because of disagreement with other researchers. Especially after 1905 the Museum in Berlin forwarded correspondences from other colleagues to F. W. Radloff in St. Petersburg when he was asked to give academic or institutional support for tax formalities, transportation of chests from Russia to Germany or formalities of travel-documents. Beside of his personal research F. W. Radloff was a very busy representative of Kunstkamera.

*EMB* 1894, No. 866 (05.07.1905, entry book 05.07.1894): from Dr. Radloff, director in St. Petersburg, concerning: exchange of publications. Remarks: *ad acta*.

*EMB* 1899, No. 1014 (26.09.1899, entry book 26.09.1899 [sic! mistake of registration?]): from Dr. Radloff / Dr. Saleman, St. Petersburg, concerning: proofs of paintings from Turfan, request for confirmation, Academy denies. Remarks: Academy will be informed. *Ad acta*.

*EMB* 1900, No. 1 (22.12.1899, entry book 02.01.1900): from Radloff in St. Petersburg, concerning: proposal of exchange of finding reports. Remarks: less, lists of the libraries unable ("überfordert").

*EMB* 1901, No. 756 (06.07.1901, entry book 25.07.1901): from Radloff in St. Petersburg, concerning: sending some proofs (sheets?, papers?), greetings from South Turkestan. Remarks: answered.

*EMB* 1901, No. 1469 (19.08.1901, entry book 27.08.1901): from Radloff with Oldenburg [92], St. Petersburg, concerning: subjects and duties of the ethnographic museum. Remarks: answered and reported to the Minister ("dem Herrn Minister berichtet").

*EMB* 1902, No. 445 (22.03.1902, entry book 02.04.1902): from Radloff in St. Petersburg, concerning: subjects concerning Turfan excavation. Remarks: answered.

*EMB* 1902, No. 1336 (30.09.1902, entry book 06.10.1902): from Radloff in St. Petersburg, concerning: request for manufacturing plaster-figures. Remarks: answered.

*EMB* 1903, No. 1253 (02.10.1903, entry book 06.10.1902): from Radloff in St. Petersburg, concerning: results of Turfan-expedition, tax-free transport of objects in Russia. Remarks: *ad acta* ("z. d. A" = zu den Akten).

*EMB* 1903, No. 1352 (21.10.1903, entry book 24.10.1903): from Radloff in St. Petersburg, concerning: request for 3 guides. Remarks: undecided ("unbestimmt").

*EMB* 1903, No. 1526 (20.11.1903, entry book 23.11.1903): from Grünwedel (dir. Assistent), concerning: request for a letter in order to thank Dr. Radloff for his efficiency on behalf of the Turfan-Expeditions. Remarks: letter of thanks.

*EMB* 1904, No. 1085 (29.07.1904, entry book 29.07.1904): from [A.] v. LeCoq concerning: request to Prof. Grünwedel concerning transportation of Academy

documents from Geh. Rat [Geheimer Rat] Pischel addressed to Radloff. Remarks: forwarded to Dr. Grünwedel.

*EMB* 1905, No. 379 (02.02.1905, entry book 27.02.1905): from Radloff, St. Petersburg, concerning: report concerning the texts ("Fundschriften") from Turfan. Remarks: answered.

*EMB* 1905, No. 816 (? , entry book 25.04.1905): from Radloff in St. Petersburg, concerning: a complaint concerning LeCoq's activities in Turfan ("sendet seine Beschwerde über das Vorgehen von LeCoq in Turfan") [93]. Remarks: forwarded to Pischel.

*EMB* 1905, No. 1346 (19.07.1905, entry book 22.07.1905): from Gerhard Hey [Berlin] ("hier"), concerning: 17 chests from Petersburg addressed to Dr. Hab. Schmidt. Remarks: 17 chests arrived at 26.07.05, letter of thanks to Exc. Radloff in St. Petersburg.

*EMB* 1905, No. 1667 (21.09.1905, entry book 22.09.1905): from Gertrud Huth, Zeuthen, concerning: on behalf of her husband's assets 2 manuscripts from his Turkestan research. She proposed to pass the Tibetan scripts to Dr. Berth. Laufer, New York. Remark: "Prof. Laufer. Die Mse sind nach Köln zu senden"). Radloff, St. Petersburg asked for sending the Tungusian ("Tungusioi") manuscripts. General remarks: thanks forwarded to Ms. Huth. Request to Laufer in New York concerning the procedure: one sent to Cologne, one sent to St. Petersburg, 2 manuscripts to the Library [of EMB].

*EMB* 1907, No. 69 (14.01.1907, entry book 15.01.1907): from Carl Fritsch, procurator, Bremerhaven, concerning: he likes to travel to the Nordic countries and asks for orders and recommendation. Remarks: answered, information to Prof. Radloff in St. Petersburg. Request concerning a scull.

*EMB* 1909, No. 391 (19.02.1909, entry book 20.02.1909): from Jens Lützen, photographer ("Photogr. Anstalt" = Photographische Anstalt) [94], Berlin ("hier"), concerning: photographies for Exc. Radloff, Petersburg. Remarks: forwarded to Radloff.

*EMB* 1909, No. 1358 (15.06.1909, entry book 16.06.1909): from Jens Lützen [Berlin] ("hier"), concerning: bill for Radloff's order: 49,75 M [Mark]. Remarks: forwarded to Exc. Radloff, Petersburg, for payment ("zur Regelung").

*EMB* 1909, No. 2809 (28.12.1909, entry book 30.12.1909): from Director Grünwedel, concerning: report about the academician Radloff. Remarks: *ad acta*.

*EMB* 1910, No. 1915 (03.10.1910, entry book 07.10.1910): from Exzellenz Radloff, concerning: request about the address of Dr. Czekanovski [95]. Remarks: answered.

*EMB* 1912, No. 74 (19.01.1912, entry book 19.01.1912): from Dir. Grünwedel, concerning: congratulation on occasion of the 75th anniversary addressed to the "Kaiserl. Russischer Akademiker Exc. Radloff". Remarks: letter of congratulation.

*EMB* 1912, No. 334 (23.02.1912, entry book 24.02.1912): from Dr. [H.] Müller, written from Moscow, concerning: receiving a letter of safe-conduct for his research in Central Asia. Remarks: letter of thanks to Exc. Radloff [96].

*EMB* 1913, No. 1998 (14.11.1913, entry book 16.11.1913): from Prof. [A.] v. LeCoq (written in Turfan), concerning: transportation of his chests and request

### 3. F. W. Radloff's Correspondence Preserved in Kalliope Online Data Resource, Germany, Between 1860 and 1909

A group of letters is listed under the name of F. W. Radloff / V. V. Radlov in the online-archive of Kalliope Portal. Verbundkatalog Nachlässe und Autographen (Staatsbibliothek Berlin). The archival collection still is in progress and its previous order of entries is kept in the list.

1860—1868. *Universitätsbibliothek Giessen*: 4 letters from V. V. Radlov addressed to Karl Ernst von Baer. Karl Ernst Maksimovic von Baer, Edler von Huthorn (17.02.1792, Gut Piep near Jerwen / estn. Pibe — 28.11.1876, Dorpat). Education and profession: medical doctor, zoologist, specialist in natural sciences (physiology); study in Dorpat, Wien, Berlin, Würzburg. Member of Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg (zoology), since 1817 research at the botanical gardens in Koenigsberg, 1822—1834 dean of Medical Faculty Koenigsberg and Rector of Koenigsberg University, 1827 invention of the mammal ovum, 1841—1852 professor of comparing anatomy [97].

06.09.1861—18.10.1899. *Staatsbibliothek Berlin*, Handschriftenabteilung Hs 01479688X: letter from V. V. Radlov addressed to Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, Berlin [98].

07.11.1869. *Staatsbibliothek Berlin*, Handschriftenabteilung Hs 014796899: letter from V. V. Radlov addressed to Ferdinand (Heller) von Hellwald (1843—1884). Philologist (German language), researcher / scholar in Austria (Wien), publications also in French language [99].

12.12.1898. *Münchner Stadtbibliothek Monacensia*: letter from V. V. Radlov addressed to Friedrich Hirth (16.04.1845, Gräfentonna bei Gotha — 08.01.1927, München). Sinologist, historian. Education and profession: 1869 promotion and employed at tax-administration in China; director of tax-stations in Shanghai, Hongkong and other cities, 2 years on vacancies in Europe, 1902—1917 scholar at Columbia University. Publication: *China and the Roman Orient* (1885) [100].

### 4. Itinerarium and Correspondence of Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff from 1858 to 1913

The integrated list of F. W. Radloff's travels (will be published separately), expedition abroad and the known letters of his correspondence unveil him as an active letter writer especially since 1883 after he had moved from the Altai and Kazan region and settled down in St. Petersburg. Since that time he continued to be in touch with many of specialists in the above mentioned fields and we see that the way of correspondence — not as much as visiting congresses like in our time — was the serious way to spread and develop the new field of Turkic studies. It is also worth to mention that some of

to inform Exc. Radloff for support to manage the tax-formalities. Remarks: forwarded to Exc. Radloff via telegraph.

1903—1909. *Universitätsbibliothek München*: letter from V. V. Radloff addressed to Ernst Kuhn (07.12.1846, Berlin — 21.08.1920, München). Education and profession: indologist and specialist in linguistic studies; study in Berlin and Tübingen, 1869 promotion, 1871 habilitation, 1872 private lecturer in Leipzig, 1875 extraordinary professor in Heidelberg, 1877—1917 professor of Indo-Germanic languages in München, since 1881 editor of *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* [101].

20.12.1888. *Staatsbibliothek Berlin*, Handschriftenabteilung Hs 014796923: letter from V. V. Radlov addressed to Eduard Sachau (biographic data see above).

1885. *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München*: letter from V. V. Radlov addressed to Emil (Émil de) Schlagintweit (07.07.1835, München — 20.10.1904, Zweibrücken). Education and profession: official of administration, study of law in München and Berlin. Secretary of his brothers Adolf Schlagintweit (researcher in natural sciences, 1829—1857; executed in Kashgar after condemnation because espionage), Herman Schlagintweit (geologist, 1826—1882) and Robert von Schlagintweit (geographer, 1833—1885); especially scientific correspondence with the Prussian monarch, since 1855 research in Oriental sciences (Tibet); organiser of exhibitions and editor of catalogues of brothers' collections [102].

Without year. *Staatsbibliothek Berlin*, Handschriftenabteilung Hs 014796932: letter from V. V. Radlov addressed to "Frau Consul Wetzstein", Ernestine Wetzstein (born Rudolf), second wife of Johann Gottfried Wetzstein (19.02.1815, Oelsnitz, Vogtland — 18.01.1905, Berlin). Education and profession: 1846 scholar of Arabian language, 1848—1862 Prussian consul in Damascus, important publications on region of Hauran and geography of Syria: *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen nebst einem Anhange über die sabäischen Denkmäler Ostsyriens* (Berlin, 1860) [103].

these correspondences are continued over years or were re-opened by occasion after some years. After he became director in St. Petersburg in 1884, the correspondence with the Ethnographische Museum in Berlin was intensified and we can assume that F. W. Radloff had good relationship with his colleague in Berlin, Albert Grünwedel.

F. W. Radloff's correspondence shows that he was in touch with many important scholars of his time. And we see that he prepared his activities and research by a thoroughly managed network of academic correspondence.

## The Fruits of Lifelong Research — the Order Pour le Mérite in 1908

Because of the fact that F. W. Radloff was highly established in his duties and honoured with several Russian orders (St. Vladimir, St. Anne, St. Stanislaw) [104] in St. Petersburg he was on the best way to receive the fruits of his scholarship also in Germany. However, it was a surprising result during the research for this study, that a detailed folder of acta, preserved at Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, shows the procedure when F. W. Radloff became elected as member of the Orden pour le Mérite — one of the most important honours granted by German government until today [105]. The Orden Pour le Mérite was dedicated 1740 by Prussian monarch Frederic II and enlarged in 1842 with section of “Wissenschaft und Künste” [106]. After the Second World War the order was re-organized in 1952 and is under the protection of the Deutsche Bundespräsident until today [107].

The acta of F. W. Radloff are preserved in the *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz* [108] with the signatures I. HA Rep. 89, No. 2100, Bl. 83rs—85; Bl. 138—42; Bl. 160—5. With letter from August 16th 2012 Th. Breitfeld wrote:

...über die Verleihung des Ordens Pour le Mérite für Wissenschaften und Künste an Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff konnten folgende Nachweise in den Beständen des Geheimen Staatsarchivs Preußischer Kulturbesitz ermittelt werden:

GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 89 Geheimes Zivilkabinett, No. 2100 Verleihung des Ordens pour le Mérite für Wissenschaften und Künste, Bd. 8, 1904—8:

Bl. 83rs—85. Wiederbesetzung der durch den Tod des Kaiserlich Russischen Geheimen Rats Otto von Struve und des Kaiserlich Russischen Staatsrats Otto von Boethlingk erledigten Stellen unter den auswärtigen Rittern des Ordens Pour le Mérite für Wissenschaften und Künste (Bericht des Kanzlers des Ordens Pour le Mérite Arthur Auwers, Berlin, 1. Juli 1905).

Unter den von der Akademie der Wissenschaften eingereichten Vorschlägen für die Besetzung der Boethlingk'schen Stelle wird an 3. Stelle der Akademiker Wilhelm Radloff in Sankt Petersburg präsentiert und zur Rechtfertigung der Wahl kurz dessen Verdienste um die Erforschung von Literatur und Sprache der Turkvölker dargelegt.

Bl. 138—42. Wiederbesetzung der durch den Tod des ständigen Vertreters der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Paris Marcelin Berthelot erledigten Stelle unter den auswärtigen Rittern des Ordens Pour le Mérite für Wissenschaften und Künste (Bericht des Ministeriums der Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten, Berlin, 3. Januar 1908).

Das Ministerium der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten trägt keine Bedenken hinsichtlich der von der Akademie der Wissenschaften vorgebrachten Auswahl bzw. der Wiederbesetzung der vakanten Stelle mit Professor Radloff in Sankt Petersburg und erbittet weitere Anweisung in dieser Angelegenheit. Neben einer beigeschlossenen kurorischen Darstellung des beruflichen Werdegangs Radloffs wird zur Begründung der Ersatzwahl u. a. auf dessen wissenschaftliche und publizistische Tätigkeit, vor allem auf

dem Gebiet der Turkologie, und auf dessen Nichtberücksichtigung im Jahr 1905 verwiesen.

Bl. 160—5. Ernennung des Professors Wilhelm Friedrich Radloff in St. Petersburg zum ausländischen Ritter des Ordens Pour le Mérite für Wissenschaften und Künste. Mitteilung des Geheimen Zivilkabinetts an den Minister der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten und an die Generalordenskommission, [Jagdschloss] Hubertusstock, 8. Februar 1908 (Konzept).

The acta show that for a first time in the year 1905 an attempt to grant this honour after two preceding scholars died: Otto von Struve (07.05.1819, Dorpat — 16.04.1905, Karlsruhe) [109]; specialist in astronomy and from 1867 to 1878 consultant for astronomy in the Russian army) and Otto von Boethlingk (Indologist, specialist in Sanskrit studies and for the language of the Yacuts); both were in Russian service. However this first attempt failed, although his reputation was recognized:

Wilhelm Radloff, geborener Berliner, aber seit 50 Jahren im Dienste der Russischen Regierung, ist der erste, verdienstreiche Kenner der Sprachen turko-tatarischen Stammes im mittleren und nördlichen Asien. Durch sein großes Werk “Proben der Volksliteratur der nördlichen Turkstämme”, 8 Bände 1866—1900, und eine große Anzahl linguistischer und philologischer Forschungen ist er zum Begründer und angesehensten Vertreter dieser wissenschaftlichen Disziplin geworden [110].

In the year 1908 the council of the Order decided to propose F. W. Radloff in 1908 a second time after Marcelin Berthelot (25.10.1827, Paris — 18.03.1907, Paris) [111] died, too. M. Berthelot was one of the most important specialists in chemistry in the 19th century and a permanent representative of Academy of Sciences in Paris. He was professor at the École Supérieure de Pharmacie (since 1864 also at the Collège de France). From 1886 to 1887 he was minister of education and from 1895—1896 he held the position of Foreign Minister.

With F. W. Radloff there were two other candidates in 1908: Sir Frederick Pollock (born 1845 in London), specialist of Law and History of Law, and William Mitchel Ramsay, professor in Aberdeen, aged mid of the fiftieth, who's field was the historic geography and history of Asia Minor during the Roman and Byzantine period. However, the committee decided to vote for F. W. Radloff:

Wilhelm Radloff ist zwar 1837 in Berlin geboren, aber Russischer Staatsangehöriger. Er lebt sein 1858 in Rußland, zuerst als Gymnasiallehrer in Sibirien, seit 1871 als Schulinsektor in Kasan, seit 1885 als Akademiker in Sankt Petersburg. Sein Lebenswerk ist die Entdeckung und wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung der nördlichen Hälften der Sprache des turko-tatarischen Stammes. Durch sein achtbändiges Werk *Proben der Volksliteratur der nördlichen Türkstämme* (1866—1900) und eine große Anzahl der wertvollsten linguistischen und ethnographischen Veröffentlichungen ist er

zum Begründer dieser Wissenschaft geworden. Radloff ist zugleich derjenige, der zuerst die hohe Bedeutung der Trümmerstätten von Ost-Turkestan erkannt und zu den neuen Ausgrabungen Rußland, Deutschland, England und Frankreich angeregt hat. Er ist bereits im Jahr 1905, damals an dritter Stelle, von der Akademie für den Orden vorgeschlagen worden [112].

If we compare F. W. Radloff's position with that of the other candidates, mentioned in the correspondence of the committee, it seems that because of the political circumstances of the time a candidate was elected who could be an academic mediator between international affairs or institutions (as we can also conclude from his correspondence); the lines between science and diplomatic activities are small in such highranking academic circles. The conference of Algeciras in 1906 had caused a lot of diplomatic problems between Germany, Great Britain, France and Russia [113] and the beginning change in the Ottoman Empire initiated by the Young Turks revolutionary movement in 1908 [114] also touched the German-Turkish military consultations, which became an increasing factor of foreign affairs since 1798 [115]. Perhaps it was useful for the commit-

tee in 1908 to grant the honour to a German-Russian scholar whose knowledge was focused to the Ottoman and Turkish culture and regions at the beginning of new époque during the final decline of the Ottoman dynasty: F. W. Radloff could be seen as a the representative of a new academic discipline in a changing world. From perspective of science, no other of the candidates in the competition was such close to this difficult field like F. W. Radloff during the first decade of the 20th century.

Perhaps it was this interweaving of extraordinary functions, honours and activities during a nervous chapter of European history that many years later in 1937 caused a postponed reproach of intelligence activities [116]. It is worth to mention that obviously the grant of the order Pour le Mérite is not cited in the Russian biographic entries and on the other hand the documents in Berlin do not mention F. W. Radloff's high-ranking functions in Russia, although his status as "Excellenz" was known in Berlin (see the remarks in the entry book of the Ethnologische Museum). In the acta of Order Pour le Mérite they only wrote that he was from Berlin origin and became a Russian citizen in Russian service.

The former young man in a hurry became a subject of politics.

## Final Conclusion

The self-consciousness visible with the letters and documents unveils F. W. Radloff's ability to define concise solutions and academic programs. It seems that in his later life, too, it was his special style to organize solutions on the way of a widespread correspondence when starting to work in new fields of science [117]. Compared with young scholars from handcrafts descent — as we can see with the example of Christian

Martin Joachim Fraehn [118], who as an aspirant for doctorate was a kind and decently polite writer of details — young Radloff was the child of an urban capital and its administration. As son of a police officer he knew how to command and how to serve: a useful experience and prerequisite for a young man in a hurry for his personal career — and on his way to career he used his talent.

## Notes

1. I like to thank my colleague and friend, Prof. Dr. Efim A. Rezvan, Kunstkamera (St. Petersburg), for his proposal concerning this study, and Dr. Polina A. Matveeva for sharing the publications and manuscripts about F. W. Radloff preserved at the MAE RAS. Also our great thanks to Thomas Pester (University Archive, Friedrich-Schiller Universität, Jena) and Dipl. Museologe (FH) Boris Gliesmann (EMB — Staatliche Museen zu Berlin — Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Abteilungen Sammlungen und Musikethnologie, Medientechnik, Berliner Phonogrammarchiv, Berlin); special thanks for detailed correspondence is dedicated to Ministerialrat Dr. Horst Claussen and Katrin Brendler (Der Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Kultur und Medien / Sekretariat Orden Pour le Mérite für Wissenschaften und Künste, Referat K2, Berlin). Thomas Breitfeld, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin kindly granted copies of the archival materials in order to support this study. I am grateful for correspondence to Prof. Dr. Gert Audring (Berlin) and I give also my best thanks to Frank Gratz (Thüringer Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek Jena, Abteilung Handschriften und Sondersammlungen, Jena), Prof. Dr. Klaus-Dietrich Fischer M. A. (Institut für Geschichte, Theorie und Ethik der Medizin, Universitätsmedizin Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Germany), Krystyna Klejn-Podchorowska and Maria M. Michalska (Biblioteca Narodowa, Warsaw) and Bert Buchholz (Evangelisches Landeskirchliches Archiv in Berlin (ELAB), Kirchenbuchstelle Berlin-Brandenburg); all representatives of administration in city of Berlin who were helpful to this research and study are also included into my thanks. My special thanks to my husband Gerhard Humberg, Polizeihauptkommissar i. R. who kindly supported the study with details on history of police. For special translation I thank Diplom-Dolmetscherin Daria Schmitt (BDÜ) (Bad Münster am Stein / Ebernburg; <http://www.sprachnavigator.com>) and Bilge Yalçınkaya M. A. (Delmenhorst).

The prosopography was developed by using the following data resources:

*AB* = Adressbücher Berlin, electronic data resource (Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin): <http://adressbuch.zlb.de>

*ADB* = Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (print version; electronic edition: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/index.html>)

*BJ* = R. Heuer, *Bibliographia Judaica. Verzeichnis jüdischer Autoren deutscher Sprache*, i—iii (Frankfurt a. M. — New York, 1982—1988)

*DB* = Deutsche Biographie, electronic data resource and online register of *ADB* and *NDB*: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de>

*DBA* = Deutsches Biographisches Archiv

- DBE*<sup>2</sup> = Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie  
*DBI* = Deutscher Biographischer Index  
*DNB* = Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig: <http://www.dnb.de>  
*EMB* = Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin: <http://www.smb.museum>  
*FSU* = Universitätsarchiv Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Jena (Germany)  
*GND* = Gemeinsame Normdatei (see *DB*)  
*GStA PK* = *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz*: <http://www.gsta.spk-berlin.de>  
*K* = Kalliope Portal, electronic data resource: <http://www.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de>; <http://www.kalliope-portal.de>  
*LDJA* = *Archiv Bibliographia Judaica. Lexikon deutsch-jüdischer Autoren*, ed. by R. Heuer et al. (München — London — New York — Paris, 1992sqq.)  
*NDB* = Neue Deutsche Biographie (print version; electronic edition: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/index.html>)  
*PND* = Personennamendatei (see *K*).  
*MAE RAS* = Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg: <http://www.kunstkamera.ru>  
*SMB* = Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, online catalogue: <http://opac.smb.spk-berlin.de>  
*SPBA RAS* = St. Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences  
*ZKA* = Zentralkartei der Autographen, founded in 1966; continued by Kalliope: <http://www.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de>; <http://www.kalliope-portal.de>)  
2. J. P. Laut, *NDB XXI* (2003), p. 96sq.  
3. A different date is mentioned in *Orden Pour le Mérite für Wissenschaften und Künste. Die Mitglieder des Ordens 2/1882—1952* (Berlin, 1978), p. 220sq. with picture; <http://www.orden-pourlemerite.de>, 30.07.2012.  
4. A contribution to this field is published by P. A. Matveeva, “From ‘Zoo Humaine’ to Ethnographic Museum (Christian Thomsen, Jens Worsaae, Arthur Hazelius, Ernst Hamy, Friedrich Radloff)”, *Manuscripta Orientalia XVIII/1* (2012), pp. 45—58.  
5. <http://www.kunstkamera.ru/science>, 31.07.2012; <http://radloff.livejournal.com>, 31.07.2012; cf.: <http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/enc3p/249998>, 18.11.2012; Matveeva, V. V. *Radlov i stanovlenie Muzeia antropologii i etnografii (1894—1918) (po arkhivnym istochnikam)* (V. V. Radlov and the Emergence of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (1894—1918) (Based on Archival Sources)) (St. Petersburg, 2013, PhD thesis). I thank P. A. Matveeva for our dialogue on the topic in St. Petersburg, April 9th and 10th, 2013.  
6. A. Temir, “Leben und Schaffen von Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff (1837—1918). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Turkologie”, *Oriens VIII/1* (Leiden, 1955), pp. 51—93; [http://www.yasamoykusus.com/biyografi-2632-Wilhelm\\_Radloff](http://www.yasamoykusus.com/biyografi-2632-Wilhelm_Radloff), 01.07.2012. See catalogues of the National Library of Turkey, Ankara: <http://www.mkutup.gov.tr> and the Beyazit Library, Istanbul: <http://www.beyazitkutup.gov.tr>. M. Fuat, I. Güleç, *Özbek massaları* (Cem, 1986) based on F. W. Radloff’s research; Temir, *Türkoloji tarihinde Wilhelm Radloff devri: Hayati-ilmî kişiliği-eserleri* (Ankara, 1991); Temir, T. Andaç, N. Uğurlu, “Türkoloji tarihinde Wilhelm Radloff dönemi”, *Kültür Dizisi-Türk Tarihi VII* (İstanbul, 2008); I. I. Sava, *W. Radloff'un derlemelerinde Kırım Tatar Türkçesinin özellikleri* (Gazi Üniversitesi Tezler, 2008); F. Erbay, *W. Radloff'un Çağatay Türkçesi sözlüğü* (Konya, 2011). On the importance of F. W. Radloff’s research for history of law: K. Bozkurt, *Die Beziehungen der Türkei zur EU. Rechtliche Prozesse und rechtliche Einflüsse* (Wien, 2004), p. 40sq.  
7. P. Matveeva, E. Rezvan, “‘Kamen’ na doroge vremeni’: k 175-letiiui V. V. Radlova (1837—1918)” (“The stone on the time way”: on the anniversary of V. Radlov (1837—1918”)), *Ural-Altaic Studies I/VI* (Moscow, 2012), pp. 182—93.  
8. The street still exists in D-10969 Berlin / Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, Germany.  
9. See commentary below.  
10. The verb “exhibere” also has a juridical meaning (i. e. “to present legally”), and is set into context with the ethic terms mentioned in the title of dissertation: “religio”, “res”, “animus”, “mos”. Obviously his Latin was trained by reading the books of the great lawyer and specialist in rhetoric methods, Marcus Tullius Cicero. For the personal background see *Text No. 2*.  
11. Visible “vehem | ter” because of the binding of the document.  
12. Or “submiss[us]”. Visible only “submiss” because of the binding of the document.  
13. Visible as “M[alj][as]”, from “i” or “j” lower part visible, because of the binding of the document.  
14. Binding of the paper.  
15. Binding of the paper.  
16. The classics are also documented in *FSU*, Bestand M, No. 358, Bl. 79.  
17. Instead of “ante diem XVI Calendas Februarias”.  
18. The Realschule or Realgymnasium was a special type of school focused to practical knowledge and natural subjects instead of the classics. Such schools were initiated 1809 by Wilhelm von Humboldt’s re-organisation of the Prussian education system. In that time this was a very modern way to practical education. The structure of German schools with Volksschule for basic knowledge, Realgymnasium for practical administration and the gymnasium to prepare for university belonged to the worldwide highly estimated systems of young peoples education in that time. See: W. U. Eckart, “Gymnasium”, *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* v (Stuttgart — Weimar, 2007), pp. 1—10 and Th. Töpfer, “Realschule”, *ibid.* x (2009), pp. 676—9. This system was changed in 2011—2013 to lower levels in all fields of education.  
19. The reason of this illness is unknown. I thank Prof. Dr. Klaus-Dietrich Fischer M. A., Institut für Geschichte, Theorie und Ethik der Medizin, Universitätsmedizin Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz (Germany) for his correspondence at July 18th, 2012.

20. This is modern French language. Possibly young Radloff used this term for the difference from Celtopalatine language by reason of the syntax in his Latin text.

21. Cf.: AB 1837, p. 216: J. F. T. Lortzing (Geheimer Sekretär, pensioner, Farbenfabrikant, Niederwallstraße 5); Once and today this name seems to be very rare in Berlin and the surrounding region; cf.: [http://www2.dasoertliche.de/Controller?form\\_name=search\\_nat\\_umg&context=2&radius=50000&page=2&zvo\\_ok=1&ci=Berlin&book=2239&action=43&kgs=11000000&kw=Lortzing&buc=2239](http://www2.dasoertliche.de/Controller?form_name=search_nat_umg&context=2&radius=50000&page=2&zvo_ok=1&ci=Berlin&book=2239&action=43&kgs=11000000&kw=Lortzing&buc=2239), 29.09.2012 and <http://www.verwandt.de/karten/relativ/lortzing.html>, 02.08.2012. The name is also known from Detmold, Karlsruhe, Darmstadt, Leipzig and region of Oberfranken; <http://www.geneanet.org/abstammung/de/lortzing.html>, 29.09.2012. Another well known bearer of this name was e. g. the composer of the opera "Zar und Zimmermann" (1838) Albert Gustav Lortzing (1803–1851); see: <http://dic.academic.ru/searchall.php?SWord=Lortzing&stype=0>, 17.11.2012.

22. *Taufbücher der Berliner Sankt Nikolai-Kirchengemeinde*, Kirchenbuch No. 33/46, A. 20 double page left, double page right 00244, No. 77.

23. <http://www.kirchenrecht-erk.de/showdocument/id/11841>, 17.11.2012. This ritual was allowed in Germany to be practised until 1975. It mentions the close preference of the family community instead of the common social character of church community.

24. May be the person mentioned in AB 1837, p. 216: J. F. T. Lortzing (Geheimer Sekretär, pensioner, Farbenfabrikant, Niederwallstraße 5)?

25. Temir, *Leben*, p. 51.

26. <http://www.verwandt.de/karten/absolut/radloff.html>, 02.08.2012.

27. AB 1858, p. 360.

28. W. Sabitzer, "Polizeigeschichte Berlins. Polizeihistorische Sammlung", *Oeffentliche Sicherheit I—II* (Berlin, 2010), pp. 52—6, [http://www.bmi.gv.at/cms/BMI\\_OeffentlicheSicherheit/2010/01\\_02/files/Berlin\\_II.pdf](http://www.bmi.gv.at/cms/BMI_OeffentlicheSicherheit/2010/01_02/files/Berlin_II.pdf), 02.08.2012; <http://www.berlin.de/polizei/wir-ueber-uns/historie/monarchie.html>, 29.09.2012. "Deutschland und seine Polizeigeschichte", <http://download.dpolt.net/sonstiges/polizeigeschichte.pdf>, 29.09.2012; R. Harnischmacher, A. Semerak, *Deutsche Polizeigeschichte* (Stuttgart — Berlin — Köln — Mainz, 1986). List of the presidents during Radloff's service: "Liste der Polizeipräsidenten in Berlin": [http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/polizei/wir-ueber-uns/historie/die\\_polizeipr\\_sidenten\\_in\\_berlin\\_1809\\_bis\\_heute.pdf?start&ts=1336640088&file=die\\_polizeipr\\_sidenten\\_in\\_berlin\\_1809\\_bis\\_heute.pdf](http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/polizei/wir-ueber-uns/historie/die_polizeipr_sidenten_in_berlin_1809_bis_heute.pdf?start&ts=1336640088&file=die_polizeipr_sidenten_in_berlin_1809_bis_heute.pdf), 02.08.2012.

29. AB 1836, p. 268.

30. AB 1837, p. 278; cf.: *Taufbücher der Berliner Sankt Nikolai-Kirchengemeinde*... A. 20 double page left 00244, No. 77.

31. AB 1838, p. 290; 1840, p. 302; 1841, p. 326; 1842, p. 338.

32. AB 1843, p. 347.

33. AB 1844, p. 362.

34. AB 1845, p. 358.

35. AB 1846, p. 363; 1847, p. 366; 1848, p. 359; 1849, p. 371.

36. AB 1852, p. 387; 1853, p. 406.

37. AB 1854, p. 410; 1855, p. 413.

38. AB 1856, p. 327; 1857, p. 346; 1858, p. 360 etc.

39. AB 1874, p. 617.

40. Obviously another Radloff is mentioned in the AB. In 1875 a certain F. Radloff, "Schutzmänn" was resident in the Broesches Haus, An der Moabiter Brücke (AB 1875, p. 689; 1876, p. 732) until 1877 (AB 1877, p. 621). In 1878 this person is mentioned in Thurmstraße 32 (AB 1878, p. 709); Bandelstraße 9 (AB 1879, p. 709; 1880, p. 734). The son F. W. Radloff travelled to Berlin by professional reasons in 1864, 1871 and 1881. We do not know whether he met his father or not. SPBA RAS, file 281 mentions a letter addressed to the father in 1871. We have also take into consideration that in Berlin residences named after the famous banker and donator Christian-Wilhelm Brose (1781—1870) perhaps also were open as a final residential place for retired high-ranking officials. Cf.: <http://www.freundeskreis-chronik-pankow.de/42247.html>, 30.09.2012. However, the coherence of these data remains unsolved during current point of research.

41. Laut, *op. cit.*, p. 96sq.

42. As mentioned in Radloff's promotion certificate: FSU, Bestand M, No. 358, Bl. 80; cf.: E. E. Schmid's letter in *ibid.*, Bl. 71r (see above document No. 1). New archival research in St. Petersburg in 2012—2013, conducted by P. A. Matveeva and kindly forwarded to the author, show that the academic elevation of F. W. Radloff can be interpreted as the ladder of two steps. After F. W. Radloff mentioned in document *ibid.*, Bl. 76rv originally in Latin language: "...Because of this determination I have at hand the dissertation titled 'Which foreign religion and belongings have got influence to the mind and ethics of the folks of Tatars'", dean of Jena University sent the materials (*ibid.*, Bl. 71r) to the commission with the summary "...Er legt vor 1. Eine Abhandlung 'Quid religio resque exteriore ad populorum Tataricorum animos et mores valuerint'..." — and that he [= Radloff] offers (i) a tractate about "...Which foreign religion and belongings have got influence to the mind and ethics of the folks of Tatars" confirming (ii) "der Verfasser zu sein" (= to be the author); and commission in Jena followed the proposal when granting in 1858 "doctoris philosophiae honores" which elegantly were upgraded in 1868 by Dorpat University [kept in SPBA RAS, fund 177, inv. 3, file 63] to the "gradum honores privilegia immunitates doctoris philologiae" on occasion of the recent publications and research, because a scholar elevated in such way was researching successfully with "linguis Sibiriae meridionalis adhuc incognitis investigandis pernoscendis illustrandis" and "libris quos edidit optimis".

43. <http://radloff.livejournal.com/8210.html>, 29.07.2012.

44. Laut, *op. cit.*, p. 96sq. Matveeva, Rezvan, *op. cit.*, pp. 182—93. I like to thank the officials of the central Standesamt Berlin and also the representatives of local church communities in Berlin for kindly processing my requests to their branches. Finally this marriage was not mentioned in the *Generalregister Trauungen Alt-Berlin* (space of research 1857—1860) as Bert Buchholz, Evangelisches Landeskirchliches Archiv Berlin, mentioned in his letter from 11.10.2012. So we can conclude that the marriage was signed in Russia.

45. Vladimir (born August 1st, 1862), Alexey (born October 23rd, 1863), Alexander (born December 2nd, 1871), Julia (born November 28th, 1860), Anna (born May 17th, 1867). I thank E. A. Rezvan for correspondence, 25.07.2012.

46. See the very instructive article published by B. Eggen, M. Rupp, “Vom Kinderreichtum zur planbaren Familie”: Das Bevölkerungswachstum war dort am höchsten, wo die Ehe freigegeben wurde und bei geringem Heiratsalter geschlossen werden konnte”: <http://www.berlin-institut.org/?id=312>, 31.07.2012. Cf.: The contribution of Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin: [http://www.dhm.de/ausstellungen/lebensstationen/1900\\_8.htm](http://www.dhm.de/ausstellungen/lebensstationen/1900_8.htm), 31.07.2012.

47. K, 22.03.1805.

48. Also young F. W. Radloff visited this school in Berlin; see above.

49. Cf.: A. Leskien, *ADB* ii (1875), p. 314; *K/ZKA*, 267048.

50. Cf.: A. Vogelmann, *NDB* ii (1955), p. 34; *K* with *PND*, 116116056 and *ZKA*, 11756.

51. Lit.: B. Baentsch, *ADB* xlvi (1902), p. 346sq.; *BJ* i (1982), p. 23sq.; *DB/GND*, 116116072 with *NDB* ii (1955), p. 34 and *NDB* xxii (2005), p. 586 (electronic versions); *DBA* 78, 346—7; *DBI* i (1986), p. 140; *NDB* (print version) sine lemma; *K/ZKA*, 11758; *LDJA* i (1992), p. 465sq.; Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Halle: <http://bibliothek.uni-halle.de>, 17.08.2012.

52. Lit.: A. Lasson, *ADB* lv (1910), pp. 842—4; *DB/GND*, 11858216X with *K/ZKA*, 102731; *DBA* 844, 292—8; *DBI* iii (1986), p. 1383; N. Waszek, *NDB* xvii (1994), p. 447.

53. Lit.: *AB* 1858, p. 320 (Lindenstraße 64.65, Berlin); *DBA* 876, 351—2, *DBI* 3 (1986), p. 1431; *K/ZKA* 118880 with *PND* 117180572; *SMB*.

54. Lit.: *AB* 1858, p. 348; *K/ZKA*, 560367 with *PND*, 124573843; documents kept at Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München and Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Handschriftenabteilung; bibliography / publications listed at online catalogue at Biblioteca Narodowa / National Library of Poland, Warszaw: <http://www.bn.org.pl>, 16.08.2012; [http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ignacy\\_Pietraszewski](http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ignacy_Pietraszewski), 23.08.2012.

55. Lit.: *DB/GND*, 100816525; *DBA* 1136, 143—5; *DBE*<sup>2</sup> ix (2008), p. 189; *DBI* iv (1986), p. 1842, H. Walravens, *NDB* xxiii (2007), p. 497sq.; *SMB*.

56. St. Schorch, “Die Semitistik in Berlin”, [http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/semiarab/semitistik/geschichte\\_der\\_semitistik/\\_index.html](http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/semiarab/semitistik/geschichte_der_semitistik/_index.html), 13.07.2012, notes that beside University also the Jewish-Orthodox Seminar in Berlin got important influence to the academic education in the field of Semitistik.

57. *dtv-Lexikon* (electronic version, Gütersloh 2006):

Wundt, Wilhelm, deutscher Psychologe und Philosoph...; Vater von Max Wundt; seit 1875 Professor in Leipzig, gründete dort das erste Institut für experimentelle Psychologie; umfassender Denker, für die allgemeine Psychologie und Völkerpsychologie richtungweisend. Während Wundt in der empirischen Psychologie die Erforschung seelischen Lebens durch naturwissenschaftliche Methoden forderte, vertrat er in der Philosophie einen realistisch begründeten, voluntaristischen Idealismus. Hauptwerke: *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie* 3 Bände (1874); *Logik* 2 Bände (1880—1883); *Ethik* (1886); *System der Philosophie* (1889); *Völkerpsychologie* 10 Bände (1900 ff.).

58. *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* II.

59. Cf.: *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* VIII, IX, XI, also lectures on sciences of religions, aesthetics and problems of the recent era. Lit.: *BJ* iii (1988), p. 110; M. Holzmann, *ADB* liv (1908), pp. 467—74; *DBA* 1221, 117—20; *DBI* iv (1986), p. 1970; *K/ZKA*, 127273 and *PND*, 118617583; *LDJA* XIX (2012), pp. 469—82; *SMB*.

60. SPB RAS, fund 177, inv. 2, file 110.

61. *Ibid.* 1883—1896, file 174.

62. *Ibid.* 1901—1914, file 88.

63. <http://berlin kauperts.de/Straßen/Alexandrinienstraße-10969-Berlin>, 17.11.2012.

64. My sincere thanks to Prof. Efim A. Rezvan, and to Diplom Museologe (FH) / Wiss. Dokumentar Boris Gliesmann and his team, EMB, Berlin, for sending the lists and copies of the entry-books concerning Radloff's correspondence.

65. Lit.: *DBA* 59, 261—70; *DBE*<sup>2</sup> (2005), p. 397; *DBI* i (1986), p. 108; *SMB*. Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte: <http://www.bgaeu.de>, 08.06.2012.

66. In 1871 the father was still alive; for details of his biography see above.

67. Lit.: *DBA* 1072, 250—1; *DB/GND*, 116713712; *DBE*<sup>2</sup> viii (2007), p. 658; *DBI* iv (1986), p. 1739; cf.: *NBD* xi (1985), p. 388. St. Schorch, *op. cit.*

68. Lit.: *AB* 1882, p. 1100. Cf.: *Der Verlag Winckelmann & Söhne Berlin 1830—1930. Eine Bibliographie* erarbeitet von Heinz Wegeaupt (Münster 2008, Antiquariat Winfried Geisenheyner, <http://www.geisenheyner.de>), mostly literature for children and young people, special style of illustrations (<http://ifb.bsz-bw.de/bsz304149624rez-1.pdf>, 08.06.2012).

69. Lit.: *DBA* 823, 270—2; *DB/GND*, 11687423; *DBE*<sup>2</sup> vi (2006), p. 873; *DBI* iii (1986), p. 1350; R. Aldenhoff, *NDB* xvi (1990), p. 734sq.; *SMB*.

70. Lit.: *AB* 1889, p. 361, Genthinerstraße 14, Berlin; *DB/GND*, 116886935; *DBE*<sup>2</sup> iv (2006), p. 194; H. O. H. Stange, *NDB* vii (1966), p. 175sq. (online-version).

71. I. Randall, "Nineteenth-Century Bible Society Coporteurs in Eastern Europe": [www.martynmission.cam.ac.uk/media/.../Ian%20Randall%20paper.doc](http://www.martynmission.cam.ac.uk/media/.../Ian%20Randall%20paper.doc), 02.08.2012. Lit.: AB 1887, p. 1180 (Wilhemstraße 33; private: Culmstraße 5).
72. Lit.: DBA 287, 359—60; DB/GND, 101471009; DBE<sup>2</sup> iii (2006), p. 107; DBI i (1986), p. 499; K/ZKA, 509557; SMB.
73. Lit.: DBA 834,159; DBI iii (1986), p. 1366. DB/GND, 117554847; SMB; P. Martin, "Meyer, Adolph Bernhard", *Sächsische Biografie*, ed. by M. Schattkowsky: <http://www.isgv.de/saebi>, 14.07.2012.
74. AB 1895, p. 10: Dr. med., Königsgrätzerstraße 103, 2nd floor, post district SW? or a private gentleman Chorinerstraße 65a, 1st floor, post district N?
75. Lit.: DB/GND, 104075945; DBA 1335, 135; DBE<sup>2</sup> x (2008), p. 430; DBI iv (1986), p. 2155; cf.: NDB xxiii (2007), p. 619. A. Parpolo, "Publications of the great indologists: Fr. Albrecht Weber", *Remota relata: Essays on the History of Oriental Studies in Honour Harry Helén*, ed. by J. Janhunen (Helsinki, 2003), pp. 189—219; V. Stache-Rosen, *German Indologists: Biographies of Scholars in Indian Studies Writing German* (New Delhi, 1981), <http://digital.indologica.de>, 08.06.2012; portrait: [http://www.savifa.uni-hd.de/digi\\_sammlungen/albrecht\\_weber.htm](http://www.savifa.uni-hd.de/digi_sammlungen/albrecht_weber.htm), 08.06.2012; <http://orden-pourlemerite.de/mitglieder/albrecht-friedrich-weber>, 08.06.2012.
76. Lit.: DB/GND, 117073563; LDJA xii (2008), pp. 295—7; C. Vogel, NDB x (1974), p. 94; BJ i (1982), p. 197.
77. Cf.: G. Aly, *Warum die Deutschen? Warum die Juden? Gleichheit, Neid und Rassenhass 1800—1933* (Frankfurt a. M., 2011) pp. 82—108, 176sqq. (academic environment in Berlin), especially p. 87 concerning the situation and suppression in the Provinz Großherzogtum Posen and *ibid.*, pp. 92—6, 106 concerning organized anti-Semitism between 1870 and 1890, *ibid.*, p. 110sq. (R. Virchow's position against anti-Semitism).
78. Cf.: Aly, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 110sq., 121.
79. Lit.: DBA 1308, 387—98; DB/GND, 118627198 (with actualized bibliography); H. Schipperges, DBE<sup>2</sup> x (2008), p. 257—8; DBI iv (1986), p. 2108; SMB. *Lexikon der Biologie* xiv (Heidelberg, 2004) p. 205 (with portrait), M. Arnim, F. Hodes, *Internationale Personalbiographie* v (Stuttgart, 1987), p. 323; *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie in vierundzwanzig Bänden* xxiii (Leipzig, Mannheim 1999) p. 338sq.: <http://www.bgaeu.de>; <http://www.rudolf-virchow-zentrum.de> [Würzburg; now: Rudolf-Virchow Zentrum: DFG-Forschungszentrum für Experimentelle Biomedizin]; [www.charite.de](http://www.charite.de) [Berlin]; [http://www.order-pourlemerite.de/plm/mgvtia/vorchorw1821\\_vita.pdf](http://www.order-pourlemerite.de/plm/mgvtia/vorchorw1821_vita.pdf), 08.06.2012.
80. Lit.: DB/GND, 117319813 with electronic resource NDB viii (1969), p. 434; DBA 790, 321—2; DBE<sup>2</sup> vi (2006), p. 629; DBI iii (1986), p. 1298; A. Furtwängler, NDB xv (1987), p. 528sq.; cf.: NDB ix (1972), p. 291 and xxiv (2010), p. 653; SMB (Phonogrammarchiv). Cf.: A. Teriukov, "The Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv in Leningrad in 1948—1958", *Manuscripta Orientalia* XVI/1 (2012) pp. 68—72. *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie in vierundzwanzig Bänden* xiii (Leipzig — Mannheim 1998), p. 655; W. Hirschberg, *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815—1950* v, ed. by L. Santifaller, E. Obermayer-Marnach, (Wien, 1972), p. 372sq.
81. Bad Tölz is a very well-known resort until our time.
82. Lit.: DB/GND, 116893389; DBE<sup>2</sup> iv (2006), p. 214; H. Hoffmann, NDB vii (1966), p. 204sq.; SMB.
83. Lit.: BJ iii (1988), p. 84; DBE<sup>2</sup> ix (2008), p. 490sq.; DB/GND, 117442186 with electronic resource in NDB xiii (1982), p. 482 and xxiv (2010), p. 519; SMB.
84. Cf.: AB 1905, p. 1841 [Passauerstraße 41, Berlin].
85. Lit.: K/ZKA, 151655.
86. Lit.: cf.: AB 1910, p. 1642; cf.: DBI iii (1986), p. 1249; cf.: BJ iii (1984), pp. 37sqq.
87. "B. s Tätigkeit für die Berliner Museen hat sie zum Range der ältesten Galerien in Italien, Paris, London und St. Petersburg erhoben", NDB ii (1955), p. 347. Lit.: DB/GND, 119034021 (with actualized bibliography); DBA 114, 15—8; DBE<sup>2</sup> i (2005), p. 749; DBI i (1986), p. 203; L. Justi, NDB ii (1955), pp. 247—348; SMB. Autobiography: *Mein Leben* (1930). H. Dilly, *Altmeister moderner Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin, 1990).
88. For this type of school see commentary to curriculum vitae of F. W. Radloff and his schooltime in Halle.
89. Lit.: DB/GND, 118733281; DBA 834,159; DBE<sup>2</sup> vii (2007), p. 53sq.; DBI iii (1986), p. 1366; G. A. Lehmann, NDB xvii (1994), pp. 309—11.
90. Cf.: M. v. Herdan, Dr. iur et rer. polit., Jenaerstraße 21, Berlin-Wilmersdorf; AB 1914, p. 1160? — Lit.: cf.: *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie in 30 Bänden* xxviii (Leipzig — Mannheim, 2006) p. 513 (Valbonne: plateau region North of Cannes, Dept. Alpes Maritimex, community Valbonne); vgl. DBE<sup>2</sup> iv (2006), p. 713 s. v. Alice von Herdan-Zuckmayer, born v. Herdan (1901, Wien — 1991, Visp / Kt. Wallis), the wife of the famous author Carl Zuckmayer.
91. He was mentioned in AB 1914, p. 1299 (Ringstraße 10, Berlin-Lichterfelde); his publication in 1914: "Miniaturen zum Jinacaritra", *Baessler-Archiv* IV (Berlin, 1914), pp. 46—77. SMB.
92. Obviously Sergei Fëdorovich Ol'denburg (1863—1934), specialist in Central Asian languages.
93. For the later controversial disputations see: Temir, *Leben*, p. 69.
94. Jens Lützen was scholar at Humboldt Academy, branch "Photographische Lehranstalt", Passauerstraße 13, private address: Nachodstraße 23 (AB 1909, p. 1662).
95. Obviously Jan Czekanowski (08.10.1882, Głuchow — 20.07.1965, Szczin), anthropologist from Polish origin, who later preserved the Karaim people, who are Jewish believers, from Holocaust by defining their ethnicity from Turkish descent. F. W. Radloff was in the region of the Western Karaimen (Lithuania, Wolhynia) in 1887. Today the last remaining kenessa of the Karaim community in Europe can be visited in Trakai, Lithuania. In the year 2006 I met during my travel to Trakai their Karaim representative, Michał Zajaczkowski (born 1922 in Trakai, graduate of Institute of Finance and Economics in Leningrad, bearer of the honorary title "Distinguished Economist of Lithuania"), who since his retirement in 1983 informs visitors about religion, origin

and language of the Karaim people. He has published an informative booklet titled *The Karaite Kenessa in Trakai* (in Lithuanian, English, Polish and Russian language). I gratefully remember the kind old scholar.

96. This correspondence seems to be in coherence with problems of managing the expedition of this scholar: *EMB* 1912, No. 330 (23.02.1912) contains a letter from H. Müller concerning the grant for a passport and an additional grant for his budget after he got the opinion that 16.000 M [Mark] would be not enough. *EMB* 1913, No. 2000 (04.12.1913) sent from Beijing.

97. Lit.: *ADB* xlvi (1902), p. 207—12; D. v. Engelhardt, *DBE*<sup>2</sup> i (2005), p. 324 with portrait; G. v. Selle, *NDB* i (1953), p. 52; cf.: *NDB* xix (1999), p. 26, xxi (2003), p. 313.

98. Lit.: Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin; <http://www.gfe-berlin.de>, 30.09.2012.

99. Lit.: *DB/GND*, 116687118.

100. Lit.: *DB/GND*, 116915633; *DBE*<sup>2</sup> iv (2006), p. 888; R. Trauzettel, *NDB* ix (1972), p. 238sq.

101. Lit.: *BD/GND*, 118897411; *DBE*<sup>2</sup> vi (2006), p. 144; *NDB* xiii (1982), p. 257; cf.: *NDB* xii (1979), p. 182; *NDB* xxii (2005), p. 699.

102. Lit.: *DB/GND*, 11728078X; *DBE*<sup>2</sup> viii (2007), pp. 882—4, especially 883; H. Mair, *NDB* xxiii (2007), pp. 24—5. Cf.: *ADB* xxxi (1890), p. 348; *ADB* lvi (1912), p. 398 (correction); *NDB* xxiii (2007), p. 24.

103. Lit.: *DB/GND*, 118897845; *DBE*<sup>2</sup> x (2008), p. 584; cf.: H. Bobzin, *NDB* xx (2001), p. 238 s. v. J. H. Petermann.

104. For details see Matveeva, Rezvan, *op. cit.*, pp. 182—93.

105. <http://www Orden-pourlemerite.de>.

106. K. Brendler wrote an e-mail, dated August 9th, 2012:

Herr Dr. Claussen hat mich gebeten, Ihnen auf Ihre Mail vom 03.08.2012 zu antworten. "Das Ende der Monarchie 1918 bedeutete auch das Ende beider Ordensklassen, doch während der Militärorden endgültig erloschen blieb (letzter Ordensträger war Ernst Jünger, 1895—1998) konstituierte sich die 'Friedensklasse' 1922 als 'freie Vereinigung von hervorragenden Gelehrten und Künstlern'. Zitat aus der Geschichte des Ordens. 1952 beschloss der Deutsche Bundestag, den Orden unter der Schirmherrschaft des Bundespräsidenten wieder zu beleben. Seit 1998 wird das Ordenssekretariat beim Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für Kultur und Medien (BKM) geführt. Daher kann ich Ihnen mitteilen, dass Akten zu den Ordensmitgliedern für die Zeit nach 1945 beim Bundesarchiv bzw. beim BKM verwahrt werden. Unterlagen vor 1945 befinden sich im Geheimen Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Eine Anfrage dorthin möchte ich Ihnen empfehlen".

107. <http://www Orden-pourlemerite.de/satzung-des-ordens-fassung-30052010>, 29.09.2012.

108. [http://www.gsta.spk-berlin.de/benutzung\\_3.html](http://www.gsta.spk-berlin.de/benutzung_3.html), 09.08.2012.

109. *DBE* ix (2008), p. 796sq.

110. *GSTA PK*, I. HA Rep. 89 Geheimes Zivilkabinett, No. 2100, Bl. 84v—85.

111. *Meyers Enzyklopädisches Lexikon* iii (Mannheim — Wien — Zürich, 1978), p. 878.

112. *GSTA PK*, I. HA Rep. 89 Geheimes Zivilkabinett, No. 2100, Bl. 162.

113. *Quellen zu den deutsch-französischen Beziehungen 1815—1919*, ed. by R. Pommerin, R. Marcowitz (Darmstadt, 1997), pp. 207sqq.; I. Geiss et al., *Geschichte Griffbereit* 4. Begriffe (Gütersloh — München, 2002), p. 859.

114. *Ibid.*, p. 863. Cf.: R. Hermann, *Wohin geht die türkische Gesellschaft? Kulturmampf in der Türkei* (München, 2008), p. 257sq. on the activities of Enver Pascha.

115. Ç. Akkaya, Y. Özbek, F. Şen, *Länderbericht Türkei* (Darmstadt, 1998), 98sq.; H. Gökpınar, *Deutsch-türkische Beziehungen 1890—1914 und die Rolle Enver Paschas* (Marburg, 2011).

116. Temir, *Leben*, p. 64sq.

117. Matveeva, Rezvan, *op. cit.*, pp. 182—93.

118. G. Ziethen, "Christian Martin Joachim v. Fraehn (Rostock, 1782 — St. Petersburg, 1851) — his life as documented by the records from German archives", *Manuscripta Orientalia* X/2 (2004) pp. 57—70. Cf. now the moderate and general remarks about biographic research by N. Kluessendorf, "Zwei bedeutende Vertreter der orientalischen Numismatik: Oluf Gerhard Tychsen and Christian Martin Joachim Fraehn", *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* LXII (München, 2012), pp. 363—78, especially pp. 371, 375sq.

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# **FAMOUS ORIENTALISTS: LIFE AND ASSESSMENTS**

**G. Ziethen**

## **A YOUNG SCHOLAR IN A HURRY — THE PROMOTION AND ACADEMIC LIFE OF FRIEDRICH WILHELM RADLOFF (1837—1918) IN 1858. A CONTRIBUTION TO SCHOLARLY RELATIONS IN THE 19TH CENTURY. PART II**

### **A d d e n d a**

**Table 1**

#### **Itinerarium and Correspondence of F. W. Radloff from 1858 to 1914 as Mentioned in Russian and German Archives**

↓ / ↑= several letters during some years, since the year ... to the year

*EMB* = Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin: <http://www.smb.museum>

*FSU* = Universitätsarchiv Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Jena (Germany)

*K* = Kalliope Portal, electronic data resource: <http://www.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de>; <http://www.kalliope-portal.de>

*SPBA RAS* = St. Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences

No.	Year	Travels & Research	Record / Correspondence	Archives	Commentary
1.	1837	Date of birth 17.01 in Berlin	CV and corr. concerning promotion	<i>FSU</i> : Bestand M. No. 358, Bl. 76rv; Bl. 77rv, Bl. 78	
2.	?	Private education and education at schools in Halle and Berlin	CV and corr. concerning promotion	<i>Ibid.</i> , Bl. 76rv; Bl. 77rv, Bl. 78	
3.	1855—6	Study of jurisprudence, falling seriously ill, spending one year at the countryside with Prof. Dr. I. Pietraszewski, learning Oriental and Asian languages	CV and corr. concerning promotion	<i>Ibid.</i> , Bl. 77rv, Bl. 78	
4.	1856—8↓	Study at Berlin University	CV and corr. concerning promotion	<i>Ibid.</i> , Bl. 76rv; Bl. 77rv, Bl. 78	
5.	1858	Promotion to Dr. phil. at Jena University, in absence	CV and corr. concerning promotion	<i>Ibid.</i> , Bl. 76rv; Bl. 77rv, Bl. 78	
6.	1858, June	Travel from Berlin to St. Petersburg	CV and corr. concerning promotion	<i>Ibid.</i> , Bl. 76rv; Bl. 77rv, Bl. 78	
7.	1858	Marriage with Pauline Auguste Fromm		Temir, “Leben”, pp. 54sq.	
8.	1859—71↓	Barnaul / Altai region, teaching and linguistic research		<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 55	

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9.	1860—3	Travels to Altai, region of Sajan and Kirghizia	Photo	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 56; <a href="http://radloff.livejournal.com">http://radloff.livejournal.com</a>	
10.	1860—8↓	Barnaul, Stockholm	Corr. with Karl Ernst v. Baer	<i>K; Universitätsbibliothek Giessen</i>	
11.	1861—99↓	Barnaul, St. Petersburg, Rome	Corr. with Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, Berlin	<i>K; Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Handschriftenabteilung Hs 01479688X</i>	
12.	1864	Stay in St. Petersburg in order to prolong working-contract, later holidays for recreation in Berlin and Austria (Tirol)		Temir, "Leben", p. 56	
13.	1865 1866 1867	Travel to Altai and West Siberia		<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 56sq.	
14.	1868	Dr. h. c. at University of Dorpat Travel to Turkestan, Yedisu, Samarkand		<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 57	
15.	1860—8↑	Barnaul, Stockholm	Corr. with Karl Ernst v. Baer	<i>K; Universitätsbibliothek Giessen; reference: K</i>	
16.	1868	Travel to Yedisu region and Samarkand		Temir, "Leben", p. 56	
17.	1868, 1871—83↓		Corr. with A. Bastian, Berlin	<i>SPBA RAS, 1868, 1871—83, No. 18</i>	
18.	1869	Travel to Ili-Valley		Temir, "Leben", p. 56	
19.	1869	Barnaul	Corr. with F. von Hellwald	<i>K; Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Handschriftenabteilung Hs 014796899</i>	
20.	1869, 1871, 1882, 1885↓		Corr. with W. Ch. Schott, Berlin	<i>SPBA RAS, 1869, 1871, 1882, 1885, No. 281</i>	
21.	1870	Travel through Altai region until Chinese border		Temir, "Leben", p. 56	
22.	↑1871	Kazan Travel to Middle and Western Europe in order to study about the Public schools (Volksschulen) Berlin, by invitation of Count D. A. Tolstoī, Russian Minister of Education	<i>Cf.</i> : photo	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 57 <i>cf.</i> : <a href="http://radloff.livejournal.com">http://radloff.livejournal.com</a>	
23.	1872—83↓	Inspector for schools in Kazan district	Photo	Temir, "Leben", p. 59sq. <i>cf.</i> : <a href="http://radloff.livejournal.com">http://radloff.livejournal.com</a>	
24.	1881	Berlin: participation in the 5th International Congress of Oriental studies		Temir, <i>Leben</i> , p. 60	
25.	1881— 1911↓		Corr. with E. Sachau, Berlin	<i>SPBA RAS, 1881—1911, No. 110</i>	
26.	1882		Winckelmann, Publishing House; Berlin	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1882, No. 57	
27.	1883↓	Moving to St. Petersburg		Temir, "Leben", p. 60	
28.	↑1868, 1871—83		Corr. with A. Bastian, Berlin	<i>SPBA RAS, 1868, 1871—83, No. 18</i>	
29.	1883	Travel to Vienna		Temir, "Leben", p. 60	
30.	1883—96↓		Corr. with Fr. E. Meitzen, Berlin	<i>SPBA RAS, 1883—96, No. 174</i>	

31.	1884	Director of Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St. Petersburg		Temir, "Leben", p. 61 Matveeva, Rezvan, <i>op. cit.</i> [1]	
32.	1885	St. Petersburg	Corr. with E. Schlagintweit	<i>K; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München</i>	
33.	↑1869, 1871, 1882, 1885		Corr. with W. Ch. Schott, Berlin	<i>SPBA RAS</i> , 1869, 1871, 1882, 1885, No. 281	
34.	1885, 1889↓		Corr. with W. Grube, Berlin	<i>Ibid.</i> 1885, 1889, No. 87	
35.	1886	Travel to Crimea		Temir, "Leben", p. 60	
36.	1887	Expedition to Western Karaimen (Lithuania, Wolhynia)		<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 60	
37.	1887—8		Corr. with J. Watt, Berlin	<i>SPBA RAS</i> , 1887—8, No. 30	
38.	20.12.1888	St. Petersburg	Corr. with E. Sachau	<i>K, Staatsbibliothek Handschriftenabteilung Hs 014796923</i>	
39.	1888		Corr. with R. von Erckert, Berlin	<i>SPBA RAS</i> , 1888, No. 290	
40.	↑1885, 1889		Corr. with W. Grube, Berlin	<i>Ibid.</i> 1885, 1889, No. 87	
41.	1891	Travel to Orchon region		Temir, "Leben", p. 62sq.	
42.	1894		Corr. with EMB	<i>EMB</i> 1894, No. 866	
43.	1895		Corr. with Dr. med. O. Alberts	<i>SPBA RAS</i> , 1895, No. 4	
44.	1895		Corr. with A. F. Weber, Berlin	<i>Ibid.</i> 1895, No. 48	
45.	1895—9↓		Corr. with G. Huth, Berlin	<i>Ibid.</i> 1895—9, No. 91	
46.	1895, 1909↓		Corr. with A. B. Meyer, Berlin	<i>Ibid.</i> 1895, 1909, No. 171	
47.	↑1883—96		Corr. with Fr. E. Meitzen, Berlin	<i>Ibid.</i> 1883—96, No. 174	
48.	1896		Corr. with R. Virchow	<i>Ibid.</i> 1896, No. 59	
49.	1897		Corr. with Boniarski, Berlin	<i>Ibid.</i> 1897, No. 28	
50.	1897		Corr. with F. Ritter von Luschan, Berlin	<i>Ibid.</i> , No. 158	
51.	1898	Expedition to Turfan		Temir, "Leben", p. 60	
52.	1898	St. Petersburg	Corr. with F. Hirth	<i>K; Münchner Stadtbibliothek Monacensia</i>	
53.	1899	Rome: participation in the 12th International Congress of Oriental studies		Temir, "Leben", p. 60	
54.	1899	26.09	Corr. with EMB	<i>EMB</i> 1899, No. 1014	
55.	1899	22.12	Corr. with EMB	<i>Ibid.</i> 1900, No. 1	Common letter from Radloff and Saleman
56.	↑1895—9		Corr. with G. Huth, Berlin	<i>SPBA RAS</i> , 1895—9, No. 91	
57.	↑1861—99	Barnaul, St. Petersburg, Rome	Corr. with Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, Berlin	<i>K; Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Handschriftenabteilung Hs 01479688X</i>	
58.	1901		Corr. with EMB	<i>EMB</i> 1901, No. 756	

59.	1901		Corr. with EMB	<i>Ibid.</i> , No. 1469	Common letter from Radloff and Oldenburg
60.	1901—14↓		Corr. with A. Grünwedel, Berlin	<i>SPBA RAS</i> , 1901—14, No. 88	
61.	1901		Corr. with EMB	<i>EMB</i> 1901, No. 445	
62.	1902	22.03	Corr. with EMB	<i>Ibid.</i>	
63.	1902	30.09	Corr. with EMB	<i>Ibid.</i> 1902, No. 1336	
64.	1903		Corr. with Dr. phil. M. Sebastian Sober(n)heim, Berlin	<i>SPBA RAS</i> , 1903, No. 114	
65.	1903	02.10	Corr. with EMB	<i>EMB</i> 1903, No. 1253	
66.	1903	21.10	Corr. with EMB	<i>Ibid.</i> , No. 1352	
67.	1903	20.11	Grünwedel, EMB	<i>Ibid.</i> , No. 1526	Internal correspondence EMB and letter to Radloff
68.	1903—9↓	St. Petersburg and other places	Corr. with E. Kuhn	<i>K; Universitätsbibliothek München</i>	
69.	1904		(A.) v. LeCoq, Corr. EMB	<i>EMB</i> 1904, No. 1085	Letter from (A.) v. LeCoq concerning corr. with Radloff
70.	1905		Corr. with H. Schmidt, Berlin	<i>SPBA RAS</i> , 1905, No. 278	
71.	1905	02.02	Corr. with EMB	<i>EMB</i> 1905, No. 379	
72.	1905	?	Corr. with EMB	<i>Ibid.</i> , No. 816	Radloff's complaint concerning (A.) v. LeCoq
73.	1905	19.07	G. Hey, corr. with EMB	<i>Ibid.</i> , No. 1346	Concerning forwarding 17 chests from St. Petersburg to EMB
74.	1905	21.09	G. Huth (Zeuthen) [2], corr. with EMB	<i>Ibid.</i> , No. 1667	Widow of G. Huth, concerning assets
75.	1907	Travel to visit and study ethnographic museums in Western Europe		Temir, "Leben", p. 60	
76.	1907	14.01	C. Fritsch, cor. with EMB	<i>EMB</i> 1907, No. 69	Request for recommendation forwarded to Radloff
77.	1908	Order Pour le Mérite, Berlin		Orden Pour le Mérite	
78.	↑1895, 1909		Corr. with A. B. Meyer, Berlin	<i>SPBA RAS</i> , 1895, 1909, No. 171	
79.	↑1903—9	St. Petersburg and other places	Corr. with E. Kuhn	<i>K; Universitätsbibliothek München</i>	
80.	1909	19.02	J. Lützen, corr. with EMB	<i>EMB</i> 1909, No. 391	Photographies for Radloff
81.	1909	15.06	J. Lützen, corr. with EMB		Concerning bill to Radloff, payment of photographies
82.	1909	28.12	Grünwedel, internal corr. EMB	<i>EMB</i> 1910, No. 2809	Concerning Radloff

83.	1910		Corr. with Lewin (Dr. med. Arthur Lewin?), Berlin	<i>SPBA RAS</i> , 1910, No. 147	
84.	1910		Corr. with EMB	<i>EMB</i> 1910, No. 1915	
85.	↑1881— 1911		Corr. with E. Sachau, Berlin	<i>SPBA RAS</i> , 1881—1911, No. 110	
86.	1912		Corr. with A. W. Bode, Ber- lin	<i>Ibid.</i> 1912, No. 28	
87.	1912	19.01	Grünwedel, inter- nal corr. EMB	<i>EMB</i> 1912, No. 74	Concerning 75th anniversary of Radloff, letter of congratulation
88.	1912	23.02	(H.) Müller, corr. with EMB	<i>Ibid.</i> , No. 334	Forwarded to Radloff
89.	1913		Corr. with E. Meyer, Berlin	<i>SPBA RAS</i> , 1913, No. 171	
90.	1913	14.11	(A.) v. LeCoq, corr. with EMB	<i>EMB</i> 1913, No. 1998	Concerning trans- portation of chests, forwarded to Radloff
91.	↑1901—14		Corr. with A. Grünwedel, Berlin	<i>SPBA RAS</i> , 1901—14, No. 88	
92.	1914		Corr. with H. von Valbonne, Berlin	<i>Ibid.</i> 1914, No. 76	
93.	1914		Corr. with Hütte- mann	<i>Ibid.</i> , No. 92	
94.	?	?	Corr. with E. Wetzstein, wife of Prussian Consul J. G. Wetzstein	<i>K; Staatsbibliothek Berlin</i> , Handschriftenabteilung Hs 014796932	

#### Notes

1. P. Matveeva, E. Rezvan, “‘Kamen’ na doroge vremeni’: k 175-letiiui V. V. Radlova (1837—1918)” (“‘The stone on the time way’: on the anniversary of V. Radlov (1837—1918)”), *Ural-Altaic Studies I/VI* (Moscow, 2012).
2. Recent postal code D-15738 Zeuthen (near Berlin, <http://www.zeuthen.de>).

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# **FAMOUS ORIENTALISTS: LIFE AND ASSESSMENTS**

**G. Ziethen**

## **FRIEDRICH WILHELM RADLOFF (1837—1918): “MEMORIES OF A SCHOLAR” — A FRAGMENT. A CONTRIBUTION TO SCHOLARLY RELATIONS IN THE 19TH CENTURY. PART 3\***

Connected with running archival research [1] an unpublished text is known from the autobiographic acta of F. W. Radloff. This text was titled as “Erinnerungen eines Gelehrten”. The preserved part unveils a glance to the author's personal memories, his individual perspective of the word as well as on cultural and political subjects connected with author's personal acknowledgments.

Archive: St. Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences, fund 150, inv. 1, file 17, fol. 55v.

Date: *terminus postquem*: 1858, *terminus ante quem* 1914 by reasons of historic and social context we argue for a date about 1905 or a time shortly after 1905 until 1908 because no indications in the text connected with time of First World War (see commentary below).

Place: St. Petersburg, Russia.

Description of the document: 11 pages, handwritten, regular structure up to maximum 39 lines per page German language, style of MS with Latin cursive script, space between words regular, few division of chapters, pages 1—5 with less corrections, pages 6—11 with inclination to more corrections. The document possibly was written in one period of time. Special writing of cursive “t”, with flying horizontal line, flying dot of “i”, expressive tallness of “f” / “ff”, “t” / “t”, “g”, at end of lines inclination of inflexion of words down to the right instead of separation. Syntax: expression with clear grammar, partly writing with initials “Deutsche Bevölkerung”, “Deutsche Gelehrte”, “Deutsche Kreise”. Author's individual style from social position of upper class (V, 30—VI, 30), prosaic and efficient, partly individual acknowledgements, may be with a personal distance to emotions of young generation and with great temporal space of time to the earlier years.

### **Content and Structure of the Memories**

- (i) Journey by ship, customs and travel procedures: I, 1—14.
- (ii) Transfer from harbour to Vasil'evsky Island, description of traditional Russian cab: II, 14—34.
- (iii) First stop-over in German handcrafts home, accommodation: II, 34—III, 11.
- (iv) First impression and description of architecture and streets of St. Petersburg: III, 12—30; IV, 22—28.
- (v) Description of police-posts, public security, analysis of public and social situation: III, 11—36, IV, 1—22.
- (vi) First contact with local people, Germans in St. Petersburg, social structure, language, German-Rus-

- sian relations and public opinion: IV, 29—V, 8; German academicians' opinions concerning Russians: IX, 4—18.
- (vii) German community: V, 9—V, 22.
- (viii) Letters of recommendation: V, 23—35.
- (ix) Structure of German ethnic groups: VI, 1—23.
- (x) Baltic-Russian relations, racism: VI, 23—29.
- (xi) Academy, academic meetings / evening meetings / soirée, mentalities: VII, 1—9, 26, male joke: VII, 13—29, academic corps mentality: VII, 30—37.
- (xii) Information about Eastern Russia / Siberia: VIII, 4—10.
- (xiii) Alexander von Humboldt: VIII, 7—34.

\* This essay once more is the result of very fruitful and more than pleasant joint research with Prof. Dr. Efim A. Rezvan, Dr. Polina Matveeva, chief-librarian Natalia Syssoeva (all Kunstkamera, St. Petersburg) and Gerhard Humberg (Polizeihauptkommissar i.R., Worms / Germany).

(xiv) Personal meetings with researchers and scholars: VIII, 34—IX, 4; IX, 19—39.

(xv) German school of Karl (Johann Ivanovich) May (1820—1895) [2] in St. Petersburg (structure, curricula): X, 1—XI, 19.

Sigla: <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup> — lines in manuscript; | — change of page; || — break; x x — unclear letters; <...> — letters

or words occasionally lost by the author; <<...>> — deleted but re-confirmed by author; #...# — deleted by author; {...} — inserted by author; {{...}} — inserted or commentary by author, but written verso or on a second sheet of paper; (...) — solved by editor; [...] — letters or signs added by editor; [[additional note by the editor]].

## Text

### Page I — Title, 30 lines Erinnerungen eines Gelehrten.

01. Im August 1858 traf ich in Petersburg auf  
02. einem aus Stettin kommendem Schiffe ein. Die  
03. Reise war ziemlich beschwerlich gewesen,  
04. da wir in den letzten Tagen sehr stürmisches  
05. Wetter gehabt #haben# {hatten}. #Die# {Meine} Rei-  
segefährten waren  
06. wenig interessant. Ich erinnere mich nur  
07. eines alten <<Herrn>> #M(annes)# offenbar dem  
Bürgerstand  
08. angehörend, der #mir# nur deshalb meine  
09. Aufmerksamkeit erregte, weil er {sehr} lange Jahre  
10. in Petersburg gelebt hatte und mir daher so  
11. manches über Petersburger Verhältnisse be-  
12. richten konnte. Er erbot sich mir schon in  
13. Kronstadt eine #x x x# Wohnung auf der Wassili  
14. Ostrov in Petersburg zu verschaffen. Nachdem

15. mein Pass für Richtig befunden war #nah(m)# luden  
16. Gepäckträger meine Koffer auf und ich  
17. konnte über die am Ufer stehende Zoll-  
18. barke an das Ufer gelangen. Obgleich  
19. ich schon recht gut russisch gelernt habe [,]  
20. war es mir doch ziemlich schwer [,] mich mit  
21. den Trägern und mit den am Ufer  
22. harrenden Fuhrleuten zu verständigen.  
23. Da war mein Bekannter vom Schiffe mir  
24. von grossem Nutzen indem er denselben  
25. seine Wohnung als Adresse angab.  
26. Die erste Schwierigkeit [,] die sich mir darbot  
27. und die mich in Verlegenheit setzten, waren  
28. die Fuhrwerke selbst. Es waren kleine  
29. #Reitdr(oschken)# Droschken auf denen man  
30. nur rittlings sitzen konnte. Der Sitz |

### Page II — 36 lines II

01. war ungefähr drei bis vier Fuss lang und andert-  
02. halb Fuss breit. Hinten eine abgerundete  
03. etwa drei bis vier Zoll runde Lehne,  
04. #vorne# zu beiden Seiten ein Fuss breite  
05. Trittbretter. Der Kutscherbock war am  
06. vordern [3] Ende etwa einen halben Fuss  
07. höher. Der ganze Sitz hing in Riemen  
08. an runden hochstehenden Federn. Ich  
09. stand mit meinen beiden Koffern vor  
10. dem Gefährte, dem einzigen [,] welches für  
11. mich übrig geblieben war, und war in der  
12. grössten Verlegenheit wie ich mit #meinen  
13. beiden Koffern# {ihnen} darauf Platz finden konnte.  
14. Endlich entschloss ich mich, und setzte  
15. mich ganz an das hintere Ende rittlings  
16. auf das Fuhrwerk, die beiden Träger  
17. stellten den grossen Koffer quer über den  
18. Sitz & den kleineren oben drauf. Indem  
19. ich den oberen Koffer mit beiden Händen

20. bei den Hänkeln fasste & die Knie  
21. gegen die Ränder des unteren Koffers  
22. drängte, v#o#ermochte ich mich und das  
23. Gepäck auf dem schwankenden Sitze  
24. {ganz gut {zu}} zu halten. Schlimmer ging es als #der  
25. Kutscher# das Pferd sich in Bewegung setzte.  
26. Das gebrechliche Gefährt schwanke  
27. hin und her über das scheusslichste Pflaster [,]  
28. welches ich je gesehen hatte. Ich achtete  
29. #weder# nicht auf den herabströmenden Regen & wagte  
30. mich nicht umzusehen [,] da ich in jedem  
31. Augenblick fürchten musste vom Wagen  
32. herunter zu fallen. Glücklicherweise  
33. war der Weg nicht weit [,] sodass ich meine  
34. Leiden bald überstanden hatte. Wir  
35. hielten vor dem Laden {meines Bekannten vom  
Schiffe} des Klempnermeisters  
36. W. {in der ersten Linie} an. Ein Geselle {desselben}  
& der Kutscher befreiten |

### Page III — 36 lines III

01. mich von dem bedrückenden Gepäck [,] das  
02. sie in den Laden trugen, und ich fand  
03. in dem kleinen Wohnzimmer neben dem  
04. Laden endlich eine trockene Stelle, wo ich  
05. mich ausruhen konnte. Die Hausfrau

06. bewirthete uns mit einer Tasse Kaffee  
07. und schon nach einer Stunde hatte  
08. man für mich im neben Hause [4] ein freund-  
09. liches Zimmer gefunden, sodass ich schon nach  
10. wenigen Stunden mich den Verhältnissen

11. nach bequem einzurichten vermochte.  
 12. Den Eindruck zu schildern [,] den Petersburg  
 13. auf mich machte [,] bin ich nicht im Stande. Es  
 14. ist zu lange Zeit her, und ich habe es in der  
 15. Folge zu genau kennen gelernt. Ich ent-  
 16. sinne mich nur [,] dass der schöne Newa Quai  
 17. und das glänzende Gewirr des Newsky Prospekts  
 18. auf mich grossen Eindruck machten. Die  
 19. meisten Strassen erschienen mir zu weit  
 20. angelegt und menschenleer, die Plätze  
 21. waren öde, nirgends ein grüner Baum zu  
 22. sehen, mit Ausnahme des Sommergartens  
 23. und der Allee vor der Facade der Admiralität.

24. Der Unterschied von Wassili Ostrov und der  
 25. Stadt selbst war ein viel grösserer als er  
 26. jetzt ist. Vom grossen Prospect an bestanden  
 27. die Linien fast nur aus einstöckigen  
 28. Holzhäusern, und nur vereinzelt tauchten  
 29. zwischen diesen zweistöckige und  
 30. dreistöckige Steinhäuser auf. Eigentüm-  
 31. lich erschienen mir die hölzernen Polizei-  
 32. budken [5], kleine Holzhäuschen [,] die an ver-  
 33. schiedenen, breiteren Plätzen aufgeführt  
 34. waren, und vor denen meist abgerissene,  
 35. sehr unheimlich ausschende Polizeisoldaten  
 36. sassan oder herumstanden. |

Page IV — 37 lines

IV

01. Obgleich diese Polizeiwachtposten zum Schutz  
 02. des Publikums dawaren, gewann ich den  
 03. Eindruck, dass die Leute #di(esen)# ihnen aus dem  
 Wege  
 04. gingen, weil sie dieselben für gefährlicher  
 05. hielten als das Gesindel selbst. Sie liessen,  
 06. wie man mir sagte, keinen Bauern mit  
 07. seinen Waaren [6] ungerupft vorüberziehen,  
 08. steckten mit den Dieben unter einer Kappe,  
 09. waren nie zur Stelle wenn sie nötig waren,  
 10. und manche Fre#f#{v}elthat wie Mord und Totschlag  
 11. sollen des Nachts von den Polizisten selbst  
 12. verübt worden sein. Ich selbst habe natürlich  
 13. in der Beziehung keine persönlichen Beobach-  
 14. tungen gemacht. Trotz der vielen Polizeiwachen  
 15. war es mit der Sicherheit auf den Petersburger  
 16. Strassen nicht gut bestellt. Man warnte mich  
 17. wenigstens nach eingebrochener Dämmerung  
 18. nie auf dem Kleinen Prospekt allein zu gehen,  
 19. #Eb(enso)# besonders aber den grossen Isaacs- und  
 20. Admiralitätsplatz zu vermeiden, da hier

21. Fussgänger am Abend & bei der Nacht voll-  
 22. ständig ausgeraubt würden. Gasbeleuchtung  
 23. war #nur# auf dem Newsky viel grossartiger als da-  
 24. mals in Berlin. Die Plätze & der Quai mit Aus-  
 25. nahme des Englischen + Schlossquaüs #wa(ren)#  
 26. hatten wenige + unzureichende Laterne.  
 27. Die ferneren Strassen waren meist mit  
 28. Petroleumlaternen kaum beleuchtet. ||  
 29. — #Am auffallendsten war mir# Ich kam  
 30. in der ersten Zeit #mit# fast nur mit Deutschen  
 31. der verschiedenen Schichten in Berührung,  
 32. so dass ich fast vergessen konnte {dass ich} mich  
 33. in der russischen Hauptstadt befand,  
 34. wenn {ich} nicht {mit} d#ies#{er} russischen Bevöl-  
 kerung  
 35. de#s#{r}Strasse#lebens# in Berührung gekommen  
 36. wäre. #Da sah man# {{Die}} Bauern {{in Bastschu-  
 hen [[verso:]] {{gaben ein eigentümliche Bild des Stras-  
 senlebens}} [,] welche die  
 37. Hemden über die Hosen trugen [7], |

Page V — 36 lines

V

01. Kaufleute mit langschössigen Röcken + (und)  
 ho#c#hen  
 02. Stiefeln, Soldaten in meist sehr verschlissenen  
 03. und abgerissenen grauen Mänteln, Droschken-  
 04. kutscher auf ihren gebräuchlichen [8] Gefährten,  
 05. die ich beschrieben habe. Hier auf diesen  
 06. Strassen bot sich mir fast die einzige Gelegen-  
 07. heit meine russischen Kenntnisse anzu-  
 08. wenden und zu erweitern. #Ich hatt (Ich hatte?)# Die  
 09. deutsche Bevölkerung bildete ein kompactes  
 10. Ganzes, dass [9] sich scharf von der russischen  
 11. Bevölkerung abschloss + (und) hochmütig auf  
 12. dieselbe herabblickte. In jedem Gespräch,  
 13. auch mit Leuten aus den niedrigsten Schichten  
 14. der Deutschen Bevölkerung, hörte man,  
 15. sobald das Gespräch auf russische Verhältnisse  
 16. kam [,] abweisende Urteile. Es wurde stets  
 17. empfohlen in deutschen Läden zu kaufen, da  
 18. man in russischen nur betrogen würde.

19. Deutsche Handwerker wären die einzigen [,] die  
 20. erträgliche Arbeit lieferten, Brod [10] von deutschen  
 21. Bäckern könnte man essen und desgleichen  
 22. {feinere} Fleischwaren von deutschen Wurstmachern. ||  
 23. — Ich hatte viele Empfehlungsbriefe an Deutsche  
 24. Gelehrte + (und) hohe Beamte + (und) kam dadurch  
 25. in höhere deutsche Kreise. Eine sehr  
 26. freundliche Aufnahme fand ich im Hause  
 27. des Doctor Resenberger, Chefarzt der  
 28. russischen Flotte, wo ich viele Mediciner  
 29. kennen lernte, unter anderem den Pro-  
 30. fessor der medicinischen Academie Solekauer,  
 31. dessem Hause ich in der Folge näher trat.  
 32. {Durch} Meine empfehlungen [11] an Akademiker  
 33. Schieffner + (und) an den beständigen Sekretär  
 34. Herrn von Middendorf [12] kam ich mit den gelehrten  
 35. Kreisen der Acadmi{e}#ker# #Böthlingk# [13] (und)  
 mit deutschen Lehrer-  
 36. Kreisen in Verbindung. || |

Page VI — 36 lines  
VI

01. Alle Deutschen zervielen [14] {in zwei oder vielmehr drei} ziemlich scharf von ein-  
 02. ander getrennte Gruppen: I. #xI# in aus Deutschland  
 03. Eingewanderte, sogenannte Ausländer + (und) II.  
 04. in Ostseeprovinzielle Deutsche. III.  
 05. in Petersburger Deutsche, d.h. in Petersburg  
 06. geborene + (und) aufgewachsenen Deutschen.  
 07. #Sehr# Ein scharfer Gegensatz bestand zwi#e#schen  
 08. Ausländern + (und) {den}  
 #Ostseeprovi(nziellen?)# [15] Baltikern. Die  
 09. Petersburger Deutschen bildeten gleichsam  
 10. das Mittelfeld zwi#e#schen ihnen, i<n>dem  
 11. sie {teils} mit beiden Seiten häufig in Verwandt-  
 12. schaft standen, teils durch ihre Studien auf  
 13. der Baltischen Universität Dorpat den  
 14. Balten näher getreten waren. Den Russen  
 15. standen [16] die letzte Gruppe der Deutschen am  
 16. nächsten, was #schon# {wohl} #am# {am meisten}  
 dem Umstande  
 17. zuzuschreiben war, dass sie die russische
18. Sprache vollkommen beherrschten + (und) von Jugend  
 19. auf unter Russen gelebt hatten. Die Ausländer  
 20. standen den Russen ziemlich gleichgültig  
 21. gegenüber, sie bekümmerten sich nicht viel  
 22. um sie, da sie mit ihnen wenig Berührungs-  
 23. punkte hatten. Was die Balten betraf [,] so  
 24. standen sie dem Russentum feindlich gegen-  
 25. über, was sich natürlich aus dem Umstande  
 26. erklärt, dass sie, die sich als #ho# culturell  
 27. höher stehende Rasse fühlten, #+ doch# gleichwohl  
 28. #sam# politisch von der niedriger stehenden  
 29. Rasse {doch} abhängig waren. #Do. I# ||  
 30. Den Hauptmittelpunkt der Gelehrten Welt  
 31. Petersburgs bildete natürlich die Academie.  
 32. In ihren Kreisen {ver}sammelte {sich} die ganze gelehrte  
 33. Welt {Petersburgs}. Es bestanden academische ge-  
 lehrte Kränzchen  
 34. + (und) academische Abende, wo sich ein  
 35. hochgebildetes fast ausschliesslich  
 36. deutsches Publicum versammelte. |

Page VII — 37 lines  
VII

01. Auf den wissenschaftlichen Abenden bei Herrn von  
 02. Middendorf waren wohl mehrere hundert  
 03. Gäste versammelt, meist nur Herren. #Nachdem  
 04. da# Während des Eintreffens der Gäste wurde  
 05. Thee [17] gereicht, dann begab man sich in  
 06. den grossen Saal [,] wo ein Vortrag eine#s#{s}  
 07. der anwesenden Herren stattfand, nach dessen  
 08. Beendigung der zurückbleibende T#h#eil  
 09. der Gäste sich in verschiedene Gruppen teilte  
 10. + (und) unter lustigem Geplauder beim Academ-  
 11. ischen Punsch bis spät in die Nacht  
 12. in gemütlichem Geplauder sitzen blieb.  
 13. Ich entsinne mich eines Abends, wo  
 14. der liebenswürdige Wirth einen reizenden  
 15. Vortrag über die Bienen hielt. Er schloss  
 16. denselben mit der laussigen Bemerkung  
 17. dass der Organismus dieser Insekten un-  
 18. bedingt bei der Fortentwicklung des  
 19. Tierreiches einer höheren Stufe des Men-
20. schentums zum Muster dienen werde #.#.  
 21. Man sähe ja schon wie die Damen  
 22. sich bemühten Brust + (und) Leib Insektenähnlich  
 23. aneinander zu schnüren, + (und) was für ein  
 24. Kunstgenuss #stände in der Music befor#  
 25. würde## #zu# den künftigen Musikern geboten  
 26. werden können, wenn der künftige  
 27. Menschen-Insektenorganismus gleich  
 28. der Biene allein ein Duett oder ein  
 29. #Terzett# {Quartett} vorzutragen imstande wäre. ||  
 30. An diesem Abend wurde die Unterhaltung später  
 31. sehr belebt. Ich lernte dabei den Professor der  
 32. Mineralogie [,] den Generalmajor Hoffmann [18],  
 33. einen sehr jovialen älteren Herrn kennen,  
 34. der #in# {trotz} seiner Generalsuniform, wie ein  
 35. Dorpater Bursch #be...# {am} Kneipentisch in  
 36. echtem Studenten Jargon die lustigsten  
 37. Geschichten erzählte. Er war zum |

Page VIII — 35 lines  
VIII

01. Militär geworden weil er als Professor des  
 02. Bergcorps angestellt wurde + (und) die Berg-  
 03. ingenieure {damals} Offizier Rang hatten. Da er  
 04. hörte, dass ich nach Sibirien wollte, weinte  
 05. er mich durch lustige Erzählungen #von# {aus}  
 06. seinen Reisen in die Verhältnisse Ost  
 07. Russlands + (und) Sibiriens ein. Ich entsinne  
 08. mich noch sehr genau einiger #humorisch#  
 09. finten [[?]] Erz# [19] Anecdoten über die  
 10. Reise A. von Humboldts zum Altei. Dieser  
 11. sei vom Kaiser Nikolai I aufge-  
 12. fordert worden den Ural zu besuchen,
13. weil er geäussert hatte [,] dass die Gebirgs-  
 14. formation des Ural genau dieselbe sei,  
 15. wie diejenigen<n> Teile der Südamerikanischen  
 16. Gebirge [,] in denen Diamanten gefunden  
 17. würden. Der Kaiser hätte gar zu gerne  
 18. die Entdeckung von Diamantengruben  
 19. {auch} im Ural gesehen + (und) Alexander von Hum-  
 20. boldt  
 21. musste nun unbedingt den Ural in  
 22. Augenschein nehmen. Bei dort vor-  
 23. genommenem #Aus# Schürfen seien  
 in der That auch einige Diamanten

24. ans Tageslicht gefördert worden. Es seien  
25. aber, #meinte er# setzte er trocken hinzu,  
26. nach Meinung der Sachverständigen  
27. diese Diamanten schon geschliffen  
28. gewesen [20]. Später sei es niemandem  
29. mehr gelungen im Ural Diamanten

30. aufzufinden. Überhaupt habe Humboldt  
31. in Russland sehr wenig gesehen, denn wenn  
32. man so offiziell reise wie er, sähe man  
33. nur das [,] was man zeigen wolle, aber  
34. nicht das [,] was vorhanden sei. Ausser  
35. General Hoffmann lernte ich den Leibarzt |

## Page IX — 39 lines

IX

01. der Grossfürstin Helena Pawlowna kennen [,]  
02. der uns an einem späten Abende bei Midden-  
03. dorf, einen sehr interessanten Vortrag über  
04. italienische Volksposie hielt. Ferner  
05. Hahn [21], der damals bei der öffentlichen  
06. Bibliothek diente. Er war aus Dorpat  
07. direct ins Innere verschickt gewesen  
08. + (und) auf Russen + (und) Russenthum nicht  
09. gut zu sprechen [22]. #Die sah# Wie man aus  
10. seinen #beissenErzäh# beissenden aber geistreich vor-  
11. getragenen Erzählungen leicht erkannte.  
12. Der Eindruck [,] den die Gesellschaft auf den #neu#  
13. Fremden machte, war derselbe wie ich ihn  
14. überhaupt in deutschen Kreisen fand. Es war eine  
15. Welt für sich, die mit den russischen Kreisen in  
16. keinem Zusammenhang standen + (und) wo das Russen-  
17. tum erwähnt wurde, geschah dies stets von  
18. oben herab mit einer gewissen Überhebung. ||  
19. — Von den übrigen Academikern lernte ich haupt-  
20. sächlich die Orientalisten kennen; Schiefner [23],  
21. Böhlingk [24], Dorn [25], Brosset [26], {verso: Dann  
auch den Historiker Kunik [27],} die Klassiker  
22. Nauk + (und) Stephani [28]. Näher trat ich Schiefner

23. + (und) Böhlingk, die #mir viele gute Ratschläge#  
mich  
24. mit Rath + (und) That bei meinen Studien unterstütz-  
ten.  
25. Bei Kunik [29] allein traf ich von Zeit zu Zeit russi-  
sche  
26. Besucher. Auf Schiefners Empfehlung war ich  
27. mit dem Director der Deutschen Privatschule  
28. #auf# Wasili Ostrov [,] Herrn Karl May bekannt  
29. geworden, der mich sehr freundlich aufnahm  
30. + (und) mich in sein Haus zog. Der Ton im Hause  
31. May's entschied {[unterschied]} sich vom dem {der}  
übrigen Deutschen  
32. Kreise #x#. Es war eben ein echtes Petersburger  
33. Deutsches Haus. Man #sprach zwar# hörte  
34. dort eben so viel russisch wie deutsch sprechen.  
35. An den Sonnabenden, wo sich die Bekannten  
36. + (und) Untergebenen Mays zu versammeln pfleg-  
ten [30],  
37. traf ich die Lehrer der Anstalt [,] die zum Teil  
38. russische Lehrer zum Theil Deutsche [,] welche  
39. direct aus dem Auslande verschrieben (? instead of  
erschienen?) waren |

[[IX verso on level of lines 7—8: {Deutsche Franzosen + Engländern}]]

## Page X — 37 lines

10

01. Ausserdem eine ganze Anzahl Lehrer + (und) Gelehrte [,]  
02. die früher in der May'schen Anstalt beschäftigt  
03. waren. Die May'sche Schule war auf Veranlassung  
04. Deutscher Bankiers + (und) Grosskaufleute gegründet  
05. worden, die ihren Hauslehrer Herrn May veran-  
06. lasst hatten [,] die Führung der Schule zu übernahmen.  
07. Die Schule war vollkommen frei + (und) stimmte  
08. in ihrer Klasseneinteilung + (und) Verteilung der  
09. Lehrgegenstände in keiner Weise überein.  
10. May, ein sehr tüchtiger Pedagoge [31], hatte deren  
11. Verhältnissen gemäss eine ganz eigentümliche  
12. Anstalt gegründet. In den niedrigen Klassen  
13. war der Unterricht ein allgemeiner, fing aber  
14. in der dritten Klasse an [,] sich in eine  
15. Gymnasial + #Real# {Handels} abteilung zu spalten,  
16. indem ausser den gemeinschaftlichen  
17. Gegenständen, die Gymnasial + (und) Commerz-  
18. ciellen Gegenstände getrennt gelehrt  
19. wurden. #In den unteren Klassen# {Im allgemeinen}  
war die Lehr-  
20. sprache Deutsch, es wurde aber von der untersten  
21. Klasse an das Russische gelehrt. Später wurde ausser  
den Russi-

22. schen Sprachstunden noch besonders Mathematik  
23. in russischer Sprache gelehrt. Grosse Aufmersamkeit  
24. wurde dem Unterricht des Französischen zuge-  
25. wendet, der nur von geborenen Franzosen, die  
26. zugleich auch Erzieher bei der Schule waren,  
27. erteilt [wurde]. {Da} Die Schüler #waren# teils halb  
[[X verso: {Halbpensionäre, d.h. Pensionäre [,] die von  
Morgens 9 bis abends 8 Uhr in der Schule verweilten}  
teils ganz  
28. Pensionäre waren [,] so war es möglich #dem  
29. Sprachunterricht viel Aufmerksamkeit#  
30. #z# in Erlernung der fremden Sprache Deutsch  
31. {(die Schule wurde von einer grossen Zahl russischer  
Kinder besucht)} Fran-  
32. zösisch + (und) später Englisch {für die Commere-  
ceabteilung} bedeu-  
33. tendes zu leisten. #Für# den Unterricht der  
34. Klassischen Sprachen #ga# erteilten {fast} aus-  
schließlich  
35. aus Deutschland berufene Lehrer. #Da die# In den [[X  
verso: {unteren}}}  
36. Klassen waren nicht über 20 Schüler,  
37. in den oberen meist weniger als 10-. Es hatte |

Page XI — 19 lines

11

01. daher der Unterricht mehr den Character  
 02. eines privatunterrichts [32] als den einer öffentlichen  
 03. Schule, weshalb auch #sehr# die Schule  
 04. bedeutendes zu leisten vermochte. Die Schüler  
 05. gingen ferner zum Theil in russische Specialan-  
 06. stalten über, zum Theil machten sie das Abiturien-  
 07. ten Examen als Externe bei der Universität.  
 08. Viele Kinder von Ausländern\* [[sic]] #vollendet  
 09. ihre Bi# [33] gi#e#nigen nach Vollendung des Unter-  
 10. richts der Mayschen Schule direct ins

11. Ausland um ihre Studien fortzusetzen  
 12. oder ins praktische Leben zu treten. ||  
 13. Sehr inter#r#essant war mir der Besuch von  
 14. Zusammenkünften einzelner Glieder des  
 15. Mayschen Lehrerkreises + (und) einiger früherer Leh-  
 rer  
 16. + (und) andere Petersburger Gelehrter, die  
 17. #z# sich monatlich ein mal bei May #zu#  
 18. trafen, wo sehr interessante wissenschaft-  
 19. liche Vorträge gehalten wurden.

## Translation

### Memories of Scholar

[[Page 1]] In August 1858 I arrived in Petersburg by ship-passage coming from Stettin. This journey was quite tiring because of the stormy weather during the last days. My co-travellers have been for me of less interest. I remember only of one elder gentleman, obviously belonging to social standing of commoners, who attracted my attention because he lived in Petersburg for many years; and because of that he told me a lot about the conditions there. Already in Kronstadt he offered to me his support in order to get a flat on Vasil'evsky Island. After my passport was judged to be right, my luggage was taken by porters and I was able to reach the embankment after crossing the toll-barque. Although I had learnt Russian language quite well, it was really difficult for me to make communication with porters and haulage men who were waiting at the embankment. Therefore my acquaintance from the ship was of great advantage for me, because he told them the address of his home. The first problem that was presented to me and that embarrassed me, were the vehicles themselves. These were small riding-cabs on which one could only take a seat in style of horse-riding. The seat [[page 2]] had only a length of three or four feet and was one and half feet of breadth. In the rear there was a rounded back with rounded shape of three to four inches, there were foot-boards on both sides, one foot of breadth. The coachman's box was ahead and about half a foot higher. The whole seat was hanging with straps from towered up springs. I was standing with two suitcases in front of this vehicle, which was the only that remained for my use; I got highly embarrassed about how to take my place with both suitcases. Finally I took the decision and took my place astride in the very rear of the vehicle; both porters put the big suitcase across the seat and the smaller upon. I kept myself and the luggage on the staggering seat grasping with both hands the handles of the upper and I pressed my knees against the lower suitcase. Situation turned to the worse after the horse began moving. The fragile vehicle staggered from one side to the other along the most hideous pavement that I ever saw. Neither I took notice of the heavily pouring rain nor did I risk a view around, because I feared at every moment to drop down from the vehicle. Happily the distance was not far

so that I soon had survived my misfortune. We stopped at the store of the tinsmith-master W. who lived in the First Line. A journeyman and the coachman deliberated [[page 3]] me from the distressing luggage which they brought to the store, and finally I met with a dry place within the small living room where I could take a rest. The housewife entertained us with a cup of coffee and already after one hour there was met a room for me in the neighbouring house so that after some hours I was able to be settled at a comfortable place in accordance with the circumstance. I am not able to describe my impressions about Petersburg. Too much time had passed by since that time and during the later periods I learnt so much about the city. I only remember that I was deeply impressed by the beautiful embankment of River Neva and by the glittering maze at Nevsky Prospect. Most of the streets seemed to be planned with a too big width and they were deserted, the places were dreary, nowhere a green tree to be seen except at Summer Garden and at the avenue in front of the façade of the Admiralty. There was a much more difference between Vasil'evsky Island and the city itself than nowadays. Beginning at the Big Prospect the lines had wooden houses with only one floor, and very rarely there could be seen stone-houses with two or three floors. The wooden hut of policemen cause a peculiar impression as they were small wooden constructions placed at several wide places; and sinister police soldiers were sitting or standing around these huts. [[Page 4]] Although these watch posts of policemen had to protect the people in public, I got the impression that people avoided them, because they seemed to be more dangerous than the rabble himself. As I was told, they [[i. e. policemen]] allowed no farmer to pass by without fleecing his goods, they were under the same hood like the thieves, but they never appeared if they were needed to come, and it seemed that some outrage like murder and second-degree murder was caused by policemen during night. Of course, I myself have not seen such by my own eyes. Although there were many police stations, security at the Peterburgian streets was not at the best. I was warned never to go without any company at the Small Prospect after sunset, also I was proposed to avoid the great Isaac's place and place at

Admiralty, because pedestrians there were completely robbed during evening and night hours. Gaslight was only at Nevsky Prospect more splendid than in Berlin at that time. Except the English Quay and the Castle Quay, places and quays had less and insufficient lanterns. Mostly the distant streets scarcely were enlightened by petroleum lanterns. During the first time of my stay I nearly met Germans of several social classes so that I nearly forgot that I dwelt in the Russian capital if there never would have been the Russian people on street life. Farmers wearing bast-shoes on their feet caused a strange character of street life, they used to wear their shirts over the trousers, [[page 5]] and there were merchantmen with long tailed jackets and high boots, soldiers dressed in very shabby and ragged coats, coachmen on their fragile vehicles, which I have described beforehand. In these streets it was a unique chance to use and enlarge my knowledge in Russian language. German population was a compact unit which strictly separated themselves from Russian population and they superciliously looked upon them. In every talk including talks with people from very low social class of German population one could hear rejecting judgments about Russian conditions. It was always proposed to buy only in Germans stores, because of the fraudulence in Russian stores. German handcrafts would be the only people which delivered suitable results of work; bread from German bakeries would be eatable and much more, delicate meat only from German butchers. — I had many letters of recommendation addressed to German scholars and high ranking officials and because of that I had access to high-ranking German social groups. I met friendly acceptance in the house of Dr. Resenberger, who was medical superintendent of Russian fleet, where I met many medical specialists, as for example professor Solekauer who was professor at Medical Academy. Because of my recommendations addressed to academician Schieffner and the permanent secretary Mr. von Middendorf I got in touch with the scholarly members of Academy (and) with German teachers. [[Page 6]] All Germans were divided into two or rather three groups which fairly were separated from each other: 1st migrants from Germany, so-called foreigners, 2nd Germans from the Baltic provinces, 3rd Germans from Petersburg, *i. e.* Germans which were born and grown up in Petersburg. There was a keen contrast between foreigners and Baltic people. Germans in Petersburg rather were between them because of their relatives in both groups or because of their study at the Baltic University of Dorpat they became close with the Baltic inhabitants. The last mentioned group of Germans was very close to the Russians because of the fact that they knew Russian language very well and because they lived with Russians since childhood. Foreigners only had less interest in Russians, they did not concern with them because there were only less points of joined interest. The Baltic people were hostile against Russian affairs because of the fact that they [[*i. e.* the Baltic people]] defined themselves to be a more high-ranking race, but politically depending from the lower race. Naturally Academy was the main centre of the educated sphere in Petersburg. All highly educated

scholars met within these groups. There existed scholarly circles and academic soirées where such highly educated community, most of them were Germans, met each other. [[Page 7]] About some hundreds of guests met at the soirées by invitation of Mr. von Middendorf, mostly gentlemen. Tea was offered for guests' arrival, after that they went to the great hall where one of the participating gentlemen gave a lecture; after the end of lecture some of the guests were divided in several groups, they still remained at the place, they took their seat and they shared until late night with nice chatting a good drink of Academic punch. I remember one evening when our kind landlord gave a lovely lecture about bees. He finished his lecture with a lousy remark that the system of these insects would cause in fact an example for the higher developing of mankind. One could recognize that already the ladies were busy to wear stays connecting breast and body like insects, and that for music in future there would be really a delight of art if such human-insect organisms like bees would be able to present a duet or a quartet. Later in that evening conversation became very lively. I was introduced to general-major Hoffmann, who was professor of mineralogy; he was a very jovial elder gentleman who, unlikely being dressed with a general's uniform, told the funniest tales in style like it is known from the jargon of the Dorpat University student-fellows in the students-club. He became [[page 8]] a military person because he was employed as a professor of the mountain-corps and because of the officer status of mining engineers. After he had heard that I was planning for Siberia he started to inaugurate me by funny travel anecdotes into the conditions of Eastern Russia and Siberia. I remember well an humorous anecdote concerning A(lexander) von Humboldt's travel to Altai region. He was requested by Emperor Nikolai I in order to visit Ural region, because of his statement that Ural mountain region would be exactly of the same structure like some of the South American mountain regions where diamonds could be discovered. The Emperor really would have been highly delighted about the discovery of diamond mines in Ural region, and Alexander von Humboldt really had to inspect Ural region. Indeed there were discovered some diamonds by mining activities. However, he commented with an arid humour that by opinion of specialists these diamonds already have been cut. Later there was no further success to investigate diamonds in Ural region [34]. On the whole, Humboldt would have seen very less in Russia, because of his personal and official style of travel there could only be seen such what was presented and never those things which really were existing. Except of General Hoffmann I met the physician in ordinary [[page 9]] of Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna; at late evening in the home of Middendorf he gave a very interesting lecture about Italian folk poetry. Moreover [[I met]] Mr. Hehn, who was serving in public library at that time. He came from Dorpat and was directly sent to the interior regions of Russia, and he did not like to talk about Russian and Russian identity as it could be easily recognized from his acid but witty tales. The impression that was caused by this society towards

the foreigner was the same as I generally met within German circles. It was a world of its own without any coherence with Russian circles; and as soon as the Russian identity was mentioned, this happened with certain arrogance. — I also met some other academicians, most of them were orientalists: Schieffner, Böhtingk, Dorn, Brosset {verso: also the historian Kunik,} specialists of classics (academicians of science) and Stephani. I got in closer contact with Schieffner and Böhtingk who were supporting me with proposals and practical advice. Only with Kunik I met from time to time Russian visitors. Because of Schieffner's recommendation I was introduced to the director of German Private School, Mr. Karl May, at Vasil'evsky Island; he accepted me in a friendly manner and invited me into his home. The social manners in May's home were deferring from the other German circles. It was a really true German home in Petersburg. Russian language could be heard there as well as German language. Usually on Saturday, when May's friends and employees met, I also met the teachers of the institution which were partly from Russian, partly from German origin; the last mentioned directly appeared from the foreign country. [[IX verso on level of lines 7—8 of German manuscript: {Germans French + Englishmen}]] [[Page 10]] In addition there was a great number of teachers and scholars who in former time were employed in May's Institute. May's school was founded by the initiative of German bankers and wholesale merchants, who installed their private tutor for director of the school. This school was completely free and as different in style of classes, teaching subjects [[compared with other schools; see commentary]]. Compared with the surrounding conditions May was a very competent pedagogue who founded a unique Institute. The lower

classes were on a common level, but from the third class there was a division into branches of Gymnasium and branch of commerce where with the exception of common subjects the subjects of Gymnasium and commerce were separated from each other. Commonly the teaching language was German, but from the beginning Russian language was also part of the curriculum. Later there were also mathematics in Russian language in addition to the Russian language studies. They paid a great attention to French language which was taught only by mother tongue speakers who in the same way became pedagogues at this school. The school pupils partly were full time residents partly were they half-time residents which spent their time in school from 9 o'clock in the morning until 8 o'clock in the evening; this caused very effective results with foreign languages such as German — because many Russian children learnt at that school —, French language and later English in the branch of commercial studies. Nearly all teachers for classic studies appeared from Germany. In the early classes there were not more than 20 school pupils, in the later classes there mostly were less than 10. Because of that [[page 11]] this teaching style was more close to the character of private tutoring than public teaching. Partly the school pupils later changed to special Russian institutes, but partly they received from University their Matura degree as externals. After finishing school at May's Institute many foreign children left to abroad countries in order to complete their study or to begin their career in practical life. It was very interesting for me to get in touch with several members of May's collegium as well as with former teachers and other scholars from Petersburg who met once a month with May on occasion of giving very interesting lectures.

## Commentary

The preserved text obviously is the beginning part of an autobiographic essay which unfortunately remained incomplete and without mentioning a fixed date. F. W. Radloff introduced his description of mid nineteenth St. Petersburg beginning with his arrival to the city in 1858. The author gives an elaborate description of his transfer by special Russian cab from harbour to Vasil'evsky Island. It seems that even during his first travel the author was focused to get in touch with people by whom the young researcher was expecting kind support for his personal need, surely this was a realistic and practical attitude that was combined with the description of interior structure of public and social life. His first impression concerning the City was focused to the public situation and security which for a German police-officer's son was of primary interest. The close personal inclination to the policemen world can be imagined by special phrases which are until today well-known as the typical language of German phrases of police-investigation: Radloff confirms his personal distance to the world of criminals by the special German sentence that is well-known to every German policeman until today: "Ich selbst habe natürlich in der Beziehung keine persönlichen Beobachtungen gemacht" (IV, 12—14) [35].

We see the young man with the typical attitude that we know very often from inexperienced travellers especially when they left the personal place or the capital of their home country: after arrival at their new destination it seems for them that the new destination's places are different from the home country, the customs more rough and the inhabitants behaviour — if they came from lower social class — simple, crowded, shabby and non-urban at all, especially because of reasons of public security. In the same way we see author's talent of utilitarianism when he described his co-traveller who invited the young man into his handcraft's home.

When F. W. Radloff focused his attention on the academic circles of Academy, he obviously used the chance to get in touch with very important researchers and he was invited to the lectures and introduced to their soirée circles. In German archives mostly huge collections of documents and correspondences from V. A. Hehn, O. v. Böhtingk, A. Th. v. Middendorf(f), A. v. Schieffner, M. F. (M. I.) Brosset, E. E. (A. A.) Kunik and L. Stefani are preserved; these materials are listed in Kalliope-Archive [36]. With these academicians F. W. Radloff met several specialists who told him about their special professions and Siberian experience. Obvi-

ously it happened in those circles that young Radloff established his relations with some Baltic scholars, especially those from famous University of Dorpat, where he 10 years later received his second doctorate [37] — surely this was the beginning of the networking character in his research and science following the principle of “acquaintance of great advantage” which is well-known from his later biography, too. However, although young scholar was attending the evening-meetings of Academy, he turned to a more practical level of teaching when he got access to the circles of German Private School in St. Petersburg (Vasil'evsky Island, Line 10), whose director, Karl Johann (Ivanovich) May (1820—1895), was a well-known pedagogue, because of the special und very successful teaching curricula in his school [38], which followed a step of modernization in that time because of bilingual teaching units [39]. From this point we can understand why young Radloff became first a teacher at public school in Siberia (Barnaul).

Connected with the description of the academic meetings he mentioned also details of Academicians' soirée. There are small details that can help to define the date of the document. On occasion of one of the academic evening lectures, F. W. Radloff mentioned a typical male-joke concerning female body and fashion based on a literary well-known and frivolous (VII, 16 “laussige Bemerkung”) comparison of women and insects (VII, 13—29: bees) [40] — but easily to understand from point of history of fashion [41] —, whose adult character and style from context of German mother tongue speaker may be unveils an aged author of that lines — “even scholars are men” [42] — , including the many corrections of handwriting in that part of memories (VII, 16—29). Also the memories concerning academic jokes, corporate behaviour (VII, 33—VIII, 10) and acid scholarly running-down about late Alexander von Humboldt's impressive and important travel to Siberia (VII, 8—34) show that the author's concept of memories turned to some easy details as they are typical for aged scholars' spoken memories, especially when they are meeting for soirées in their club [43]. Taking into consideration Alexander v. Humboldt's (Berlin, 14.09.1769 — Berlin, 06.05.1859) famous lecture given before the members of Academy and in the presence of the tsar's family in St. Petersburg 16/28.11.1829, which is well-delivered [44], including the circumstances of biography and scientific results, it seems that this running-down, memorized many years later by F. W. Radloff, was the result of envy by Humboldt's German contemporaries which never reached the same publicity like the famous scholar himself, and finally this caused the rising of legends [45]. Alexander v. Humboldt mentioned in his personal memories, published in letters addressed to members of his family, colleagues and friends, that the energytaking and detailed protocol that was followed during his travel to Altai region and Siberia in 1829 was caused by his high publicity and surely also because of his honourable age (he was sixty years old at that time). A. v. Humboldt wrote in a letter from June 9th / 21st, 1829 (Katharinenburg) addressed to his brother Wilhelm v. Humboldt:

Die Vorsorge der Regierung für unsere Reise ist nicht auszusprechen, ein ewiges Begrüßen, Vorreiten und Vorfahren von Polizeileuten, Administratoren, Kosakenwachen aufgestellt! Leider aber auch fast kein Augenblick des Alleinseins, kein Schritt, ohne dass man ganz wie ein Kranker unter der Achsel geführt wird [46].

In addition he absolved also many social meetings as he wrote on June 13th / 26th, 1829, in a letter addressed to Graf Ferdinand von Galen:

Notre voyage a été des plus heureux et agréable surtout pendant la navigation sur le Wolga de Nischnei Novgorod à Casane... On me soigne si bien que l'on m'a forcé de danser à une fête du Club de Catherinbourg, car partout il y a des Clubs et des “savans du lieu” [47].

It seems also that general and professor Hoffmann possibly did not know the details and interpretation of Humboldt's analysis concerning the possibility of discovering diamonds in Altai region. Obviously the first hypothesis was discussed with colleagues in Dorpat and from side of Russian mining directors; and the idea was followed by geological analysis and a report written by five specialists and published in 1841 [48]. This report was commented on by W. v. Humboldt himself, who knew about critics and legends as they were still cited many decades later in F. W. Radloffs memories. W. v. Humboldt wrote about the special geological conditions:

Zum größten Mißvergnügen derer, die in der Entdeckung von *Diamanten im Russischen Reich* einen Betrug oder eine lächerliche Mystifizierung sehen wollten, haben wir also die gewichtigen Zeugnisse von fünf Sachverständigen, die seit 1829 die Schauplätze der Entdeckung besucht haben: nämlich die Zeugnisse der Herren Parot, Engelhardt, Karpow, Graube und Helmersen. Außerhalb der Tropen zeigen sich die Diamanten unter 54° und 58° Breite wie in der Äquinoktialzone nie anders als kristallisiert, und man braucht nicht den Verdacht zu hegen “geschnittene brasilianische Diamanten, die bei Moskauer Juwelieren gekauft wurden, seien in die goldführenden Schuttläger des Ural geworfen worden, damit man sie beim Waschen als inländische Diamanten wiederfinde” [49].

We can argue that there was a great gap of time between these events and the writing down in F. W. Radloff's memories as he expressed page III, 13—14.

However, it seems to be of special importance to have a glance on the description concerning social conditions and public opinions inside German community in St. Petersburg. The chapters dealing with this subject are detailed (VI, 23—VII, 37) and they unveil a certain change of relations between Germans and their German-Baltic and Russian environment, especially from point of ethnic and social debate. For the first time we see that F. W. Radloff himself used a changing orthography of the word “German” in connection with adjective links: he wrote partly with initials “Deutsche Bevölkerung”, “Deutsche Gelehrte”, “Deutsche Kreise”, “Deutsche Handwerker”, “Deutsche Bankiers + Grosskauf-

leute” (V, 14—19; V, 23—24; IX, 31—32; X, 4). From point of historic analysis especially the description of the German community contains some indications which can be seen under the relation with the well-known ethnic and political activities of that community at the end of 19th century and later up to the mid of 1st decade of 20th century. Although Germans had a special and privileged status since they appeared in Russia during the reign of Catherine II, named Catherine the Great, their heterogenic group was dominated by their church communities, schools and societies as symbols of their ethnic structure [50] as T. Maurer pointed out:

Die Deutschen waren *mehr* als Gäste im Russischen Reich, sie waren *Teil* Moskaus, Petersburgs, Odessas, multiethnischer Städte. Ihre Identität war komplex, definiert durch Beruf und Stand, Konfession und eine nationale Haltung, die zwischen den Polen “deutsch” und “russisch” in Wirklichkeit eine Vielfalt von Abstufungen kannte. Dabei vollzog sich das Leben der einzelnen in sich überlappenden Kreisen, die zwar von zwei Kulturen dominiert wurden — der deutschen und der russischen — sich aber doch nicht auf diese beschränkten [51].

Statistical analysis of demography shows that in 1863 Germans, defined as mother-tongue speakers, with factor of 6,8% were the biggest group of non-Russian ethnicity, but this group was divided into half-half from Baltic origin and German individuals which were born in St. Petersburg. High qualified professions were known until First World War especially for women (language teachers, in domestic professions) and for academicians such as medical doctors and other academic scholars etc. who were inclined to assimilation, marriage into Russian families and polylingual education. Obviously the social group of handcrafts remained in their German ethnic group by profession, style of holidays, societies and preference of German restaurants [52]. This separation exactly was described by F. W. Radloff with the examples of German bakeries and butchers (V, 8—22). It is a well-known fact that, from point of Russian eyes, special German behaviour must be seen as a certain inclination for crankiness, which indeed until our time can be noticed watching Germans at foreign places or in foreign countries. This may be caused by German folk-character to present them with an attitude of special perfectionism in connection with their working or profession. Obviously from Russian side existed some evidence of humour concerning these facts (*e. g.* theatre plays and operas on the subject) such as “Die Bäckerei oder der Petersburger Deutsche” (“Bakery or St. Petersburg German”) mentioned by M. Busch:

Ein deutscher Handwerker suchte sich eher als Wurstmacher denn als Fleischer sein Auskommen, so daß das deutsche Übergewicht in diesem Gewerbezweig schließlich die Spottlust der Russen hervorrief, die den Ausdruck „deutscher Wurstmacher“ (*nemeckij kolbasnik*) für ihre deutschen Nachbarn gebrauchten. Das deutsche Bäckerei-

wesen war sogar Thema von Bühnenstücken und Opern [53].

Because of the fact that F. W. Radloff mentioned in his memories an increasing racism against Russian identity (and culture?) from side of social level of German handcrafts and especially from side of Baltic Germans including Academicians connected with them (IV, 29—V, 8; VI, 23—29; IX, 4—18) we should take into consideration the political change that was caused by nationalistic and hyper-patriot attitude in all levels of society since 2nd half of 19th century and especially since the riot in Poland 1863 and the result of German-French War 1870/71 which opened for Germans in Russia a path to revolution in 1905 [54]. The debate of that time was dominated by the request for access to the passive voting-right, access to St. Petersburg city Duma, change of tax-system and finally the attempt to unify all Germans in Russia in order to form a common political will. This heated situation caused — unless the many nationalistic jubilees and rejoices (which were also inspired by activities of Protestant Church) —, a conflict inside the still existing German loyalty to the Russian government and society [55].

From context of the memories and because of coincidence with historical topics around the year 1905 when F. W. Radloff for the first time was proposed for Order Pour le Mérite in Berlin after his friend and colleague Otto von Böhtlingk died in 1904 [56], we could argue that these memories possibly were written around 1905 or up to 1908, when he finally received the Order pour le Mérite. It seems that a small deletion in the manuscript, which shows the name of v. Böhtlingk page V, 35 in a very early context, should be taken into consideration. Was this only a corrected mistake depending from the structure of the text at that point, or was this incorrect writing caused under a personal impression because of a special, personal reason? We cannot answer this, but from all names mentioned in these memories this is the only correction of a name by reason of change of the sentence in the manuscript.

In addition we have to take into consideration a later date for the memories, but because of the fragmentary character the preserved text ends too early. However, could it have made a sense to write after 1908 or even as a well-known Russian citizen of German descent after 1914 such a summary of precise but partly unpleasant details of German folk character and behaviour in St. Petersburg?

Anyhow the manuscript opens a glance into F. W. Radloff's style of description and personal character, and finally the document should be estimated for an important contribution and summary of German-Russian social and academic history. May be there is also a deeper meaning in the character of this unfinished form — until the time of contemporary readers up to now after about 100 years later.

**Notes**

1. See: G. Ziethen, “A young scholar in a hurry — the promotion and academic life of Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff (1837—1918) in 1858. A contribution to scholarly relations in the 19th century. Part 1”, ***Manuscripta Orientalia*** XIX/1 (2013), pp. 48—66, and idem, *ibid.* XIX/2 (2013), pp. 59—62 (part 2).
2. See commentary below.
3. Instead of “vorderen”.
4. Instead of “Nebenhaus”.
5. The term is from Berlin dialect for “Polizeibüdchen” (small wooden hut for policemen on street watch).
6. Instead of “Waren” (“goods”).
7. From point of German custom of upper class in that time it was a symbol of uneducated behaviour to wear the shirt over trousers in public especially in the city. A change of accepting such style first came in German society after social revolution 1967, but until now mostly is not accepted by elder educated generation. This small detail caused lot of differing opinions between generations in German families of middle or upper class as author remembered well by own experience.
8. Instead of “gebrechlichen”.
9. Instead of “das”.
10. Instead of “Brot”.
11. Instead of “Empfehlungen”.
12. Alexander Theodor v. Middendorff(f), zoologist (born in St. Petersburg 6/18.6.1817, died in Hellenorm 24.1.1894). *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (print version, electronic edition: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/index.html>) LII (1906), pp. 387—95; H. Neuschäffer, “Middendorff, Alexander”, *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (print version, electronic edition: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/index.html>) XVII (1994), p. 463sq, <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd119211963.html>, 12.10.2013; [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander\\_von\\_Middendorff](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_von_Middendorff), 12.10.2013; [http://de.wikisource.org/wiki/ADB:Middendorff,\\_Alexander\\_von](http://de.wikisource.org/wiki/ADB:Middendorff,_Alexander_von), 12.10.2013. Archival details: *Kalliope Portal*, electronic data resource: <http://www.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de>; <http://www.kalliope-portal.de>.
13. See note 24.
14. Instead of “zerfielen”.
15. Ostseeprovinzen.
16. Instead of “stand”.
17. Instead of “tea”.
18. Geologist, mineralogist and Generalleutnant Ernst Reinhold v. Hoffmann (born in Berlin 20.1.1801 — died in Dorpat (Tartu) / Estonia 4.6.1871) and Gregor v. Helmersen (1803—1885) accompanied A. Humboldt in 1829 at travel route from Miass to Orenburg. “Alexander von Humboldt. Briefe aus Russland 1829. Mit einem einleitenden Essay von Ottmar Ette”, *Beiträge zur Alexander-von-Humboldt-Forschung* XXX, ed. by E. Knobloch, I. Schwarz, Chr. Suckow (Berlin, 2009), p. 307 (Biographie). [http://et.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ernst\\_Reinhold\\_Hofmann](http://et.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ernst_Reinhold_Hofmann), 12.10.2013; [http://et.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ernst\\_Reinhold\\_Hofmann](http://et.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ernst_Reinhold_Hofmann), 12.10.2013. Archival details: *Kalliope Portal*.
19. Humoristischer / humoristischster Finten, Erzählungen?
20. See commentary below on diamonds.
21. Victor Amandus (Amadeus) Hehn, historian, linguist (born in Dorpat 26.9/8.10.1813, died in Berlin 21.3.1890). *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* L (1905), pp. 115—21; *Neue Deutsche Biographie* VIII (1969), pp. 236—8. Archival details: *Kalliope Portal*.
22. Because of his political activities connected with liberalism he published under pseudonym A. E. Horn and was imprisoned for some time: K. Deichgräber, “Hehn, Victor Amadeus”, *Neue Deutsche Biographie* VIII (1969), pp. 236—8, <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118163981.html>, 12.10.2013. Later he became nobilized.
23. Anton v. Schiefner, tibetologist (born in Reval (Talinn) 6/18.6.1817, died in St. Petersburg 4/16.11.1879). H. Walravens, “Schiefner, Franz Anton von”, *Neue Deutsche Biographie* XXII (2005), pp. 736—8, <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd117228427.html>, 12.10.2013. Archival details: *Kalliope Portal*.
24. Obviously this was the beginning of good relations with famous indologist Otto von Böhtingk, born 11.6.1815 in St. Petersburg, he died in the year 1904 in city of Leipzig; because of that reason F. W. Radloff was proposed the first time in 1905 for the honour of Order Pour le Mérite; see commentary below and Ziethen, “A young scholar...”, pp. 61sq. W. Kirfel, “Böhtingk, Otto Nikolaus von”, *Neue Deutsche Biographie* II (1955), pp. 396—7, <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd116221909.html>, 12.10.2013. Archival details: *Kalliope Portal*.
25. Famous orientalist Johann Albert Bernhard v. Dorn (11.05.1805—31.05.1881) became biographer and relative of Christian Martin Fraehn (because one of Fraehn's sons was married with a daughter of v. Dorn) and his successor on the post of director of Asiatic Museum (St. Petersburg); Ziethen, “Christian Martin Joachim v. Fraehn (Rostock 1782 — St. Petersburg 1851) — his life as documented by the records from German archives”, ***Manuscripta Orientalia*** X/2 (2004), pp. 57—70, especially pp. 61, 67, note 1.
26. Marie-Félicité (Marius; Marij Ivanovic) Brosset, French Orientalist in St. Petersburg (1802—1880). Archival details: *Kalliope Portal*.
27. See note 29.
28. Ludolf Stephani, archaeologist, specialist in ancient Greek language and epigraphica (born in Beucha near Leipzig 29.3.1816, died in St. Petersburg in May 1887); G. Kieseritzky, “Stephani, Ludolf”, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* XXXVI

(1893), pp. 93—5, <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd117272930.html?anchor=adb>, 12.10.2013. Archival details: *Kalliope Portal*. This academician is mentioned in a 4-pages handwritten outline which was preserved as an inlay of book from library of Kunstkamera. This document is without signature of its writer. Thanks to great cooperation with chief-librarian Natalia Syssoeva, Kunstkamera, St. Petersburg, I was allowed to read this document at April, 9th 2013. The unnamed author discussed his proposal and personal influence on behalf of installation of sinologist W. F. Wassiljeff (1818—1900) for the post of academic chair (1886 after common biographic data) and for being responsible for several innovations in field of sinologic studies (installation of new typographia of chinese letters, supervising the project of a new catalogue of *Asiatica* in the museum, duties concerning publications, edition of a lithographic brief chinese dictionary). Style of that handwritten outline is such that author tried with a tough style to convince collegium and unnamed high-ranking person (minister?) to follow the reasons discussed in the outline. Obviously this author was well networking with academician Stefani. Whole context should be discussed under the assumption that in later years F. W. Radloff, who became director of Kunstkamera since 1884, perhaps was the initiating person of that procedure and also author of this outline. Cf. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vasily\\_Vasilyev](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vasily_Vasilyev), 13.10.2013.

29. Ernst Eduard (Arist Aristovich) Kunik, historian with special field in Byzantine history and turkologic ethnographica, philologist and specialist in numismatics (born in Liegnitz / Silesia / Schlesien 2/14.10.1814, died 18/30.1.1899 in St. Petersburg). [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Ernst\\_Eduard\\_Kunik](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Ernst_Eduard_Kunik), 12.10.2013; <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Arist+Aristovich+Kunik>, 12.10.2013. Archival details: *Kalliope Portal*.

30. <http://www.kmay.ru/index.php>, 12.10.2013. A. N. Chesnokova, *Nemcy v Peterburge (Germans at St. Petersburg)* (St. Petersburg, 2001), p. 53:

Eine interessante Einzelheit: zu Mittag setzten sich alle Lehrer und Gymnasiasten an den gemeinsamen Tisch zusammen und die Schwestern des Direktors teilten die Suppe aus. Im Gymnasium kannte man keinen Standes- oder Nationalunterschied. Der Unterricht wurde in 2 Sprachen — Deutsch und Russisch — geführt und kennzeichnete sich durch ein hohes Niveau. Es ist kein Wunder, dass soviele Zoeglinge des Gymnasiums, die sich stolz "Maykaefer" nannten, zu berühmten Wissenschaftlern, Malern, Baumeistern wurden.

Postcard with the new building from early 20th century (line 14, no. 39), *op. cit.*, fig. 21 (without numeration). The special style of collegial community and social life was already mentioned by Christian Martin Fraehn (1782—1851) concerning the house of famous pedagogue Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746—1827) in Burgdorf, Kt. Waadt / Switzerland; see: Ziethen, "Christian Martin Joachim v. Fraehn...", pp. 57—70, especially pp. 60, 65sq. See also commentary below and [http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%CF%E5%F2%E5%F0%E1%F3%F0%E3%F1%EA%E0%FF\\_%F8%EA%EE%EB%E0\\_%CA%E0%F0%EB%E0\\_%CC%E0%FF](http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%CF%E5%F2%E5%F0%E1%F3%F0%E3%F1%EA%E0%FF_%F8%EA%EE%EB%E0_%CA%E0%F0%EB%E0_%CC%E0%FF), 12.10.2013.

31. Instead of "Pädagoge".

32. Instead of "Privatunterrichts".

33. "vollendeten ihre Bi(Idung)".

34. See commentary below on diamonds.

35. I thank my husband Gerhard Humberg, Polizeihauptkommissar i. R., for details about policemen's language.

36. Single archival informations see above under each name.

37. See: Ziethen, "A young scholar... (part I)", pp. 51, 63, note 42.

38. M. Busch, *Deutsche in St. Petersburg 1865—1914. Identität und Integration* (Essen, 1995), pp. 144sqq. This school existed until 1976. N. Juchnjowa, J. Juchnjowa, *Sankt Petersburg. Am Kreuzweg der Kulturen. Die Deutsche Route, ein Wegweiser mit der Karte* (St. Petersburg, 2003), pp. 34—5 mentions on p. 35 for graduates of this school famous academicians like

Die Akademietglieder A. A. Sawarsin, D. S. Lichatschow, M. Fasmer, O. D. Chwolson, die korrespondierenden Mitglieder der Akademie N. N. Katschalow, J. F. Frenkel, die Künstler A. N. und N. A. Benois, N. K. und S. N. Röhrich, K. Somonow, I. Puni, A. Jakowlew, die Architekten J. J. Benois, A. A. Ol, G. D. Grimm, F. F. Postels, I. I. Fomin sowie die Schriftsteller I. W. Uspenski und T. Eichenbaum.

See also: Chesnokova, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

39. T. Maurer, "Folgen des Kulturkontakte: Bewahrung und Wandel deutscher Kultur in den Städten des Russischen Reiches", *Leben in zwei Kulturen. Akkulturation und Selbstbehauptung von Nichtrussen im Zarenreich. Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa XXII* (Wiesbaden, 2000), pp. 26sq.

40. For examples in classical literature see: M. Saiko, "Cura dabit faciem. Kosmetik im Altertum. Literarische, kulturhistorische und medizinische Aspekte", *Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium LXVI* (Trier, 2005), 62sq on Phokylides 14 (7th—6th century BC).

41. This is the description of fashion of so-called crinoline combined with bodice: J. Zander-Seidel, *Kleiderwechsel. Frauen-, Männer- und Kinderkleidung des 18. bis 20. Jahrhunderts* (Nürnberg, 2002), pp. 48—50, 51—7; J. Peacock, *Kostüm und Mode — das Bildhandbuch* (Bern — Stuttgart — Wien, 2003), p. 160 (Russian lady, 1848), p. 161 (German and French ladies, 1854, 1855), p. 162 (German ladies, ca. 1856 and 1858), p. 163 (Russian ladies, ca. 1865, 1868). A. Fukai et al., *Fashion. Eine Modegeschichte vom 18. bis 20. Jahrhundert, Band 1: 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Die Sammlung des Kyoto Costume Institute* (Köln, 2006), p. 216 (evening dress: ca. 1855), p. 224 (about oversize), pp. 198sq. (dessous). The detailed steps of procedure of dressing in: U. Karbacher, "Zu der Weibspersonen Unterkleidern", *SECRETS — Einblicke in das Reich der Dessous, kommentiert von Chantal Thomas, Begleitband zur Ausstellung im Textilmuseum St. Gallen, 8. Mai — 30. Dezember 2008* (St. Gallen — Bern, 2008), pp. 22—7, pp. 24—5 with three unique photo-sequences about dressing procedure of this kind of cloth (1887, Paris).

42. Cited after informant in note 35.

43. Such style is still alive in academic clubs or soirées in Germany of today as the author of this article met some years ago.

44. Alexander von Humboldt, *Zentralasien. Untersuchungen zu den Gebirgsketten und zur vergleichenden Klimatologie*. Nach der Übersetzung Wilhelm Mahlmanns aus dem Jahr 1844, neu bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Oliver Lubrich. Mit einer Auswahl aus Alexander von Humboldts Reisebriefen und Gustav Roses Reisebericht (Frankfurt am Main, 2009).
45. *Alexander von Humboldts Reise durchs Baltikum nach Russland und Sibirien 1829*, ed. by H. Beck (Stuttgart — Wien, 1983), pp. 45ssq. (diamonds), p. 126 (geology as defined by A. v. Humboldt), pp. 162—5 (special items of v. Humboldt's travel) and pp. 157sq.: “Am 28. November 1829 hielt er in der Petersburger Academie eine Rede, die er in zwei Nächten verfaßt hatte. Sie wurde ein wissenschaftliches und ein gesellschaftliches Ereignis. Der Thronfolger, die Großfürstin Helene, der Großfürst Michael ‘die ganze Stadt und die Frauen’ lauschten dem französischen Vortrag”. The speech is published under the title “Rede, gehalten von Alexander von Humboldt in der außerordentlichen Sitzung der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften von Sankt Petersburg, 16./28.11.1829” in “Alexander von Humboldt. Briefe aus Russland 1829...”, pp. 266—85 (especially p. 273 on precious stones and diamonds).
46. Citation after M. Geier, *Die Brüder Humboldt* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 2009), p. 290sq. after the publication *Briefe Alexander's von Humboldt an seinen Bruder Wilhelm*. Hg. von der Familie von Humboldt in Ottmachau (Stuttgart, 1880), p. 186.
47. “Alexander von Humboldt. Briefe aus Russland 1829...”, p. 141sq. no. 40. Alexander von Humboldt, *Im Ural und Altai* (Bremen, 2009) = Nachdr. *Im Ural und Altai. Briefwechsel zwischen Alexander von Humboldt und Graf Georg von Cancrin aus den Jahren 1827—1832* (Leipzig 1869), pp. 9—18.
48. Alexander von Humboldt, *Zentralasien...*, pp. LXIV, 707—711.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 709. Cf. exhibition catalogue *Russen und Deutsche. 1000 Jahre Kunst, Geschichte und Kultur. Staatliches Historisches Museum*, Moskau, 21.06.2012 bis 25.08.2012, Neues Museum, Berlin, 06.10.2012 bis 13.01.2013 (Petersberg — Berlin — Moskau, 2012), pp. 242sq. (minerals and A. v. Humboldt's travelbooks), p. 245 no. IV.48 (diamond from Bissersk).
50. Maurer, *op. cit.*, pp. 15—36, especially pp. 20, 24sq.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 35sq.
52. With detailed analysis N. V. Juchneva, “Die Deutschen in Sankt Petersburg von der zweiten Hälfte des 19. bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts”, *Die Deutschen in der UdSSR in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Ein internationaler Beitrag zur deutsch-sowjetischen Verständigung*, ed. by I. Fleischhauer, H. H. Jedig (Baden-Baden, 1990), pp. 83—96, especially pp. 83sq., 86sq., 88, 90sq., 92sq.
53. Busch, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 60sq.
54. Maurer, *op. cit.*, p. 36; A. Hendrikson, “Nationalism, assimilation and identity in late Imperial Russia: the St. Petersburg Germans, 1906—1914”, *The Russian Review* LII (Ohio, July 1993), pp. 341—53, especially pp. 343, 345sqq. *Russen und Deutsche...* p. 212.
55. Busch, *op. cit.*, pp. 144sqq., 201—9, especially p. 205 concerning October-Manifest in 1905; pp. 216sq., 221, 224.
56. See notes 13 and 24.

## A D D E N D A & C O R R I G E N D A

Fraehn / *Manuscripta Orientalia. International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research* X/2 (2004), pp. 57—70; 70 ann. 65: *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. by P. G. W. Glare, combined edition (Oxford, 1992).

Radloff / *Manuscripta Orientalia. International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research* XIX/1 (2013), pp. 48—66: Prof. Dr. G. Audring (Berlin) friendly wrote in his letter from 16. 02. 2014: „S. 50: Die Nikolaikirche steht im alten Cölln, da braucht man m. W. nicht über Neukölln und Rixdorf nachzudenken. S. 51 Jena: Diese Uni war verrufen, weil sie Promotion in absentia bot; bekanntlich hat ja auch Marx so seinen Titel erworben. Gegen Geld ging es da schnell. S. 57 erste Zeile muß es natürlich Otto Puchstein heißen. Auf derselben Seite kommt auch Ed. Meyer vor, sozusagen mein Leibautor, und da fehlen mir seine Professuren in Halle usw. bis Berlin und seine Akademie-Mitgliedschaft in Berlin, auch sein nie enden wollendes Lebenswerk, die Geschichte des Altertums.“

