

THE LETTER LIVETH

**AMSTERDAM STUDIES IN THE THEORY AND
HISTORY OF LINGUISTIC SCIENCE**

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Series V

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Volume 9

Joan Leopold

*The Letter Liveth:
The Life, Work and Library of
August Friedrich Pott (1802-1887)*

THE LETTER LIVETH
THE LIFE, WORK AND LIBRARY OF
AUGUST FRIEDRICH POTT
(1802-1887)

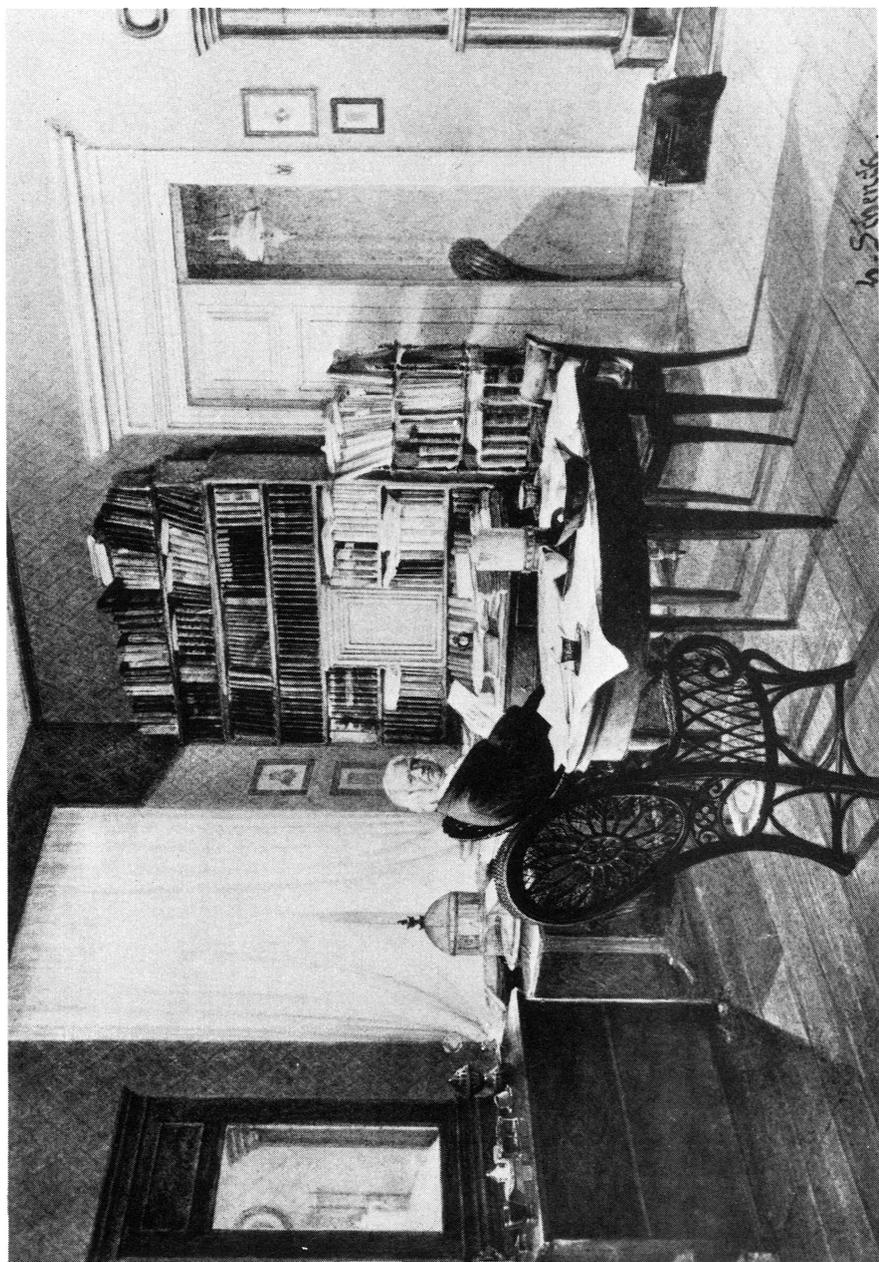
JOAN LEOPOLD
University of California,
Los Angeles

JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY
Amsterdam/Philadelphia

1983

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ISSN 0165 7267 / ISBN 90 272 3733 6

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AUGUST FRIEDRICH POTT IN HIS LIBRARY

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I should like to thank the following institutions for their help in providing access to materials on Pott and for their borrowings via Interlibrary Loan in connection with this project: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Bibliothek der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Halle/S.), Van Pelt Library of the University of Pennsylvania, Doe Library of the University of California at Berkeley, Archive of the American Oriental Society (Stanley Insler), Archive of Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, and Göteborgs Universitetsbibliotek (T. Hag).

Of particular assistance in locating or verifying difficult items were Bernard J. Ford, Associate Director of Libraries, University of Pennsylvania, and Stephan Zimmer, Wissenschaftlicher Assistent, Seminar für vergleichende und indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft, Freie Universität Berlin. I am deeply grateful to them.

I was fortunate to be able to spend part of my time while working on this bibliography as a Mellon Fellow (1979-80) at the University of Pennsylvania, where the Pott library is housed. At the University of Pennsylvania, I would especially like to thank Professor Alfred J. Rieber of the Department of History, and the Humanities Coordinating Committee, as well as the Department of Linguistics and coordinators of the Mellon Fellow program, for making my stay there so pleasant and rewarding. In addition, the

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Center for Studies in Higher Education and Professor Sheldon Rothblatt of the University of California, Berkeley, kindly provided office accommodation for this project when I was a Visiting Scholar at the Center in the summer of 1980. Professor Yakov Malkiel, also of Berkeley, generously agreed to comment upon section A when it was in draft form.

Section A, section B and the index of names were prepared on computer facilities. Section A was based on research supported by the Rhodes Trust, Leverhulme Trust and Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. A grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation helped defray the costs of having section C typed. The assistance of these foundations is most gratefully acknowledged.

The photograph of a watercolor showing Pott seated in his library, which serves as the frontispiece for this volume, was kindly lent to me by the Strub and Schmilewski families. It was taken from the original watercolor in the possession of Hildegard Pott.

Berkeley, California
October 12, 1981
July 4, 1982

Joan Leopold

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

GENERAL

Abt., Abth.	= Abteilung
Antiq.	= Antiquarium
Art., Arts.	= article, articles
B.	= Bogen (sheet, c. 16 pp. for octavo, 8 pp. for quarto)
Bdchn.	= Bändchen
cat.	= catalogue
col., cols.	= column, columns
comp.	= compiler
cont	= continuation(s)
Diss.	= Dissertation
ed	= edition(s)
ed., eds.	= editor, editors after a personal name; otherwise edition, editions
enl.	= enlarged
Fac.	= Faculty
fasc.	= fascicle(s)
fol., fols.	= folio, folios
Gebr.	= Gebrüder
Inaug.-Diss.	= Inaugural-Dissertation, Philosophical Faculty unless otherwise specified
Jhg.	= Jahrgang
K.	= Königlich(e), (en), (er), (es)
l.	= leaf, leaves

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

MS.	= manuscript
n.d	= no date
N.F.	= Neue Folge
n.p.	= no place of publication
n.pub.	= no publisher
Nr., Nrs.	= number, numbers
N.S.	= New Series
p., pp.	= page, pages
repr	= reprint(s)
rev.	= revised
sect.	= section
ser., Ser.	= series
Th., Thl., Tl.	= Teil
trans.	= translator
transl	= translation(s)
Univ.	= University
vol., vols., Vol., Vols.	= volume, volumes
+	= contains additional material not explicitly listed in the Pott cat. entry; is found in the library of the Univ. of Pennsylvania
*	= checked by the editor in Pott's library (or a similar copy) at the Univ. of Pennsylvania or in the entries for Pott's library in the Univ. of Pennsylvania's card catalogue
X	= marked with a large X, or crossed off with blue crayon, in the Pott library cat., presumably because the item was not sold or sent with the rest of

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

the library. These items are not found in the library of the Univ. of Pennsylvania.

- (#) = number of unnumbered pp., leaves, etc., in an entry
- (=) = an alternate spelling or version of a personal or place name; or a periodical, book or series in which the item originally and virtually simultaneously appeared in print
- (= from) = a source for an article that, because of differences in number of pages or other factors, appears not to be merely an offprint in original form in Pott's copy

TITLES OF SERIAL PUBLICATIONS

- A = Das Ausland
- Abh BA = Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
- Abh Berl = Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Historisch-philologische Klasse
- Abh GW Gött = Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Historisch-philologische Klasse
- Abh KM = Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
- Abh Leip = Abhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft (Akademie) der Wissenschaften,

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

	Philologisch-historische Klasse
ABM	= Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres. Mémoires couronnés et mémoires des savants étrangers
Act CLU	= Acta comparationis litterarum universarum
Act Soc Sci boh	= Acta Regiae Scientiarum Societatis bohemicae
Act Soc Sci fenn	= Acta Societatis Scientiarum fennicae
A DB	= Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie
Alt M	= Altpreuussische Monatsschrift
ALZ	= Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung (Halle/S.)
ALZÖ	= Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung zunächst für das katholische Deutschland (Vienna)
Amer Antiqu	= The American Antiquarian . . .
Am J Phil	= American Journal of Philology
AMWL	= Allgemeine Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft und Literatur
Ann Inst Arch	= Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome
Ann Phil Ch	= Annales de philosophie chrétienne
Anz bayer Akad Wiss	= Gelehrte Anzeigen der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München
Arch Gl It	= Archivio glottologico italiano
AS Ph	= Archiv für slavische Philologie
Atl	= Atlantis (London)
Atti Accad Linc	= Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche
Atti Accad Sci Tur	= Atti della Reale Accademia delle

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

	scienze di Torino
AZ	= Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg)
Balt M	= Baltische Monatsschrift
BE Ch	= Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes
Berl Ber	= Monatsberichte (Berichte, Sitzungsbe- richte) der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
Bibl sacra	= Bibliotheca sacra
Bijdr	= Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volken- kunde van Nederlandsch Indië
BISO	= Bollettino italiano degli studi orien- tali
BKIS	= Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen
BKL	= Brockhaus' Konversations-Lexikon. Allge- meine deutsche Real-Encyklopädie für die gebildeten Stände
BLU	= Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung
Boll Soc geogr ital	= Bollettino della Società geografica italiana
Bresl philol Abh	= Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen
BSA	= Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris
Bull AIS	= Bulletin de la classe historico-philo- logique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg
Bull IAL	= Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique liégeois
Bull SLLW	= Bulletin de la Société liégeoise de littérature wallonne
B vgl Spr	= Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachfor- schung auf dem Gebiete der arischen,

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

	celtischen und slawischen Sprachen
BZA	= Ban-Zai-Sau; pour servir à la connaissance de l'Extrême Orient
ČČM	= Časopis českého musea
CE	= The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany (Boston)
CL	= Conversations-Lexikon der neuesten Litteratur-, Völker- und Staaten-geschichte. [Edited by Julius Schadeberg] (Leipzig: O. Wigand, 1841-45)
Congr Int Or	= Verhandlungen des internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses
C r Congr Soc franc arch	= Compte rendu du congrès tenu à Vienne par la Société française d'archéologie
C St	= Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik. Edited by G. Curtius. (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1868-77)
DAW	= Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
D Rv	= Deutsche Revue
DW	= Deutsche Wochenschrift (Hannover)
EALZ	= Ergänzungsblatt zur Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung (Halle/S.)
EG	= Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste. Edited by J. S. Ersch, J. G. Gruber, <u>et al.</u> (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, etc., 1818-89)
Fortn R	= The Fortnightly Review
GGA	= Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen
GIF	= Giornale italiano di filologia e linguistica classica

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

GL	= General Linguistics
Gl	= Globus
GM	= Gazzetta di Mantova
H	= Hermes
Hall Jb	= Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst (July-December 1841 has the title Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst, I)
IALZ	= Intelligenzblatt zur Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung (Halle/S.)
IZ	= Internationale Zeitschrift für allge- meine Sprachwissenschaft
Iz AIS	= Izviestīā Imperatorskoĭ Akademii nauk po otdiēleniū russkago iazyka i slovesnosti. Series 1.
J Am OS	= Journal of the American Oriental So- ciety
JASB	= Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
J Asiat Soc	= Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
Jbb FDA	= Jahrbücher der freien deutschen Akade- mie (Frankfurt/M.)
Jbb Philol	= Jahrbücher für classische Philologie (Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik)
Jb DDG	= Jahrbuch der Deutschen Dante-Gesell- schaft
Jb DMG 1845-46	= Jahresbericht der Deutschen morgen- ländischen Gesellschaft für 1845-1846. (Leipzig: In Commission bei Brockhaus und Avenarius, 1846)
Jb DMG 1846	= Jahresbericht der Deutschen morgen- xxiii

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

- ländischen Gesellschaft für das
Jahr 1846. (Leipzig: In Commission
bei Brockhaus und Avenarius, 1847)
- Jb PKULF = Jahrbuch des Pädagogiums zum Kloster
Unser Lieben Frauen in Magdeburg
- Jb w K = Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche
Kritik
- Jen LZ = Jenaer Literaturzeitung
- JS = Journal des savants
- JSP = Journal of Speculative Philosophy
- JTVI = Journal of the Transactions of the
Victoria Institute or Philosophical
Society of Great Britain
- Leip Ber = Berichte über die Verhandlungen der K.
Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissen-
schaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-
historische Klasse
- Lit C = Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutsch-
land
- Mag LLG = Magazin, herausgegeben von der Let-
tisch-literarischen Gesellschaft
- MAGW = Mitteilungen der anthropologischen
Gesellschaft in Wien
- Mél Arch = Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire.
Ecole française de Rome
- Mél As = Mélanges asiatiques, tirés du Bulletin
de l'Académie impériale des sciences
de St.-Pétersbourg
- Mél Gréco-rom = Mélanges gréco-romains, tirés du
Bulletin de l'Académie impériale des
sciences de St.-Pétersbourg
- Mél Ru = Mélanges russes, tirés du Bulletin de
l'Académie impériale des sciences de
St.-Pétersbourg

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Mem Accad Sci Tur	=	Memorie della Reale Accademia delle scienze di Torino, Classe delle scienze morali, storiche e filologiche
Mém Ac Inscr	=	Mémoires présentées par divers savants à l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres de l'Institut de France
Mém Ac Mont	=	Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences et lettres de Montpellier, Section des lettres
Mém AIS	=	Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St.-Petersbourg
Mém ASP	=	Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris
Mem Ist Lomb Sci Lett	=	Memorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Politiche
Mém Soc Ant Nord	=	Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord
Mém Soc Hist Arch Gen	=	Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève
Mém Soc ling	=	Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris
Mém Soc Nat Acad Ch	=	Mémoires de la Société nationale académique de Cherbourg
MGWJ	=	Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums
Mitt Hist Lit	=	Mitteilungen aus der historischen Literatur
MLLG	=	Mitteilungen der litauischen literarischen Gesellschaft

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

MQR	= Methodist Quarterly Review
Mu	= Le muséon. Revue d'études orientales
NABB	= Neuer Anzeiger für Bibliographie und Bibliothekswissenschaft
Nach GW Gött	= Nachrichten von der Königlichen Ge- sellschaft der Wissenschaften und der G. A. Universität zu Göttingen
NAR	= North American Review
NAVSG	= Nouvelles annales des voyages et des sciences géographiques
N Jb Ges SA	= Neues Jahrbuch der Berlinischen Ge- sellschaft für deutsche Sprache und Alterthumskunde
N Mi	= Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiet historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen
NPP	= Neue preussische Provinzialblätter
NUC	= The National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints
Ny K	= Nyelvtudományi közlemények (Budapest)
OO	= Orient und Occident
P	= Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Alterthum
Pet Mitt	= Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' geographischer Anstalt
Phil A	= Philologischer Anzeiger
PJ	= Preussische Jahrbücher
PN	= Pesti napló (Pest)
Pol	= Il Politecnico. Repertorio di studj letterari, scientifici e tecnici. Parte letterario-scientifica
Pol RM	= Il Politecnico. Repertorio mensile di studj applicati alla prosperità e coltura sociale (See cont Pol.)
Pr Ac Scis Phila	= Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Proc Am Ass Adv Sci	= Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science
Proc Am OS	= Proceedings of the American Oriental Society
Pub Soc Lux	= Publications de la Société pour la recherche et la conservation des monuments historiques dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg
RC	= Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature
RCL	= Revue des cours littéraires
RDAL	= Repertorium der deutschen und ausländischen Literatur
R d M	= Revue des Deux Mondes
Rend Ist Lomb Sci Lett	= Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere. Rendiconti, Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Politiche
Rep Smithson Inst	= Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution
Rev Arch	= Revue archéologique
Rev celt	= Revue celtique
Rev Int	= Revue internationale (Florence)
Rev Ling	= Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparée
Rev Philol Ethn	= Revue de philologie et d'ethnographie
Riv Con	= Rivista contemporanea
Riv Eur	= La Rivista Europea
Riv Fil	= Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica
Riv Or	= Rivista Orientale
RM	= Rheinisches Museum für Philologie

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

RPV		= Russkĭĭ filologicheskĭĭ vĕstnik
R St		= Romanische Studien
SAW		= Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
SBA		= Sitzungsberichte der k. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse
Smith Contr Knowl Smithson		= Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge
Misc Collns		= Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections
S Soc Sci boh		= Sitzungsberichte der K�niglichen b�hmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Prag (i.e., �esk� spole�nost nauk)
Trans Am Ethn Soc		= Transactions of the American Ethnological Society
Trans Am Phil Ass		= Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association
Trans Am Phil Soc		= Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
Trans philol Soc		= Transactions of the Philological Society, London
Trans Roy Soc Vict		= Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria
UI		= Ungarische Israelit (Budapest)
Ung Rev		= Ungarische Revue
Uns Z		= Unsere Zeit. Deutsche Revue der Gegenwart
Verh BAG		= Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft
Verh DPS		= Verhandlungen der . . . Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulm�nner

. . .

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

VM Ak W	= Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Konink- lijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Am- sterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde
W Jb Dt SLK	= Weimarisches Jahrbuch für deutsche Sprache, Litteratur und Kunst
ZAE	= Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde
ZDMG	= Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgen- ländischen Gesellschaft
Z f A	= Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissen- schaft
Z f Bibl W	= Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen
Z f Dt Phil	= Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie
Z f E	= Zeitschrift für Ethnologie
Z f ÖG	= Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien
Z f Ph	= Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philo- sophische Kritik
Z f V	= Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft
Z f WS	= Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache
ZKM	= Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgen- landes
ZVGAS	= Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens
Z vgl Spr	= Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprach- forschung auf dem Gebiete der indo- germanischen Sprachen

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A. INTRODUCTION

I. THE LIFE, WORK AND LIBRARY OF
AUGUST FRIEDRICH POTT (1802-87)

1.0 Pott's Reputation

Georg von der Gabelentz (1840-93), the noted Sinologist and general linguist, remarked that universal spirits like Pott only made their influence felt piecemeal, over the course of generations.¹ He referred to some of Pott's most novel and unprovable views -- on the nature of the linguistic root and on the symbolic value of sounds -- which had not achieved due recognition in their time. In other areas, too, Pott's thoughts can only be absorbed slowly and may need to be consolidated and reorganized for easier assimilation, because of the great richness and syncretic quality of his writings. Recently, there has been increased appreciation of the fact that Pott

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possessed valuable insights and articulated uncommon positions in Indo-European comparative linguistics, general linguistics and linguistic ethnology.² The contributions of Bense and Leopold treat Pott's analysis of the historicity of language, of the pitfalls of reconstructive linguistics in a still Bible-dominated age and of the composite character of linguistic "roots" as well as his humanistic and relativistic interpretations of meaning and culture and his opposition to theories of linguistic and ethnic superiority (such as those of F. M. Müller and A. de Gobineau).

2.0 General Significance of this Introduction (A), Bibliography (B) and Catalogue (C)

This introduction and accompanying bibliography and catalogue provide additional access routes to Pott's career by chronicling his life, works and library collection, with its wide range of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century linguistic literature. The routes taken here lead us most directly to discussion of Pott's writing, publication and book-collecting habits. These subjects have an important history of their own, which normally would be ignored in a general biography of Pott the linguist. Such a biography I hope to complete in the not too distant

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future.³ This introduction, bibliography and library catalogue do not preclude or summarize that biographical study, but rather highlight Pott's activities, publications and book collection in ways that will be most helpful both to the information specialist and librarian dealing with linguistics and to the linguistic scholar seeking to make an initial approach to Pott's multifarious works and interests. For these reasons, numerous indices have been compiled: of periodicals in which Pott published (A I. 4.5.1), of subjects on which he wrote (A I. 4.6), and of personal names in the titles of his works and in the catalogue of his library (Index of Names).

3.0 Life of August Friedrich Pott (1802-87)

3.1 Childhood and Youth

A. F. Pott was born into a family of Lutheran clerics in the Kingdom of Hannover, Germany, in 1802. He was the second of five children, all but one of whom survived into adulthood. His father, pastor at Nettelrede, the village in which Pott was born, died of tuberculosis when Pott was six. The family's male line, one might say, had been declining slowly in wealth and status from the late seventeenth century to Pott's time. Though generations of the family lived and worked in fairly stable surroundings throughout that period -- the small villages, towns and

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capital of the large, internationally recognized Kingdom of Hannover, they did not thrive financially, in part due to large numbers of offspring and the fathers' clerical specialization in the education of children, even under adverse local conditions of poverty, ignorance and indifference.

After the death of Pott's father, the family moved to the maternal farmstead at nearby Oldendorf, which Pott affectionately referred to as his "Nest" (nest). There the Pott children were supported and cared for by their maternal grandparents, uncle and mother, until their mother died six years later in February 1814 of typhus, just after the Napoleonic occupation had ended.

A. F. Pott's interest in learning was well advanced before the death of his father and the move to Oldendorf. At that time, before the age of seven, he was said to be already very fond of books. His father wrote "'Fritz geht nichts über seine geliebten bücher'". His first formal education outside the family circle came from a young tutor C. C. L. Lauenstein, who was hired in 1814 to tutor Pott and other children at Oldendorf. In 1815 Pott and his brother Theodor followed Lauenstein to Adensen, another small Hannoverian village near Schloss Marienburg, where Lauenstein had been appointed pastor. There Pott became

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proficient in Latin and Greek, beyond the level of other entering students at the Hannover Lyceum, and received religious training leading to his confirmation in 1817.

The environment in which Pott was raised may have encouraged his outspokenness and his stubborn attachment to older, eighteenth-century ways, to popular culture and to Low German writers. The environs of Oldendorf, with their agricultural and hunting associations, revisited by Pott almost every year after his marriage to his cousin Elise Ebeling in 1840, provided a context from which he continued to draw metaphors, similes and topics for etymological and culture-historical discussion. They also inspired his botanical studies.

Pott moved on to the city of Hannover, where he completed his preparatory studies at the Lyceum from 1817-21 with the help of his guardian, G. H. Deicke, a stationer and paper manufacturer in the city. Although Pott was not particularly impressed by the education that he received at the Lyceum, he read in Classical authors far beyond what the school curriculum required and collected examples of the use of words and phrases in Greek and Latin in order to make his own dictionaries.⁴

3.2 University of Göttingen

Pott then attended the University of Göttingen, which

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his father and grandfather had attended before him. In the semester after he entered, Pott received a scholarship of 40 Reichsthaler (Rthl.) a year for three years from the funds set aside to aid needy students, usually theological students, from Calenberg-Grubenhagen. Beginning with the winter semester of 1822, he probably received 50 Rthl. per year for two years as a member of the Royal Philological Seminar. With these stipends, a small inheritance and fees for tutoring private pupils, Pott managed to support himself frugally at Göttingen.

Pott made extensive use of the opportunities offered at Göttingen to hear distinguished lecturers, particularly in the fields of philology, philosophy, history and natural science. He seems to have matriculated as a philological, not a theological, student, although he attended such theological lectures as would have been helpful to a philologist and at the same time would have met the theological requirements of his scholarship. There is no indication that he ever at university seriously intended to take up theology as a career. Thus, at least symbolically, he had already broken away from the life-style and image of his father and grandfather. In 1827 he said that after he entered university he was resolved to study, above all, the Ancient world and philosophy.

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Nevertheless, Pott did value the rationalistic Biblical criticism of J. D. Michaelis, J. G. Eichhorn, D. J. Pott and others connected with the Theological Faculty at Göttingen. He thought that their outlook, though possibly wrong on many points, was a necessary reform movement that prepared the way for liberation from many long held and deeply rooted religious and scientific absurdities. Their criticism affected a part of Asiatic tradition that was of the greatest importance not only to Europe, but to the Christian world in general.

. . . der Theologie, wenigstens der protestantischen überhaupt, fortwandelnd auf Michaelis', Eichhorn's, David Julius Pott's u. AA. Pfaden, hat den epochemachenden Stempel -- nach fürwahr nicht geringem Antheile seinerseits -- aufdrücken helfen einer besonderen, freieren, Vernunft und historischer wie philologisch-hermeneutischer Kritik ihr gutes Recht erwerbenden und wahren Richtung. Mag immerhin innerhalb dieser Richtung das Eine oder Andere, ja ein Theil ihrer selbst als verfehlte Auffassung, als menschlicher Irrthum dem Schicksale des Vergänglichen anheim fallen müssen oder bereits verfallen sein. Gewiss ist und unbestreitbar: trotzdem dass seit Jahrzehenden entgegengesetzte Richtungen und Strömungen den mächtigen Einfluss ersterer zu hemmen und zurückzustauen, und . . . spurlos wieder zu verwischen mit aller Macht, und nicht ganz erfolglos, getrachtet, auf jenem vorgenannten reformatorischen Wege der Befreiung von mancherlei altüberlieferter und tiefeingewurzelter Verkehrtheit ward sowohl in religiöser als in wissenschaftlicher Hinsicht ein Gewinn errungen, der als unverlierbares heilsames Erbtheil dem Menschengeschlecht verbleiben wird jetzt und immerdar. Umsonst würde man läugnen wollen: erst durch eine rationellere Betrachtungsweise des A. [lten]

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T.[estaments], wie der Rationalismus sie anbahnte, sei das rechte Verständniss von einem guten Stücke Asiatischen Alterthums erschlossen, und zwar von einem solchen, das in verschiedener Hinsicht die wichtigsten Lebensinteressen nicht bloss unseres Welttheils, sondern auch der Christenwelt im Allgemeinen um Vieles näher angeht und darin eingreift, als etwa Vedas und Avesta, als Chinesische Kings oder die vielgepriesene, obschon doch nur höchst unvollkommen für uns abschätzbare Weisheit der Aegypter.

Pott was here stressing the significance of Biblical criticism for the reform of Christian belief and science; its significance was greater than that of the study of Oriental religions in general.

Pott was very active and diligent in attending lectures during his three-and-a-half years at Göttingen. He began by taking strictly Classical and philological lectures from some of the best known professors. In the winter semester (WS) of 1821-22, he heard lectures on Roman antiquities from G. L. Dissen, on Greek antiquities and on Juvenal from C. O. Müller and on Pindar's odes, following lectures on Apollonius Rhodius, from C. W. Mitscherlich. In summer semester (SS) 1822 he heard Dissen lecture on Catullus and on "Philological Encyclopaedia". In theology he listened to D. J. Pott discourse on the Pauline letters with special reference to the appearance of Jewish ideas in the New Testament. He also took Pott's

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course on Hebrew grammar. In addition, he branched into new fields by attending G. E. Schulze's series of lectures on pedagogy and didactics and F. Bouterwek's course on the history of philosophy. In WS 1822-23 he continued study of the Bible, now including the Old Testament, and of philosophy, and branched out into modern history and natural science. He heard J. G. Eichhorn on the Psalms and on the writings of the Apostle John, Dissen on the history of Greek philosophy (?), Bouterwek on logic, A. H. L. Heeren on the history of the "most outstanding" European states from the barbarian invasions to the present, and J. T. Mayer on experimental physics. In SS 1823 he continued with the same wide range of lectures except that he added Middle High German poetry to the lectures on language. He heard Eichhorn on the Pentateuch, T. C. Tychsen on diplomatic (the decipherment and understanding of early documents), G. F. Benecke on Middle High German poetry, particularly Minnelieder, Bouterwek on metaphysics, Heeren on geography and ethnography and Mayer on the polarity of light. In WS 1823-24 Pott returned to more directly philological and philosophical studies. He heard Dissen on Plato's Theatetus, Eichhorn on Isaias, Bouterwek on esthetics and Schulze on metaphysics. In SS 1824 he heard Dissen on prosody in Greek and Roman poets, C. O. Müller

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on archeology (probably including art history) and Tychsen on Arabic grammar. In WS 1824-25 he heard Dissen on Aristophanes' Clouds and Frogs and F. Stromeyer on chemistry. He also attended lectures on Horace's satires and epistles, probably from Mitscherlich, on the Book of Job, probably from Eichhorn, on ancient history, probably from Heeren, and on pure mathematics, probably from B. F. Thibaut. In addition, according to his son Richard, Pott pursued his interest in natural sciences under the famous anthropologist J. F. Blumenbach and the physicist W. Weber; however, the latter contact would have been impossible, since Weber only came to Göttingen long after Pott had left. Thus Pott seems to have attended an average of five or more lecture courses per term. He was also a member for two and a half years of the Royal Philological Seminar under the direction of Mitscherlich, Dissen and Müller. A semester of probation was necessary before one was allowed to become a full member of the seminar, where students of philology were scrutinized and compared by the professors during five hours per week of professorial interpretation of Greek and Latin authors and of students' presentation and defence of their own papers.⁵

Although Pott did not formally study Sanskrit at Göttingen, its importance would have been made known to

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him by his friends and professors. Pott's Göttingen acquaintance Heinrich Heine said with reference to this period that the devil himself was then studying Sanskrit and Hegel. Heine was likewise in the early 1820's attending Bopp's lectures on Sanskrit at Berlin. Friedrich Bouterwek, one of Pott's professors of philosophy at Göttingen, in his lectures on the history of philosophy, religion, literature and fine art, began with the Oriental world, particularly India, Persia, Phoenicia, Egypt and Palestine. India he called the fatherland of poetry according to latest research, although the oldest known poetry was Hebrew. The study of Indian mythology, since the British conquest of India, he said, "hat uns eine ganz neue Welt von Meinungen aufgethan"; the Sanskrit language had become "Modestudium". He approved the derivation of Greek myths from Egyptian ones and of Egyptian ones from Indian ones, which had been attempted by Friedrich Creuzer. However, C. O. Müller, like several of Pott's professors, was incensed by A. W. Schlegel; this was said to have turned him against things Indian.⁶

A. H. L. Heeren, from whom Pott heard historical lectures -- on modern European national history, on geography and ethnography, and perhaps on ancient history -- was a very influential writer on colonial history,

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including that of India. The personal union between the monarchies of Hannover and Great Britain made British colonial affairs and Indian history of great interest to Heeren and the Hannoverian court. Pott borrowed the first volume (on the Asian world) of Heeren's Ideen Über die Politik, den Verkehr und den Handel der vornehmsten Völker der alten Welt from the Göttingen University Library during his first semester. This work was the leading German compilation of information from travel accounts and translations concerning India, the Near East and, to a lesser extent, Africa and the Mediterranean. Though severely criticized by A. W. Schlegel for relying only on secondhand material (since Heeren did not know most of the original languages), it was a useful introduction and reference work for students.

In the field of language, Heeren glorified India in a naive fashion. He said that Sanskrit, though its praises had been oversung, was "eine der wohlklingendsten, der reichsten und der gebildetsten, Sprachen der Welt . . ." Whether Sanskrit arose in India or was brought in by conquerors from outside was a question which could no longer be answered with historical evidence because the period was too remote. In any case, he did not think that it was of great practical importance, because the language, like

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German, if it had come from elsewhere, received its real development only in this particular area. He assumed that syllabic writing could not be more recent in India than Indian culture itself, since this was founded on the sacred Vedic Scriptures. He did not accept that the mere similarity of a large number of Sanskrit words with those in other Indian languages was sufficient proof of the common origin of these languages (Marathi, Telugu, Tamil). Agreement in basic words, such as those for number, and in grammar was much more important. He also criticized the use of etymologies, particularly by British and some German scholars, to try to prove the common origin of elements of Indian, Persian and other religions and mythologies. He trusted history more than etymology to throw light on this subject.

Es bleibt aber eine ewige Wahrheit, dass ohne genaue Sprachkunde alles Etymologisiren ein blosses Glücksspiel ist, wo auf Einen Treffer zehn und mehrere Fehler kommen. So mag also, indem wir in jene fernen Religionen uns wagen, statt dieser Irrlichter lieber das schwache Licht der Geschichte uns genügen, sollte es auch nur, statt des vollen Tages, eine zweifelhafte Dämmerung verbreiten.

Although Heeren generally rejected speculation about pre- or proto-historic conditions, he was nonetheless interested in a possible connection among the epics of the Hindus, Germans and British, whose remote common origin

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might still be perceptible in these epics; he did not ignore the similarities of Hindu and Athenian law described by the Göttingen student C. C. J. Bunsen in 1813.⁷

Another teacher of Pott who might have brought Indo-European questions to his attention was T. C. Tychsen, who highlighted the distinction between the Semitic and Indo-European language groups in his contribution to Heeren's Ideen.⁸

3.3 Celle

Pott left Göttingen at Easter 1825, before he had completed his (optional) doctoral dissertation, in order to take up a position as Third Collaborator (instructor) at the Gymnasium in Celle, a town about twenty-five miles northeast of the city of Hannover. There he made a substantial salary of 350 Rthl. a year. Pott finished and later published his dissertation, De relationibus quae praepositionibus in linguis denotantur dissertatio, at Celle (B 1) and received the doctorate from Göttingen on 17 October 1827. Pott's ambition, however, was not to remain a high school teacher and work in the field of general linguistics, in which his thesis lay, but rather to go on to habilitate himself in the field of comparative linguistics. The natural place to seek further instruction

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in comparative linguistics was in Berlin under Franz Bopp. Exactly when or how Pott developed the goal of further education in comparative linguistics is not clear. But already in his Göttingen essays he was comparing Greek, Latin and Germanic forms and referring to Bopp's work, probably his Conjugationssystem (C 279), on Persian, German and Greek.

3.4 University of Berlin

In Berlin Pott remained at the University from WS 1827-28 to SS 1833. He was a student until he was habilitated on 1 May 1830 under the rectorship of Hegel, after having presented a lecture (on his twenty-seventh birthday, 14 November 1829) on "Wortbildung der Griechischen und Lateinischen Sprache" and having been questioned by Bopp on the relation of the Classical languages to Sanskrit. Apparently he had already asked to apply for habilitation in May of 1829 with a treatise on Greek verbs and a proposed disputation on Stoic grammar, but was not permitted to apply, partly on the grounds that the University needed to limit the number of its privat docents.⁹ Pott was listed as lecturing on Theocritus' Idylls (WS 1830-31, SS 1833), Persius' Satires (SS 1831), Juvenal's Satires (WS 1832-33), Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin (WS 1830-31, WS 1831-32, WS 1832-33, SS 1833), Greek and Latin

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(WS 1831-32, SS 1833), Latin Etymology and Syntax (SS 1832), Greek Etymology and Syntax (WS 1833-34[listed only]), General Grammar (SS 1831) and "Ethnographisch-linguistische Übersicht der zum Sanskritsprachstamm gehörigen Völker" (SS 1832, WS 1832-33, WS 1833-34[listed only]). Thus his ethnolinguistic interests were already developed.¹⁰

Pott spent a very long time at Berlin, equivalent to the length of modern American graduate study, but very unusual in the Germany of his day. This interval allowed him to become knowledgeable in a number of Indo-European languages -- Persian, Sanskrit, Lithuanian, Latvian, Albanian, Serbian, Russian, Armenian, Ossetic and Afghan among others -- and to derive full benefit from contemporary linguistic luminaries, especially Franz Bopp, his teacher, and Wilhelm von Humboldt. He also had the opportunity to prepare the first volume of his first major work, Etymologische Forschungen (B 5), which helped gain him on 31 August 1833 an extraordinary professorship at the University of Halle-Wittenberg, also in Prussia. At the insistence of the patrons of comparative linguistics and Hegelianism at the university level in Prussia -- Bopp and Humboldt with their recommendations to Altenstein and Schulze -- , Pott's chair was intended for the teaching of

Sanskrit and linguistics.¹¹

3.5 University of Halle-Wittenberg

Pott's life at Halle, which spanned fifty-five years, can be followed most closely through analysis of his books and contributions to periodicals. Comparatively little is known of his family life or of his playing any very active political role. With the lack of well-developed participatory institutions in Prussia at that time, political views, allegiances and controversies most often found expression in university affairs and in publications, particularly in the periodical press.¹²

3.5.1 Professorship

Pott's professorial title at the University of Halle-Wittenberg, he maintained, was professor of "general linguistics". However, there is no official record of this in his documents of appointment. He may have decided to give himself this title to indicate his affiliation with general linguistics rather than with study of the languages of any particular area or group; he also used this title to distinguish himself from other professors, for he claimed that he was the first to hold a chair in general linguistics. Yet his promotion to ordinary professor by Royal Cabinet Order in November 1838 listed his subject as "Vergleichende Sprachkunde" (comparative

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linguistics).¹³ In substance then, rather than in name, Pott was professor of general linguistics.

3.5.2 Students

The student body at Halle was not all that a budding general linguist and Sanskritist might have desired. The Philosophical Faculty to which Pott belonged had only 64 students when Pott arrived, of whom 56 were Prussians. Numbers did not rise much above this figure until the 1860's. The largest block of students in the 1830's (61.23%) was in the Theological Faculty, and more students (19.4%) had fathers who were clergymen than any other occupation. On the other hand, the largest number of teachers was in the Philosophical Faculty, more than twice the number in the Theological.¹⁴ Thus Pott would have been teaching future clergymen for the most part and at a time when Halle's rationalist theology was being supplanted by a more Pietistic emotional form of Protestantism, one which Pott considered almost fanatical. The abundance of Philosophical professors and the relative lack of students made competition for students and their fees another difficulty in the path of the new professor.

3.5.3 Lectures

The series of lectures which Pott announced at Halle were in Indo-European and other linguistic fields. Those

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in Indo-European studies were: Elementary Sanskrit Readings (in Nala, Bopp's Diluvium (C 2011) and Lassen's Chrestomathy (C 2066-68)), Sanskrit Grammar, Zend, Greek Grammar, Herodotus, Theocritus, Plato's Cratylus, Elements of Latin Grammar, Juvenal, Catullus, Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin, Comparative Grammar of the Romance Languages, Etymology of Modern Romance Languages, Old High German and Gothic compared with Greek and Latin, Survey of the Celtic Languages, Comparative Grammar of Indo-European Languages, especially Greek and Latin, and Survey of Indo-European Peoples and Languages. Those lectures in other linguistic or ethnolinguistic areas were: Elements of Egyptian Hieroglyphics, Elements of the Chinese Language, Ethnographic View of the Inhabitants of Asia, General Ethnography, General Linguistics, Philosophic or General Grammar, and General Introduction to Linguistics. Some of these series of lectures, for example, on Asian ethnography, Egyptian hieroglyphics or introduction to linguistics, were probably not held on occasion for lack of students.

3.5.4 Salary and University Politics

Salary was almost a perpetual bone of contention between Pott and the University administration. He related it directly to his ability to acquire books and do

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research. One of the main reasons he gave in 1837 for requesting advancement to an ordinary professorship with a higher salary was that his scientific efforts were being inhibited by his inability to afford the purchase of the expensive books, such as grammars and lexica, necessary for his wide-ranging studies. These books were often not lent by libraries or only lent with restrictions. Pott asserted that with great effort and some pain he had been able, nonetheless, to accomplish his scholarly work.¹⁵ As one can see from the catalogue of Pott's library (C), his own collection of reference materials was to a great extent formed from offprints and books given him by the authors rather than acquired through purchase.

Pott's salary problems only grew worse, he felt, in the 1840's. This was because, he believed, the University administration was punishing him for his free expression of views in 1839 by denying him deserved salary increases. Pott had created an incident in the University Aula on 1 May 1839 during the disputation conducted for the habilitation of Dr. Gustav Thiele, a follower of Heinrich Leo, professor of history. Thiele during the proceedings claimed that his student "opponent" Robert Prutz expressed the views of a "party" and was not speaking from a love of truth. Pott then responded in Prutz's defence that Thiele

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belonged to the "turpis pars pietistarum" (= the shameful party of the Pietists), which had caused so much trouble in Halle. Professor Leo and others remonstrated vehemently with Pott. Thiele was eventually habilitated at a later date, but was unsuccessful in his university career and became a Gymnasium teacher and director.

As a result of the Thiele incident, professors Leo and Tholuck presented a complaint to the Curator of the University, G. Delbrück, against Pott for insulting the faculty; Pott received a separate reprimand from the Ministry of Ecclesiastical, Educational and Medical Affairs. Pott was judged very harshly by the succeeding Curator of the University, L. W. A. Pernice, a professor of law, who disagreed with his views on theology and politics. Pernice considered Pott to be an opponent of the regime and a supporter of supposed freedom, light and student causes. Scholarly excellence alone, Pernice said, did not qualify one for academic recognition. Because of the Curator's opposition, Pott eventually sent his salary requests directly to the Minister in order to avoid the University Curatorium.¹⁶

The polarization of the Halle faculty and its effect on academic decision-making continued. The philosopher and political thinker A. Ruge was not advanced from privat

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docent to extraordinary professor. Prutz and R. Haym (1845) were not allowed to habilitate themselves, although Haym subsequently was habilitated (1850) and became a professor at Halle and Prutz was for a time extraordinary professor. K. Schwarz had his right to teach revoked on account of his outspokenness and M. H. E. Meier left his professorship temporarily for political reasons.¹⁷ Pott did not hide his rationalist, anti-theological and anti-reactionary leanings when he continued to write and edit for ALZ, which Pernice considered the oppositional group's organ, participated in Ruge's Hall Jb, contributed to the new Jbb FDA and argued for the habilitation of Haym. (See A I. 4.5.5-5.6 and 4.5.10.)

Except for Pott, most of the oppositional group became involved in active political campaigning and representative office-holding. Most subsequently left Halle: M. H. E. Meier left his post for political reasons in 1845 and then accepted reinstatement in 1848, became Prorector and died in 1855; M. Duncker left for a professorship in Tübingen in 1857 and then went on to a political and administrative career in Berlin; L. Ross, married to Emma Schwetschke of the Halle publishing family, committed suicide after a long illness; K. H. K. Burmeister, a constitutional monarchist, went to South America (1850)

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and later (1861) took up a professorial and museum career in Argentina; A. Ruge removed himself (1849) to France and England as a publicist and translator; K. Schwarz established himself at Gotha in 1856; R. Prutz, after academic problems, left Halle to become a wandering lecturer. Only Haym and the later more quiescent H. F. W. Hinrichs stayed on with Pott. Pott, whom Ruge once described as not a dogmatic adherent of any "party" or of rationalism, remained.¹⁸

It may be useful here to outline in detail the raises which Pott received in his yearly salary in order to give an idea of his financial difficulties, especially in the 1840's when his two children were born (1841, 1844), of his need to publish for financial recompense and of his inability to afford to purchase books extensively. Pott began at Halle with a salary lower than that he had had as a teacher at the Celle Gymnasium, 300 Rthl. a year. At Easter 1834, Pott was receiving 450 Rthl.; in 1838, 650; in 1844, 750; at the end of 1847, 800; in 1854, 950; in 1862, 1150[?]; in 1887, 6000 Marks [about 2400 Rthl.] plus 660 Marks rent allowance. Pott's honoraria from student fees was very low, about 6 Rthl. from 1833 to March 1839.¹⁹ Pott, according to Pernice in 1845, had never had even twenty students in his public lectures and had not

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managed to get an audience for his announced lectures on the interpretation of the Latin Classics. Pott defended himself by saying that no one else would have been able to drum up large audiences in the subjects he usually taught. Since his field was not a bread-and-butter one, students did not flock to it.²⁰

Because salary raises were uncertain and his honoraria from students could never be very high, Pott asked for appointment to additional related positions which would provide income. In 1844 he requested appointment to the position of Oberbibliothekar (Head Librarian) at the University Library, a post which was then vacant; but this was refused. In 1856 Pott asked for appointment as a co-director of the Philological Seminar and for consideration as a potential occupant of the late Professor Meier's chair of eloquence for which, he said, he had the necessary background in Classical philology. But comparative linguistics was still not looked upon as an indispensable tool for philologists teaching in Gymnasia, so Pott was denied these positions. G. Bernhardt received both the post of Head Librarian and the chair of eloquence. Pernice further darkened the picture by maintaining that the real place for comparative philologists was in academies, not universities.

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To some extent Pott was justified in feeling that political or other extraneous considerations, apart from his notable scholarship, kept his salary depressed and limited his access to additional appointments. In October 1847 Pott's salary of 750 Rthl. as an ordinary professor placed him tied for fifth in salary level among eleven professors in the Philosophical Faculty listed by Pernice. Pott held that many above him in salary had less seniority and probably also had considerable outside financial resources, which he did not. Based on later published estimates of the average income (excluding honoraria) of ordinary professors at Halle in the relevant years, Pott's salary was almost 27% below average in 1844-45 and almost 16% below average in 1854-55.

3.5.5 Pott in University Administration

The honorific administrative positions which Pott held at the University of Halle also reflected, he believed, the political disfavor in which he remained for the rest of his academic career. Although he was Dean (= Dekan) of the Philosophical Faculty on several occasions (e.g., SS 1871, 1882), he never became Rector of the University, a position usually held by senior professors as the culmination of their university service. He was, however, named Geheimer Regierungsrat, an honorific

title, by the King in 1880.²¹

3.5.6 Other Organizational Activities

Pott took part in other activities related to University and town intellectual life. He was on the governing board of the Halle Museum. He co-founded the literary society "Literaria". Although little information is available on these organizations, Pott's interest in them indicates his desire to contribute to local cultural life, not necessarily in a political context.

3.5.7 Halle Friends

Pott's close Halle friends, apart from Orientalists such as R. Gosche and E. Rödiger, were those in the oppositional group, as Pernice characterized them. Some examples will help indicate Pott's close ties to them. In the late 1830's, Pott lived in the same house as Max Duncker for a year and a half. They shared their bachelor wealth and conversation late into the night. Pott helped nurse Duncker through a difficult bout of typhus. Duncker's biographer and Pott's student and friend Rudolf Haym described Pott from intimate knowledge as the "liebenswürdigen, kindlich heiteren und sinnesreinen Pott". Apparently Pott's and Duncker's political views began to diverge, for in 1848 Duncker claimed that he knew what freedom meant better than Pott and T. Haarbrücker

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did. Another close friend of Pott was Arnold Ruge during Ruge's Halle years. Pott, for example, accompanied Ruge on a tour of Bavaria and Austria in 1836.²²

4.0 Pott's Works

"It happens to my great sorrow, that the vast gulf between the Old and the New world admits, it is true, perhaps telegraphical wires and other ways of hasty intercourse: but neither the sounds of the speaking-trumpet nor the lineaments of our faces darted by means of a mirror reach, at least in this moment, so far. Otherwise I should be glad to profit by more personal and intermediate inter-locutions with the learned brethren and friends I have recently gained on yon shore. In the mean let the precious product of rags supply the want."

-Pott to Whitney (See D I)

"The extent of philological inquiry is something appalling. The second edition of Pott's Etymological Researches -- still incomplete -- extends, excluding prefaces, to 5656 pages, of 455 lines each, or more than a quarter of a million of lines, containing more than two millions of words. And this only represents part of the printed labours of one man."

-A. J. Ellis²³

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4.1 Extent and Place of Publication

Pott's works, published during his lifetime (apart from translations from his books or excerpts from letters) fill, it has been estimated, fifty octavo volumes if added together. They were all published in Germany. There is no indication that Pott wished to publish works abroad or that he instigated the translation of his works.

4.2 Subject Matter

Pott's known publications, although they dealt often with the relations of linguistics to other areas of inquiry -- such as politics, philosophy, ethnicity, anthropology and biology -- were all, nominally at least, in the field of linguistics or related area studies. Pott saw himself as a member of a specific discipline, if a new and not yet fully recognized one. Pott was apparently not interested in writing popularly or as a specialist in subject areas unrelated to linguistics.

4.3 Pott's Personal Connections with his Publishers

The earliest publishers whom Pott used were often initially personal friends or their relatives. During his Berlin years Pott became a close friend of the Privatdocent in history and staunch Royalist E. Helwing. Helwing was a member of the publishing and bookselling family which owned the Meyersche Hofbuchhandlung at Detmold and Lemgo in Westphalia and was court printer to the Ducal

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house of Lippe. The Helwing firm published Pott's first major book Etymologische Forschungen and continued the publication of the work through a completely revised and extended second edition. It also issued some of his more polemical works such as his attacks on Gobineau and the Jesuit Kaulen (B 120, 166). It was probably the press to which Pott could turn when he wanted a work, however unmarketable or idiosyncratic, to be published.

The numbers of each book printed by Helwing were small by our and by contemporary standards. About 500 copies of the first edition of Etymologische Forschungen were printed; later 250 of these copies were discarded. Nevertheless, it took until about 1856 to sell the remaining volumes. The honoraria which Pott received were also not large, but enough to add substantially to his salary. For his Anti-Kaulen (B 166) he received 232 Thl. 10 Silbergroschen. This would have been about a 20% addition to his yearly salary. For the second edition of Etymologische Forschungen, which E. Helwing's brother Clemens had instigated him to produce, Pott would have earned about 1 Friedrichs-d'or (= 5.66 Rthl.) per Bogen (sheet of 16 pages if in octavo). This meant approximately 2559 Rthl. on the parts that Pott produced in the fifteen-year period 1859-73. The average of more than 170 Rthl. per year was